

Sun Citizens: The Culture and Politics of Retirement in Modern America

by

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For K, C, W, and P

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Introduction

In 1962, *Time* profiled the contemporary state of old age, telling of the trials and tribulations of a group it characterized as “the U.S.’s fastest-growing minority—the so-called aged.” Despite factors adding up to an ostensibly favorable demographic and economic outlook, aging Americans in the postwar United States found themselves inhabiting an experiential landscape of retirement and old age less positive and promising, it went. No longer working, the magazine explained, “A retired man finds himself not only without a job but without an ‘identification tag’: someone accustomed to thinking of himself as a railroad man or an insurance executive is often seriously disoriented when he finds that he is no longer anything at all.” It also relayed to readers, for example, “Often they feel increasingly isolated and rejected as the visits from children become rarer—seeing the doctor more and more often, penny-pinching their fixed income against the upward-creeping cost of living, and trying to keep something by against the high cost of dying.”¹

¹ “The Family: A Place in the Sun,” *Time*, August 3, 1962, 46 (first and second quotations), 47 (third quotation), copy viewed in John W. Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981” (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), vol. 1, app. 6, Sun Cities Area Historical Society (SCAHS), Sun City, Arizona. Here, this piece opens with a focus on a “man on the porch” to frame its discussion. I viewed this coverage, as well as the issue’s front cover, which I note below, via *Time*’s website, or another version of this website, at an early point in my research on the Webb and Sun City and prior to my securing of the copy in Meeker, above. For a recently accessed link to this article, see <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,896472,00.html> (last accessed January 15, 2015). For other accounts utilizing the *Time* piece, see, for example, “The Family” as cited in John Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona: New Town for Old Folks,” in *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture after 1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 182, 189, 198; Marc Freedman, *Prime Time: How Baby Boomers Will Revolutionize Retirement and Transform America* (New York: Public Affairs, 1999), 51-53, 53, 58-59. In addition to discussing this piece in its text

There was hope, however. The magazine's coverage reported: "But for the growing army of active oldsters willing and able to cut out and start a new life, a dramatically successful solution has grown up during the past few years: the 'retirement city,' restricted to people of a certain age." And, continuing, it specifically told of the rise of Sun City, built by American businessman Del Webb, identified on the issue's cover as "Builder Del Webb" (Figure I.1), and described as engaged in "construction of anything and everything from a silo to a skyscraper."² Indeed, Webb's initial and

and in greater depth, the latter identifies title as "A Place in the Sun." See Freedman, 267. For another account, one that discusses—along with including an image of the cover—Webb and *Time*, also see issue of *Time*, August 3, 1962, see Philip VanderMeer, "Del E. Webb" in VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising: The Making of a Desert Metropolis* (Carlsbad, California: Heritage Media, 2002), 66. For another account, though not apparently citing by title of piece, see also Andrew D. Blechman, *Leisureville: Adventures in America's Retirement Utopias* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2008), 33. And elsewhere, this issue—and, more specifically, its cover, based on overlap with other sources on this—discussed in Mark Arax and Rick Wartzman, *The King of California: J.G. Boswell and the Making of a Secret American Empire* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2003), 305. Copy of this book first viewed at the SCAHS. For mentions of Webb and *Time* yet elsewhere, see also untitled story but with date as above, see *Time*, August 3, 1962, as discussed in John W. Meeker, "Overview," 23, in Meeker, "A Look Back, 1959-1981," vol. 1, SCAHS. For another mention, untitled and undated, see also who presumably was L.C. Jacobson in L.C. Jacobson and Tom Breen, interview by Glenn Sanberg and Louise and John Byrne, November 18, 1983, C198, transcript, 16, in Sun Cities Area Historical Society (SCAHS), "Oral History Project" (n.d. [?]), bk. 1, SCAHS. First, the "C" numbering system used in and from "Index to Oral History Project" in SCAHS, "Oral History Project," bk. 1, n.p.. Second, the "Oral History Project" consists of three binders with typed copies of transcripts and descriptions of interviews. Finally, for another account utilizing but apparently not discussing explicitly in text in such terms as those above, see also "A Place in the Sun," *Time*(August 3, 1962): 45-50, cited in Richard B. Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old: Redefining Old Age in America, 1945-1970* (New York: Elsevier, 1978), 206-207[?], 207, book first cited in Katherine Ann Otis, "Everything Old is New Again: A Social and Cultural History of Life on the Retirement Frontier, 1950-2000" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2008), 24, 25.

In terms of two very important sources cited above that I utilize throughout much of my dissertation, Findlay is from a broader chapter, an excellent historical account of Sun City, Arizona, that I am in many ways indebted. For Findlay chapter, see Findlay, 160-213. And, an important source of material on DEVCO and Sun City given its value in identifying and illuminating key events, persons, and trends, the above source by John Meeker consists of two binders making up two volumes written and assembled by Meeker. The first volume includes a 30-page typed narrative history of Sun City and Sun City West, which I hereafter refer to as "Overview." It is followed by a typed chronological history of the retirement communities with bulleted text and photographs, which I cite simply with page numbers (or other pagination form used by Meeker). The last section of vol. 1 and vol. 2 consist of appendices containing various DEVCO documents and other materials.

2 "The Family," 47-48 (first and third quotations 47); Webb on front cover, *Time*, August 3, 1962, copy in Meeker, "A Look Back, 1959-1981," 20. Although I have cited the copy of the front cover of this issue of *Time* here, for quality purposes I have used and cited an electronic copy for Figure I.1:

<http://content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19620803,00.html> (last accessed January 15, 2015). I first viewed the cover of this issue electronically via *Time*, whether through this link and/or website or not. Meanwhile, here, in zooming in and transitioning to Sun City and Del Webb, I follow in Freedman's

innovative retirement development, Sun City, Arizona, undertaken in the late 1950s in the Phoenix area, sought to smooth out, if not altogether eliminate, retirement tensions—replacing perceptions and experiences of life beyond work, family, and former friendships as inherently under-stimulating and excessively solitary with a mode of retirement providing affordable homes in a community offering fun in the sun amongst fellow retirees.³

narrative lead. For this, including discussion of “The Family” on Sun City, see Freedman, *Prime Time*, 58-59. And for another account mentioning coverage by *Time* of Webb, see again Blechman, *Leisureville*, 33. On Webb’s various projects, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona: New Town for Old Folks,” 171; Melanie I. Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town’: The Marketing and Development of Sun City, Arizona” (master’s thesis, Arizona State University, 1992), 74. I am indebted to Sturgeon’s history, too, which I also use throughout much of my project. I discuss and cite additional accounts providing biographical information on and professional activities of Del Webb later in this dissertation. For brief overview of Webb’s project, also see Blechman, 31. And in terms of Blechman, I draw from this useful journalistic account in different ways throughout this project.

³ In terms of main point in the text, for a similar framework of Del Webb addressing and remedying retirement, including discussion of overall issues, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 165-66, 173-74, 176, 177-78. For another, more popular account in this vein, and which also draws on coverage from *Time* here, see Marc Freedman, *Prime Time: How Baby Boomers Will Revolutionize Retirement and Transform America* (New York: Public Affairs, 1999), 51-53, 58-59. One of many useful points addressed by Findlay’s study is the shift in priorities with retirement—or according to “stage of life,” as he seems to put it; in illuminating Sun City culture within a regional comparative framework, he explains, for instance, that “unlike younger adults, the elderly no longer concerned themselves much with raising children, supporting local schools, or commuting to work.” See Findlay, 161. In her study of Sun City Center, Florida, another Webb-developed community, upon which I draw in many ways in my own study here, Frances FitzGerald provides a similar framing for thinking about retirement culture and politics departed from traditional or past concerns—dealing with “children and jobs”—as evidence from her interaction with one couple, Ronald and Lora Smith, suggests. See Frances FitzGerald, *Cities on a Hill: A Journey through Contemporary American Cultures* (1986; New York: Touchstone, 1987), 229 (quotation), this point and broader quotation from which that immediately above comes first cited and quoted in Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: Free Press, 2001; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 2002), 87. Da Capo Press edition referenced here in my project. And this material on Sun City Center, Florida, from FitzGerald is from her case study in *Cities on Hill*: “Sun City—1983,” 203-245. In the case of Sun City, Arizona, such concerns as kids and schools—school taxes, to be more exact—were significant political issues on the ground, as Findlay and others note in their accounts—and pages for which I cite later—and as much of my project explores.

On other points addressed in the text above, see the following. For Webb’s other retirement developments, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 176. I cite other accounts useful here as well in a later chapter. In terms of Webb’s Arizona development as significant, see the sources I cite later in my Introduction here. And finally, on Webb’s efforts in the 1950s on the road to 1960, see, for example, Findlay, 172, 172-173, 174. And for discussion in coverage in *Time*, on efforts in the 1950s, see also “The Family,” 47, 48. In my Chapter 3, I draw from and cite various accounts at different points relevant here as well. On location, see, for example, Findlay, 160.

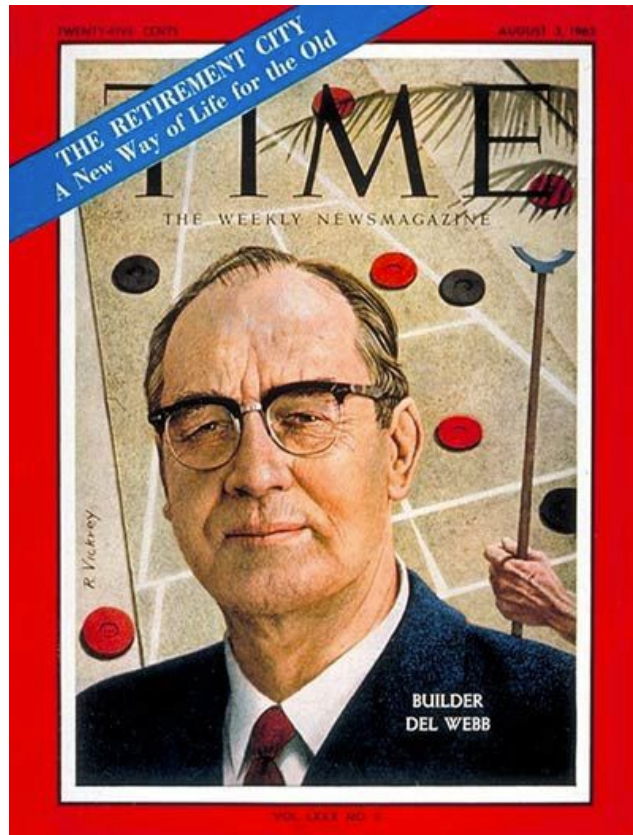


Figure I. 1. National publicity on Del Webb and American retirement: front cover of *Time*, August 3, 1962, <http://content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19620803,00.html> (last accessed January 15, 2015).

In the end, Webb was in many ways quite successful. “Among the social, political, and economic elements involved in promoting retirement or senior citizen housing, none had greater impact than the large builders—most notably Del E. Webb, Inc. and Ross Cortese’s Rossmoor-Leisure World, Inc.,” Richard Calhoun writes in his study of American retirement in the postwar decades. “Such organizations not only built houses; they built markets for those houses as well. This market consisted of a new breed of American—the ‘active’ retiree.”⁴ And as journalist Frances FitzGerald observed in

⁴ Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 205-6. For Calhoun perhaps making a same or similar point in discussing “the retirement village phenomenon” elsewhere in his account, see also Calhoun, 210. While

her 1980s account of Sun City Center, Florida, another retirement community initially developed by Webb, “Possibly some people imagine retirement communities as boardinghouses with rocking chairs, but, thanks to Del Webb and a few other pioneer developers, the notion of ‘active retirement’ has become entirely familiar; indeed, since the sixties it has been the guiding principle of retirement-home builders across the country.”⁵

Sun City, real or imagined, helped to craft a new culture and politics of retirement, pulling together old age, consumption, citizenship, and suburban space in significant, and sometimes contested, ways.⁶ Del Webb assumed a role as a trouble-shooter of sorts already embraced by elites and experts in different sectors and professions. Writing at mid-century, one expert, for example, spoke of various

accounts dealing with the history of Del Webb and of Sun City, Arizona, are cited below and elsewhere in this dissertation, for accounts dealing with different aspects of the history of Cortese and of his Leisure World developments, see, for example, Calhoun, 206, 208-209; Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 169, 195, 207-208.

⁵ FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 216. For expression elsewhere, see that quoted in Sturgeon, on the role of the Garland Agency in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 85. See also phrase as part of “Del Webb’s Active Retirement” as quoted in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 178. I cite various sources relevant here later in this dissertation. For John Findlay on the prominence of “new towns for retirees,” including Sun City, see 168-169, 169. For example, in terms of age “segregation,” he writes: “As a dramatic and purposeful form of voluntary segregation, they became the focus of considerable controversy over the value of isolating the elderly from the rest of the population. This debate was taken up in particular by the growing ranks of gerontologists as they developed and tested theories about the process of aging and the welfare of retirees. As a result, towns such as Sun City became one place to look for definitions of what retirement ought to mean in American society” (169). Also, Sun City—according to journalist Andrew Blechman—helped to shape the rise of a subsequent age-restricted development in Florida, The Villages, “the largest gated retirement community in the world”: Blechman, *Leisureville*, 4 (quotation), 43.

⁶ As I discuss in greater depth below, the political nature of Sun City is a major—if not *the*—focus of my project. In addition to departing from and having been shaped by scholarship I cite later, offering a particularly insightful perspective framing discussion of this nature in relation to the tension between what perhaps was an idealized lifestyle, or depoliticized view of the Sun City experience, and daily life in which the Sun City experience could be contested, writer Andrew Blechman offers the following. “The photos,” he writes in relation to the SCAHS, “show residents dressed to the nines and posing in front of their new homes; listening to Rosemary Clooney and Lawrence Welk perform at the outdoor Sun Bowl; and gazing admiringly at a visiting Bob Hope on a golf course wearing a tam-o’-shanter and sharing a joke with Del Webb.” He continues the next paragraph: “What the photos don’t show is the mounting enmity and relentless quarreling between residents of the growing community, which often stemmed from Sun City’s ambiguous governing structure. To seek clarification and redress, residents often found themselves organizing angry petition drives and filing incessant lawsuits to tackle such mundane matters of governance as garbage collection, regulations regarding dog walking, and restrictions on guests.” See Blechman, *Leisureville*, 129.

“problems of retirement” facing older Americans.⁷ Academics, policymakers, homebuilders, and others sought to address the financial and psychological suffering of postwar retirees in various ways, ranging from harnessing the power of public policy to *re-build* the built environment in deliberate ways.⁸ “As publicists liked to say, it generated ‘a new Way-of-Life’ for Americans by redefining the idea of retirement,” historian John Findlay explains in his case study of Webb’s retirement community undertaken by the Del E. Webb Development Company (DEVCO). “In the hands of DEVCO’s tireless sales force, Sun City clarified the meaning of a stage of life that had remained nebulous for most people—an accomplishment that doubtless increased Sun City’s popularity.”⁹

7 A period example of this thinking discussed later in this dissertation, see Clark Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” in “Aging and Retirement,” ed. Tibbitts, special issue, *The American Journal of Sociology* 59, no. 4 (January 1954): 301-8 (quotation 305), account first cited in what became final version of chapter in her dissertation, Otis, “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention’[:] Reexamining the Senior Power Movement through Retirees’ Correspondence with Congressman Claude Pepper and Senator George Smathers,” in “Everything Old is New Again,” 158; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 44. In terms of Otis, I am referring to this version when citing this chapter elsewhere in my work. For Tibbitts elsewhere in Otis’s dissertation, see also Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 33. Here, Otis mentions the issue at large as well. See again Otis, 33. For issue, though not identified as special issue on the subject, first cited in relation to an article by Robert J. Havighurst that appeared in it and that I discuss and cite later in this dissertation, also see William Graebner, *A History of Retirement: The Meaning and Function of an American Institution, 1885-1975* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 230, study first cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 165; Sturgeon, 10-12. I draw on these excellent and important accounts in different ways in this project. And drawing from both secondary and primary sources, such challenges are discussed later in this Introduction, particularly in terms of a historicizing of this framework, and in greater detail in Part I. Note: I use this phrase “first cited,” and also “initially cited,” at points in this dissertation to indicate that I have viewed the document at hand directly but also have acknowledged, when particularly relevant, the source alerting me to the source or document.

8 Later in this Introduction, I cite sources involving the efforts of experts within a framework of the top-down construction of retirement.

9 Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 173-174. And on Webb’s “subsidiary” here, see also 171. On the place of Sun City, also see, for example, Marc Freedman’s work: Freedman, *Prime Time*, 54-55, 71. Here, he writes, for instance: “Webb filled the cultural vacuum of retirement in the early 1960s by peddling propaganda about a new active way of life and by providing an accessible vehicle for average Americans to live daily lives organized around leisure” (71). For Freedman writing of “a vision that turned this much maligned state of life into a seeming second spring,” perhaps relevant here as well, see also Freedman, 58. Perhaps illustrating Findlay’s “nebulous” discussion is an account from *Time* in the early 1960s. See unnamed “man on the porch” discussed and quoted in “The Family,” 46. Freedman in his account describes the story’s use of this man in its opening as well: Freedman on “A Place in the Sun” [*sic?*], *Time*, August 3, 1962, n.p., cited in Freedman, 52. My citing of this piece is slightly different—as “The Family: A Place in the Sun.”

For their part, residents were both challenging and reifying various norms and institutions in the process in their very embrace—and defense—of the world of retirement available in Arizona. In buying homes in Sun City, Arizona, homebuyers and residents bought into Webb’s brand of retirement, in which—in DEVCO’s efforts and image—age-old ideas about and practices involving old age yielded to new, different ones. And as a community segregated by age, Sun City ultimately expressed particular positions involving generational interests and cross-generational relations in relation not only to programs aimed at older Americans—Social Security and Medicare—but also to policies more local in nature, involving taxes and zoning. At the same time, in terms of Sun City as perpetuating the *status quo*, the development operated within existing frameworks, the suburban nature of Sun City as something to which various scholarly and other accounts have pointed, even if—in Findlay’s own framing and words—“Sun City had from the outset a conscious thematic orientation.”¹⁰ Not only do “Levittown”

10 For quotation, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 160. In this particular context, Findlay makes this point while drawing a suburban comparison—although he ultimately privileges this “conscious thematic orientation,” along with other factors, here. See Findlay, 160. Even if he puts more emphasis—if not almost exclusively so—on this, he does draw a comparison, and thus this part of his discussion in opening his case study provides a foundational framework for my project as a whole in exploring and explaining the relationship between and tensions within Sun City as suburban and as involving retirement. Here, I am emphasizing suburban nature, which is major line of inquiry and analysis in my project, to be sure, but also for more immediate purposes here aims to lay out ideas and framings of my project. Therefore, for other accounts offering frameworks in their own ways by draw comparisons such comparisons, see the following. Findlay also calls it a “retirement suburb,” for example, while another study calls it “a new town for retirement,” a description as part of a relationship I discuss in greater detail in my Chapter 4: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 207; Michael E. Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities: An American Original* (New York: The Haworth Press, Inc., 1984), 58, quoted in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 160. For “retirement new town” in Hunt study itself, see, for example, Hunt et al., 12, study first cited in Findlay, 160. Another scholarly account from the 1980s also addresses and analyzes the “suburban” orientation, as suggested by the title, of Sun City, Arizona: Leo E. Zonn and Ervin Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” *Landscape Research* 12, no. 1 (1987): 19-25. And historian Gary Cross, additionally, describes it as a “planned suburb” and also “a suburban paradise” in his account: Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 188 (first quotation), 189 (second quotation). And, no less importantly, other accounts also discuss and/or treat Sun City in a “suburban” framework. Elsewhere, Findlay writes of Sun City in such terms—and in a way that seems to parallel the work of Melanie Sturgeon, in which she—drawing on work of Kenneth Jackson—suggests how Sun City was presumably suburban, in ways including as “peripheral to a large metropolitan center, Phoenix.” For Findlay, 204. For subsequent and presumably relevant discussion, see also Findlay, 205, 208. And, for “suburban design,” in which Findlay

comparisons by scholars provide examples of framings in this vein, but—if certain institutions and such issues as taxes, property values, and social homogeneity have long characterized the history of American suburbia—then so might the politics on the ground, swirling about the development.¹¹

might referring to this particular state—and earlier discussion of what presumably was the trend he discusses here on p. 213, see—in order of pages as they appear in the study—Findlay, 209-201, 213. And, for Sturgeon, see Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 238-41, cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 87; Sturgeon, 87 (quotation). And although not discussed in suburban terms, Findlay’s citing of “homeowners’ and taxpayers’ associations” presumably shares overlap, if not representing more directly same or similar forms of political involvement, with ideas and issues explored in relatively recent historical scholarship on politics and housing—discussed below in my Introduction. See Findlay, 200. And a period account used the language of “special suburb” in its coverage of the retirement community. See Andrew H. Malcolm, “Leisure Suburb for Elderly Thriving at Sun City, Ariz.,” *New York Times*, March 24, 1974. And, as observations from an important account that first shaped some of my thinking on Sun City invoked a “suburban” comparison as well: George and Louise Spindler, “Foreword” to Jacobs, *Fun City*, vi. For Jacobs himself on the community’s partly “suburban” resemblance, see Jacobs, 1. For yet another, in relation to Sun City Center in Florida, for “suburban-looking resort town,” see also FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 204.

Next, for “Levittown” comparisons, Findlay, for example, writes near the beginning of his case study of Sun City: “On the surface the subdivision may have resembled a young Levittown—a flat, uninspiring tract offering modest, mass-produced houses.” Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 160. Invoking the “Levittown” framework as well is an account by Jon Teaford: Jon C. Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution: The Rise of Post-Urban America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 109. Additionally, Philip VanderMeer writes: “DEVCO, the subsidiary responsible for Sun City, envisioned the community as a relatively inexpensive settlement for retired persons – a Maryvale or *Levittown for the elderly*.” See VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67 (emphasis added). For reference to “tiny Levittown-style houses” in another Marc Freedman account, see Marc Freedman, *Encore: Finding Work that Matters in the Second Half of Life* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2007), 51. In fact, William Levitt like Webb—or Webb like Levitt—had appeared on the cover of *Time* earlier. See Levitt on front cover, *Time*, July 3, 1950. For another important account that I utilize below mentioning coverage, see that discussed in the study of Richard Longstreth: “Up from the Potato Fields,” *Time* 56 (July 3, 1950): 67-72, quoted and cited in Richard Longstreth, “The Levitts, Mass-Produced Houses, and Community Planning in the Mid-Twentieth Century” in Dianne Harris, *Second Suburb: Levittown, Pennsylvania*, ed. Diane Harris (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 146. And on history of, see, for example, Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 234-237.

Finally, to be sure, this note is not necessarily exhaustive of the accounts from which I depart and otherwise utilize dealing with Sun City-as-suburb, as I identify and cite other important accounts—dealing with Sun City and not—later. And, importantly as well, closely related comparison and framing in relation to Del Webb as a developer and of Sun City not necessarily as a suburb but as a *residential development* is discussed in a later section of my Introduction—as well as in my Chapter 4. Other accounts utilized in this respect not dealing directly with Sun City, such as literature on the history of “new towns,” cited later, offer useful frameworks for my purposes of thinking about Sun City-as-suburb in different ways—and overall—in their attention to and analysis of the extents to which such communities defined themselves in relation to and attempted to move beyond suburban communities. See my citing and discussing of literature later in my Introduction.

¹¹ For “Levittown” comparisons, see again accounts cited in the above note. In terms of politics, in the following sections, I discuss and cite important, relatively recent scholarship in political history and urban and suburban history that has shaped my thinking here and throughout this dissertation, along with accounts dealing with Sun City, Arizona.

This dissertation explores the history of retirement and retirement communities in the second half of the twentieth century. As a community study of Sun City, Arizona, and the subsequently developed Sun City West in the late 1970s, this project focuses in particular on the creation of a political culture informed by and revolving around retirement as expressed through the built environment—of the retirement community as an urban form, socially and spatially defined—and, to a greater extent, in the interplay of developers, grassroots political activism, and overriding understandings and practices of citizenship.¹² It examines how such understandings and practices of retirement

12 There are a variety of excellent scholarly accounts of Sun City, Arizona, which examine the history and significance of the retirement community, and which discuss events and issues that I discuss below and in this project more broadly. While specific pages and/or passages are cited in the body of this dissertation, for these accounts see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 160-213; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town.’” Another important work, published while this dissertation already was in progress, and therefore not directly engaged with, is a recent book: Judith Trolander, *From Sun Cities to the Villages: A History of Active Adult, Age-Restricted Communities* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2011). I do, however, bring Trolander’s book into my project in several instances, noting her historiographical framing and relying on her analysis of events in Sun City in my Chapter 7 and Epilogue. For other histories including, to varying degrees, Sun City, see, for example, Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 205-8; Gary Cross, *An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 188-89; Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 108-9, 110-11, 112; VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67; Philip VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 212-14; Findlay, presumably in what was *Magic Lands*, cited in Carl Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier: Cities in the Modern American West* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1993), 70, 212; Abbott, 68, 70; Hal Rothman, *Neon Metropolis: How Las Vegas Started the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 154-55, which appears in a chapter dealing with retirement, “The Face of the Future,” in *Neon Metropolis*, 149-73; Schulman, *The Seventies*, 87. More popular works dealing in part with Sun City include Freedman, *Prime Time*, 32-74, esp. 32-33, 34-40, 54-74; Jane Freeman and Glenn Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee, 1960-1985: A History of Sun City, Arizona* ([Sun City, Arizona]: Sun City Historical Society, 1984); Margaret Finnerty and Tara Blanc and Jessica McCann, *Del Webb: A Man, A Company*, 2nd ed. (1991; Phoenix, Arizona: Heritage Publishers, Inc., 1999), 71-85, 88. While Finnerty is listed as the primary author in this edition, the others are described on title page in the following way: “Second edition text by Tara Blanc and Jessica McCann.” For brevity, while also acknowledging role of apparent additional authors, authorship hereafter referred to as Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann. For another account, see Sun City, Arizona, as discussed in Blechman, *Leisureville*. And for a more period and important account that I utilize in different ways throughout my project, see Calvin Trillin, “A Reporter at Large: Wake up and Live,” *New Yorker*, April 4, 1964, 120-177, piece first cited, for instance, in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 176, and Sturgeon, 80, 89. Note: this range of pages includes advertisements and some full-page advertisements as well and thus is not entirely text pertaining to the piece itself. Copy accessed at different points in time via <http://www.newyorker.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/archive> (last accessed September 10, 2015.) Copy also presumably available in “NEW YORKER April 1964” folder, in “MAGAZINES” drawer, SCAHS. On Sturgeon’s use of Trillin, an important document upon which I, too, rely at different points, see Sturgeon, 5. For other secondary accounts on Trillin, see, for example, Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 206; Arax and Wartzman, *King of California*, 305; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 60. Both Calhoun and Freedman utilize

citizenship were shaped and marketed by the state and private sector, and how they politicized and engaged retired Americans themselves over a variety of issues involving not only income and employment but also housing—meaning that retirement politics thus literally took place, tied to and rooted in the political economy of metropolitan America. Through the efforts of the developer and through those of retired residents at the grassroots pursuing and defending policies at the local, state, and national levels, the promotion and securing of the rights of retirement—particularly in relation to property taxes and age-restrictive zoning benefiting retirement-community residents—ultimately

and discuss Trillin’s account elsewhere in their accounts as well—the pages above, therefore, are not comprehensive in their use of this piece—and I cite these accounts as citing Trillin in my project as needed.

Although focusing on the Sun City development in Florida, though briefly discussing Arizona, but nonetheless mentioning Arizona while also providing an important contribution, and one upon which I rely at different points in my project, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 203-245, including 214 for Sun City, Arizona. For scholarly work on other Sun City and retirement developments, see also Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 169, 172, 173, 176, 195, 207-8, 211; Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier*, 68, 70. Discussion elsewhere has provided an early framework as well. For example, for “nationwide chains such as Leisure World and Sun City,” see Edward J. Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder, *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1997, 1999), 39. Here, they are discussing “the retirement community” as a subset of sorts of “lifestyle communities” examined in their study. See again 39. And for broader discussions of such forms, see also 39-40; “Gates to Paradise: Lifestyle Communities” in Blakely and Snyder, 46-73. For “original Del Webb developments” and historical role, see 46. For Leisure World and discussion of significance of, see also 4, 49. And even if their chronological focus of their study does not correspond entirely—at least not exclusively—with that of my project here, it nonetheless provides background and also a framework of trends, whether applied or more in theory. For their apparent focus, see, in particular, 38. And for broader narrative trajectory, see also 1, 4-5. However, for other discussion involving an earlier chronology, see, for example, 4. And, although not specified, nonetheless relevant if referring to the Arizona Sun City or others in—for example—“original Del Webb retirement developments,” see also 46. Furthermore, for discussion utilizing chronological windows starting at earlier points, see 47, 49.

Meanwhile, and no less importantly, for work on the history of retirement in Florida, see, for example, Lee Irby, “Taking out the Trailer Trash: The Battle over Mobile Homes in the St. Petersburg, Florida,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (Fall 2000): 181-200; Gary R. Mormino, “Old Folks at Home: The Graying of Florida,” in *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2005), 123-48; Otis, “Everything Old is New Again.” For discussion dealing with housing, more specifically, see **[DM—ADD in for the two above]**. And for Otis on housing in her study, see, for instance, her excellent chapter dealing with housing: Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years: The Realities of Life on the Retirement Frontier,” 66-134. And for discussion involving, directly or indirectly, housing, including the factor of migration, elsewhere in her study, also see Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 41-48, 48-50, 52-57, 57-62. For brief discussion of Florida and elsewhere, also see Findlay, 167, 169; Abbott, 68. In my discussion of historiography in the following section, and throughout the dissertation, I explain or note at different points ways in which I utilize, elaborate on, and/or diverge from accounts above.

played out along lines of age and class, setting residents of Sun City apart from not only each other but also both younger and older Americans in metropolitan Phoenix and across the nation.¹³

All (Retirement) Politics is Local

In studying the political culture of retirement and retirement communities, this dissertation borrows from and engages with scholarship in political, urban, and cultural history. Specifically, it seeks to connect various literatures spanning the histories of retirement, suburbia, and consumer culture. At the core of the analytical and methodological threads used in patching together these literatures are cultural and political configurations of age, space, and citizenship—relationships that took shape and played out on the ground in the form of “retirement housing” and, in particular, retirement communities.¹⁴

13 My use of “rights of retirement” and similar expressions in this project is based in part on Findlay’s own expression of the “right to retire” represented by the old-age dimension/s of Social Security, though my project frames and analyzes this within the “rights” discourse of new waves of scholarship in political and urban history, detailed below. For Findlay quotation here, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 165.

14 My view and usage of “retirement housing”—like “retirement development”—is deliberate, and—as my study treats it—carries different meanings and exists in relation to different contexts. The latter can be seen as a subset of the former. More specifically, I use the former for residential environments in a more general sense—as housing for older Americans *in* retirement. And here, this involves addressing housing on different levels and in different respects—issues of affordability and the built environment, for example. This was separate from housing at a collective level, which is more demonstrated in the latter. Although not limited *only* to such development—I also discuss “homebuilding for retirement” for private, industry-developed housing—my focus, in particular, is on retirement development as consciously developed *for* retirement. And, retirement development involved retirement *developments*, as places, and which—in efforts of at least some developers—pulled together *multiple* older, or retired, families and amenities, with all that these aspects entailed politically, in an environment characterized by what Findlay calls “a conscious thematic orientation.” For examples of “retirement housing” as used by different period accounts/perspectives, see—for example—language in title of the following: Irving Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration” in *Social and Psychological Aspects of Aging*, ed. Clark Tibbitts and Wilma Donahue (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 327-340. A piece with the same title but published elsewhere (Irving Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” *Gerontologist* 1 (June 1961)) first cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 198. Rosow here—the same article—also cited in another discussion/s I draw on in my project: Rosow, discussed and cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 201. And later in the chapter in which this appears, Calhoun cites other Rosow work: Rosow, *The Social Integration of the Aged*, 212. And later in this Introduction and at other points in my project, I

Historical scholarship produced over the last several decades dealing with old age in the modern United States has focused on various issues and areas central to the experience and politics of retirement. Scholars often have concentrated on questions involving income, reflected in various excellent accounts that discuss and detail the creation of Social Security in the 1930s, its expanding of coverage, and the rising and falling of support and program benefits—real or proposed—in accordance with political and ideological tides.¹⁵ As a result, the history of old age becomes—at least in part—the history of Social Security and other programs and efforts at the federal level.¹⁶

utilize Rosow's work both here and elsewhere. And while the following document might use such language or terminology as well, see this for examples of "retirement development," as well as others of "residential development"—whether more broadly or not, in this particular context—and also "retirement residential" among various "development elements: ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 10 (first quotation). This appears in "HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PANEL'S REPORT." For other quotations, see ULI, 27 (second quotation); J.R. Ashton, "The Phoenix Area – Factors in Its Present and Prospective Outlook" in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, app. B, 75 (last quotations). And for Findlay above as well, "Sun City, Arizona," 160.

¹⁵ See, for example, the following accounts, specific pages of which I cite at different points later in this project: W. Andrew Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray: Old Age, American Values, and Federal Policies since 1920* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1983). Achenbaum, *Social Security: Visions and Revisions* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Edward D. Berkowitz, *America's Welfare State: From Roosevelt to Reagan* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Lawrence Alfred Powell, Kenneth J. Branco, and John B. Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement: Framing the Policy Debate in American*, Social Movements Past and Present, ed. Irwin T. Sanders (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), also cited in work of Katie Otis: Otis, "'Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention': Reexamining the Senior Power Movement through Retirees' Correspondence with Congressman Claude Pepper and Senator George Smathers," 145. For another recent account, see also Daniel Béland, *Social Security: History and Politics from the New Deal to the Privatization Debate* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2005). On discriminatory aspects of Social Security, see, for example, Jill Quadagno, "From Old-Age Assistance to Supplemental Security Income: The Political Economy of Relief in the South, 1935-1972" in *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States*, ed. Margaret Weir, Anna Shola Orloff, and Theda Skocpol (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), 238; overview in Thomas J. Sugrue, "All Politics is Local: The Persistence of Localism in Twentieth-Century America" in *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History*, ed. Meg Jacobs, William J. Novak, and Julian E. Zelizer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 310; Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 23. For background of legislative changes up to those in 1950s, see Quadagno, 256-60; Béland, 120, 120-21, 121, 126; Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 39.

However, on the recent state of relevant historiography as lacking, see the following. See, for example, the excellent discussion by Katie Otis in Otis, "Everything Old is New Again," 5-7. Here, Otis quotes and cites work by Andrew Achenbaum, who offers an important perspective in another account, too: W. Andrew Achenbaum, review of *Aging in the Past: Demography, Society, and Old Age*, ed. David Kertzer and Peter Laslett (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1995), in *Journal of Social History* 30, no. 2 (Winter 1996): 538, quoted in Otis, 5-6; W. Andrew Achenbaum, "Facing up to Janus," *Journal of Aging Studies* 22, no. 2 (April 2008): 187-188. On trajectory of the historiography in the European case, see Susannah R. Ottaway, "Conclusion: Old Age as a Useful Category of Historical

In his important study of the creation of retirement specifically, historian William Graebner deals with not only income but also the politics of employment. But in arguing that Social Security actively promoted retirement, helping to carrying out the economic and political agendas of different parties, his focus revolves around a retirement/non-retirement dichotomy rather than incorporating—and treating as legitimate—other dimensions of the culture and politics of older, post-laboring ages.¹⁷ Overall, historians and others have adopted such emphases understandably, and rightly so, given what very likely were pressing, enduring questions involving the financial and physical well-being of older Americans in the twentieth century. Financial matters, for instance, might even have determined the very viability of retirement.¹⁸

This project seeks to explore the history of retirement on the ground, beyond the arenas of income and employment. To be sure, scholars have discussed aging in relation

Analysis” in *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 277-279. And here, Ottaway cite another Achenbaum account: W.A. Achenbaum, afterword to *Handbook of the Aging and Humanities*, ed. Thomas R. Cole, Robert Kastenbaum, and Ruth R. Ray (New York: Springer Publishing Company, 2000), 419-431, cited in Ottaway, 277.

16 In the following accounts, for example, programs like Social Security occupy a central place in the narrative of old age in more modern times. For those of Andrew Achenbaum, see W. Andrew Achenbaum, *Old age in the New Land: The American Experience since 1790* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*. For another example of this, see Carole Haber and Brian Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security: An American Social History* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994). For other accounts by scholars in other disciplines, see Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*; James H. Schulz and Robert H. Binstock, *Aging Nation: The Economics and Politics of Growing Older in America* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2006; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008). There is good reason for such emphasis, and my positioning of my work should not be seen as an attempt to negate such work.

17 I discuss Graebner’s arguments and important contributions to the literature in greater detail in Part I. For Graebner here, however, see Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, esp. 181-214. For examples of accounts overviewing age and employment discrimination in employment, specifically in relation to evolving—particularly at the federal level—legislation, see Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 103, 117; Howard P. Chudacoff, *How Old Are You? Age Consciousness in American Culture* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), 174-76; Graebner, 237-38, 245-46. For accounts by scholars in other disciplines, see also Schulz and Binstock, *Aging Nation*, 158; Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 140-41.

18 Here, Dora Costa writes: “Retirement requires income, whether in the form of state-provided retirement or disability benefits, private pensions, income from other family members, or assets.” Dora L. Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement: An American Economic History, 1880-1990* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 32.

to issues involving housing. They have done so, for example, from the standpoint of family politics—specifically, the trend and sustaining of free-standing households across generations.¹⁹ And the overall trend towards aging parents and younger generations living under different roofs, in households of their own, historians have explained, flowed from finances. An important aspect of Social Security, as Carole Haber and Brian Gratton explain, was its capacity ultimately to allow for what they describe at one point as “a longstanding preference of most individuals to live autonomously.”²⁰ Scholarship, particularly Haber and Gratton’s account, also has addressed housing from the standpoint of homeownership, pointing to the way in which the latter factored into—and relatively so—the overall finances of older Americans.²¹ Other work, meanwhile, has treated

19 For example, see early work of Davis Hackett Fischer: Fischer, *Growing Old in America: The Bland-Lee Lectures Delivered at Clark University*, expanded ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 146-48. See also Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 70-72, esp. 71, 159. For trends going further back in time, see Fischer, 54-56, esp. 56. Also, for mentions of federal housing policy towards older Americans, though I discuss and cite different efforts in greater depth in Part I, see Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 90, 95, 96, 117; Chudacoff, *How Old Are You?*, 180. For efforts of interest groups, see also 179-80. In his case study of Sun City, Arizona, Findlay provides an important overview of such changes over much of the twentieth century: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170. In my Chapter 1, I cite other scholarship dealing with “independence” and the housing of older Americans as well in different contexts. In the meantime, for seemingly more general treatments of, see the following. For Findlay, who also discusses “independence,” whether in this sense or another sense, see—in the interim—Findlay, 161. And for later discussion of, see also 208. And as another secondary account, for Achenbaum on “independence” more generally, see also 20. Also, postwar discussion of the “problems” facing older Americans extended to issues of “housing and living arrangements” as well. See Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 308. Related issues discussed by Tibbitts and others are elaborated upon in Part I.

20 Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 20-47, esp. 43-45 (quotation 45) and 46-47, 170, 171, 181, 184-85. For useful summary of Gratton’s work, see Brian Gratton, *Urban Elders: Family, Work, and Welfare among Boston’s Aged, 1890-1950* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 5-6, 19-25, 166-73, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 7. On the changing relationship of family and housing, including the role of income and other factors, also see Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 1, 2, 2-3, 25-26, 106-30, esp. 106-7, 107-16, 128-29, and 130. For earlier discussion, see Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 152. In Part I of this dissertation, I also utilize and cite work of demographer Steven Ruggles. See discussion in my Chapter 1.

21 For example, see discussion of work in Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 84. For what appears to be the broader context here, in discussing “wealth,” see also 82-84 (quotation 82). And, for historical perspective of, see also 80. For another account discussing trend and relative results, and in historical perspectives, see Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 15-16. Here, Costa also cites the work of Haber and Gratton. See Haber and Gratton, 71, cited in Costa, 16. On homeownership as financial factor elsewhere, see also discussion by Schulman in Schulman, *The Seventies*, 85. As I discuss below, home ownership—and, more specifically, home equity—had important implications in procuring new housing in retirement, particularly from the perspective of the homebuilding industry.

retirement housing and related issues more directly and fully, particularly in terms of residential developments organized—however specifically—around retirement.²²

Engaging these and other issues, this project in particular focuses on the residential history of retirement—or the history of retirement from a residential perspective. In looking at the relationship among aging, space, and social and political relations, discussion and analysis in this dissertation depends upon and utilizes a scale of analysis of which historian Thomas Sugrue argues in favor in a piece titled “All Politics is Local” in a 2003 edited collection.²³ “Twentieth-century American state building rested on an uneasy tension between center and locality,” he writes. “The fates of the

22 For a study discussing retirement housing itself—and such issues—somewhat generally and also retirement communities like, and including, Sun City, Arizona, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 113-14, 201-12. For work of Katie Otis relevant here, including different types of retirement housing, see 41-48, 48-50, 52-57, 57-62; Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” in “Everything Old is New Again,” 66-134. And although Irby’s work addresses housing in relation to issues of affordability as well as local politics while discussing housing in relation to developments involving retirement and retirees, Irby, “Taking out the Trailer Trash,” 181-200. While I cite the relevance here in relation to tax politics, for affordability here see specifically 181, 188, 189-90, 194. And for nature seemingly as developments to at least some extent serving older or retired residents, see, for instance, 181, 189. Finally, and no less importantly, various other accounts also focus on retirement developments or communities, doing so within a spectrum ranging from brief overviews to much more comprehensive treatments. For example, see Fischer, *Growing Old in America*, 148-49; Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 26-27; Chudacoff, *How Old Are You?* 167, 180-81; Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 160-213; Trolander, *From Sun Cities to the Villages*. Findlay and Trolander, of course, deal extensively with Sun City, Arizona. Trolander, for instance, takes the more specific focus of “active adult communities” in her study: Trolander, *From Sun Cities to the Villages*, 7-9 (quotation 7). And for Frances FitzGerald’s more popular, but nonetheless important and insightful, study of Sun City Center, Florida, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 203-45. Additionally, there is some scholarship on older Americans and *public* housing specifically. See, for example, Lawrence M. Friedman, “Public Housing and the Poor” in *Housing Urban America*, ed. Jon Pynoos, Robert Schafer, and Chester W. Hartman (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1973), 454, first cited in Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 239; Lawrence J. Vale, *From the Puritans to the Projects: Public Housing and Public Neighbors* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000), 285-90. Otis provides an important discussion of public housing, too: Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 94-103, esp. 96, 98-100. For Schulman on different housing, including Sun City, Arizona, see Schulman, *The Seventies*, 84, 86, 87. Here, he presumably is citing FitzGerald: FitzGerald, 210, cited in Schulman, 87. Overall, the inclusion of *all* discussion of housing for older Americans in my discussion here is not exhaustive but rather attempts to address work that mentions retirement housing in some substantive way. Below I discuss and note ways in which my framing differs from the above, specifically in terms of an explicit engagement with new work in political and suburban history.

23 For chapter, see Sugrue, “All Politics is Local,” 301-326. The title of this section of my Introduction is borrowed from the title of Sugrue’s piece here and modified for my purposes at this point in my discussion of relevant literature in order to convey and emphasize one important way in which I attempt to frame and explore the history of retirement housing and, in particular, retirement communities.

New Deal and the Great Society were to a great extent determined by local public officials and their constituents. To understand the peculiarities of America's liberal state requires that we bring the local back in."²⁴ Viewed within such a framework, federal policies dealing with retirement might have had "local" dimensions or implications as well.

For instance, Social Security—specifically old-age insurance—perhaps was “consumed locally” in relation to housing and housing markets.²⁵ As both primary and secondary historical accounts utilized in this dissertation suggest, increased means via Social Security drew the attention of the private sector by the 1960s and of the homebuilding industry, specifically, as industry thinking apparently viewed added income as representing added prospective homebuyers. Writing in relation to the nursing-home industry, historian W. Andrew Achenbaum notes, “An analogous argument about the indirect effects of old-age legislation on the housing industry and other commercial enterprises might also be made.”²⁶ Additionally, several studies—and two focusing on Sun City—discuss or provide evidence on the role of Social Security,

24 Sugrue, “All Politics is Local,” 302. And, he writes earlier: “Despite the irrefutable expansion of central government power, particularly in the executive branch, one of the most distinctive features of the twentieth-century American state remains the persistence of localism” (301).

25 For quotation, see Sugrue, “All Politics is Local,” 304. Although Sugrue does not identify Social Security—or, more specifically, old-age insurance—in the context of the discussion from which this comes, it might fit within his point here, whether this would have been his intention or not. For discussion, see 303-4. At the same time, old-age insurance differed from at least some of the “government-provided goods and services” he lists, particularly those presumably falling under the broader Social Security umbrella that he addresses later in the piece. See, in order, 303-304 (quotation 303-304), 309-310. For example, he writes: “Of the programs created by the Social Security Act, only old age insurance was administered centrally” (310). The different accounts cited below, of course, have made connections between housing and such resources well before my own, although my goal here is to frame any relevant connections in terms of the work of Sugrue and also—as I discuss later in this section—of other scholarship.

26 See Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 151, 214n22 (quotation). Sugrue makes a perhaps similar point—of the implications for the private sector—in discussing public housing: “Federal spending on public housing directly benefited local interests. Representatives of the real estate industry, major construction firms, and building-trades unions sat on many public housing authority boards and lobbied local elected officials for contracts.” See Sugrue, “All Politics is Local,” 309. And, to be sure, later in my Introduction I discuss accounts on financial factors from the standpoint of *developers*.

specifically, and other resources in securing retirement housing.²⁷ For its part, this dissertation seeks to add such accounts by reviewing additional evidence in relation to Social Security, as well as discussing the role of such factors as home equity.²⁸

27 For one, see discussion in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 196, 203, 204, 205, 208-9. The evidence on p. 196 includes “social security,” as does that on p. 204, while the source which he cites for p. 203, viewed directly, also speaks of “prospective beneficiaries of social security,” and earlier in the same passage of “the recent extension of pension plans,” thus perhaps providing additional evidence of the role of Social Security here. For source on p. 203, see American Public Health Association, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, *Housing the Aging* (New York: American Public Health Association, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, 1953), 43, first cited in Calhoun, 203. And for Social Security and consumption more broadly, see evidence from Wilbur J. Cohen and Richard Pelzman as discussed in Calhoun, 198. For another account, Findlay in his study of Webb and Sun City writes, for example: “The company figured that the growing financial benefits received by retirees would increase their purchasing power substantially.” See Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 172. And while this does not specifically mention Social Security, he might have been referring to it nonetheless in light of the context of earlier discussion. For Social Security here, see 165-66. And for additional evidence, of “growing financial independence,” see also Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 4. For another, and in relation to Sun City, see that of Marc Freedman’s discussion of Sun City, Arizona, which addresses Social Security and other resources: Freedman, *Prime Time*, 35-36, 63. More specifically, he cites Social Security, for example, on p. 35, whether it is in reference to Webb strategy or not. And on p. 63 he cites government pensions” as part of an important point about Webb piggybacking that I address at later points in my project and that, in light of the reference above, might have been referring to Social Security here. Finally, although a study of Phoenix and not Sun City exclusively, Philip VanderMeer does in his excellent history cite Social Security and homebuilding in discussing the history of the retirement community, among other factors: VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 210.

And finally, in her work on retirement in Florida, Katie Otis provides evidence on the strategic positioning by the homebuilding industry, as well: Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 45-46. While at later points in my project, I again cite Otis’s work where there are parallels with mine involving financial implications, particularly involving economic development linked to retirement, here her discussion also involves citing a document—or version of a document—that I also utilize in my project. See discussion of the American Plywood Association, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market: A Cyclopedic of Market Facts, Buyer Preferences, Design Features and Community Planning, Financing, Construction, and Merchandising Idea* (American Plywood Association, 1961), sec. I, 1, 4, cited in Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 45-46. Although this material, as cited, does not explicitly deal with Social Security, part of it does: Douglas Fir Plywood Association (DFPA), *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market: A Cyclopedic of Market Fact, Buyer Preferences, Design Features and Community Planning, Financing, Construction, Merchandising Ideas* (Tacoma, Washington: Douglas Fir Plywood Association, 1961), sec. I, 4. The first reference I saw to the DFPA’s involvement with homebuilding for retirement involved its “demonstration house” project, which I discuss in my Chapter 2, is discussed in Joseph C. Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook: A Complete Planning Guide to Your Future*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 87-88 (quotation 88). Mentions of its subsequent project, what presumably became the *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, meanwhile, appeared, for example, in “Retirement Housing Offers Great Business Possibilities,” *Practical Builder* 26, no. 1 (January 1960): 151; “Plywood Casts Its Eye on Retirement Housing” *Business Week*, December 10, 1960, 82, 83. For other accounts incorporating DFPA, see that cited in Otis, in addition to above, in Otis, 45n111. And for Otis using other material elsewhere, which I cite in my Chapter 2, see also Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 68-69. For other mention of the DFPA elsewhere, in citing other material for his discussion, see also Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 205, esp. 215n20.

28 In Chapter 2, I provide and discuss evidence of the homebuilding industry on Social Security in this respect. In Chapter 3, I discuss Webb on housing, including what presumably would become Medicare. And in terms of home equity, Findlay mentions in relation Sun City specifically the trend of “cash” sales:

Social Security possibly played out on the ground in another respect. Scholars have illuminated and explained the dynamics within the social-welfare state, particularly the creation of categories of citizenship both of empowerment and of marginalization. Privileging some over others, Social Security stressed and operated on the centrality of work, or of having worked, in setting the terms of inclusion and the corresponding benefits—for those, of course, not written out of the legislation by policymakers. Theda Skocpol has explained, for instance, that “in practical political rhetoric, Americans make a sharp conceptual and evaluative distinction between ‘social security’ and ‘welfare.’” Specifically, she continues: “*Social Security* refers to old-age insurance and the associated programs of survivors’, disability, and medical coverage for the elderly; and these programs are seen as sacred governmental obligations to deserving workers who have paid for them through ‘contributions’ over their working lifetimes. *Welfare*, by contrast, is often discussed as a set of governmental ‘handouts’ to barely deserving poor

Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 182. For Freedman here, see Freedman, *Prime Time*, 35. For his part, Calhoun does mention home equity—or “a paid-off mortgage”—though not apparently in relation to the previously cited discussion. See evidence from a “report” in 1960s discussed in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 255. And for same or similar feature discussed more generally in the work of Lizabeth Cohen, which I discuss and cite later as well, see relevant discussion of the efforts of “the ‘maturity media’” in Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 322. Additional evidence on home equity in relation to industry concerns appears in my Chapter 2. And while not the same discussion as in Chapter 2 in terms of industry strategy over home equity, the trend of cash sales of homes in Sun City—perhaps flowing from home equity—is discussed and cited in Chapter 3. Additionally, for secondary literature addressing homeownership, even if not explicitly tying to home “equity” nonetheless apparently financial factors, see again, for example, Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 84; Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 15; Schulman, *The Seventies*, 85. Note: A few pages earlier, Haber and Gratton do speak of “home equity.” See Haber and Gratton, 82. Perhaps relevant here, particularly in relation to Freedman’s account, is Sugrue’s discussion of efforts on the part of the federal government boosting homeownership—efforts that ultimately might have paved the way for the home equity discussed by Freedman, not to mention his reference to “cheap housing loans after World War II” as well. For Sugrue, see in particular, Sugrue, “All Politics is Local,” 307-308, esp. 308. And for Sugrue citing area of “housing” within his framework, see 303-304, esp. 304 (quotation). And for point of as “consumed locally” perhaps relevant for my purposes here, see again 304. And finally, for Freedman again, including the quotation above, see Freedman, *Prime Time*, 35.

people who may be trying to avoid honest employment—trying to get something for nothing.”²⁹

Similar ideas appeared in relation to housing, where public policies and practices were no less ideological and no less political. More specifically, scholarship has pointed to the divergence between public housing and public housing *for older Americans* in the postwar period due to different factors.³⁰ While such accounts might identify and include

29 For quotation, see Theda Skocpol, “The Limits of the New Deal System and the Roots of Contemporary Welfare Dilemmas” in *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States*, ed. Margaret Weir, Ann Shola Orloff, and Theda Skocpol (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), 296. For full context of quotation here, see 295-96. For this “bifurcation” as it played out in *policy* over time, see 296-98 (quotation 296). On ideology surrounding Social Security, including in relation to the American social-welfare state, see also, for example, Skocpol and G. John Ikenberry, “The Road to Social Security,” in Theda Skocpol, *Social Policy in the United States: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995), 136-38, 162, 165; Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), ix-x, 234-35, 236, 238-39, 247, 267; Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989), 15-16, 68, 69, 75, 79, 101-2, 102-3, 112-13. For a useful overview, see also Lisa Levenstein, “Deserving/Undeserving Poor” in *Poverty in the United States: An Encyclopedia of History, Politics, and Policy*, vol. 1: A-K, ed. Gwendolyn Mink and Alice O’Connor (Santa Barbara, California: ABC CLIO, 2004), 226-27, 228; Sugrue, “All Politics is Local,” 309-10; Jonathan Oberlander, *The Political Life of Medicare* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 79; also work of Achenbaum as discussed and cited in Sturgeon: W. Andrew Achenbaum, “the Elderly’s Social Security Entitlements as a Measure of Modern American Life” in *Old Age in a Bureaucratic Society: The Elderly, the Experts, and the State in American History*, ed. David Van Tassel and Peter N. Stearns (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 157-60, and Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 24, 120, cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 9. And for a particularly succinct, and recent, summary of this, see also Molly C. Michelmore, *Tax and Spend: The Welfare State, Tax Politics, and the Limits of American Liberalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2012), 154. Reflecting this, and seemingly suggesting the political significance and momentum of modern old-age politics, several aging experts collaborating in the early 1960s wrote of how “a fundamental difference in social role and status accrues between recipients of ‘pensions’ meted out in the form of welfare recipients under conditions of proved destitution and recipients of retirement benefits or retirement pension which accrue as *rights* of all member of a class defined as retired persons It matters not what the precise definition or requirement of retirement is—by age, by labor-force participation, or by physical condition—the significant element is that it is retirement that is being defined as a social position and not financial dependency in old age.” For quotation, including in its entirety, see Wilma Donahue, Harold L. Orbach, and Otto Pollak, “Retirement: The Emerging Social Pattern” in *Handbook of Social Gerontology*, ed. Clark Tibbitts (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), 342, piece first cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 165; Otis, “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,’” 158. Also cited elsewhere in Otis: Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 24. Andy Achenbaum pointed me to what presumably was the Tibbitts collection above, among other relevant and useful collections, that I discuss and cite both at large and for specific articles in my project. In Part I, I cite important work on the history of Medicare and related themes relevant here. On Social Security as exclusionary, see, in addition to work cited earlier, Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*, 244; Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 75.

30 Friedman, “Public Housing and the Poor,” 452-54, esp. 453-54, again first cited in Wright, *Building the Dream*, 239; Vale, *From the Puritans to the Projects*, 266, 271, 285, 286. Vale, too, cites the work of

the role of work in the equation adding up to the rise of the former, other evidence and analysis in this dissertation confirms the presence of the language of the agency of older persons in public housing, as well as elsewhere.³¹ And while this evidence itself might pertain more to effort in terms of the individual rather than in collective terms, there existed a logic at the very least paralleling that of Social Security.³² Furthermore, matters of property taxes and of practices at the state, county, and municipal level involving age-restricted communities were very much locally oriented in scope and nature, whether contained in ways within Sugrue's framework or not. Although perhaps existing outside of the historiographical focus on Washington in the study of much of the welfare state for

Friedman on p. 286. While the above accounts as cited do not use the language of “deserves,” that of another scholar does, who did so in one account in addressing this very point: “It was not until the 1960s when public housing began to be viewed as permanent housing for low-income, primarily minority, residents that the elderly, viewed as the ‘deserving poor’ and a group in need of better housing, became a major constituency of the program.” See Jon Pynoos, “Housing Policy for the Elderly: Problems, Programs, and Politics” in *Services to the Aging and Aged: Public Policies and Programs*, ed. Paul K.H. Kim (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995), 100-101. For language elsewhere in his work, see also Jon Pynoos, “Linking Federally Assisted Housing with Services for Frail Older Persons,” *Journal of Aging & Social Policy* 4, nos. 3-4 (February 1993): 159; Pynoos and Tonya Parrott, “The Politics of Mixing Older Persons and Younger Persons with Disabilities in Federally Assisted Housing,” *The Gerontologist* 36, no. 4 (1996): 520; also, and not only public housing but seeming trend overall, see Pynoos and Christy M. Nishita, “The Changing Face of Senior Housing” in *The New Politics of Old Age Policy*, ed. Robert B. Hudson (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 244-46 (244 for language). While these accounts immediately above do not offer analysis—or extended analysis—of this important point, my discussion analysis, here and later, seek to move in this direction. More specifically, I return to the “deserving” theme in relation to retirement politics later in this Introduction and especially in Part I. For Sugrue on public housing within the framework he discusses, see Sugrue, “All Politics is Local,” 308-309. And for mention of “housing” in context of earlier discussion, see again 303-304, esp. 304 (quotation). In a note shortly below, however, I attempt to connect this point to Sugrue's framework in making the case of the “local” politics of older Americans.

31 In terms of the above accounts, Vale—after citing Friedman—writes of “a lifetime of hard work,” while Friedman himself writes, for example, of “honest working-class people.” See, in order, Vale, *From the Puritans to the Projects*, 286; Friedman, “Public Housing and the Poor,” 454.

32 I discuss this point in greater detail in Chapter 2. But more specifically, the case of public housing for older Americans might represent a hybrid or half-step of sorts. On one hand, the “local” orientation in different ways of public housing suggested that it adhered to general trends where relevant. On the other hand, accounts suggest that a logic of entitlement surrounding *older* Americans more resembled the thinking or rhetoric of Social Security—thus representing an attempt on my part to take a “local” look at housing for older Americans.

older Americans, these were vehicles where policies dealing with and politics surrounding retirement took place—in relation to housing.³³

Aging Suburbanization, Suburbanizing Aging

In accounting for how retirement played out in relation to housing and community, this project in particular considers the overlap with and influence of the politics of suburbia. As historian Matthew Lassiter has written, “A grassroots approach to political history, reveals that the partisan affiliations of voters as Republicans or Democrats has often mattered less than the populist identifications of suburban residents as homeowners, taxpayers, and schoolparents.”³⁴ And describing the analytical or

33 Putting this historiographical point another way, in accounts when policies and politics of retired and older Americans are discussed, it generally takes place at federal level and in relation to Social Security and other efforts. Here, see, for example, some of the previously cited work on Social Security and Medicare, particularly Achenbaum, *Social Security*; Berkowitz, *America's Welfare State*, esp. 13-87, 166-76.

34 See Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*, 7-8 (quotation 7). For Lassiter making same or similar points elsewhere, see also Matthew D. Lassiter, “The New Suburban History II: Political Culture and Metropolitan Space,” *Journal of Planning History* 4, no. 1 (February 2005): 76-77; Matthew D. Lassiter, “Suburban Strategies: The Volatile Center in Postwar American Politics” in *The New Democratic Experiment*, ed. Jacobs, Novak, and Zelizer, 327, 328-29. In the process, Lassiter here, for example, cites the work of Robert Self, among others, which also helps for my purposes—in exploring Sun City politics—to illustrate the centrality of homeownership and accompanying issues in the context of suburban politics: Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), cited in Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*, 7-8, 335n10. As Self himself explains, for example: “Homeowners were an occupationally varied lot: factory workers, public employees, carpenters, nurses, office workers, attorneys, merchants, home workers, and engineers. They were diverse in class background and place of origin,” historian Robert Self writes of “white homeowners” in his study of Oakland, California, “but the structure of the housing markets in which they entered in the postwar decades would begin to give them a common identity, to shape for them a set of concerns and interests that would unite more than divide them. These issues started with the concrete economics of taxes and home values.” For Self directly here, see Self, *American Babylon*, 98. While I frame my own discussion of events in Sun City in terms of such “issues” later, elsewhere in the chapter in which this appears he writes that “homeownership stood at the core of political identification” (99) and also of “the emergence of a political identity rooted in homeownership” (131). For same or similar discussion of the political identity involving homeownership elsewhere in Self, see also Self, 17. For other, perhaps relevant, discussion, see also 260, 293. On this idea of personal perspective, too, see also Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, 213, 254. Relatedly, on the place of homeownership in political culture, Tom Sugrue in his study of Detroit explains: “Homeowners welcomed government assistance; in fact by World War II, they began to view homeownership as a requisite of citizenship. Subsidized loans and mortgage guarantees, promised by New Deal legislation, became a fundamental right.” See Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, 1st Princeton Classic ed., with a new preface by the author

methodological tact scholars contained within, an overview from a recent edited collection, *The New Suburban History*, explains that “they take a broader metropolitan perspective, paying attention to the place of suburbs in political and economic relationships with central cities, competing suburbs, and their regions as a whole.”³⁵

(1996; repr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 62. For background of federal efforts, also see 60, 62.

And, offering a historiographical context, Sugrue writes, for example, of an evolving “history of grassroots mobilization around public policy” in his previously cited piece. See Sugrue, “All Politics is Local,” 305. Here, he cites, for instance, Robert Self’s study, which I note above, as well as two chapters from his study of Detroit. See, in order they appear Sugrue’s account, the following. First, see Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), as cited in Sugrue, “All Politics is Local,” 321n17. More specifically, Sugrue here cites his work as “esp. chap. 3 and 8” (321n17), which in 1996 edition are, in order, “‘The Coffin of Peace’: The Containment of Public Housing” and “‘Homeowners’ Rights’: White Resistance and the Rise of Antiliberalism” in Sugrue, *The Origin of the Urban Crisis* (1996), 57-88 and 209-229. Second, on Self, see Self, *American Babylon*, dated as “forthcoming,” as cited in Sugrue, “All Politics is Local,” 322n17. Lassiter, meanwhile, also cites Sugrue’s study of Detroit in his overview, too, in terms of relevant trends: Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* (1996) as cited in Lassiter, “The New Suburban History II,” 77. And on Sugrue elsewhere in this overview, see also 76. And for Lassiter on Sugrue elsewhere, see also Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* (1996) as cited in Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*, 7. For other work taking a grassroots perspective—and influential to my own project—see, for example, work of Lily Geismer. For her dissertation in its final form, see Lily D. Geismer, “Don’t Blame Us: Grassroots Liberalism in Massachusetts, 1960-1990” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2010). In particular, see “Fair Housing” in Geismer, “Don’t Blame Us,” 102-161. And for her since-published book, see Lily Geismer, *Don’t Blame Us: Suburban Liberals and the Transformation of the Democratic Party* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015). And for another excellent example of grassroots politics, see also Tamar W. Carroll, “Grassroots Feminism: Direction Action Organizing and Coalition Building in New York City, 1955-1995” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2007).

In terms of my work on Sun City, Arizona, my treatment of Sun City, Arizona, focus on more locally defined and based politics in the vein of the scholarship above. And a couple of studies on Sun City are quite useful in identifying and detailing the nature of the politics in the community—as “politically active,” according to one account. See Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 206; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 156-157 (quotation 156). Findlay, furthermore, does engage a local framework or frame of reference here. For material here discussing politics and what he goes on to discuss in school taxes, see 206-207. More broadly, see again 206-208. For relevant discussion, even if not framed as such, as subsequent material cited above here, see also 205-206. Here, in this particular material on politics on p. 206, Findlay also—like other accounts—discusses in terms of party affiliation, while some also mention the ideological slant of the community. Findlay, for example, writes: “Residents of the new town side overwhelmingly with the Republican Party (80 percent of them registered as Republicans, compared to about 50 percent of the state population), and acquired a reputation for selfish conservatism.” See Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 206. For other relevant accounts, see also Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 157; VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67. On the Florida Sun City community, see also FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 218. And in a period account, from Trillin, he writes that “it is generally agreed that there is a Republican—and conservative—dominance of about three to one.” See Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 148. While these accounts rightly address politics in this way, my concern again—per the frameworks and insights of recent historical work discussed and cited above—is on politics on the ground.

³⁵ Kevin M. Kruse and Thomas J. Sugrue, “Introduction: The New Suburban History” in *The New Suburban History*, ed. Kevin M. Kruse and Thomas J. Sugrue (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 5-6 (quotation 6). On the transformation of suburban history towards “metropolitan” history, see

Given the methodological and analytical ground staked out in such work, this project explores the grassroots activism of older Americans.³⁶ And, when the political culture of residents in “retirement” developments is viewed through a suburban lens, the older political subject bears striking similarities with the homeowner. For example, “Sun Citizens” tended to resist paying school taxes to the local school district in the 1960s and 1970s, as residents of Sun City West did to their respective school district in the 1970s and 1980s, suggesting how the case of Sun City can be viewed within a framework of taxpayer politics—and also “metropolitan” politics.³⁷ Retirees also opposed the

also, Lassiter, “The New Suburban History II,” 75-77. For overview of recent work in suburban history, see Kruse and Sugrue, 1-10.

³⁶ While Graebner’s account focuses on the top-down construction of retirement, and not just from policy elites but in the efforts of other participants, it runs the risk of precluding the political in several ways. Tied to the above discussion of retirement housing within literatures on retirement and entitlements, ideology and politics were not limited to the practice of retirement and its imposing on the populace but rather could play out over issues involving housing and questions of political economy at the local level. Additionally, the top-down emphasis does not allow for the perspective of activism from below nor the lens of the local level, where retirement politics certainly unfolded. Overall, rather than depoliticizing older Americans, an approach following in the footsteps of the new wave of work in urban and political history ultimately suggests that and how retirement could be quite politicizing. For leisure culture of retirement, discussed and cited in chapter 1 of this project, see, for example, Graebner, *A History of Retirement* 227-34. However, my study is not the first to take a bottom-up approach to and look at retirement politics. First, John Findlay discusses the political nature of Sun City and politics on the ground. He writes, for example, that “retirees hardly looked upon civic affairs with indifference.” And also, he writes: “The residents of Sun City were not voters or taxpayers to be trifled with.” For quotations, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 206. For “associations,” see 202, 206 (quotation). And for political efforts and thinking behind on part of residents in Sun City discussed at different points in his study, involving such “associations” or not, see 200, 202, 205, 206, 206-208. And for issue of incorporation, whether illustrating “politics” or not in his discussion here, see also 205-206. I return to some or all of the above at later points below in discussing the suburban nature of Sun City politics and suburbia at large. For Sturgeon here, including incorporation, see Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 105, 155-157. And for her work directly discussion “the Sun City Civic Association,” see also 125-126 (quotation 125). And for other activism, or efforts otherwise, on the part of residents in Sturgeon’s excellent study, including her discussion of the rise of the hospital, to which I return and utilize in my Chapter 3, and also in relation to another area, to which I return in my Chapter 6, see also 102-103, 127-131. And for other accounts on efforts involving, for example, what were efforts—informal or formal—presumably of incorporation and/or of age segregation: Blechman, *Leisureville*, 130; Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 153. Note: in my Introduction here and elsewhere, I cite various accounts *in addition* to scholarly ones when involving issues upon which I focus in my project—or similar issues—and when useful in identifying, making, or otherwise illuminating important ideas or points. In other words, I do not necessarily cite additional accounts for issues and events cited by Sturgeon’s work, immediately above, since such scholarship is sufficient for my purposes in acknowledging such issues and events given that those are not the focus of my work. Also note: I return to and cite other accounts that might involve grassroots activism in relation to *developers* in a later section of my Introduction. Therefore, see also such literature and sources cited there for yet additional scholarship and other accounts as evidence of such a perspective.

Meanwhile, in terms of other important work relevant here, Katie Otis looks at grassroots-type political activism on the part of older Americans in her work. See Otis, “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,’” in “Everything Old is New Again,” 135-81. For discussion of her positioning in relation to existing literature, see especially 144-45, 177-78. Otis, furthermore, addresses activism involving housing as well, particularly various efforts of older persons involving public housing: Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 108, 109, 109-10, 110; “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,’” 161. And for Otis briefly discussing issues such as property taxes, see Otis, “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,’” 161. And for Otis on Trela on different issues, including “taxes,” see also Trela, “Some Political Consequences of Senior Centers and Other Old Age Group Memberships,” 119 discussed and cited in Otis, 160. No less important, Lee Irby’s research on the political culture of mobile homes in postwar Florida provides important example and useful framework as well, particularly in terms of grassroots opposition to taxes amongst retired persons—and over housing. He writes, for example, in reference to the Federation of Mobile-home Owners, formed in the early 1960s: “If one considers that a vast majority of the trailerites were retirees, and that the Association for the Advancement of Retirement Persons did not organize until 1955, an argument might be made that the FMO was among the first ‘gray power’ movement in the country.” See Irby, “Taking Out the Trailer Trash,” 181-200, esp. 194-97, 197, 198-200 (quotation 198).

My work similarly follows such scholarship in looking at grassroots efforts among retirees, particularly in terms of issues involving housing. Much of my work also focuses on local-level taxes, for example, but it does so while explicitly framed and fueled by scholarship in political and urban and suburban history, specifically the studies cited in the introductory paragraph to this section. My work departs from the trends established within this literature, treating Sun City residents not only as politically active, at the grassroots or more generally, but as explicitly *homeowners*—and as *homeowners* as much, if not more, than as *retired* or *older* Americans acting in the context of suburban political culture and metropolitan politics. For other historical literature overviews of old-age activism that might illustrate what Otis discusses in explaining the positioning of her work, see Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 290-91, 292 (caption), 322, 350; Schulman, *The Seventies*, 85-86; Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 142, 147; Chudacoff, *How Old Are You?* 179-80. On the politics of the Gray Panthers and the AARP, along with those of the National Council of Senior Citizens, for example, see Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 134-38. But such accounts also provide examples of existing narratives into which my own work on retirement politics in the case of Sun City politics do not so easily fit. Following in the footsteps of Otis’s critique, even though Cohen—for instance—mentions property taxes, citing the AARP and other groups does not explain, or at the very least, explore local-level battles over taxes and property values carried out through community organizations, nor do the methods of activism, the ideology undergirding such activism, or both capture the goals and values of Sun City-style efforts. On this last point, if local newspaper editorials are any reflection of the sentiment of resident readers, then the Gray Panthers—or least Maggie Kuhn—were not sympathetic figures in Sun City. In order, see again Otis, “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,’” 144-45, 177-78; Cohen, 322; also Chudacoff, 180; criticism of Kuhn in editorial, “Gray Panther Stalks Sun City,” *News-Sun*, October 29, 1985, “GENERAL” folder, Vertical File (VF), Sun City (SC), SCAHS. Note: these files are located in file cabinets—among others housing additional materials—and are divided in particular in terms of the retirement developments of Sun City and Sun City West. I have used the citation method above, utilizing and modifying the cataloging system at the SCAHS, in an attempt to provide most clear means of indicating locating information. Furthermore, my work departs from the point that a focus on the grassroots is not necessarily the same as attention to the “local” as the former might allow for factoring in class politics within a suburban framework, older Americans thus appearing as retirees and homeowners, or similar local-level identities, *at the same time*. And relatedly, Otis’s insightful and excellent discussion on anti-welfare politics among older Americans in Florida might reflecting a politics of such older persons as “deserving” in line with social-welfare politics, discussed previously, and thus also might be read as evidence of the persistence of class politics into old age more generally, thus providing a complementary story to mine about *homeowner* politics. For Otis here, see Otis, “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,’” 164-68.

37 For various accounts of the history of Sun City and the Peoria schools, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 206-8; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 218-19; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 153, 154-155; Patricia Gober, “The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon: The Case of Sun City, Arizona,” *Journal of Geography* 84 (September-October 1985): 194,

residence of school-age children in the community, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, along with the mixing different kinds of housing in the 1980s, by the early-to-mid decade receiving zoning protecting residential retirement developments then newly available under Maricopa County.³⁸

At the same time, a fundamental feature of Sun City politics was the politics of the vulnerability of Sun City retirees, more broadly, as *older Americans*. The very idea of the “problems of retirement” was—despite very real and pressing issues with which many aging persons very likely wrestled—at the same time a construct.³⁹ In his study concerned with—and subtitled—“the formation of gerontological knowledge,” sociologist Stephen Katz explains his project’s framing as one in which “the idea of

account first cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170; Kevin McHugh, Patricia Gober, and Daniel Borough, “The Sun City Wars: Chapter 3,” *Urban Geography* 23, no. 7 (October 1–November 15, 2002): 634–35; Patricia Gober, *Metropolitan Phoenix: Place Making and Community Building in the Desert* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 90; Gilbert, *More than a Century of Peoria People, Progress, & Pride*, 67; Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 111; VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860–2009*, 213–14; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 66; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 133. And for early account on, see Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 153. In terms of the connection of tax politics in Sun City to suburban trends, I discuss and cite historical literature addressing key issues in suburban politics in a later section of this Introduction. But in terms of “metropolitan” tensions, Findlay’s work preceded, of course, the Kruse and Sugrue account quoted and cited in this section’s introduction. But Findlay does offer a very similar and useful framing. The title of the section in which he discusses politics in an external context—involving Sun City and others—is “Growing Together: Sun City and Phoenix.” For title of here, see Findlay, 204. For discussion in what seems to be this section based on topic, from p. 204 at least through p. 208 but also perhaps slightly later through p. 212 as well, see 204–208, 209–212. And for specific issues, see, for example, 206–208. And for Findlay literally writing, for example, of “the rest of the *metropolitan area*,” see Findlay, 206 (emphasis added).

38 On age restrictions and the history of in Sun City, Arizona, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 202. For other accounts on age restrictions, rise of zoning, and Sun City, see, for example, Gober, “The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 196; Gober, *Metropolitan Phoenix*, 88–89; McHugh, Gober, and Borough, “The Sun City Wars,” 631–32; Welch, “Retirement Communities in Maricopa County,” 79–80, 81. On early history of in Sun City, see also Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 105. And for other accounts, period and later, see also Blechman, *Leisureville*, 130; Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 153. And again, I outline important literature and issues useful in helping to explain the events and ideology of age restrictions in Sun City later, particularly the politics of property values. In addition to school taxes, age restrictions, and other issues, Sun City involved political issues and efforts. For his useful framework offering emphasis here, see again Blechman, *Leisureville*, 129.

39 For “problems,” see again previously cited Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society.” And in his account, in discussing the issue of school taxes specifically, Findlay acknowledges “legitimate concerns,” a point that my work seeks to acknowledge while also historicizing and analyzing. See Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona, 207.

disciplinarity takes on two aspects: first, it designates the process of legitimizing and authorizing knowledge-formations—the creation of ‘disciplines’; and second it indicates the power relations whereby people are regulated, classified, divided, and governed—‘disciplined.’”⁴⁰ In the mid-twentieth century, engagement of different “problems” or other issues involving aging took place in various sectors, industries, and occupations, from “gerontologists” to members of the private sector such as Del Webb, the efforts undertaken in the project of popularizing retirement formulating answers, in their own ways, to questions ostensibly confronting older Americans.⁴¹

40 Stephen Katz, *Disciplining Old Age: The Formation of Gerontological Knowledge* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 1-3 (quotation 1-2). In terms of the latter, and indicating his use of particular theoretical formulations in the process, he writes: “The second dimension of disciplinarity extends beyond the site of knowledge-production into relations of power. Here knowledge plays a major role in constituting the conditions under which people are disciplined, particularly in the social or human sciences where human subjects are problematized. In others words—and so aptly characterized by Foucault—disciplines do not just construct dominant representations of the world but also determine the ways in which the people who inhabit it can be known, studied, calculated, trained, helped, punished, and liberated” (2). For additional discussion on his use of Michel Foucault’s work, see, for example, 7-8, 10-11, 13-26, esp. 26.

41 Several historical studies provide excellent and highly useful approaches for purposes here for exploring the top-down construction of retirement. For work involving the history of gerontology, and also its affiliates in the creation of ideas surrounding old age, see, for example, chapters in Katz, “The Elderly Population and the Modern Life-Course” and also “The Field of Gerontology and Problematizations of Old Age,” in *Disciplining Old Age*, 49-76 and 104-34, respectively. For relationship between gerontology and preceding efforts, see 76, 77 105. In my Chapter 1, and later in the Epilogue, I utilize another chapter in Katz in looking at research efforts in gerontology. And for another book-length study perhaps offering a similar investigation of the power and politics of experts, see Alice O’Connor, *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Next, though not with the same, at least explicitly, Foucault-influenced theoretical framing as Katz, Calhoun’s treatment of gerontology, for example, suggests how gerontologists contributed to mid-century discussions involving old age. He writes, for instance, of this area’s early years: “During this time, its main concerns, beyond those associated with self-organization, included the promotion of interest in the subject, the publication of the problems and needs of the nation’s elderly population, and the evolution of an initial set of concepts by which the social and psychological dislocations suffered by many older persons could be understood.” See chapter Calhoun, “Social Scientists and Images of the Aged: Providing the Basis for Action,” in *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 97-127 (quotation 97). For mention elsewhere of “knowledge,” see also Calhoun, 68. A period account suggests this point as well: “Problems of old age and of two general kinds: those that older people actually have and those that experts think they have. This distinction is not simply whimsical, for while the two may overlap, they certainly do not correspond. The difference between them reflects several factors. The old age field attracts many dedicated practitioners who work directly with the aged and, on their behalf, are deeply committed to social action and reform. Indeed, they regard gerontology almost as an ideological movement. Their intense involvement commonly magnifies older people’s problems which seem to loom larger than life and crowd most other issues from their perspective. In the process, their perception is often warped.” See Irving Rosow, *Social Integration*

In the process, older Americans were cast as occupying precarious financial and physical positions. In his study, Katz examines the function and effect of several “political and discursive technologies” that originated in the late nineteenth century, showing how they illustrated a more general dynamic in which “demographic knowledge about special groups of people is a consequence of their differentiation as social

of the Aged (New York: The Free Press, 1967), 1, Rosow’s account here first cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170. For another scholarly account dealing the different “predicaments” of older Americans—but in the interwar years and thus suggesting postwar origins—see chapter Achenbaum, “Old Age Becomes a National Problem” in *Old Age in the New Land*, 109-125 (quotation 109). Here, in fact, Achenbaum offers what seemingly is a more explicit linkage between early-twentieth century efforts and later. See 110.

Additionally, Graebner discusses in his study how experts—or at least those wielding power in respective domains—offered various means of confronting retirement, from academics to organizations of different kinds, around the middle decades of the twentieth century, as cited at different points in later chapters. See Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 215, 227-36, 241. For other accounts that incorporate the work of experts, including self-help-type material and print culture dealing with retirement more broadly, see the following. In the recently published study of Gregory Wood, which I encountered it in the late stages of finishing this dissertation, for example, he addresses such perspectives at different points in chapters Gregory Wood, “Postwar Manhood and the Shock of Retirement” and “Work, Play, and Gender: The Making of Retirement Culture,” in *Retiring Men: Manhood, Labor, and Growing Old in America, 1900-1960* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, Inc., 2012), 140-82 and 183-223. And for other accounts, see Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 32-40, also 53-57. For Otis elsewhere in her dissertation on range of participants involved in the project of retirement housing, see also Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 67. Further, see Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 144, 165-69, 170, 171; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 53. Freedman, furthermore, offers example of what seems to have been a historicizing—or least construction—of sorts of the discourse of aging in describing coverage in the *Time* story from the early 1960s, whether he intended to do so in relation to *period* discourse or not. He writes, for example, of “rehearsing the long procession of demographic statistics so familiar in magazine cover stories about America’s aging today.” For evidence as perhaps not his point, see also 51-52. See “The Family,” 51-52 (quotation 51). I cite these accounts, and others, in Part I.

And Calhoun, meanwhile, discusses other participants in his study the ways in which marketing aimed at older consumers helped to shape the terrain of older ages. See chapter in Calhoun, “Images of the Aged: The Contributions of Marketers,” in *In Search of the New Old*, 190-216. And, importantly, on Calhoun’s broader project in terms of the top-down construction of new looks of old age, see 2, 11-12. Furthermore, although Calhoun rightly points out differences between practitioners in gerontology and others here, there very well might have shared some common ground as voices of authority in different ways—a point about the extent to which homebuilders such as Del Webb themselves were experts in disseminating ideas about a retirement and its pitfalls to which I am indebted to Matt Lassiter, as well as his feedback urging attention to the political nature inherent in views of experts. For Calhoun, see 190, 212. And on housing, and homebuilding, see also 201-212. Perhaps suggesting this point, or a variation of it, Andrew Achenbaum has pointed out in his history of gerontology: “Those who have blazed gerontology’s terra incognita have been a motley group – entrepreneurs, social workers, nurses and physicians, demographers and economists, teachers, students, policy analysts, bench scientists, behaviorists, humanists, bureaucrats – as diverse as the explorers, miners, traders, outlaws, poachers, farmers, herders, loggers, merchants, and tourists who settled the West.” See W. Andrew Achenbaum, *Crossing Frontiers: Gerontology Emerges as a Science* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 9.

problems.”⁴² Such “differentiation,” furthermore, hinged on ostensible deprivation, fueling the rise of a politics of vulnerability. In the case of modern retirement, Robert Binstock, a scholar of aging politics, has pointed to the presence of such themes in relation to policy developments in the middle decades of the twentieth century and beyond. “The incremental creation of an old age welfare state during this period was nourished by compassionate stereotypes of ‘the aged’ in public discourse,” he has written. “Elderly persons tended to be stereotyped as poor, frail, socially dependent, objects of discrimination—and above all, ‘deserving.’”⁴³

42 Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 8 (first quotation), 49 (second quotation). For additional discussion of this point, also see 51-52. For discussion of specific examples of, see 49, 52-53, 59-60, 60-69, 69, 73-76. And seemingly illustrating the broader point Katz makes, as cited in preceding paragraph, with the examples at hand, he writes that “the elderly population was not so much discovered as it was constituted as a site of power and knowledge” (49).

43 Robert H. Binstock, “The Contemporary Politics of Old Age Policies” in *The New Politics of Old Age Policy*, ed. Hudson, 265-66 (quotation at 266). The footnote following the first part of this quotation, omitted in the text, cites earlier work by Binstock, where he addresses this point: Robert H. Binstock, “The Aged as Scapegoat,” “The Kent Lecture” in *The Gerontologist* 23, no. 2 (April 1983): 140. For Binstock making this point elsewhere, also see Binstock, “Old-Age Policies, Politics, and Ageism,” *Generations* 29, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 73; Robert H. Binstock, “Public Policy and Aging: An Overview” in *Services to the Aging and Aged*, ed. Kim, 20-21; Schulz and Binstock, *Aging Nation*, 7. In fact, he writes of “compassionate ageism,” which captures not only the theme of deprivation but also the ultimately *advantageous* outcome of treating of older Americans in monolithic terms. He defines it in the following way, for example: “For some forty years American society accepted this compassionate ageism, the oversimplified notion that all older persons are essentially the same, and all worthy of governmental assistance, without much attention to the substantial variations in economic well-being, health status, and social conditions that prevailed within the elderly population.” And, he explains: “The stereotypes expressed through this ageism, unlike those of racism or sexism, were not wholly detrimental to the well-being of its objects, older people. Indeed, during five decades the American polity implemented the construct of compassionate ageism by creating many old-age government benefit programs, as well as by enacting laws against age discrimination.” See Binstock, “The Contemporary Politics of Old Age Policies,” 266 (first quotations); Binstock, “Old-Age Policies, Politics, and Ageism,” 73-74 (second quotation 73). For other work on this point, see also Binstock, “The Aged as Scapegoat,” 140; Binstock, “Public Policy and Aging,” 21; Schulz and Binstock, *Aging Nation*, 7-8. For Katz making a similar reference about “constructing the elderly population as a homogenous group, characterized by supposedly uniform dependencies and liabilities.” See Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 49. And for Katz, who refers to “the elderly as a special kind of population characterized by its neediness and poverty” at one point in his Introduction, on broader themes discussed above circulating in American politics, see Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 8 (quotation), 63-64, 67, 68, 74-76. For another account dealing with events of the early twentieth century, particularly in terms of pensions and the accompanying framing of older Americans, see also Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 65, 71, 81, 86, and esp. 174-75, 179-80, 184. And for enduring theme of deprivation overall, see, for example, 65-66, 86. Also, I return to issues of “deserving” politics in Part I.

The issue of periodization—of how different eras are connected through such developments—also deserves discussion in terms of my usage here. While Katz’s discussion in relation to the twentieth century, for

By the early 1960s, if not earlier, discussion of the “needs” of older Americans unfolded in political, academic, and other circles involving their economic and other constraints.⁴⁴ And as historian W. Andrew Achenbaum has explained, policy

example, focuses on the early decades of the century, my concern is with the postwar decades. The issues discussed by Katz and others, nonetheless, are relevant for the postwar period as well—and, furthermore, are connected, implicitly or explicitly in several accounts. Katz does so in relation to another point he explores—one dealing with the political activism of older Americans via the “popular pension movement.” For Katz, see Katz, 63-64, 67-68 (quotation 67), 76. For later efforts of “old-age based interest groups,” see Binstock, “Public Policy and Aging,” 20-21 (quotation 20). For another account bridging pre- Social Security politics and those of Social Security and subsequently, see Binstock, “The Aged as Scapegoat,” 140. For other prewar-postwar connections, see again Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 110; and also Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 2-3.

44 For mention of “needs” and “special concerns and needs,” respectively, elsewhere, see also Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 91; Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 145. For presumably related language of “special group,” see also Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 52. In her work, Katie Otis, too, discusses “special needs,” at one point writing of both the “special needs and problems” of older Americans. See, for example, Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 4. Additionally, Otis addresses this “notion,” seemingly using it to frame her discussion, in her chapter delving into housing: Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 66, 67 (quotation and discussion). While my work seeks to problematize such “problems,” as discussed above and elsewhere, it also seeks to explore the presence and operation of the idea of “needs” as well. Initially spurred to greater attention while researching and writing an early draft of the chapter on age restrictions in housing in what is now Part III by the presence of a similar language in retirement politics, my project attempts to zero in on and undertake discourse and political analysis of this language, departing from the perspective that—like Katz’s treatment of approaches in gerontology, discussed above, and perhaps Otis’s study, in which she writes of “the institutions and policies that both created and responded to retirees’ special needs”—they were neither inevitable nor self-evident but inherently political in rationalizing and promoting agendas for aging Americans. For Otis here, see Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 8. It aims to add to the above accounts by further discussing the “needs” discourse, particularly by identifying and explaining an underlying logic predicated on of what I discuss and cite below as a “distinctiveness” of retirement and old age—something that Achenbaum, below, suggests in relation to “problems” and that Otis, in her cited discussion above, presumably is identifying as well in relation to housing specifically. Furthermore, I seek to show how this discourse worked—how various interests relied upon and used it, literally in some cases, in crafting and carrying out strategies that took different forms, policy- and otherwise, including space itself, in addressing ostensible problems. And, as I discuss in a note below, central to my thinking and analysis is the incisive and insightful account of journalist Andrew Blechman in his discussion of this language and idea, particularly in terms of how they seemingly work to provide a sort of policy cover and legitimation that allows for the pursuit of other agendas or interests. Additionally, in terms of my own periodization here, I borrow from that of Calhoun, which I explain in a later note in this Introduction. And for a broader and earlier postwar periodization offered by Otis, see also discussion of evidence in Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 67. My concern, to be clear, is with the discourse and practices in play in the postwar years since this is the context out of which Sun City, Arizona, grew in the late 1950s and continued to develop into the 1960s and 1970s.

In the process, my work might be seen as complementing the work of Clay Howard. While Howard’s dissertation and subsequent work has explored the culture and politics of younger Americans— or younger American families—who had “needs” of their own, my work explores another demographic, a counterpart at the other end of the age spectrum. For Howard’s work, which I return to and cite at different points in my dissertation—for my purposes here, as well for theoretical and methodological purposes, detailed below in my Introduction—see, in particular, the following chapter from his dissertation and journal article: “Boom: Bedrooms, Babies, and the Making of a Straight Suburban Public” in Clayton C. Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac: Sex, Politics, and Suburbanization in Postwar California” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2010), 128-191; Clayton Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis:

prescriptions in the era of the Great Society for addressing the ills of older Americans operated on a view treating such constraints themselves—or specific factors—as particular to aging. “Precisely because the major health and financial problems confronting the elderly seemed directly related to the fact that they were old, government officials decided to devise special categorical programs for older Americans,” he writes.⁴⁵ Such thinking thus seemingly amounted to a sort of old-age or retirement “distinctiveness,” in which the accompanying political culture, cultivated both from above and from below, staked out ground in the arena of public policy offering more sure footing for Americans traversing an uncertain terrain of aging in the middle and postwar decades.⁴⁶

Sexuality, the State, and Postwar Housing Policy,” *Journal of Urban History* 39, no. 5 (September 2013): 933-55. For quotation of “needs,” see Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 156. For discussion of underlying issues or particularities perhaps of younger demographics here, see also, for example, 132, 143-144, 150-151, 151, 155-156. In fact, for Howard writing of “needs,” see 156.

45 Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 92. For broader discussion of efforts towards older Americans, see 91-97. For Achenbaum’s background on the “Great Society,” see 87-91. For Achenbaum elsewhere on federal policy towards older Americans in the 1960s, see Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 144-46. Another scholarly account suggests the ways in which old age was politicized in addressing events earlier in the century—one, some, or all of the following of were factors—when writing that “it was society, natural aging processes, and abstract contingency that were the source of the problem.” While I return to this broader passage in Part I in explaining how it offers a useful analytical framework for understanding postwar developments, see Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 59. Also useful in understanding the role of old age in and different relationships with such “problems,” one study from the 1950s offers an interesting and important discussion of how and the extent to which the predicament of older citizens was distinctive. “Are there some special problems of older people that younger people do not have? Or do old people have the common problems of all mankind, born to trouble as the sparks fly upward” its authors asked. “Older people,” they continued, “do have special problems, as distinguished from the general problems of adults, and older people also have unique old-age aspects of the normal problems of normal people at all ages.” See Robert J. Havighurst and Ruth Albrecht, *Older People* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1953), 10-30 (quotation 10). And in terms of “special needs” in one account dealing with the built environment, for example, see I.S. Loewenberg, “Designing Homes for the Aging” in *Housing the Aging*, ed. Wilma Donahue (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954), 55. Distinctive or not, the discourse of “problems” and “needs” is something I discuss and analyze in terms of retirement politics.

46 My use of this and similar language, and particularly its analytical value in helping to illuminate and explore this logic in shaping retirement culture and politics—it contributes to defining the ostensible boundaries or parameters of the idea or entity in question, ultimately suggesting how they are buffeted by certain justifications, rationales, or assumptions as different perspective or interests make their cases—is influenced by Matt Lassiter’s work, specifically in his writing of, for example, “southern distinctiveness” and “regional distinctiveness,” while challenging them, of course: Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*, 3-4 (first quotation 3), 5-7, 15-17 (second quotation 15). And for “southern exceptionalism” and discussion, see also

Indeed, that this was distinctive very well might have meant that older Americans were thus “deserving” Americans; sealing the deal of the ushering in of various programs and benefits revolved around not only what *they* did *for* themselves but also what *other* drivers of change did *to* them.⁴⁷ In paving the way for health insurance by relying on the ideological and logistical path already laid out and entrenched by Social Security, Medicare, for example, would rely on a “contributory principle,” which in the case of the former ultimately accommodated, in the words of former Social Security Commissioner Robert Ball, a “philosophy of self-help.”⁴⁸ In doing so, such a set-up involved the ideological distancing of different populations built into Social Security. “Since beneficiaries would contribute to the federal hospitalization insurance trust fund through

Matthew D. Lassiter and Joseph Crespino, “Introduction: The End of Southern History” in *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism*, ed. Lassiter and Crespino (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 5-14 (quotation 7). And for “southern exceptionalism” elsewhere, see again Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*, 15.

47 Although not discussed in relation to older Americans as “deserving,” a useful account of particular relevance to the discourse of “needs” and what in effect was a politicizing of old age and its particularities on the politics of pensions that played out leading up to Social Security explains, for instance: “Inherent in this overall frame was the assumption that the origins of the problem were external to, and hence beyond the control of, individual aged persons. That is, social insecurity among the elderly was caused not by personal failings but instead by societal dysfunction and the vicissitudes of fate. Individual were therefore not at fault for their inability to support themselves in old age. Rather, it was society, natural aging processes, and abstract contingency that were the source of the problem. The elderly were innocent victims, not culprits.” See Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 58-59 (quotation 59). For context of events prior to and subsequently in Social Security, see 40-41, 93-95, 96-107, esp. 101.

48 For practices and ideas, shaped by Social Security, in Medicare, or earlier legislative versions of, here, see, for example, Theodore R. Marmor, *The Politics of Medicare*, 2nd ed. (1970; 1973; New York: A. de Gruyter, 2000), 15-16; Oberlander, *The Political Life of Medicare*, 24, 25, 80-81; Gordon, *Dead on Arrival*, 24, 90, 97 (first quotation); Kingson and Berkowitz, *Social Security and Medicare*, 44-45; Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 94; Robert M. Ball, *Social Security: Today and Tomorrow* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 9 (second quotation). For biographical information on Ball, see Gaylord Nelson, U.S. Senator from Wisconsin and Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee on Social Security, foreword to Ball, viii. For differences between the two, however, also see Oberlander, 76. On these points in Social Security itself, see, for example, Gordon, 90, 91-97; Oberlander, 78-79; Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity*, 119-20; Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*, 234-35, 236, 238-39; also Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 42-43. For discussion of framing of Social Security along such lines according to political considerations, see, for example, Béland, *Social Security*, 74-75. And for framing according to political considerations dealing with taxes, specifically, and also its broader political consequences, see excellent account of Molly Michelmores: Michelmores, *Tax and Spend*, 5-7, 13-14; Béland, *Social Security*, 139, 140. For useful overviews discussing these ideas, and the ideological and political tensions within, more broadly, see Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 2-3; Kingson and Berkowitz, 5, 17-18, 19-21; Ball, *Social Security*, 7-11, esp. 9, 288-89, 300-3, 304-6, 306-7, 338-40, 423-24. Finally, for exclusionary aspects, also see discussion in Michelmores, 8, 9-10. For brief overview of other features, also see Oberlander, 78-80.

taxes on their employment,” one scholar of Medicare writes, “they would be seen—and they would see themselves—as deserving claimants of Medicare benefits, not as recipients of government welfare.”⁴⁹

In another important way, however, federal efforts leaned on the politics of precariousness. One policy expert has explained that “the aged could be presumed to be both needy and deserving because, through no fault of their own, they had lower earning capacity and higher medical expenses than any other adult age group.”⁵⁰ Furthermore,

49 Oberlander, *The Political Life of Medicare*, 81 (quotation); Marmor, *The Politics of Medicare*, 16; see again Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*, ix, 235, 238-39, 247. For different areas of coverage and differences in the financial methodologies underlying them, see Oberlander, 30, 31, 76, 81-84. And for hospital coverage and reasoning behind, see Marmor, *The Politics of Medicare*, 12-13. Additionally, as Paul Starr has written of differences within the Medicare legislation: “Medicare was buoyed by popular approval and acknowledged dignity of Social Security; Medicaid was burdened by the stigma of public assistance.” See Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, 369-70 (quotation 370). Starr also quoted in Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*, 264. For additional evidence, also see, for example, Gordon, *Dead on Arrival*, 97-98. And for foundation of Social Security, see again Oberlander, 79.

50 Marmor, *The Politics of Medicare*, 11. Marmor similarly quoted in Colin Gordon, *Dead on Arrival: The Politics of Health Care in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 128. Further illustrating this idea, Marmor wrote: “Everyone also knew that the aged—like children and the disabled—commanded public sympathy. They were one of the few population groupings about whom one could not say that the members should take care of their financial-medical problems by earning and saving more money.” For quotation here and complete discussion, see Marmor, 12. Jill Quadagno recounts that the National Council of Senior Citizens—an organization founded by the AFL-CIO and made up of retired workers pushing for what the passage of Medicare legislation—cast older persons as “a deserving group who desperately needed health insurance.” Quadagno, *One Nation Uninsured*, 66-67 (quotation 67). On the history and role of the National Council of Senior Citizens, see 64-67, 70, 75, 76; David D. Van Tassel and Jimmy Elaine Wilkinson Meyer, *U.S. Aging Policy Interest Groups: Institutional Profiles* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1992), 145; Henry J. Pratt, *Gray Agendas: Interest Groups and Public Pensions in the Canada, Britain, and the United States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993) 84, 86, study first cited in Otis, “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,’” 145; Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 117, 118, 119, 135-36; Robert N. Butler, *Why Survive? Being Old in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975; New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1985), 336, book initially cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 168; Butler’s book, Butler, *Why Survive: Being Old in America* ([n.d.]) also cited, if not first cited, in Schulman, *The Seventies*, 277n30. On the broader point here, Binstock, reaffirms a linkage between “deserving” and distinctiveness, citing the following as one of several “categorical stereotypes”: “The aged are ‘the deserving poor’ because their disadvantaged plight is forced upon them by mandatory retirement, the frailties and disabilities of old age, and the prejudices of a youth-oriented society.” Binstock, “The Aged as Scapegoat,” 136. For Binstock on broader arc of old-age politics again, see, for example, Binstock, “The Aged as Scapegoat,” 136; Binstock, “The Contemporary Politics of Old Age Policies,” 265-66. For an important framework more generally of “deserving” politics and the role of individual agency in explaining how individual crisis transpired, see the work of Michael Katz: Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 7, cited in Levenstein, “Deserving/Undeserving Poor,” 226; for historical trajectory, including variable of age, Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 11, 12-16. And as Katz puts it in a new edition to his book on the subject, he writes, for instance: “For more than two hundred years, one theme has run through this American response to poverty. It is the idea that some poor

Medicare included a contrast with older Americans. “Public perceptions of the elderly were decidedly different than for the ‘able-bodied’ poor,” according to another scholarly account. “The elderly *were* considered deserving because they were often poor, frail, and in greater need of medical care. Medical subsidy for the elderly was not considered welfare; it was humanitarian support.”⁵¹

Efforts such as those involving expanding the supply of public housing for older Americans operated on a similar discursive distinctiveness recognizing financial and physical constraints.⁵² And, in terms of two major areas upon which this dissertation focuses, ideas about older homeowners as distinctive provided rhetorical and discursive ground on which the rights of retired Americans would be claimed and contested, and political developments and policies brought about, dealing with not only old-age entitlements such as Social Security and Medicare at the federal level but also state and local-level ones involving property taxes and the restricting of retirement housing by age protecting economic and other interests of older Americans.⁵³

In Arizona, meanwhile, “Sun Citizens” articulated various rationales in defending their opposition to school taxes and in taking other positions—that, for example, as retired citizens living on so-called “fixed” incomes, they could not afford the taxes of

people are undeserving of help because they brought their poverty on themselves.” See Katz, preface to, *The Undeserving Poor: America’s Enduring Confrontation with Poverty*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), x. On overall idea, see also xii. For idea in relation to Social Security, also see Oberlander, *The Political Life of Medicare*, 79.

51 See Robert P. Rhodes, *Health Care Politics, Policy, and Distributive Justice: The Ironic Triumph* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 211. On overall idea here involving the issue of physical ability in Katz’s work see history of as presented in Katz, *The Undeserving Poor*, 5, 12. For a useful overview, not based on the U.S. case but nonetheless seemingly similar, see also historical trend discussed in Jon Glasby, “Social Care” in *The Student’s Companion to Social Policy*, ed. Pete Alcock, Margaret May, and Karen Rowlingson, 3rd ed. (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 352-53.

52 More specifically, I discuss this in greater depth in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

53 Property taxes—and school taxes—and age-segregated housing are discussed in different chapters.

their suburban counterparts.⁵⁴ The financial boundaries of retirement boxing in older Americans were perceived, rightly or wrongly, as so rigid and unforgiving that they

54 Previous scholarship has identified key arguments and issues in the debate over school taxes in Sun City, and my work ultimately seeks to build upon this work, including that of Sturgeon, whose call “for future research” involves schools. For Sturgeon here, see Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 153-54 (quotation 153), 154-155. John Findlay, for instance, identifies key arguments deployed by Sun City in his analysis: “They complained about the costs of the proposed bonds, explained that they opposed the new taxes because many of them lived on fixed incomes, and, in some cases, went so far as to claim that retirees had no obligation to pay property taxes in support of public education.” See Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 207. Similarly, Melanie Sturgeon writes of what might have been, or involved, this “fixed incomes” argument—of “extra costs”—towards the end of her study and of what presumably was the latter as well, of the position that “they have educated their children, they should have to pay to educate some else[s]” [*sic*].” See Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 153-54 (first quotation 153, second quotation 154). For another account. And in his analysis of the political culture of older residents in Florida Button overviews these arguments as well: “Many aging citizens live on fixed or limited resources, and a new tax many appear to constrict these resources further. In addition, most older citizens no longer have children in school. If the aging have migrated, typically to the Sun Belt, they may lack a strong commitment to their new communities and believe they have already supported public services adequately at their former residence.” James W. Button, “A Sign of Generational Conflict: The Impact of Florida’s Aging Voters on Local School and Tax Referenda,” *Social Science Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (December 1992): 786-87. My analysis in this dissertation in relation to Sun City, and Sun City West later, seeks to elaborate on this work, including additional arguments they also identify that I discuss below, by problematizing these positions, exploring their discursive depth, and untangling the relationship—if any—between them. On the first point, Sturgeon makes this point, or at least moves in this direction, by pointing out the disconnect between income rhetoric and reality. Locating this within the politics of property taxes, I aim to explain in my project, for instance, how the notion of “fixed incomes” was a political argument, grounded in both fact and fiction, and also something politicized. On the second point, my analysis seeks to show how that of “obligation,” in Findlay’s words, above, fit within a broader, consumerist political culture of anti-tax politics and homeownership, particularly one shaped by the factor of retirement. And what might have been a related argument here, and a perspective that Findlay addresses in his account, involved what he describes as the view that “residents paid a larger share of school taxes than they believed to be fair.” Here, see Findlay, 207. While I cite this again later, for accounts identifying same or perhaps similar ideas, see also Sturgeon, 154; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix 1860-2009*, 214. Furthermore, I discuss, however briefly, the possible relationships between the arguments involving economic vulnerability and economic self-interest, specifically that the former might have served as a proxy for the latter—a connection Sturgeon, if not others, might also be suggesting—or at the very least that the former could work to obscure underlying class interests.

Relatedly, I explore a similar dynamic in terms of the nature and function of age restrictions—of how the discourse of “needs” surrounding restrictions and the rise of formalized age restrictions via zoning and ultimately federal legislative intervention could serve not only to legitimate issues of interests of “Sun Citizens,” a seemingly simple or self-evident desire for having what was believed to be a child- and thus noise-free residential experience, but also perhaps to protect a politics centering on property values and other ostensibly desirable qualities at the heart of suburban political culture. Here, my interest in and thinking about the shape and significance of this language and discourse additionally has been shaped by the work of Andrew Blechman. He writes, for example: “Just what ‘special needs’ do today’s wealthy middle-aged boomers have?” For quotation, and the context of broader discussion to which I return in my Epilogue as well, see Blechman, *Leisureville*, 220-21 (quotation 221).

Finally, yet another argument employed in the battle over school taxes apparently grew out of the relationship between DEVCO and residents on the matter, which I discuss later in this Introduction in terms of understanding the role of the developer as shaping local political culture. But for existing accounts that I cite on this later, see Findlay, 179, 207; Sturgeon, 154-55. For other accounts perhaps addressing this

helped to shape political culture among older Americans—or so an expert by the 1960s claimed.⁵⁵ The director of the University of Michigan’s Survey Research Center, Angus Campbell, questioned a supposed paradox surrounding the positions of older Americans, pointing instead to the broader explanatory variable of class. “Is it really surprising that people on the bottom rung of the income ladder should simultaneously feel that they are least able to pay taxes and that they are most in need of the help a tax program can give?” he asked, in reference to support for what he described as “expensive federal welfare programs.” “Their basic rationale is *economic need* and to me it is a very logical one.”⁵⁶

Such positions—of the notion of the “fixed income,” for instance—have the potential to pre-empt and foreclose critical consideration, while certain interests have pursued particular, other ends at the very same time. Instead, arguments articulating and highlighting various collective vulnerabilities and particularities must be treated as political constructs, however real and legitimate such underlying concerns were for some, if not many, older Americans. In the context of metropolitan political economy, the invoking of discourses of retirement- or old age-related deprivation and distinctiveness might have been strategic, the “language and logic” of “need” and “special needs” working to open politically ambitious discursive room—suggested, for example, by fixed-income politics and the rise of school-tax politics in Sun City, in which rhetoric and

point, pivoting on “expectation,” see also VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67 (quotation); VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 214.

55 My goal in this project is not to question the legitimacy of such claims—the “problems” surrounding retirement probably were real, painful, and difficult to deal with for older persons—but rather to explore and explain how and why such arguments and logics translated into economic, political, and legal efforts aimed at addressing the dilemmas of older Americans.

56 Angus Campbell, “Social and Psychological Determinants of Voting Behavior” in *Politics of Age*, Proceedings of the University of Michigan 14th Annual Conference on Aging, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 19-20, 1961, ed. Wilma Donahue and Clark Tibbitts (Ann Arbor: Division of Gerontology, The University of Michigan, 1962), 97-98 (emphasis added), collection first cited in work of Katie Otis. For example, see Otis, “Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,” 145. For discussion leading up to this, see Campbell, 94-96. And for Campbell elsewhere on support for health services, see, for example, Campbell, “Politics through the Life Cycle,” *The Gerontologist* 11, no. 2, Part 1 (Summer 1971): 114.

reality could be two different things.⁵⁷ And in defining and defending agendas revolving around local taxes, property values, and recreational amenities, Sun City residents were not simply retired citizens but also retired *homeowners*.⁵⁸

57 Here, I borrow the effective phrase of “language and logic” from David Freund. For example, see David M.P. Freund, *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 8. And for “needs” and “special needs,” see as previously noted.

In her discussion of school taxes, Sturgeon points to a disconnect involving the financial means of Sun City residents: “Many residents cited the extra costs they would be required to pay as the reasons for voting down these bonds. However, migration researchers have amassed sufficient evidence to indicate that the vast majority of members of amenity rich retirement communities have incomes higher than contemporaries nationwide.” See Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 153-154. Whether referring specifically to the “fixed” argument, per the above, or not, the idea of a disconnect provides a point of departure for my work. In addition to wealth at the scale discussed in the research to which Sturgeon is referring, I look at such relative wealth *within* Sun City as well, facilitated by Findlay’s account—in which he discusses the economic diversity of Sun City, and more particularly in light of evidence from own research, how it played out spatially as the community developed over time—and with my own research, again. While I discuss such points, citing relevant accounts from Findlay to others, in my Chapter 6, for Findlay in the meantime, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 189.

Furthermore, in looking at such diversity in Sun City and what also were class tensions in the community more generally, my project benefits from Matt Lassiter’s attention to class within the politics of busing, amongst white families. In my work, I attempt to show how in the history of Sun City’s relationship with school taxes, age was subdivided by class, which became evident in terms of outcomes or events that otherwise unfolded over different issues and at different points—episodes to which I return, more specifically, in my Chapter 6, involving differences between different phases of the community and in my Chapter 7, when I discuss the history and assertion of class in Sun City. For Lassiter’s work that provides a framework here, see, for example, Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*, 4, 9-10, 18, 123, 175-176, 177, 185, 186, 193, 194-195; Matthew D. Lassiter, “‘Socioeconomic Integration’ in the Suburbs” in *The New Suburban History*, ed. Kruse and Sugrue, 122, 123, 131-132, 133-134, 137. More broadly, by putting class on the table, Lassiter’s approach further informs and further my examination of age and retirement politics—not just by identifying and exposing class politics but, more broadly, by encouraging an attention to a complication of age alone, of moving beyond such a singular variable to consider critical differences *within* age. In doing so here, in my treatment of the relationship between age and class more broadly, that of “class” serves as a stand-in—in my usage—for the political culture of *homeowners*.

58 My thinking here, and as it unfolds in the body of this dissertation in relation to the political culture of retirement, about political identity among retirees as simultaneously upholding and carrying out interests both as older Americans and as homeowners in particular, and also as perhaps providing such political cover in some situations has been influenced by different historical literatures.

Of particular importance is Clay Howard’s dissertation work dealing with the interchangeability of political identities. For example, for discussion of such “fluidity” in his completed dissertation, see Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 262-63 (quotation 263). Other work shaping my own includes that of Nan Enstad, which Howard also used in the early stages of his project: Nan Enstad, “Fashioning Political Identities: Cultural Studies and the Historical Construction of Political Subjects,” *American Quarterly* 50, no. 4 ([December] 1998): 745-82], discussed and cited in Clay Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac: Sexuality and Culture War in Postwar California,” dissertation prospectus (2006), [29-30].

Meanwhile, work in political and urban and suburban history has shaped my thinking in terms of the possible political flexibility and traction inherent in the politics of a “freedom of choice” and similar language and other framings proclaimed in suburban political culture in the context of the politics of racial segregation and desegregation. For example, see language as quoted in Robert Self, *American Babylon*, 264. More specifically, in discussing opposition to fair-housing legislation in California—even if not “grassroots” here nonetheless an important framework for grasping and explaining dynamics at play—he

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That opposition to taxes and an overall emphasis on homeownership were prevalent within Sun City politics illuminates key characteristics of the political culture of retirement. Residents of Webb's development appear to have been *retirees* and *homeowners* at the very same time. The extent to which they identified with and acted on behalf of older Americans more generally thus raises important questions about the different political dimensions of old age—of the politics of aging Americans, the basis

writes of “rhetorical strategy...employing a putatively race-neutral civil rights language” and of “claims...intended to inoculate segregation and white privilege against charges or racism through appeals to hallowed American rights traditions.” See 167, 263 (first quotation), 264 (second quotation), 267-68 (third quotation 268), 272. Useful here as well, in offering more of a theoretical framework, is the work of Omi and Winant, who write, for instance: “The notion of a color-blind society where no special significance, rights, or privileges attach to one’s ‘race’ makes for appealing ideology. Taken at face value, the concept reaffirms values of ‘fair play’ and ‘equal opportunity’—ideals, some would argue, which constitute the very essence of our democratic way of life.” See Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2d ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), 1. For additional scholarship—from other studies in urban and suburban history—shaping my thinking here, see the work of Kevin Kruse. On “freedom of association” in Kruse’s work, see, for example, discussion of—and phrase quoted in—in Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005), 237. And for work of Matt Lassiter on such politics in various—including the above—forms in his study, see, for example, Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*, 13-14, 121, 122-123, 132, 133, 137, 138, 139-140, 141, 151-152, 153-154. Shaping my thinking here, too, is Lassiter’s discussion of how—as he puts it in one instance—a “populist aura of the Silent Majority obscured substantial conflicts among white families divided by class and geography.” See, for example, Lassiter, 5, 18 (quotation), 198, 303; Lassiter, “‘Socioeconomic Integration’ in the Suburbs,” 120-121, 122-123, esp. 123, 139-140. And, seemingly more broadly, see also Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*, 319. And for my purposes, following such a framework, I examine how collective identity—of an ostensibly monolithic group—potentially could provide a sort of political cover. See my discussion of fixed-income politics in my Chapter 6, as well as that involving an organization called Adult Action in my Chapter 7.

Additionally, on “identity” as an area of analysis located at the intersection of culture and politics within the trajectory of American cultural history, see James W. Cook and Lawrence B. Glickman, “Twelve Propositions for a History of U.S. Cultural History” in *The Cultural Turn in U.S. History: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. James W. Cook, Lawrence B. Glickman, and Michael O’Malley (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 32. For important historiographical discussions about cultural history, political history, and their productive points of overlap from which this project benefits, see Cook and Glickman, 29-32; Jacobs and Zelizer, “The Democratic Experiment,” 6-8, esp. 8. Although my analysis is shaped by the above work, for possible overlap with Katz, see Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 118. And for his discussion of activism surrounding pensions earlier in the twentieth century, and which might have had common ground with subsequent developments surrounding the politicizing of income among older Americans, see again Katz, 67-68.

and nature of old-age politics, and the implications of old-age politics for broader landscape of American politics—raised and discussed by experts, observers, and others in the second half of the twentieth century.

In the early 1960s, a conference at the University of Michigan—held as part of an ongoing series of annual conferences—addressed the ostensibly growing “political significance” of older Americans.⁵⁹ One sociologist contributing to the edited collection that followed—which also included Angus Campbell’s previously cited piece—spoke of the launching and potential maturation of an age-based politics. “A significant portion of the society, including many of the elderly themselves, became ‘aging conscious,’ that is, aware of the aging as a social group with special and serious problems,” he noted of recent developments—something that was a key feature of a broader “aging subculture” produced by different forces and factors he identified and outlined elsewhere in the 1960s.⁶⁰ Ultimately, he predicted, an identity and agenda revolving around old age

59 On this conference in 1961 and its focus, see Wilma Donahue and Clark Tibbitts, preface to *Politics of Age*, ed. Donahue and Tibbitts, ix-xii (quotation ix). Illustrating the broader context of attention to retirement, these conferences concerned themselves with “the burgeoning social and individual problems of aging,” they explained. For this, see again ix. On background of conferences, see Achenbaum, *Crossing Frontiers*, 163-64. The collection based on another important conference dealing with housing issues is discussed and cited at different points in my work. On rising “political clout,” also see, for instance, Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 24-27 (quotation 25).

60 Arnold M. Rose, “Organizations for the Elderly: Political Implications” in *Politics of Age*, ed. Donahue and Tibbitts, 137-39 (first quotation 138), and Rose, “The Subculture of the Aging: A Framework for Research in Social Gerontology” in *Older People and Their Social World: The Sub-Culture of the Aging*, ed. Rose and Warren A. Peterson (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: F.A. Davis Company, 1965), 3-6, 7, 13 (second quotation), both accounts first cited in Otis, “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,’” 153; latter (Rose, “The Subculture of the Aging”) also first cited in FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 211. Given that FitzGerald refers to a “paper,” this might be its publication—prior to the above here—in a journal, as indicated by the above. See FitzGerald, 211; “paper” in *The Gerontologist* 2 (1962): 123-127, noted in Rose, “The Subculture of the Aging,” 3. For Otis’s own work here on “burgeoning sense of group identity,” see excellent analysis in Otis, 154-55. For an excellent summary of Rose’s valuable ideas here, see again FitzGerald, 211. On Rose’s “subculture” idea, see also, for example, Lei Lane Burrus-Bammel and Gene Bammel, “Leisure and Recreation” in *Handbook of the Psychology of Aging*, ed. James E. Birren and K. Warner Schaie (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1985), 859-60; Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 119-20, esp. 119; Rosow, *Socialization to Old Age*, 71, account—as relevant here—first cited in Burrus-Bammel and Bammel, 860. Among the volumes Andy Achenbaum initially recommended was work by Birren, which presumably included the above. Meanwhile, offering a different periodization, Bruce Schulman writes in his study: “Older Americans began to organize themselves separately as senior

would manifest itself in real political terms: “As the social movement toward increased aging consciousness continues, and as older people gain more experience in pressure groups,” which could take the form of organizations like the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) and others that emerged in the postwar years and decades, “the traditionalistic motivations for voting can be expected to give way to interest motivations.”⁶¹ But challenging any political framing according to old age, and age in general, Angus Campbell—writing in the same collection—pointed to a number of ways in which demographic and other issues worked against the potential for political realignment tied to aging flowing from tapping into inherent political power. Among other constraints, he argued, was that older Americans differed from *each other* along various lines.⁶²

citizens to agitate for their rights, to see themselves as a distinct group with distinctive interests.” See Schulman, *The Seventies*, 84.

61 Rose, “Organizations for the Elderly,” 135-37, 141-42 (quotation 141). For additional discussion of various organizations promoting commonality and taking on political dimensions elsewhere in Rose’s work, see Rose, “The Subculture of the Aging,” 13-14, and “The Subculture of the Aging” from *The Gerontologist*, 126; Rosow on Rose in Rosow, *Socialization to Old Age*, 71-72. Political scientist Andrea Louise Campbell cites the work of Rose and others in explaining the enabling role of “proximity” and its different forms: For example, see Arnold M. Rose, “Group Consciousness among the Aging” in *Older People and Their Social World*, ed. Rose and Peterson, cited in Andrea Louise Campbell, *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), 100. This account by Rose also cited in work of Otis: Rose as cited in Otis, “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,’” 155. On senior centers as enabling and/or promoting political efforts of older persons, see Henry J. Pratt, *The Gray Lobby* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), 43-47, study also first cited in Otis, “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,’” 145. Pratt cites other work of Rose, as well as that of James E. Trela. For work of Trela, also see “Some Political Consequences of Senior Center and Other Old Age Group Memberships,” *The Gerontologist* 11, no. 2, pt. 1 (Summer 1971): 118-23, discussed and first cited in Otis, 160-61. For a useful overview of rise of groups such as the AARP within rise of old-age politics in the postwar period, see Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 111, 114, 129-30, 133-36. On political efforts and significance of older Americans, also see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 24-27.

62 Angus Campbell, “Social and Psychological Determinants of Voting Behavior,” 87-100, esp. 98. In his piece in the same collection, Rose acknowledges how other variables trump age yet also explicitly invokes and critiques Campbell: Rose, “Organizations for the Elderly,” 141. For Campbell making his general point elsewhere, see also Campbell, “Politics through the Life Cycle,” 117. First cited in Binstock, “The Politics of Aging Interest Groups: Interest Group Liberalism and the Politics of Aging” in *The Aging in Politics: Process and Policy*, ed. Robert B. Hudson (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas, 1981), 51. Binstock’s piece, as it indicates on p. 47, first appeared in *The Gerontologist* 12, no. 3 (Autumn 1972): 265-280.

Scholars in political science and other disciplines overlapping with gerontology in more recent decades also have arrived at conclusions de-emphasizing the significance of old age. In particular, James Schulz and Robert Binstock offer a critique of “the ‘senior power model’ for interpreting the politics of aging.” Continuing, they define several key characteristics of this framework as flawed by institutional, political, and other realities: “The model starts with the fact that older people constitute a numerically significant portion of the electorate. It then assumes that their political behavior is guided by their self-interests and that most of them perceive their interests to those of other older people.”⁶³ As evidence, they point to electoral support for President Ronald Reagan, who

63 Schulz and Binstock, *Aging Nation*, 203-9 (quotation 203). Edition used here is the one published by The Johns Hopkins University Press. The ultimate effect of the politicization of old age overall in such understandings, they explain, is that “it is not difficult to believe that older voters and old-age interest groups are able to exert substantial control over policies on aging and that they can elevate the relative priority of these policies in national politics” (203). Binstock has made this overall point repeatedly over the years. For recent works, see, for example, Binstock, “The Contemporary Politics of Old Age Policies,” 275-76; Binstock, “Older Voters and the 2010 U.S. Election: Implications for 2012 and Beyond?” *The Gerontologist* 52, no. 3 (June 2012): 409, 410-11. For earlier work of Binstock going back to the 1970s, including that in which he cites the work of Angus Campbell, see also, for example, Campbell, “Politics through the Life Cycle” as cited in Binstock, “The Politics of Aging Interest Groups: Interest Group Liberalism and the Politics of Aging,” 51, and Binstock, “The Politics of Aging Interest Groups,” 49-52; Binstock, “The Aged as Scapegoat,” 138-39; Campbell also cited in Binstock, “Attitudes and Politics of the Elderly,” *The Public Perspective* 3, no. 1 (November/December 1991): 9, and also Binstock “Attitudes and Politics of the Elderly,” 10; Binstock, “Older Voters and the 1992 Election,” *The Gerontologist* 32, no. 5 (October 1992): 602, 603-4. On the *politics* of the politics of old age, including the perception of older voters as promoted in popular and political contexts and also of the role of interest groups, see, for example, Schulz and Binstock, *Aging Nation*, 206, 208-18. On Binstock’s scholarly role and contributions, see Francis G. Caro, “Robert H. Binstock, PhD, 1935-2011” in “In Memoriam,” *Journal of Aging & Social Policy* 24, no. 3 (2012): 249. From the standpoint of their “high voting participation rate,” older Americans *do* appear, however, as somewhat unique. For quotation and discussion of profile, see Schultz and Binstock, 204. And for earlier discussion, see also Campbell, “Social and Psychological Determinants of Voting Behavior,” 90-91.

For various overviews of literature on the subject, see Pauline K. Ragan and William J. Davis, “The Diversity of Older Voters” in *Growing Old in America*, ed. Beth B. Hess (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1980), 457-64; Burrus-Bammel and Bammel, “Leisure and Recreation” in *Handbook of the Psychology of Aging*, ed. James E. Birren and K. Warner Schaie, 860; FitzGerald on scholarly perspectives critiquing Arnold Rose in FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 211; Douglas Dobson, “The Elderly as a Political Force” in *Housing the Elderly*, ed. Judith Ann Hancock (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Center for Urban Policy Research, 1987), 195-97, 203-4; Binstock and Jill Quadagno, “Aging and Politics” in *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, ed. Binstock and Linda K. George, 5th ed. (San Diego: Academic Press, 2001), 335-36. Achenbaum directed to various Binstock versions of this collection. Meanwhile, some of the above make or mention critiques of Rose’s earlier work. As additional evidence, for brief discussion of class in relation to the later Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act in the

won a majority of older voters during his election to the White House in 1980 and fared better still in his re-election victory four years later, despite having taken ostensibly unfavorable positions on Social Security in the interim.⁶⁴ Nor was this the first time such an apparent—though ultimately imagined—paradox presented itself: in the U.S. presidential election of 1964, evidence surrounding the defeat of Barry Goldwater, who had taken a seemingly less-than supportive stance on Social Security, undercut a correlation between old age and his politics.⁶⁵

But in Sun City, Arizona, voters strongly supported the senator—he won by a more than 2-to-1 margin in the race against sitting President Lyndon Johnson—despite his potentially problematic position.⁶⁶ And a similar tension existed surrounding the issue of Medicare, the program that passed in the mid-1960s: although Goldwater had criticized federal intervention in matters of health insurance for older Americans, it was something at least a segment of the retirement community “was heavily in favor,” according to a Sun City-area newspaper.⁶⁷ Reporting on trends elsewhere, in California

1980s, see, for example, Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 154-55n23. For overviews of diversity more generally, see Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, xiv, 16. For Schulman recounting, and in the process offering his periodization, see Schulman, *The Seventies*, 85.

64 Schulz and Binstock, *Aging Nation*, 206-7. Binstock alone has pointed to this elsewhere: Binstock, “Older Voters and the 1992 Presidential Election,” 603.

65 This, too, comes from other work of Binstock. For work citing both the Reagan and Goldwater example, see Binstock, “Older Voters and the 1992 Presidential Election,” 603. And elsewhere, he cites the role of old age more generally—or perhaps its basic absence in 1964: Binstock, “The Politics of Aging Interest Groups,” 50-51. On Goldwater and Social Security in 1964, particularly as the issue manifested itself in election with Lyndon Johnson as discussed in biographical works, see, for example, Robert Alan Goldberg, *Barry Goldwater* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 184, 226; Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 269-270, 434, 456. For this in accounts dealing with Social Security, see, for example, Berkowitz, *America's Welfare State*, 73; Sheryl R. Tynes, *Turning Points in Social Security: From 'Cruel Hoax' to 'Sacred Entitlement'* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996), 119.

66 See election results as reported in, with basic margin calculated by author, “Vote Favors Barry Here; Goetze Wins,” *Youngtown (AZ) News and Sun City (AZ) Sun News-Sun (News-Sun)*, November 5, 1964.

67 For quotation, see editorial, *News-Sun*, July 9, 1964. For mention of Goldwater and Medicare, or what eventually became Medicare, see, for example, Jill Quadagno, *One Nation Uninsured: Why the U.S. Has No National Health Insurance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 71; Jaap Kooijman, ...*And the Pursuit of National Health: The Incremental Strategy toward National Health Insurance in the United*

and prior to the 1964 election, the *New York Times* juxtaposed the more affluent and Republican Sun City, *California*—another Sun City community developed in the 1960s—with the less affluent and more Democratic Long Beach in covering the differences amongst older persons. “Medicare care is a concern so unarguable and so transcending partisan prejudices in people’s minds,” it reported, “that, paradoxically, it seems unlikely either to swing confirmed Republicans to the Democratic side or, considering the Administration’s current difficulties in getting the medical care plan passed, to alienate Democratic adherents.”⁶⁸ It was, however, hardly “paradoxical”; no matter how popular such a program was, the issue would really never be the deciding factor.

And yet, of course, it was not that age lacked *any* power as an explanatory variable in the formation and playing out of the political culture of older Americans. Politics closer to home, particularly involving school taxes, as scholars going back to the 1960s pointed out, could function as important and as exceptions to prevailing trends.

States of America (Amsterdam and Atlanta, Georgia: Rodopi, 1999), 163. As original source material suggests, Goldwater’s overall position, articulated before 1964, appears in the early 1960s, at the 1961 White House Conference on Aging (WHCA), when he spoke out against federal efforts in this area. For speech in WHCA materials, see Barry Goldwater, “Family Life and Older Persons” in *Aging with a Future: A Selection of Papers Defining Goals and Responsibilities for the Current Decade*, Reports and Guidelines from the White House Conference on Aging, no. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Special Staff on Aging, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1961), 10-17. Copy of speech first viewed at Arizona Historical Foundation and now can be in the since-reprocessed collection, in folder 6: “Family Life & Older Persons (White House Committee on Aging),” box 554, Series VI: Media: Speeches, Statements, Remarks, 87th Congress, The Personal and Political Papers of Senator Barry M. Goldwater (BGP), Arizona Historical Foundation (AHF). For brief history of Medicare itself, for which I cite additional sources at later points in this dissertation, see Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 146.

68 Gladwin Hill, “California’s Elderly Split on Presidential Race,” *New York Times*, September 20, 1964. For similar evidence of the trumping of class or other variables over age alone among retired Americans in Hal Rothman’s very useful and illustrative work on retirement in Las Vegas from several decades later, see Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 158-59. My concern thus is that the Republican/Democrat distinction—Findlay, for example, as previously cited, noted the prevalence of Republican politics in Sun City, Arizona—is not always helpful nor particularly productive in locating and making sense of *retirement* politics. And my point here in relation to the work over the decades on age and politics also is shaped by and has relevance to the work of suburban historians such as Matt Lassiter and Robert Self—as also previously noted. For Findlay, see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 206.

Campbell acknowledged that a politics revolving around retirement or old age could manifest itself through “local, nonpartisan elections.”⁶⁹ In work published in the 1970s and 1980s, Binstock acknowledged the pursuit of “their self-interest as an age group,” explaining that separating out and isolating matters of old age otherwise subsumed within electoral structures—of “the context of a referendum” versus “the context of a candidate election”—presented opportunities for age-based political effectiveness.⁷⁰

Evidence from various accounts on retirement housing points to this dichotomy in action on the ground. In illustrating the elusive category of inwardly focused, politicized older Americans, Frances FitzGerald identified two very different retirement experiences in one Florida city. “In St. Petersburg, for example, the oldest retirement town in America, and therefore presumably the most age-conscious, the retired people who lived in the old downtown hotels and rooming houses vote differently from those who live in the new high-rise condos on the beach,” she wrote. “The first tend to vote Democratic and for government-aid programs; the second vote Republican and against government spending.” And, FitzGerald added, parenthetically, “Both, however, vote against local bond issues for the schools—this is their only real area of agreement.”⁷¹ Intentionally or

69 See again Campbell, “Social and Psychological Determinants of Voting Behavior,” 99. For Rose on activism as not “partisan,” though not necessarily referring to local-level politics specifically, see Rose, “Organizations for the Elderly,” 136.

70 Binstock, “The Politics of Aging Interest Groups,” 51 (first quotation); Binstock, “The Aged as Scapegoat,” 138 (second quotation). In the case of the former, Binstock might be drawing on Campbell given the apparent overlap. Although Binstock cites Campbell on the immediately preceding point, he does not do so on this one. For Campbell, see Campbell, “Politics through the Life Cycle,” specifically 114. Elsewhere, he cites later literature and raises questions about this: Binstock, “Older Voters and the 1992 Presidential Election,” 604. Nonetheless, for Campbell on “economic self-interest,” see again Campbell, “Social and Psychological Determinants of Voting Behavior,” 96. And elsewhere, he discusses the potential for a unification around age in relation to things “that do not directly benefit them”—or seemingly that do. Cited again later in Part III, see Campbell, 97, 99 (quotation); Campbell, “Politics through the Life Cycle,” 114, 117.

71 First, in terms of FitzGerald on this point, or what presumably was this point, FitzGerald first discussed and cited in Andrea Campbell’s study: FitzGerald, *Cities on a Hill* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1986), cited in Campbell *How Policies Make Citizens*, 191n28. Note: this is the citation information for the 1986

not, her gesture to this political ground of school taxes lying outside of party politics—one that perhaps transcended the gulf of class—might reveal a local/national divide within the political culture of retired Americans in Florida.⁷² And in the case of Sun City, Arizona, the publisher and editor of the *News-Sun* made this very distinction, even though not citing school taxes—at least not specifically—nonetheless pointing to the predominance of “local issues” as constituting Sun City politics.⁷³

edition indicated in my initial citing of FitzGerald and have omitted citation information already provided. Second, for discussion itself and this specific quotation in my text, above, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 211-12 (quotation 211). For FitzGerald discussing political views in Sun City Center, Florida, see FitzGerald, 230-31. For example, for discussion of attitudes involving “free enterprise and rugged individualism,” see 230. For evidence involving Reagan, see 231. Meanwhile, Campbell addresses FitzGerald in discussing the following: “An interesting avenue for further research would be to determine whether seniors who live in senior-only communities or housing are more likely to be politically active than those living in mixed-age settings (I refer to age-restricted housing developments for the able-bodied, not nursing homes).” See Campbell, 191n28. While my work does not deal with such “participation”—the degree of, as I understand Campbell’s perspective here—in the case of Sun City, Arizona, I utilize various scholarship on collective political power growing of, or otherwise involving, housing—from the standpoint of particular political *issues*. First, see the work of Patricia Gober as relevant here: Gober, “The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 196. Specifically, here—in drawing contrast—she refers to K.M. Heintz, *Retirement Communities: For Adults Only* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University, Center for Urban Policy Research, 1976). This account also first cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170. Meanwhile, for Gober on significance of “Size or scale,” perhaps relevant here, see Gober, 189. Second, I also utilize the work of Evan McKenzie on this general point, and which I use in elaborating on this overall point below in this section. For example, see McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 191-192.

72 In redeeming the work of Rose to some extent, FitzGerald acknowledges the rise of an age-based culture—and in doing so, seems to make the case for space, however implicitly. However, viewed within the framework of metropolitan history, as I discuss shortly below, there very well might be an opportunity here to connect community politics here back to school taxes. For FitzGerald, see “Sun City—1983,” 212. For Rose himself on what essentially is space, segregation, and common ground, see Rose, “The Subculture of the Aging,” 7. An earlier version appeared as Arnold M. Rose, “The Subculture of the Aging: A Topic for Sociological Research,” *Gerontologist* 2, no. 3 (September 1962): 123-27, first indicated in Rose, “The Subculture of the Aging,” 3. For more recent research suggesting a local/national divide of sorts, and thus perhaps illustrating a political culture of retirement defined by space, see Ross Andel and Phoebe S. Liebig, “The City of Laguna Woods: A Case of Senior Power in Local Politics,” *Research on Aging* 24, no. 1 (January 2002): 87-105.

73 For quotation and broader context of discussion here, in which he subsequently cites—more specifically—the *financial* nature of the political, see Burt Freireich, interview by Melanie Sturgeon, January 22, 1992, C213, partial transcription by author of cassette tape, SCAHS. During research, however, tape—along with others in collection—moved to the Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records. For summary first used prior to my transcription, and for discussion above confirmed subsequently, see Freireich, interview, summary and “Synopsis,” esp. 3, SCAHS, “Oral History Project” bk. 2, SCAHS. And again, although he does not appear to cite school taxes in this immediate context—he does discuss them at another point in the interview, slightly before—he does cite some that I cite later. For discussion of schools taxes, see Freireich, summary and “Synopsis,” 2.

This project utilizes an approach and an analytical framing paralleling that revolving around the relationship between class and old age. And in doing so, it looks at how the political culture of Sun City—whether essentially reproducing or spinning off a familiar, though particular, politics—overlapped with the political culture of suburbia or, more generally, homeownership within the broader arena of housing.⁷⁴ As one respect in which this occurred, John Findlay recounts, “They organized homeowners’ and taxpayers’ associations which provided a multitude of services and guarded residents’ political and financial interests.”⁷⁵

74 For “suburban” frameworks in general, see again accounts on “suburban” and “Levittown” comparisons cited earlier in my Introduction—and even if dealing with built environment or urban form rather than political dimensions explored below, nonetheless relevant to my thinking and project overall. And in terms of specific areas of overlap among politics, I cite accounts below for such politics on a point-by-point basis—for existing work pertaining to Sun City and for scholarship offering important frameworks for relevant trends.

75 Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 200. For Findlay discussing “associations” elsewhere, see also Findlay, 202, 206 (quotation). For Sturgeon on one event in relation to age segregation, see Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 105. For examples of organizations and issues in Sun City, also see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee, 1960-1985*, 80-81, 83-85, 86, 123-132, 215-230; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 98, 125-126. For overviews of the history of homeowners’ associations, see Gerald Frug, “The Legal Technology of Exclusion in Metropolitan America” in *The New Suburban History*, ed. Kruse and Sugrue, 207-8; Evan McKenzie: Evan McKenzie, *Privatopia: Homeowner Associations and the Rise of Residential Private Government* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 9, 9-10, 11-12, for example. Another useful account on political power at the local level in more recent times comes from journalist Joel Garreau’s case study of Phoenix, specifically his identification and explanation of “shadow governments,” in which he uses Sun City, Arizona, in fact, to set up his discussion. See Joel Garreau, “Phoenix: Shadow Government,” in *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier* (1991; New York: Anchor Books, 1992), 179-208 (quotation 185). And both for Sun City and for discussion and overview of, specifically see 184-87. Additionally, but no less importantly, Tom Sugrue presumably is referring to such methods or types of local-level activism, particularly in light of the studies he cites, when he explains, in writing of the political landscape of modern America: “The proliferation of local governments and authorities resulted in a profusion of locally oriented constituent and interest groups. Often small but well organized, these extragovernmental organizations have played a significant role in state and local debates about such issues as taxation, public education, zoning and land use, civil rights, and housing.” Sugrue, “All Politics is Local,” 304-5 (quotation 305). For example, one of the chapters he cites from his study of Detroit deals with neighborhood associations, out of which—according to Frug—homeowners’ associations grew, as well as homeowners’ and similar organizations, while Robert Self in his study, for example, discusses mobilization around property taxes. See, in order, Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), chap. 8, cited in Sugrue, “All Politics is Local,” 305; Sugrue chapter directly, Sugrue, “‘Homeowners’ Rights’: White Resistance and the Rise of Antiliberalism,” in *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* (Princeton Classic ed.), 209-29, esp. 210-11, 211, 212, 214; also Sugrue, 12; Frug, 207; Self, *American Babylon*, or the “forthcoming” version, cited in Sugrue, “All Politics is Local,” 305; Self, 282, 320, for example. On tax-related activism in his account, see also Schulman, *The Seventies*, 205, 206, 207, 210, 213. But for caveats, also see 213, 302n58. Frug’s overview also cites, in part, the above chapter—

Sun City political culture further paralleled suburban political culture in what Robert Self describes at one point in his study of Oakland, as “the concrete economics of taxes and home values.”⁷⁶ Although not identical to the landscape Self explores and explains, the case of Sun City in northwestern metropolitan Phoenix perhaps exhibited a saga of tax politics similar in topic, if not also in tone, in the postwar decades.⁷⁷ Here,

among others—from Sugrue: Sugrue, chap. 8, cited in Frug, 207. And for an example dealing with school politics in Matt Lassiter’s study of busing, see that of “the Concerned Parents Association.” See, for example, Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*, 121. And, although Sugrue focuses on the relationship between the federal and local levels, and while the politics present in Sun City—particularly those dealing with school taxes and age restrictions—might not fit within this exact dynamic, political culture in Sun City nonetheless featured similar political efforts, not to mention the identities and issues themselves, discussed and cited previously as well as discussed below additionally.

76 For Self’s framing here, see again Self, *American Babylon*, 98. And for “low property taxes,” seemingly more specifically, see also 99. For specific chapter in which this appears, see “Tax Dollar” in Self, 96-131. For discussion of political culture of taxes elsewhere in his study, including the above, see, for example, Self, *American Babylon*, 6-7, 10, 16, 17, 96, 98, 99, 101-102, 102, 103, 107, 108, 119, 121, 128, 129, 256, 259-260, 272, 281-282, 285-287, 288-289, 291, 292-293, 317, 318-319, 320, 321, 325, 326, 333-334, esp. 334. And for his work elsewhere, see, for example, Robert O. Self, “Prelude to the Tax Revolt: The Politics of the ‘Tax Dollar’ in Postwar California” in *The New Suburban History*, ed. Kruse and Sugrue, 147, 149, 150-151, 155, 155-157, 157, 158, 159-160.

77 First, on Sun City case specifically, for accounts on different aspects of the history of Sun City and school taxes, see accounts previously cited and also later, including Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 206-208. And providing an account making connections between the landscape of retirement and that of the local or metropolitan useful in thinking about the case of Sun City, Arizona, similar or not, Rothman’s discussion dealing with retirement in Las Vegas relates it to and delves into the issue and politics of “growth,” to which I turn immediately below, particularly in relation to schools: Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 153 (quotation), 164-65, 166.

Second, Sun City politics-as-tax politics—that I discuss immediately below in relation to the Peoria schools—perhaps paralleled what Self also discusses in relation to “growth” in the context of events in his study. See Self, *American Babylon*, 282 (quotation), 320. For additional discussion of background of, see also 256-257. And broader context of changes here, see 281-282, 292-293, 319. For Self elsewhere on the above, see, for example, Self, “Prelude to the Tax Revolt,” 156-157. For perhaps relevant discussion in Bruce Schulman’s study, even if a different time period from Self, above, see case of San Gabriel Valley and context of in Schulman, *The Seventies*, 205. And for Howard on “enrollment boom” and implications of in his study, see Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 180-184 (quotation), 188. For discussion of tensions involving “welfare” that literally appeared in the Sun City case in one moment in the 1970s and that might be applicable to Sun City in other debate—in which school taxes pitted retirees against other residents living in the district—see, for example, Self, *American Babylon*, 285 (quotation), 285-286, 319. And for in relation to more broadly, see also 292-293. And for other language, if not also dynamic/s, that surfaced in the Sun City case, including that of “free ride”—although roles could be reversed in Sun City-Peoria debate, with retirees and their supporters making claims in a way homeowners employed against “industry,” given that Sun City, as discussed below, treated itself as such economic terms—see also discussion, for example, in 101-102, 102 (first quotation here), 106 (second quotation). Furthermore, Self’s discussion provides a useful framework, whether my study of events in Arizona fits within his discussion or not, in terms, for example, of “the metropolitan distribution of public resources” (282). For “metropolitan” framing, see again Kruse and Sugrue, “Introduction,” 5-6. And for “competing suburbs” specifically, as perhaps relevant here, see specifically 6. And again, for Findlay’s work as offering a similar and useful framing in his previously noted section, see again Findlay, 204-208, 209-212. In terms of Sun City as

the school district of which Sun City, Arizona, was a part featured increasing populations generated, from one perspective, by the fellow district communities of Peoria and Glendale—and accompanying taxes that retired residents opposed.⁷⁸

fitting within this framework, Findlay—to be clear—first discussed and cited tax politics, particularly in terms of schools: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 206-207, 208. However, his discussion seems to treat school politics—in what he discussed was the case of the Peoria schools—as “urban politics,” although—in context of more recent work, in suburban history, might be viewed more in terms of “competing suburbs,” as in above framework, even though he does refer to Peoria as “the adjacent suburb of Peoria.” For Findlay, see 206 (second quotation), 208 (first quotation). For Kruse and Sugrue, see Kruse and Sugrue, 6.

Tax politics in Sun City extended beyond schools to include incorporation and incorporation politics, too. While overlapping with Self’s study from the standpoint of taxes, the position of homeowners there differed. For Self, see Self, *American Babylon*, 120-121, 124; Self, “Prelude to the Tax Revolt,” 153-154. On incorporation and taxes in Sun City, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 206; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 155-56; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 225-226, 226. For mentioning “too costly,” see also Blechman, *Leisureville*, 130. And citing incorporation and perhaps in this sense, see also Freirich, interview. And for another account, specifically on the role of taxes in relation to incorporation, in what presumably was a later account, given the year of publication of the larger book in which it appeared, see also Garreau, “Phoenix,” 184. And while not citing taxes on this page but nonetheless drawing an important comparison and thus offering a framework for understanding Sun City politics in *context*, as unfolding elsewhere, see also Findlay, Findlay, 355n150. And also not citing taxes but discussing resulting arrangement—which, in light of the above, ultimately did involve taxes—see also brief discussion in VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 213. Here, on role of Maricopa County, see also Findlay, 206. Meanwhile, on history of incorporation more generally, see also, for example, Findlay, 205, 206, 208; Sturgeon, 155-156; Freeman and Sanberg, 225-226. For taxes in debate in case of Columbia, Maryland, see also, for example, Nicholas Dagen Bloom, *Suburban Alchemy: 1960s New Towns and the Transformation of the American Dream* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2001), 96.

⁷⁸ While I note the specific population changes for these communities later in this dissertation, and also explain specifics involving the Peoria schools, for discussion and data illustrating relevant changes here, see excellent account of VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 173, 190, 191, table 7.1, “Population of Metropolitan Phoenix, 1960-80,” 224. And while VanderMeer here points out that the groups into which these communities fit followed different trajectories, at the same time Peoria, too, did experience growth in population—evident here and also discussed in another respect in Chapter 5.

In terms of what perhaps was the context of school taxes more broadly in the postwar decades, one scholar in the 1970s, for instance, also wrote of “a continual and growing revolt of taxpayers against the higher local property taxes for school taxes and school bond issues.” See Robert Boyden Lamb, “The Taxpayers’ Revolt against Rising School Costs,” *Current History* 63, no. 371 (July 1972): 22. For evidence illustrating a change over time, see 22, 23, table I, “National Results of Bond Elections for School Purposes.” And for additional discussion, see 22-25. For another account, one offering discussion of various relevant work—to which I return to in my Chapter 6—see also Maris A. Vinovskis, “An Historical Perspective on Support for Schooling by Different Age Cohorts” in *The Changing Contract across Generations*, ed. Vern L. Bengston and W. Andrew Achenbaum (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1993), 51. For additional discussion and evidence, also see 51-52. Furthermore, even if older persons tended to oppose school funding more so than those in other age groups, as evidence Vinovskis provides and discusses, such age groups themselves were not entirely or one-hundred percent in support of various steps—at least in evidence from the late 1960s and 1970s. Specifically, see results of “Gallup/Phi Delta Kappa Polls of Public Attitudes Toward the Public Schools 1969/88” as discussed in Vinovskis, 51 (quotation), 52-53. And for additional evidence, see age trend and 1973 results in Vinovskis, 53, 54, figure 2, “Percentage supporting increase in educational spending.” Later, in Chapter 6, I return to the trend of greater opposition among older persons, incorporating Lamb and also another account offering what perhaps was a relevant context involving the population of the district in which Sun City existed.

Part of the justification undergirding anti-tax politics in Sun City revolved around particular understandings of taxes.⁷⁹ As legal scholar Gerald Frug writes, “Residents of America’s metropolitan areas often pay taxes with the same expectations they have when they pay dues to be a member of a club: taxes are seen as the collective property of a community’s residents, just as a club’s dues are the collective property of club members. They therefore think it obvious that they should only pay taxes for services that directly benefit themselves.”⁸⁰ Similar ideas and practices in Sun City were present in the 1970s,

Meanwhile, even if not fitting within the chronology of Lamb, for example, for tensions over school taxes in the case of one Levittown development, that in Pennsylvania, in the postwar years, see Herbert J. Gans, *The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967), 96-98. And on taxes in relation to another issue, that of incorporation and that surfaced in Sun City, Arizona, as well, see Longstreth, “The Levitts, Mass-Produced Houses, and Community Planning in the Mid-twentieth Century,” 160-161, esp. 161.

79 For scholarly accounts on Sun City identifying, in their own ways, the same or similar ideas to what follows and that I seek to expand upon by linking to useful frameworks, see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 207; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 154; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 214. And for discussion—involving space, as I discuss in my Chapter 6—perhaps expanded upon by what follows as well, see again Findlay, 207-208. Perhaps related in a sense, too, here is Sturgeon: Sturgeon, 154. And for work on Florida, see again Button, “A Sign of Generational Conflict,” 786-787.

80 Gerald Frug, “The Legal Technology of Exclusion in Metropolitan America,” 212-14 (quotation 212). Here, in fact, he immediately goes on to cite that which is highly relevant to the case of Sun City and my project: “A growing number of older people, for example, have moved to senior citizen communities to avoid paying the taxes that support local schools.” See Frug, 213. Also relevant to my project, he further goes on in the following lines to address two other issues to which I return at different points in my dissertation, particularly in my Chapter 6. For these, see again Frug, 213. More broadly, he also writes of this in relation to “a fee-for-service mentality toward paying for city services that mimics the consumer-oriented perspective of the market rather than a more public-oriented recognition that the ability to live in a diverse society depends on ensuring (and financing) the welfare of one’s neighbors.” For quotation and context, see 212-14 (quotation 212). For other work of Frug discussing a “fee-for-service mentality,” and also citing “retirement communities” as one example, see Gerald E. Frug, in *City Making: Building Communities without Building Walls* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), 178. For chapter, dealing with “a consumer-oriented understanding of city services,” from which this comes, see more broadly Frug, “Alternative Conceptions of City Services,” in *City Making*, 167-79 (quotation 167). A very useful, and foundational framework, for my analysis comes from the work of Liz Cohen, who—writing in the wake of the twentieth century—has suggested that American political life as shaped by consumerism devolved to a point “where self-interested citizens increasingly view government policies like other government transactions, judging them by how well served they feel personally.” See Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 8-9 (quotation 9), 387-97, esp. 396-97. Other scholarly accounts provide important frameworks as well, whether engaging explicitly with consumerism or not. For another useful framework, which I refer to in relation to retirement elsewhere but—in terms of discussion here—dealing with “Civic secession,” see discussion in Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 3, 24-26 (quotation 25), 139-140. Cohen, meanwhile, mentions “tax assessments” in her work: Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 397. And another account that has been a major influence in my thinking about space, taxes, and understandings of and implications for citizenship, even if the case of Sun City was not necessarily identical to the trends he

if not earlier, in strategic attempts to bypass school taxes.⁸¹ Giving rise to a new kind of selective citizenship along lines of young and old, the political culture of Sun City

discusses, is that of political scientist Evan McKenzie: McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 26, 186-87, 188, 190-91, 192, 196. Here, and also on p. 23, McKenzie cites—for example—the work of Robert Reich and his “the secession of the successful” framework. See Robert Reich as discussed and quoted in McKenzie, 23, 186-187 (quotation 187). For Reich directly, see Robert Reich, “The Secession of the Successful,” *New York Times Magazine*, January 20, 1991, 42, cited in McKenzie, 23, 186-187. And for broader discussion here, see also 21-23. Whether or not the case of Sun City, Arizona, fits within the periodizations of the above accounts, they offer important analytical frameworks for approaching and explaining such thinking and efforts in Sun City—which seem to have been underway in the 1970s, if not earlier.

Perhaps fitting within such frameworks as well, particularly that of Frug, see also quoted material in Matt Lassiter’s work. See “one father” as quoted in Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*, 140. And for elsewhere, see also “a speaker” as quoted in Lassiter, “‘Socioeconomic Integration’ in the Suburbs,” 127. More broadly, and offering a framework of its own involving consumerism and politics beyond such “taxes,” Lassiter’s work also explores what he describes at one point as “a rights-based language of consumer liberty and socioeconomic privilege” in the politics of busing. See, for example, Lassiter, 13-14, 122, 122-123, 133, 137-138, 139-141 (quotation 140), 142, 143. More broadly still, see also, for example, 2, 3, 249. Lassiter also cites two accounts I utilize in my project, and cite both above and below, dealing with consumerism—the work of Liz Cohen and Meg Jacobs—in his historiographical discussion. Along with relevant discussion, see Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, and Jacobs, *Pocketbook Politics*, both cited in Lassiter, 8. Additionally, such one-to-one, dollar-for-dollar thinking might even apply to other issues, particularly as the federal level, within retirement political culture. Specifically, it might parallel what Julian Zelizer has explained was the popular appeal of Social Security. Zelizer writes: “American proved willing to pay specific types of taxes if they were distinguished by trust funds or packaged as earmarked contribution. As a result, politicians *linked taxes with specific benefits* that the contributor would receive in the future and created the appearance that such funds were to be protected from irresponsible spending.” Julian E. Zelizer, “The Uneasy Relationship: Democracy, Taxation, and State Building since the New Deal” in *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History*, ed. Jacobs, Novak, and Zelizer, 287 (emphasis added). Also, I mention my approach to this consumerist view of taxes in relation to *retirement* in an earlier note in this Introduction.

My thinking here and elsewhere—in relation to tensions over taxes in Sun City political culture—about the broader, all-encompassing power of consumerism to function as a worldview of sorts also has been shaped by an essay by Jean-Christophe Agnew discussing literature on the subject, including that of Robert Westbrook and others. He writes, for example: “For it is one thing to pursue the *politics of consumption*, to struggle over and through the meaning of goods; it is quite another to pursue the *consumption of politics*, to form one’s political thought and practice upon the model of commodity-exchange.” For quotation, as well as context of discussion, see Jean Christophe-Agnew, “Coming up for Air: Consumer Culture in Historical Perspective” in *Consumer Society in American History: A Reader*, ed. Lawrence B. Glickman (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1999), 373-92, esp. 388-390 (quotation 388). Historian Meg Jacobs offers an important framework in her work as well: “In the twentieth century, as the economy and society became increasingly organized around a new national mass consumer market, the means to consume became important not only for securing three square meals a day but more broadly as a market of economic citizenship and full membership in the American polity. *Consumption was replacing production as the foundation of American civic identity.*” Meg Jacobs, *Pocketbook Politics: Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 2 (emphasis added). For an interesting and important discussion of “consumerism,” see also Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 1-14. 81 Despite the periodization issue with Cohen’s account as noted above, her own discussion of suburban politics in the postwar decades also might fit this trend, bookending her narrative. One difference, however, might be one of scale—that suburban citizenship, no matter how it privileged private over public, was still bound by the metropolitan framework versus a transformation among the American population more broadly. For overview of this political system in her work, in relation to taxes in particular, see, for example, Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 227-28, 231-34, 240, 252-53. Additional evidence of an earlier

viewed taxes and services through the lens of consumerism—according to whether or not one had school-age children. Indeed, that retirees did not use schools rationalized resistance, providing proof in making the cases for releasing them from school taxes.

Relatedly, perhaps, the relative lack of consumption of schools on the part of retirees was one issue, along with that of “Sun Citizens” spent, in a broader political equation calculating the retirement community’s worth to the metropolitan area and state. Sun City and its supporters, in other words, sometimes viewed and treated retirement-development as economic-development.⁸² While interests such as homebuilders,

periodization, discussed in the text, is suggested by books dealing with retirement issues appeared as early as the 1950s, discussed and cited later in this dissertation.

82 Findlay discusses this idea first, writing of “a new and clean industry” in his study of Sun City. And while he discusses the dual nature of a retirement economy of sorts—of the prospect of dollars and cents, and a disproportionate under-consumption of services—my work examines the specific issue of school taxes while, no less importantly, considering the political nature of the implications represented by retirement in generating and offering leverage to given groups or interests. For Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 210 (quotation), 210-11. On efforts towards and discussion of “the retirement industry” in the late twentieth century in relation to geographer Kevin McHugh’s observations from one forum, see Kevin E. McHugh, “The ‘Ageless Self’? Emplacement of Identities in Sun Belt Retirement Communities,” *Journal of Aging Studies* 14, no. 1 (March 2000): 107-109 (quotation 107). For biographical information on McHugh, see 103, 104. And for subsequent history of here, see also Kevin E. McHugh, “Three Faces of Ageism: Society, Image and Place,” *Ageing & Society* 23, no. 2 (March 2003): 166. For other work on retirement in Florida on same or similar ideas, see Irby, “Taking out the Trailer Trash,” 186, 194, 196-97. These last pages, pp. 196-97, appear to provide evidence akin to the political nature and leverage—or how the consumption of retired or older persons on the ground could be harnessed for other ends—that I discuss above. For excellent evidence from other work, see also Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 43-44, 48, 58-59; Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 105. And in his account of more recent events, Blechman discusses this perspective and overall dynamic as well. In particular, and including discussion of schools and demographics, see Blechman, *Leisureville*, 187. For further evidence in his account, also see Blechman quoting and discussing view of Sumter County commissioner Jim Roberts, in Blechman, *Leisureville*, 157. And for discussion involving “economic boon” in their study, see Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 49. I return to the passage in which this appears in my Part III in a note on how this might be connected to below. See Blakely and Snyder, 49-50.

For other work that has shaped my thinking and framing on this point, see, for example, the following involving politics of economic development at both the metropolitan and inter-regional levels that, regardless of geographic scale, are both useful in my usage: Self, *American Babylon*, 15-16, 100, 101-102, 102-103, 106, 107-108, 109-110, 125-127, 318, 319; Self, “Prelude to the Tax Revolt,” 149, 150-151, 154; Margaret Pugh O’Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 64; Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 132, 138, 163-66, for example; Schulman, *The Seventies*, 110-12, esp. 111-12; Jefferson Cowie, “‘Anything but an Industrial Town’: Bloomington, 1940-1968,” in *Capital Moves: RCA’s Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (Cornell University Press, 1999; New York: The New Press, 2001), 41-72, specifically 42-43, 43, 47-48, 48-49, 49-50, 50-51, 52-53, 60-61, 61, 71; Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, “Sunbelt Boosterism: Industrial Recruitment, Economic Development, and Growth Politics in the

politicians, and analysts could promote or celebrate the migration of people and dollars to Phoenix or Arizona itself in light of the perceived rewards flowing from retirement development, the implications of such trends—real or imagined—allowed for the making and taking of a preferential political status within Sun City political culture. Arming retirees with considerable discursive capacity and power, the ostensible significance of the retirement community to local communities and economies could serve as a tool for managing debate and a means of rationalizing certain positions, policies, and outcomes. At the same time, and in light of its political footprint, retirement could bear resemblance to—if not usher in—the unstable, potentially destructive dynamic inherent in what Hal Rothman has called the “devil’s bargain” in his work.⁸³

Developing Sunbelt” in *Sunbelt Rising: The Politics of Place, Space, and Region*, ed. Michelle Nickerson and Darren Dochuk (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 31-57, esp. 32-34, 37-38, 39-40, 40, 41-42, 43, 44, 47-51, and Shermer, *Sunbelt Capitalism: Phoenix and the Transformation of American Politics* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 1-2, 3, 5, 6, 7-8, 12, 225-69, esp. 225, 227-28, 234-36, 238-39, 241, 246-47, 248-50, 251, 253, 255-57, 258, 259-62, 264-65, 266-68. For additional background on rise of Phoenix, and the Western United States more broadly, respectively, see also, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 162-63; Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier*, “From Regional Cities to National Cities, 1950-1990,” 64, 68, 73.

In my discussion and analysis, in different chapters through this dissertation, I examine the position taken by one Sun City organization. As newspaper coverage in the mid-1970s reported, for instance: “The Sun City Taxpayers Association is beginning a campaign to have retirees and retirement communities recognized as an Arizona industry.” And, it continued of events at hand: “The SCTA board of directors endorsed the move Tuesday, aimed at establishing tax breaks and other incentives to encourage retirees to move to Arizona.” See Don Rosebrock, “SCTA Launches Campaign for Retirement ‘Industry,’” *News-Sun*, May 16, 1975. Additionally, I do not develop this point in the text of this project, but it might be worth considering how the political culture of retirement as a means of economic development might fit within the ideology of old-age, particularly Social Security, politics. After all, the political culture of Sun City was predicated on political economy of retirement in the state and more immediate metropolitan area, in which the positive net effect, promoters claimed, of retirement development warranted certain political privileging. In other words, retirees would be entitled, in this view, to tax benefits, for instance, based on this net—economic—effect.

83 I further discuss and explore such issues in my Part III. For Rothman, see Hal K. Rothman, *Devil’s Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 10-12 (quotation 10). He opens his study, for example: “Tourism is a devil’s bargain, not only in the twentieth-century American West but throughout the nation and the world. Despite its reputation as a panacea for the economic ills of places that have lost their way in the postindustrial world or for those that never found it, tourism typically fails to meet the expectations of communities and regions that embrace it as economic strategy. Regions, communities, and locales welcome tourism as an economic boon, only to find that it irrevocably changes them in unanticipated and uncontrollable ways. From this one enormous devil’s bargain flows an entire collection of closely related conditions that complement the process of change in overt and subtle ways. Tourism transforms culture into something new and foreign; it

Finally, “Sun Citizenship” overlapped with the political culture of suburbia in another important way identified by Robert Self.⁸⁴ Various scholars have pointed to and explored the role of, particularly preoccupations with, “home values” in urban and suburban politics—illustrated, for example, by the work of political scientist Evan McKenzie, who explains that “certain groups of people are considered a threat to property values and are excluded.”⁸⁵ And here, tools as “deed restrictions” could extend

may or may not rescue economies” (10). Although my focus differs from Rothman’s, and while the case of Sun City on this point does not necessarily illustrate exactly the entire relationship that he explores, this idea does offer a valuable framework for thinking about and explaining how this dynamic plays out in the case of Sun City, in which the latter has the capacity ultimately to undermine the former as one population exerts power and seeks to secure certain gains via certain means—in my work, at least, in terms of taxes and homeownership.

84 See again quotation earlier: Self, *American Babylon*, 98.

85 For quotations, see Self, *American Babylon*, 98 (first quotation); McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 78. For complete quotation and context of relationship of race and class here, over time, see again McKenzie, 78. For discussion involving property values in McKenzie in the vein of his quotation in the text above—as defined in oppositional terms—and including in relation to race, see, for example, 58, 60, 61, 61-62, 64, 64-65, 72, 74, 76, 78. For other discussion of, see also 19, 122, 145, 177. While I cite material again later in relation to developers specifically, for role of residents—at level of “associations” here—see, for example, 71-72 (quotation 71). Perhaps relevant here, too, see also 71, 72, 74, 76. And, to be clear: I cite again these and/or other accounts in a later section in my Introduction for the relationship to developers. And even if McKenzie’s study would not fall under the umbrella of “urban and suburban politics,” it nonetheless provides important and useful frameworks.

In terms of urban and suburban historical scholarship, see the work of Tom Sugrue and Robert Self as relevant here. For example, see—including evidence discussed and quoted—in Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 214, 217, 220, 224. I cite Sugrue again, as relevant above, later as well in relation to top-down efforts. Meanwhile, perhaps involving this point as well, Sugrue also refers to the “investment” and “economic interests” homeownership represented. Here, see also, for example, 78, 210 (first quotation), 214 (second quotation), 215. The first page here come from chapter that Sugrue and Frug cite in previously cited work: Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, chap. 3, cited in Sugrue, “All Politics is Local,” 305; Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, chap. 3, cited in Frug, “The Legal Technology of Exclusion in Metropolitan America,” 207. For chapter directly, see “‘The Coffin of Peace’: The Containment of Public Housing” in Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 57-8. For additional discussion, perhaps relevant here as well, see Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 253-254. This is from chapter also cited in Frug: Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, chap. 9, cited in Frug, “The Legal Technology of Exclusion in Metropolitan America,” 207. And for chapter itself, see “‘United Communities are Impregnable’: Violence and the Color Line,” in Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 231-58. For language more generally, see also 211, 213. And for McKenzie on “investment,” see also McKenzie, 191. Meanwhile, for work of Robert Self, see, for example, Self, *American Babylon*, 16, 104, 114-115, 130, 159-160, 272. For discussion in context of in relation to “multifamily housing,” see also 279, 280-281 (quotation 280). Perhaps referring to this and/or other events, see also 289-290. For additional discussion of, particular from perspective of “homeowners,” see again 98. And for material perhaps also relevant, see again 130. And here, while I return to material here again for top-down efforts later, for “homeowner politics” specifically here, for example, see 16. For work of Liz Cohen, see, for example, discussion—including evidence discussed and quoted—in Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 206, 213, 217, 219, 221, 253. For perspective of residents, Cohen writes on p. 217: “Attesting to the extent which fear of declining property values underlay

to and involve *age*—something to which McKenzie points, too, and that Findlay, to be sure, addresses in his study as well.⁸⁶ In Arizona, property-values politics certainly were

this resistance, one Myers neighbor told a *Life* magazine reporter: ‘He’s probably a nice guy, but every time I look at him I see \$2000 drop off the value of my house.’” For quotation and context, see Cohen 217. And, importantly, providing an account dealing with such politics later in the twentieth century, Mike Davis, whom both Sugrue and Lassiter also cite for their own respective purposes, states: “The most powerful ‘social movement’ in contemporary Southern California is that of affluent homeowners, organized by notional community designations or tract names, engaged in the defense of home values and neighborhood exclusivity.” See Sugrue on Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (London: Verso, 1990), 153-219, discussed and cited in Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 211, 340n8; Lassiter on Davis, *City of Quartz* (1990), discussed and cited in Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*, 8, 335n10; Davis, *City of Quartz* (London: Verso, 1990; New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 153 (quotation). McKenzie discusses and cites Davis’s work here in relation to “property values” as well in his study: Davis, *City of Quartz* (1990), chap. 3, cited in McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 193. For discussion perhaps relevant here, or otherwise useful in identifying the role of, in Blakely and Snyder, see also Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 20, 154.

⁸⁶ For quotation in text, see that quoted in McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 20. And for discussion here, including citing “covenants banning children,” see 20-21 (quotation here 21). On the rise of restrictions and change over time overall, see, for example, McKenzie, 26-27, 30-31, 36-37, 38-39, 43-44, 45, 55, 57, 58, 64, 65, 66-67, 68-69, 70, 71-72, 72, 73, 75-78., esp. 75. For efforts at level of, or otherwise including, residents via “associations,” see specifically 69 (quotation), 71, 71-72, 73. For other relevant work, especially involving race and subsequent efforts, see also Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 216. And for discussion of zoning elsewhere, see also 206. And for discussion of restrictions and those the same or similar to the above, also see discussion in Sugrue. For example, see Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 44-46, 221-222. For perspective of residents here, see, for example, 221. In addition to restrictions, in Sugrue and accounts cited above, see also Sugrue, 231-234, esp. 231, 233; McKenzie, 73-74. Next, for Self, see, for example, Self, *American Babylon*, 104-105, 105. And for “array of devices,” perhaps overlapping with the above, see also 104. And for relationships to “property values” in first place in McKenzie, for example, see, for instance, McKenzie, 51 (quotation), 57-58, 64, 76, 78, 128-129. For discussion perhaps relevant here of history of, see also Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 19-20, esp. 19. And for discussion on significance and implications of, from standpoint of tensions seemingly internally, see also, for example, 21-22, also 146, 148. And in relation to the role of “developer,” see also 148. And for perhaps even broader significance of “property values”—that might be seen as akin to nature of tax politics—see also 144, 145 (quotation), 147, 148-149. And for discussion of perhaps parallel politics in McKenzie, see also McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 18-21, esp. 19. And for other discussion perhaps relevant here, involving “loss of freedom,” see also 43. Meanwhile, for discussion of in Self, see also discussion—including evidence cited/quoted—in Self, 104, 105.

Meanwhile, for discussion of trend to which McKenzie perhaps is referring on, for example, pp. 58 and 75 about “today’s CID lifestyle covenants” (75)—but even if not, nonetheless important in its own right—see, for example, 21, 57, 128, 129. And on p. 129, he discusses at one point—perhaps explaining the nature of such restrictions here—that “these powers permit the regulation of a wider range of behavior than any within the purview of a public government.” For discussion here, including quotation and examples, see again 129. For additional discussion, and also as including “property interest,” see also 140. Also perhaps relevant, see also 97. And here, more specifically, this involves discussion of a study McKenzie addresses and that I also note later in this Introduction and use elsewhere: Edward P. Eichler and Marshall Kaplan, *The Community Builders* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 114, 116, 117, discussed and cited in McKenzie, 97. And while the material cited above includes the role of developers, I return to this specifically later. For discussion, or mentions, of “homeowner associations” here, see, for example, 69 (quotation), 71, 73, 75. And for explanation involving restrictions and how work, including in relation to such associations, see also, for example, McKenzie, 20, 21, 51, 58, 127, 128-129; Blakely and Snyder, 20. Meanwhile, for my purposes here, for discussion of restrictions involving age and/or younger children specifically, see, for instance, 21, 129, 161. And, if involving residency, see

part of a broader, coordinated effort over retirement housing in the 1970s and 1980s.⁸⁷

And while such concerns do not appear to have stood as front-line rationales in Sun

also Richard Louv, *America II* (New York: Penguin, 1983), 93, cited/quoted in McKenzie, 13. If involving residency, too, see also Richard Louv, *America II* (New York: Penguin, 1983), 93, cited/quoted in McKenzie, 13. For other discussion of “behavioral restrictions,” even if not involving residency perhaps relevant in terms of ideas and/or practices of relationship between age and space in general, see also 142. Here, McKenzie is discussing and citing Carol Snyder, *The Great Condominium Rebellion* (New York: Delacorte, 1981). And for discussion in Louv—in McKenzie—not necessarily dealing with residency directly but nonetheless relevant from standpoint of age and space, see again Louv, cited/quoted in McKenzie, 13. For other accounts discussing or mentioning age restrictions, or what presumably were such restrictions, see Frug, “The Legal Technology of Exclusion,” 208; Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 21, 49. And, to be sure, for Findlay as relevant here, see my discussion that follows in this note. For Findlay addressing Sun City issues involving “deed restrictions” in his study, including in relation to age, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 202. Presumably addressing the rationale underlying efforts discussed, Findlay explains: “The enforcement of deed restrictions not only preserved the ‘proper’ appearance of Sun City but also ensured that the town lived up to buyer’s expectations” (202). And he continues, perhaps elaborating and also illustrating the key to this: “Residents of Sun City attempted to forestall undesirable changes that might make the community more similar to conventional town” (202). And next: “They thrived on their isolation as well as their *homogeneity*” (203, emphasis added). First, for earlier discussion of “homogeneity,” see 197. Second, if thus shedding light on the role of such “restrictions,” other important scholarly accounts discuss them within same or similar explanatory frameworks, particularly if this relationship was one in which this “homogeneity” was the key to an imperviousness to such “changes,” which otherwise would undermine whatever “expectations” surrounded Sun City. See again Findlay, 202-203.

Either way, Findlay might be connecting—and such framework themselves more definitely or at least explicitly do so—restrictions to “property values” in causal terms, which I mention in text and also discuss in my Chapter 7. In terms of Findlay, prior to the above, Findlay writes of “residents’ own *expectations* in support of the emotional and *financial* investment they had made.” See Findlay, 198 (all emphasis added). Related or not, Findlay writes of “property” as well earlier on p. 202: Findlay, 202. And he writes, more specifically, of a “continuity of retirees’ preferences for single-family, detached units.” And, continuing: “Compared to other retirement new towns, with their townhouses, apartments, and condominiums, Sun City had a disproportionately high share of both homeowners (95 percent) and single-family houses (70 percent)” (202). For features including “detached dwellings” in Sturgeon, see again Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 238-41; Sturgeon, 87. For Jackson directly on this, see Jackson, 239. And for Jackson on *homeownership*, overall, see, for example, Jackson, 7, 11. And for other accounts, regardless of agency, potentially useful in their own ways in understanding relationship, see, for example, the following. As Blakely and Snyder write: “Homeowner associations help protect property values by ensuring uniformity in the development, and by ensuring that the original standards remain in perpetuity.” For quotation, including context of “restrictions” in relation to “HOAs,” see Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 20. As another account states: “Owing to single-use zoning and *deed restrictions*, suburbia offers developers and purchasers enormous predictability regarding their investment. If a family buys a single-family house in a new subdivision, it can be certain that it will never be surrounded by anything but single-family houses.” See Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Jeff Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* (New York: North Point Press, 2000), 175 (emphasis added). And if relevant, yet another: “Restrictive covenants, also called deed restrictions, are restrictions in the deed for a property that restrict how it may be used. Restrictive covenants in residential subdivisions and condominiums protect and enhance property values by preventing uses that would be incompatible with other properties.” See Charles F. Floyd and Marcus T. Allen, *Real Estate Principles*, 7th ed. (Chicago, Illinois: Dearborn Real Estate Education, 2002), 56. For other potentially relevant accounts, offering historical perspectives and in their own ways, see, for example: Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, 138, 199; Longstreth, “The Levitts, Mass-Produced Houses, and Community Planning in the

City—if at all, as they did in the positions advanced by leaders of other communities—residents in Webb’s development were motivated by other perceived benefits flowing from age segregation.⁸⁸

Mid-twentieth Century,” 130. Note: I return to and cite some or all of the accounts above later in my Introduction here in addressing the top-down perspective.

87 Such politics—the united front of Sun City, Sun City West, and groups from other retirement-oriented developments over state legislation addressing age restrictions in the 1970s, for example—might further have fit within suburban or broader frameworks, in what Evan McKenzie, in his work on “common-interest developments (CIDS)” in *Privatopia: Homeowner Associations and the Rise of Residential Private Government*, describes as “a CID constituency.” For first quotation, and relevant discussion, see McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 195. And for second quotation and definition of, see 7. In terms of main point, for other discussion of here, including describing as “a voting bloc,” see also 26, 192-196 (quotation 194). While the case of Sun City and others—mentioned in the text and which I describe later in this note—might not fit exactly with or represent the same the trend and events McKenzie discusses, his discussion here does seem to provide a useful framework for understanding the significance of efforts collectively—particularly in relation to that of “the state level” and also “the *state* and local level,” which appears later in the same quotation from which that of p. 195 comes. See again 195 (emphasis added). Perhaps applicable here, too, is discussion in McKenzie preceding the above, in which he appears to address the necessary capacity—and he does so in a way similar, if not directly applicable, to Sun City and other developments: “Because some parts of the country and sections of metropolitan areas appeal to certain populations groups, concentrations of special CIDS can occur. For example, the network of retirement communities in parts of Florida, California, Arizona, and elsewhere in the sunbelt can create substantial concentrated populations of people with similar social characteristics and political concerns.” See 191-192. And connecting this to the above, he also writes, opening the discussion cited earlier here: “There is ample evidence that sufficient commonalities exist among those who live in and serve CIDS to generate demands on the political system.” See 192.

In terms of the issue I refer to in the text, I discuss this in my Chapter 7. And in doing so, one of the points I address—partly drawing on the following—is the extent to which the politics of age restrictions was tied to, if not rooted in, the politics of and, even more for purposes here, the political infrastructure of *homeownership*. For key account, see William A. Anderson and Norma D. Anderson, “A Local Movement at Work: The Politics of Age Exclusion: The Adults Only Movement in Arizona” in *Politics of Aging*, Hudson, ed., 86-97, also—if not first—cited in Otis, “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,’” 161n465. For article elsewhere, see also William A. Anderson and Norma D. Anderson, “The Politics of Age Exclusion: The Adults Only Movement in Arizona,” *The Gerontologist* 18, no. 1 (1978), 6-12. In terms of other state legislation, the Sun City case perhaps is applicable in the politics of school taxes in the late 1980s. And perhaps even more applicable—on another level, and one McKenzie discusses—is the lobbying around federal fair-housing law in the late 1980s as well. I discuss both of these debates in my Epilogue. But for McKenzie here, in the latter case, see McKenzie, 195-196, esp. 195. Meanwhile, closer to home and perhaps illustrating McKenzie’s mention of “sections of metropolitan areas” is groups pushing for assistance from Maricopa County in the late 1970s and/or early 1980s. While I address this also in Chapter 7, for McKenzie quotation here, see again McKenzie, 191. Lastly, and closer to home as well, in terms of *individual* communities, useful in understanding the political significance of Sun City in a relation to neighboring communities is the work of Patricia Gober, whose work I cite on this point in my Chapter 6: Gober, “The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 196, point also—if not first—cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 207-208. And for Gober on significance of “Size or scale,” see also Gober, 189. Overall, organizations in Sun City and elsewhere were not necessarily particular to *retirement*, thus further suggesting how, although the specific content of politics—or the demographic pushing the politics—might change, the process in the abstract could cross over particular markets or populations.

88 Here, I am referring to politics surrounding access to various amenities in Sun City, which surfaced in relation to debates over age restrictions. I discuss this in particular in my Chapter 7. In the meantime, for Findlay in particular, see account cited in previous note. And on this point, that the goals of political

At the same time, the political culture of Sun City was particular to retirement, paralleling but also existing apart from that of suburbia more generally, as accompanying changing shaped the concerns of residents in the retirement community.⁸⁹ It was not just that the local level merely exposed otherwise-obscured matters of importance to older persons, making Left/Right political distinctions otherwise irrelevant. Rather, the nature of the local transcended political dichotomies, as both the issues themselves and the rhetoric surrounding them were shaped by and cast in terms of a collective identity and

efforts were not limited to property values, Robert Self's work is again very helpful—even if not directly applicable to the case of Sun City. Specifically, writing in relation to “homeowner opposition to multifamily housing,” he explains: “Property values remained paramount among homeowner concerns, but a host of other fears motivated their politics: school overcrowding, increased traffic, degradation of parks and other public spaces, crime and increased social service burden, to name the most prominent.” For quotation, see Self, *American Babylon*, 281. And for the context of this discussion in which it appears, see Self, 280-281. Whether or not same or similar “concerns”—in this context, again—manifested themselves in Sun City, at the very least this provides a framework for explaining *multiple or other factors* driving age restrictions in the retirement development. For another account involving an amenity in the context of what apparently was retirement housing, see Louv, cited/quoted in McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 13. For *financial* factor of such factors, of “fees,” see McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 19-20 (quotation 19). For discussion of “to tax themselves,” see also Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 24. And for underlying structure of “common ownership,” see McKenzie, 19. For Blakely and Snyder here, perhaps relevant to the above, see also Blakely and Snyder, 20. For historical scholarship dealing with amenities, in another context, see, for example, Kevin Kruse's discussion of such resources in relation to segregation politics in Kruse, *White Flight*. Furthermore, I provide evidence of how property values *were* on the table to some extent in Sun City towards the end of Chapter 7. Finally, I return to and discuss in greater depth from a historiographical standpoint amenities later in this Introduction to my dissertation—in terms of the role of developers.

89 On retirement distinctiveness in the case of Sun City, see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 161. In fact, the answer of Sun City to retirement questions was a response to what a couple of more recent expert accounts that offer useful frameworks for understanding and further thinking about the spatial, social, and other distinctiveness of retirement developments discuss was a disconnect between existing housing and “needs” of remaining residents over time. For example, according to one account: “Whether or not the suburbs work as promised for children, they are intended to benefit families, especially younger ones. As families age and disperse, however, parents begin to find themselves in an environment that is no longer organized to serve their needs.” And another, although not invoking a suburban framework, explains: “Where people live throughout most of their adult lives is strongly dictated by the location of their workplaces. Retirement removes this residential constraint or at the very least allows for new residential choices for those who still seek part-time employment. The recently retired also acquire a new block of unstructured time for leisure and recreation activities, pursuits to which the current dwelling, neighborhood or community may be ill suited. For both these reasons the long-occupied residence may come under new scrutiny as a place to live.” See Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, *Suburban Nation*, 122 (first quotation); Stephen M. Golant, “Housing Options for Active and More Independent Retirees” in *The Columbia Retirement Handbook*, ed. Abraham Monk (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 365 (second quotation). And, in fact, I discuss such issues and the ways in which designers, developers, and other imagined and implemented ways, via rebuilt retirement housing, of responding in chapters in Parts I and II of this dissertation in particular.

culture of retirement.⁹⁰ In the process, the interests of retired persons also were set apart to some extent from—if not defined *in opposition to*—younger persons, particularly children.⁹¹ Thus, while Sun City told a suburban story of its own, it represented a variation on postwar suburbanization in the politics—born out of the distinctiveness of the social community and built environment—that took shape there.

In particular, if the promoters and parents of suburbia intended the suburban landscape to provide for the development—socially, educationally, or otherwise—for children, specifically pre-school and school-age children, then Sun City certainly broke in a different direction.⁹² In Sun City, the emphasis and local political practices of the retirement community ruled out the residency of children—not to mention that the market developers and other experts tied, directly or indirectly, envisioned for housing for retired Americans, particularly an emergent field of *homebuilding* for retirement, revolved not

90 Although more top-down than perspectives of and evidence from grassroots retirement politics, explored later in this dissertation, for Findlay's "conscious thematic orientation" as a defining feature and framing device, see again Findlay, 160. For discussion perhaps relevant here as well, about the net result of distinctiveness in the development, see also Findlay, 173.

91 In my Chapter 5, I return to this idea, drawing on various accounts—including the work of Findlay again—in understanding and explaining this oppositional definition of retirement culture and identity along lines of age.

92 On suburbia and children, Clay Howard, for instance, explains how postwar suburbanization in the Bay Area and elsewhere entailed ostensibly "wholesome environments for white married couples and their children." See, for example, Clayton Howard, "Building a 'Family-Friendly' Metropolis: Sexuality, the State, and Postwar Housing Policy," *Journal of Urban History* 39, no. 5 (September 2013): 934. For important and useful discussion of the policies and practices in which this effectively was carried out, some of which I cite again below, see also 938-39, 940-42, 943. For article overall, see 933-55. Kenneth Jackson, for example, also discusses postwar suburbia as it involved children in different ways, in the case of Levittown and more generally: Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 235, 236, 240, 243 244-45. And for suburbia and children in a longer historical perspective, prior to the twentieth century, see also, for example, Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 55-59; McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 81. For American thinking on "the family," which presumably included children in light of the context he lays out in advance, see, for example, Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 47-50 (quotation 47), 58-59, 62, 63. This scholarship, particularly the work of Howard, thus serves as useful point of departure and comparative framework helping to illuminate and define the social, economic, and political shape and significance of the trend of retirement and retirement housing in the second half of the twentieth century as particular to aging—while simultaneously a product of, relying on, and re-creating anew a landscape and politics still strikingly suburban. And, as I discuss at later points in this dissertation, Sun City limited the extent to which younger children could use recreational amenities in the development—and their very residency.

around growing families and bigger family homes but rather the dwindling and downsizing of aging families and their housing at later points in their lives.⁹³ Furthermore, schools—an important resource for this population—were part of this overall agenda of restricting residential suburbia. And if such services were a centerpiece of suburban experience, then Sun City imagined itself and conducted its affairs, quite self-consciously, as decidedly *unlike* more dominant residential landscapes in the postwar decades.⁹⁴

93 That Sun City was unique, a variation on suburbia, was reflected more specifically in an overall project of furthering suburbia. In the piece cited above, Howard writes of “the exclusion of institutions that parents might deem detrimental to children.” See Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 942 (quotation), 943. And for Howard on families, particularly those who presumably were to become suburban ones, and the implications for housing, see excellent discussion in Howard, 935-36, 940-41. And for “concerns of parents with young children” as they played out at the levels of the home and of amenities, areas I explore in relation to *retirement* housing in Part I more generally and in Part II in relation to Sun City, Arizona, specifically, see also Howard, 940 (quotation), 941, 941-42, 943. An important framework here, whether or not it involved children, also is the work of Robert Fishman, who has written: “From its origins, the suburban world of leisure, family life, and union with nature was based on the principle of exclusion. Work was excluded from the family residence; middle-class villas were segregated from working-class housing; the greenery of suburbia stood in contrast to a gray, polluted urban environment.” See Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias*, 4. Nonetheless, in Sun City, however, it was *children* who were developed out of the retirement community, conceptually, practically, and ultimately legally—although at the same time, this was yet another form of suburban exclusivity, achieved through suburban means, as Sun City, too, was quite literally about restricting certain persons or groups based on conformity, or lack of, to particular values.

94 On suburbia and *schools* specifically, see, for example, Jackson’s account: Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 289-90, first cited in Jack Dougherty, “Shopping for Schools: How Public Education and Private Housing Shaped Suburban Connecticut,” in “Special Section: Schools and Housing in Metropolitan History,” ed. Matthew D. Lassiter, *Journal of Urban History* 38, no. 2 (March 2012): 205-6. Although Dougherty takes issue with Jackson, he nonetheless reaffirms the significance of schools—and in the process offers an account in which the revised timing parallels the rise and early period of Sun City, Arizona, meaning that such landscapes effectively were contemporaneous and thus helping to draw my Sun City-suburban contrast: “Beginning in the late 1950s and early 1960s, suburban education shifted to become an incredibly powerful magnet that attracted families who willingly paid higher private housing costs for the privilege of more desirable public schools.” See Dougherty, 206. For broader article, see 205-244. I return to Dougherty and the broader historiographical discussion and critique over suburbia and schools shortly below. In the meantime, however, for other discussion relevant here dealing with the place of schools, see that such as “good schools” in Jackson, 244. Frug, furthermore, writes: “Many American suburbs have good public schools—that is one of the main reasons people move to them.” See Frug, “The Legal Technology of Exclusion,” 208. For Howard on schools as part of the suburban formula as developed from above, see Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 939, 941, 941-42, 943. Also reflecting the place of schools in suburban life and politics, schools, of course, were important sites of metropolitan politics featuring suburban residents. For example, see Lassiter, *The Silent Majority*. In the development of Sun City, and in the politics that took shape from both above and from below, schools and school taxes were deliberately *not* included and—as it played out politically—support for the local school district. I discuss such events and issues in Parts II and III.

Additionally, the very pursuit of local politics might have been a product of retirement itself. As one DEVCO official wrote of the broader demographic of older Americans, and prospective Sun City homebuyers, in the early 1960s, “The average retiree is a decided contributor to civic life, inasmuch as they have far above the average amount of time to engage in matters of political interest and community benefit.”⁹⁵

Recent research even suggests that a function of politics in retirement communities unique to retirement—that “concern with local controversies is a way of filling recreational time, keeping them busy, active, and ‘alive.’”⁹⁶

And yet, that residents of Sun City were *residents* arguably said it all. As retirement politics dovetailed with politics involving the costs of homeownership and of quality-of-life issues, such politics were carried out *through* suburban politics; no matter

95 T.E. Breen, “Retirement and Retirement People,” memorandum, in app. C of A Panel from Councils of Urban Land Institute (ULI), *Northwest Phoenix Properties: Report to the Sponsor, Del E. Webb Corporation; Recommendations and Findings* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1961), 94. As the title page of this document indicates, this revolved around “Panel Sessions” held in Scottsdale, Arizona, in late February/early March 1961. Utilized throughout Parts II and III this dissertation, the Urban Land Institute (ULI) report above provides valuable information and evidence in recovering and understanding the perspective of the Webb corporation in its Sun City, Arizona, and related activities. In a bound volume titled *Panel Study Reports, 1959-1961*, this report was viewed in 2009 at the Urban Land Institute’s Washington, D.C., office library, and thank you to Joan Campbell at the Urban Land Institute for helping me locate this document. To be clear, my project is not the first to address what presumably Webb and the ULI here, as those I cite below indicate. Some or all of the following accounts provided a point of departure for my research here, in making me aware of this event and encouraging me to pursue additional research to further explore it: Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 80; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee, 1960-1985*, 19-20. For accounts from Webb and DEVCO personnel, see Jacobson and Breen, interview, 4-5; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 2-3. While Freeman and Sanberg do not cite a specific source, that of Sturgeon cites the oral history with Jacobson and Breen, per her usage, thus meaning that her study apparently does not draw on this document: Tom Breen and L.C. Jacobson, interview by Jane Freeman and Glen Sandberg [*sic?*], November 28, 1983, SCAHS, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 80. Here, for this source, Sturgeon actually identifies the SCAHS as the “Sun City Area Historical Society.” See Sturgeon, 108n9. On background/history of efforts or events by the Urban Land Institute, perhaps applicable here, see discussion in Jason Brody, “Constructing Professional Knowledge: The Neighborhood Unit Concept in the Community Builders Handbook” (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2009), 96. Additionally, for political activity among retired persons due to retirement, see also McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 14-15.

96 Gordon F. Streib and Lisa R. Metsch, “Conflict in Retirement Communities: Applying an Analytical Framework,” *Research on Aging* 24, no. 1 (January 2002): 83. Whether providing another perspective or not, see Andrea Campbell offering and citing evidence—in the previously discussed note—in Campbell, *How Policies Make Citizens*, 191n28. On political activity in Sun City, see again Blechman’s point: Blechman, *Leisureville*, 129.

how specific politics—real or imagined—were to retirement-community residents, the shaping, articulation, and implementation of respective agendas operated within a broader logic and blueprint of suburban political culture.⁹⁷ As retirement communities such as Sun City took on various strains within a political culture drawing on the politics of vulnerability and the politics of homeownership, residents were not just “senior citizens”

⁹⁷ Again suggesting the overall system at work here is previously cited scholarship—the discussion of Frug, for example, in which a self-interested approach to political economy is a broader feature of metropolitan politics, and thus presumably not particular to aging Americans. More broadly, in terms of my arguments and framework within which I work, while Findlay’s initial framing might privilege retirement over suburbia, and while much of my analysis in this dissertation explores the logic of retirement distinctiveness, my approach and analysis remain rooted in the suburban. In terms of the political specifically, Findlay—to be clear—does address “associations,” for example, cited earlier in this section, but I seek both to treat such politics as, as noted above, and to connect them to and fold them into an extended framework of *suburban* politics more explicitly, at least in my reading of Findlay, and all in relation to the tension within the relationship he raises and discusses in opening. For Findlay framing, see again Findlay, 160. And for quotation here, see again Findlay, 200. For other politics and issues discussed by Findlay, see my discussion of—and of my work in relation to—in earlier note in this section in relation to the immediately above. Overall, in terms of point cited here—and also that concludes this paragraph—in discussing the development process and built environment of Sun City, I make a parallel argument, particularly in my Chapter 4: *while Sun City politics were suburban politics, the process mattering as much as the content of particular politics, developing communities like Sun City remained relevant even if the form or function of certain aspects—amenities, for instance—reflected retirement distinctiveness*. My arguments, here and throughout this dissertation, about the suburban nature of Sun City within dichotomies of politics/process and—later, in terms of the built environment—product/process, benefit from the analytical or theoretical frameworks of various scholarship, in their own respective ways and contexts. While I return to his work on the work of Clarence Perry and its application, Jason Brody argues in his dissertation: “If we view the Neighborhood Unit as a practice technique rather than substantive model, we can understand its impact in places like the FHA literature where it moved subdividers to think of developing *in the mode* of a neighborhood unit.” Whether or not, or regardless of the extent to which, this involved those such as the ULI that he discusses in this chapter, see Brody, “Constructing Knowledge,” 110. For context at hand, see 109-110. And, for chapter in which this appears, see again “Diffusion of the Neighborhood Unit” in Brody, 81-111. I follow more closely this dynamic than those offered by work below from standpoint of Sun City not strictly as a suburb but as sharing certain features and trends in its development. I cite his point here again in my Chapter 4, in relation to my argument about Sun City both as suburb and as a *retirement* community. Meanwhile, other scholarship—involving history and regionalism—offers ways of thinking about such dynamics in the abstract, however unrelated to my specific work and arguments here. In their collection engaging the history of the Sunbelt, Michelle Nickerson and Darren Dochuk write, for example: “As politically and economically created *spaces*, regions represent landscapes with nebulous and constantly shifting boundaries drawn by institutional and individual actors who, over time, create patterns that mark a geography as distinct—as a recognizable region.” See Michelle Nickerson and Darren Dochuk, “Introduction” in *Sunbelt Rising: The Politics of Space, Place and Region*, ed. Nickerson and Dochuk (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 14. For broader context of discussion here, see also 13-14. Additionally, another study useful in framing and articulating the dynamic I attempt to articulate in my project is Patricia Nelson Limerick’s *The Legacy of Conquest* (1987), in which she writes of “the West as a place and not a process” and that my arguments revolving around the above dichotomies invert this relationship. For Limerick, see Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*, paperback ed. (1987; New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1988), 26. And for context here, see also 25-27.

but, more particularly, “Sun Citizens” claiming rights of retirement bestowed under the category of “Sun Citizenship.”⁹⁸ Even if the content—or the *framing*, given the role of discourses tied to retirement and retirement distinctiveness in Sun City politics—was particular, the process persisted.

Developing Retirement

At the same time, DEVCO helped to shape Sun City politics in developing the retirement community. In relation to the issue of school taxes, for example, it perhaps directly influenced the views of prospective homebuyers and, in turn, Sun City residents.⁹⁹ At the very least, it provided a framework for retirement-community politics and activism—spatially, economically, and culturally—via company development

98 I have borrowed the term “Sun Citizens” as used by several different sources, both secondary and from the period. For example, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 200, 205. For another example, of “Sun citizens,” elsewhere, see E.G. Dearman, “Sun City: Care for the Elderly in Arizona,” *Social Policy & Administration* 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1982), 231 and elsewhere. For an example of this used in period accounts, see “The Family,” 48. And, *Sun Citizen* also was the title of a local newspaper, which operated at least at some point in the 1960s, as an account by Calvin Trillin in the *New Yorker* indicates. See title of *Sun Citizen* as cited in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 120. Finally, on my use of this term, another source I encountered early in researching the history of Sun City involved a similar but ultimately different newspaper title, that of the *Sun City Citizen*. For example, see publication title accompanying Gail Washchuck, “Injunction Filed Challenging Petitions for School District,” *Sun City Citizen*, July 3, 1974, in “H.O.A. Scrap Book: 1973” scrapbook, Sun City Home Owners Association (SCHOA), Sun City, Arizona. Note: I viewed this scrapbook, and others, at the office of SCHOA during a research trip in June 2006. For background on newspapers that presumably were both of the above, the *Sun Citizen* and *Sun City Citizen* (or the *Sun City Sun Citizen* and *Sun City Citizen*), see the following from a database of the Arizona State Library, Archives, and Public Records. See, in order, http://asla.ent.sirsi.net/client/en_US/default/search/results?qu=%22sun+citizen%22&te=ILS, (last accessed September 10, 2015,) and http://asla.ent.sirsi.net/client/en_US/default/search/results?qu=%22sun+citizen%22&te=ILS, (last accessed September 10, 2015).

Furthermore, and no less importantly, I have arrived at the term “Sun Citizenship” that I use at times in this project by combining “Sun Citizens” and a term that Calhoun uses at one point in history—that of “senior citizenship.” See term quoted in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 196. Here, I must thank Aaron Cavin, in particular, for his insight and encouragement in the early stages of what become this dissertation to consider the relationship between and significance of different retirement-related language. In brief, the framework I ultimately have devised here is one in which all “Sun Citizens” were “senior citizens” but not vice-versa. Matters of class and homeownership divided the two; the political culture of “Sun Citizenship” is driven by taxes, property values, and access to amenities, in particular.

99 See, in particular, Findlay on this point cited later in this section.

approaches and efforts, meaning that this particular brand of retirement political culture grew not only from below but also from above.¹⁰⁰ Whether residents were in agreement with Webb or whether they opposed the positions and actions of the developer, it involved the underlying objectives and practices of DEVCO.

Scholars of postwar consumerism have discussed the marketing of products in relationship to age. As historian Lizabeth Cohen explains, producers in the postwar years turned to the growing practice of “market segmentation,” seeking to sustain sales by seeking out new, more specific markets.¹⁰¹ “If any kind of segmentation epitomized the hopes and success of the postwar marketing profession,” she writes, “it was segmenting by age, where stages of life, linked to patterns of purchasing, reshaped the mass market.”¹⁰² And as the pursuit of prospective purchasers extended across the

100 My thinking about the framing of the relationship between DEVCO and residents has been shaped by various scholarship in cultural and political history. Jackson Lears, for example, writes of “the agenda-setting power of the producers” and also of “the fundamental fact of cultural power: not its capacity to manipulate consciousness but its existence as a set of givens that form the boundaries of what the less powerful can do or can even (sometimes) imagine doing.” See T.J. Jackson Lears, “Making Fun of Popular Culture,” *The American Historical Review* 97, no. 5 (December 1992): 1422-23 (first quotation 1422, second quotation 1423). For piece in its entirety, see 1417-26. And useful for my purposes here—though *not* identical in content per his particular point—is Sugrue’s discussion in his study in which he writes: “Economic and racial inequality constrain individual and family choices. They set the limits of human agency. Within the bounds of the possible, individual and families resist, adapt, or succumb.” Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 5. Another important account upon which I rely—and cite and elaborate on below—is the work of Evan McKenzie on homeowners’ associations and, more particularly for my purposes here, the role of developers. In the meantime, see, for example, McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 127-128.

101 Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, esp. 292-98 (quotation 295). For another useful overview here, see also Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 194. And for Calhoun making point later perhaps relevant here, see again 210.

102 Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 318. For relevant discussion in Cohen on age, including older ages, see 297, 318-20, 322. For discussion of such efforts along lines of different variables, see 296, 297, 309-31. Meanwhile, for another excellent discussion of age and consumerism, including Sun City, Arizona, see also Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 186-89. For another discussion of such practices involving old age, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 194-95, also 210. For work of sociologist Stephen Katz on the marketing of age and aging, see Katz, “Growing Older without Aging? Postmodern Time and Senior Markets” in *Cultural Aging: Life Course, Lifestyle, and Senior Worlds* (Peterborough, Ontario, Canada: Broadview Press, 2005), specifically 188-89, 190-91, 195-96, 197-98; Katz, “Fashioning Agehood: Lifestyle Imagery and the Commercial Spirit of Seniors Culture” in *Childhood and Old Age: Equals or Opposites?* ed. Jørgen Povlsen, Signe Mellengaard, and Ning de Coninck-Smith (Odense [Denmark]: Odense University Press, 1999), specifically 79-80, 84-88. As my Chapter 2 notes, experts in the postwar years would address differences between a definite, chronologically specific age for definitional purposes

generational spectrum to include older consumers, the pursuit of aging Americans extended to the arena of *housing*.¹⁰³

In terms of the products homebuilders sold, the appeal behind their offerings ostensibly flowed from an ability to speak to older Americans.¹⁰⁴ And in terms of seeking out homebuyers, the homebuilding industry—including Webb—factored in the financial and other encouraging signs exhibited by older Americans that, as different interests and participants saw it, had implications for private-sector housing.¹⁰⁵ At the

and an approach based more on different stages of life—or “the life cycle concept.” See, in particular, William D. Wells and George Gubar, “Life Cycle Concept in Marketing Research,” *Journal of Marketing Research* 3, no. 4 (November 1966): 355-63 (quotation 355), first cited in Cohen, 318, citing Ronald E. Frank, William F. Massy, and Yoram Wind, *Market Segmentation* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 36.

103 On marketing to different groups within this variable of age, including older Americans, see Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, 318-20, 322. For other accounts on rise of in relation to older consumers, see Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 186-87, esp. 187; Schulman, *The Seventies*, 86; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 190-92, 195-200, account again first cited, along with other pages, in Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 24, 25; Otis, 24-25, 40. On rise of homebuilding for retirement, see, for example, the following, which I cite in Part I, along with evidence from my own research and analysis that I cover in Part I and also Part II: Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 195, 196, 201-10, these pages and others in broader range again first cited in Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 24, 25, 40; also Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 40, 45, 45-48; Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 67, 68-69; Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 187-88; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 49-57, esp. 54-55, 66.

For Clay Howard’s excellent work on another demographic from an industry perspective, see also that on housing among *younger* families. For example, see Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 940-41; Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 129, 133 144, 145, 150-151, 157. For background of rise of, by other private-sector actors, see 135-136. And on significance of, see also 129, 131, 132, 133, 135, 145, 148, 150, 151, 153-154.

104 For significance of Webb and Sun City, see again, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 173-174; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 71. And for discussion in relation to “new phase of life,” see also Freedman, 54-55 (quotation 55). For excellent and highly useful overview and framework of rise of homebuilding for retirement in Sturgeon’s study, see, for example, Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 54, 55-56, 56-57, 57-59, 66. And here, as other accounts do, she points out financial factors and the industry. See Sturgeon, 54.

105 For Calhoun’s account here, see again Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 196, 203, 204, 205, 208-209. In addition to finances, he points out attention given to other factors that I also discuss at later points in this dissertation, particularly in relation to homebuilding for retirement in Chapter 2, involving the downsizing of the family and, ultimately, of the home. In relation to evidence from a committee of the American Public Health Association, he points out “the changing size and composition of the family unit” (203). And on p. 204, he relays discussion involving apparently changing “needs,” which might have dealt with the shrinking of the household or other issues. See again 204. For Freedman, see again Freedman, *Prime Time*, 35-36, 63. And for Findlay, see again Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 4; Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 172. In this last account, he writes of the background: “American retirees became more numerous, more prosperous, and more healthy throughout the postwar era” (166). For rest of discussion, see again 165-66. Worth noting, too, is that in the former account, he also cites the factor of the “lengthening lifespan of the elderly”: Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 4. Another account apparently making this point, VanderMeer writes: “Rising affluence and higher Social Security payments, plus improved health and increased life expectancy,

same time, the homebuilding industry pursued, and perhaps even initiated, a new market and market framing—something that involved what one architectural expert recently has explained as a de-centering of old age. Presumably referring to legislation passed in the late 1980s, he writes, “As the Social Security Act had established 65 as a threshold for senior status, the Fair Housing Act (FHA) of 1968 similarly established 55 as another senior threshold.”¹⁰⁶

Indeed, the age of “65” has received a good deal—if not dominant amount—of attention in historical study of old age, particularly in relation to political matters, with scholars pointing to its deep imprint on the social and cultural landscapes of age and aging.¹⁰⁷ In the case of Sun City, Arizona, and similar developments, however, the

created new opportunities for retirees, and developers in various Sunbelt states began exploring the possibilities.” VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 210. And for Otis’s work as relevant here, see again Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 45-46. And for relevant discussion in their study, see also Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 47-48, 49. I seek to add to Calhoun’s work and that of others, as my analysis of homebuilding for retirement explores in greater detail how the industry understood, discussed, and promoted housing and used such points as these and others in industry publications and other materials. In Chapter 2, I discuss in greater depth the sort of exchange of ideas and practices within industry and other circles, further citing Sturgeon and Calhoun as well. Finally, for discussion of overall point in relation to consumerism more broadly, see again accordant discussion in Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 322. And on financial resources of older Americans, although not apparently discussed if strategically interpreted by private-sector interests, see also Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 187. And for perhaps more direct evidence, including on Social Security, see discussion in Calhoun, 190-91, 195, 196, 198, 199, 200; Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 24-25, 44, 48. Similar to evidence I mention earlier in this Introduction and that I discuss in Chapter 3 on the part of Webb, Calhoun also cites two voices who themselves cited Medicare. See again Cohen and Pelzman, cited in Calhoun, 198. And lastly, for secondary accounts on homeownership, see again Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 84; Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 15; Schulman, *The Seventies*, 85.¹⁰⁶ Ball, *Livable Communities for Aging Populations*, 136. This insightful point provide a useful point of departure here. In addition to connecting the idea of “65” to historical literature, my work seeks to explore this not simply in relation to housing but also in terms of the political significance of “55” in the making of the political culture of retirement and retirement communities—in which such age restrictions could involve important issues of taxes, age segregation, and amenities, all dovetailing with suburban politics in their own ways. In the process, my work also explores the creation of “55” from the standpoint of the *rise* of this identity and practices—and the functions it served—going back to the 1960s and 1970s on the road to the fair-housing legislation of the 1980s. As my discussion below indicates, that of “50”—or, as something not “65”—already was in use in Sun City.

¹⁰⁷ As Carole Haber has explained of the treatment of older Americans in different forms prior to the creation of Social Security in 1935: “Beyond sixty-five, an individual was naturally thought to be antiquated; his age alone became clear proof of his superannuated state.” Carole Haber, *Beyond Sixty-Five: The Dilemma of Old Age in America’s Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 4-5, 5, 7, 125-26 (quotation 125), 127. For somewhat differing, but nonetheless older, ages, see 108, 112, 118, 124.

window of retirement effectively was wider, opening—at least on paper—at earlier ages.¹⁰⁸ As one study of developments in California in the 1960s put it in relation to the

For this point in relation to pensions specifically, see, for example, 108, 124. On growing reach of pensions, see 113, 128-29. And on broader context, see, for example, 127-28. Finally, for Haber discussing “immediate relevance,” also see 6. Another important discussion, Stephen Katz writes: “Whether pension plans were corporate, union, or government, they had to specify at what age and through what means test one could be considered retired and eligible for security benefits. In effect, they constructed and justified a normative age for old age that symbolically differentiated the elderly as a population and excluded it from the workforce. Pension plans institutionalized the last stage of the life-course regime by temporalizing old age and making superannuation an age-specific category.” See Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 61, 64 (quotation). And broader context of discussion here, see 60-61. That private and public policies have had the potential to further cement particular ideas, experiences, and/or practices also is suggested when viewed in relation to historical scholarship explaining the construction and significance of age—demonstrating the interaction of broader structural and social changes. Serving various ends in the historical development of the modern United States, the practice of “age grading,” historian Howard Chudacoff explains, has produced a socially constructed understanding of the life course.

“Every age,” he writes, “carries with it expectations, roles, status.” Chudacoff, *How Old Are You?*, esp. 3-8 (second quotation 3), 184-85 (first quotation 184). For more recent discussion of age as socially constructed, see Steven Mintz, “Reflections on Age as a Category of Historical Analysis,” part of “Age as a Category of Historical Analysis,” *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth (JHCY)* 1: 1 (Winter 2008): 91-94. And, Andrew Achenbaum has written, now over thirty years ago, that “even though physiological old age defies precise chronological definition, sixty-five increasingly denotes the onset of socioeconomic old age as more and more older Americans retire with income from Social Security and other pension plans.” Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 149. And elsewhere in his study he writes that “Social Security and other government policies as well as a variety of private retirement plans have made one’s sixty-fifth birthday a crucial benchmark in recent decades” (2). For similar point about the significance of this age, also see Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 2. And as Richard Calhoun has put it: “The creation of the Social Security Administration in 1935, and the setting of an age—sixty-five—as the accepted retirement age made it possible to fix to the very day that point in an individual’s life when he or she ceased to be economically productive. After one’s sixty-fifth birthday, one could only be ‘old.’” Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 6. For seemingly similar idea, also see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 206. And as Arnold Rose pointed to this in the 1960s: “The age sixty-five has more or less come to be considered as the age of entering ‘old age’ in American society.” See Rose, “The Subculture of the Aging,” 12. In Chapter 1, I return to related issues and cite additional scholarship addressing the social significance of Social Security, and retirement more broadly. On the history and reasoning behind this particular age threshold, see Achenbaum, 149; Costa, 9, 11; Chudacoff, *How Old Are You?*, 115-16; Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 64-65; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 48.

¹⁰⁸ The case of Sun City, Arizona, might suggest that the particular space within retirement it entailed—from the standpoint of a younger age threshold—marks an example, or perhaps forerunner, of sorts to that associated with “empty-nesters,” for example, mentioned in scholarship. For example, see Katz, “Growing Older Without Aging? Postmodern Time and Senior Markets,” 191. To be clear, if Katz’s discussion refers to trends succeeding those evident in and surrounding Sun City, then my work might offer historical perspective—specifically in relation to what I discuss and cite at points in this dissertation on the role of children in the housing equation for aging Americans. For periodization, or periodizations, at work here in Katz, see identification of “the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries” and following discussion in Katz, 190-191 (quotation 190).

Meanwhile, another threshold of sorts bookended DEVCO’s market at the same time—something that I discuss in my Chapter 3 in relation to the creation of Sun City. First, a handful of accounts offer a useful and effective framework for understanding the space ultimately staked out by DEVCO. Authors of one study—which I further discuss and cite in greater detail in the above Chapter 3—write of “retirement as a desirable, hard-earned suspension of time *between work and the frailty that heralds death*” at one point in their piece. David J. Ekerdt and Evelyn Clark, “Selling Retirement in Financial Planning

“average minimum age requirement” it identified, “It may be surprising that such a young age group is deemed a retirement community.”¹⁰⁹ Although some scholarship dealing with such developments, including Sun City, Arizona, has tended to remain wedded to an older-age threshold involving eligibility for residence, Webb operated on one in which—as Findlay details it—“at least one member of household had to be at least *fifty years old*,” based on family or other factors.¹¹⁰

Advertisements,” *Journal of Aging Studies* 15, no. 1 (March 2001): 65 (emphasis added), account first cited in Stephen Katz, “Growing Older Without Aging? Positive Aging, Anti-Ageism, and Anti-Aging,” *Generations* 25 (Winter 2001-02): 28; Katz, “Growing Older Without Aging? Postmodern Time and Senior Markets” in *Cultural Aging: Life Course, Lifestyle, and Senior Worlds* (Peterborough, Ontario, Canada; Orchard Park, New York, U.S.A.: Broadview Press, 2005), 191. And as another account puts it: “Increasingly, retirement is coming to be seen as an active life stage that occurs between the cessation of employment and the onset of the frailties that can come with old age.” See R.C. Atchley, “Retirement” in *Encyclopedia of Gerontology*, ed. James E. Birren, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Academic Press, 2007), 453. Important here, too, is the account of Andrew Blechman, who writes: “Some see the beginnings of an entirely new life stage (much like the ‘invention’ of adolescence a century ago), in which people are neither middle-aged nor old, but rather ‘pre-elderly.’” See Blechman, *Leisureville*, 34. For “experts,” to whom he might be referring here, given context of immediately preceding lines, see also 34. And, this framing itself might also apply to the first point in this note, the case of Sun City, Arizona, perhaps representing the origins—if not the actual existence—of this particular space. Also useful here in thinking about and understanding this overall space is again the coverage from *Time* in the early 1960s: “But what does the man on the porch do with his money and his time, finding himself, as Walter Reuter once put it, ‘too old to work and too young to die?’” See again “The Family,” 46. On this “man,” see also 46. And in terms of actual efforts undertaken by developers such as Webb—which I discuss in my Part II—see the following. First, for a useful account offering an overall view of such trends, see one study of such developments in California in the 1960s on “the ‘young aged’ segment (50-70 year age group)”: Michael B. Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, Special Report no. 2 (Berkeley: The Center for Real Estate and Urban Economics Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California, Berkeley, 1966), 34, study first cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 165; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 1. While I return to the context of point here in which I initially encountered this in my Chapter 3, for such relevant discussion both here and later in the study, for example, see 34, 42. And, for evidence to which p. 34 refers and discussion in its text, and again to which I return later, see also 33, including table 6, “Percentage of Developers Checking Conceptual Features,” 34. And on Sun City, and sources again to which I return later, for an important framework on Sun City demographics, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 197. And for period evidence, see “Webb officials” as cited in “Retirement Town Planning in Brief,” *Webb Spinner* 13, no. 9 (September 1959): 2; “Webb builders” as cited in “Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders,” *Webb Spinner* 13, no. 9 (September 1959): 2. Note: in terms of Barker, while not dealing with Sun City, *Arizona*, Webb does appear to have been included in whatever way in the study—as “Del E. Webb Corp.” and also “Del Webb Corporation” in two different developments: Barker, 91, 93 (first quotation), 94 (second quotation).

109 Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 29. More specifically, it stated here: “The survey of developers also showed that the average minimum age requirement for residents is 48.” On background of, see 27.

110 First, for Findlay here and “fifty,” see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 176 (emphasis added). Second, while I discuss exceptions to what I see as a trend overall in this scholarship towards the end of this note, there appears to be a disconnect between industry efforts and subsequent accounts, evident in different

ways in the work of scholars and writers on the subject—or Sun City specifically. Findlay, for instance, does discuss the lower age threshold used by Webb, and also in case of Youngtown, but his historical overview of relevant demographics refers to “elderly people,” presumably the 65-years-of-age-and older group given the statistics he cites which appear to be the same as those cited in the sources I cite in my Chapter 1, and also writes of “the belief that sixty-five-year-olds had a right to retire” in relation to Social Security. See, in order of pages as they unfold in his account, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 165 (quotations), 172, 176. And for “sixty-five and over” elsewhere, see also, for example, 167. Other accounts dealing with Sun City, Arizona, or Sun City Center, Florida, in the case of FitzGerald’s study, exhibit a similar tendency, of using and acknowledging different age cut-offs but not explaining the logic of the lower one/s: FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 204, 205-6, 206, 207, 209, 219. And her account also points out then-contemporary trend of residents under sixty-five years of age and discusses cases of several residents as well, specifically Theodore Peck, Betty Cooper Pierce, and unnamed “man.” See 229, 230 (quotation). And elsewhere in the chapter, she points out trends in Florida among younger age brackets. Here, see 209. Other accounts discussing Sun City, Arizona, in relation to other, broader discussions or studies do the same. Gary Cross, for instance, mentions the “over 65 years of age” mark and speaks of “the elderly” at different points, even while not long after citing Sun City’s “50” approach: Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 187 (first quotations), 189 (last quotation). Also see 188 for additional evidence of the former. Meanwhile, Jon Teaford’s discussion of retirement communities and Sun City includes a framing of demographics based on the older threshold, even while mentioning Webb’s use of a younger one: Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 108. The same is true of an account by Howard Chudacoff: Chudacoff, *How Old Are You?* 178, 180. And in terms of the piece from *Time*, it did discuss “60” in relation to Youngtown and “50” in relation to Sun City but when addressing demographics only cites those involving those, for example, “65 or over.” See, only in order of piece, “The Family,” 46 (last quotation), 47, 47-48 (first quotations 48), 48, chart, V. Puglisi, “People Live Longer.” Chronological framings bookended by “fifty-five” at the beginning, discussed in Chudacoff, might represent overlap—whatever the particular origins or, if any, relationship—with DEVCO’s market: Chudacoff, 181. Importantly, however, some accounts do—to differing degrees—move in a direction towards “50” or even discuss this in relation to deliberate or strategic marketing. FitzGerald, for example, discusses the factor of work and different factors behind work that had implications for retirement, including those had served in the military. See discussion of trend among military retirees and case of Peck, as well as that of the unnamed “man” again: FitzGerald, 229, 230. And yet, FitzGerald does not appear to connect this to any marketing strategy on the part of the developer—which I do, including for the military market, later in Chapters 2 and 5. For Schulman’s account, in which he draws on FitzGerald here on the trend of those “retired well before age sixty-five,” see FitzGerald, 226-35, cited in Schulman, *The Seventies*, 87. Cross, meanwhile, does mention the issue, for instance, of household size as a factor in retirement housing or accommodations in general—that “many retirees felt that they were living in an ‘empty nest’ when adult children moved far from home.” But again, the relationship with marketing is not resolved, which I also attempt to address later in this dissertation. For Cross here, see Cross, 187, 188 (quotation). Sturgeon in her study at one point uses a threshold of “fifty-five and over” in her discussion comparing the financial resources of residents and others, although not in relation to age restrictions in housing and not connecting to the agenda or efforts on the part of the developer and dealing with specific features of such a demographic. See, for example, Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 90. Importantly, the recent journalistic account of Andrew Blechman discusses more recent demographic trends involving “fifty-five, the point of eligibility for most age-restricted communities,” although my work is historically focused and seeks to understand the motives behind. See Blechman, *Leisureville*, 34-35. For threshold, also see 35. And for literature in another area moving towards—or already addressing idea in—the space below “65,” Achenbaum does refer to other age thresholds—“55” and other, older ones, as well as “fifty”—although there does not appear, here at least, to be any elaboration of the reasoning behind them: Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 2.

Several accounts, however, do identify and discuss the important linkages between such factors and markets of prospective homebuyers as made by developers such as Del Webb. In his important study, Richard Calhoun on one hand does include evidence addressing, again, “the family unit” and “needs” but also relies on evidence of “the over-sixty-fives” in discussing evolving industry trends. And in discussing evidence on old-age consumerism more generally, he mentions a lower threshold—that of “over fifty-five”—but does not appear to investigate or explain its function or significance. On the other hand, he at

Here, homebuilding helped to advance new understandings and practices of retirement and retirement citizenship, including a culminating—later in the twentieth

the very least acknowledges the strategic nature of the age threshold developer Ross Cortese. Although he does not elaborate on if his specifically involved issues of work, family, or other factors, he writes that “he set the lower age limit of his prospective clientele at fifty-two, citing this as the age when many people seem to want to make a fresh start.” See, not necessarily in order, Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 198 (fourth quotation), 201, 203 (first quotation), 204 (second quotation), 205 (third quotation), 209 (last quotation). Blechman, importantly, connects the “fifty-five” age threshold to business strategy, writing, for example: “*Lowering the age limit to fifty-five opens to market to a much larger demographic of potential buyers, especially if only one member of a household has to qualify. A sugar daddy can still live with a twenty-five-year-old wife or even a college-age child.*” See Blechman, *Leisureville*, 70 (emphasis added). For further evidence dealing with market size, in the context of comparing this threshold to another specified under federal legislation in the 1980s, which I return to in my Epilogue, see 69. Marc Freedman, meanwhile, offers perhaps the most complete discussion, in terms of variables, on this particular point. Although he cites evidence involving both higher and lower ages, he does address and explain the rationale behind Webb’s cut-off in writing that, in Webb’s early efforts, “the age restriction would be lowered a decade from Youngtown’s sixty, to the age of fifty, to broaden the market and take into account increases in early retirement.” See Freedman, *Prime Time*, 32, 32-33, 34, 35 (quotation), 36, 48, again 51 and 52, 59, 61. While, for example, he also cites—or cites evidence of—Social Security on p. 35, this would have involved a threshold, at the youngest, of 62. For Social Security and modification, see, for example, 49. And, to be sure, the California study—cited above—addresses “market elasticity” as well, and which I cite on this point in my Chapter 5: Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 29. Overall, while Freedman—and other account—might not necessarily view the inclusion of both older and younger ages in their different discussions as inconsistent or contradictory, Freedman at least does address the logic of the latter. Nonetheless, his account addresses the factor of work—and, apparently, the factor of sheer size—but not that of family. Neither do Freedman—and also Calhoun—provide much elaboration or give statistics, for example, of this larger group—as I do in Chapter 2. Nor do these accounts—or any of the above—appear to attempt to make the same historiographical intervention that I do, in relation to other accounts on retirement housing and communities or on old age and old-age policy, in emphasizing as my work aims to do of how and why the industry at large and Webb specifically functioned outside of conventional or existing definitions of older ages, the market eclipsing entrenched and policy-oriented thresholds set the state. And finally, in terms of literature on consumerism more broadly, Cohen’s important discussion dealing with old age does include evidence using thresholds other and lower than those of “65,” within a broader discussion of age and the life-cycle framework as conveyed in the previously cited work of Well and Gubar. Thus, given this framework and evidence pertaining to a younger threshold promoted in defining a market for retired or aging Americans, one presumably could infer that those within such markets might have been *marketed to* based on factors involving family and involving products that thus reflected such features. See Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 318, 320, 322. And for Wells and Gubar, see again Wells and Gubar, “Life Cycle Concept in Marketing Research,” 355-63, as cited in Frank, et al., *Market Segmentation*, cited in Cohen, 18. Her discussion here, however, does not necessarily explicitly identify such approaches as or locate them within efforts and a broader strategy of actively seeking to utilize such features in marketing to such consumers. And, of course, my work is on retirement housing specifically. In the end, there is the related issue of how such thresholds actually played out on the ground—the extent to which they mattered in terms of the residential populations in retirement developments. FitzGerald, for example, reported: “In the beginning—that is, in the early sixties—most of the people who bought houses here were around sixty-five years old. But in recent years people have been coming here in their early sixties and in their late fifties.” See FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 229. For age initially, also see Carolyn Tuttle cited/quoted in FitzGerald, 235, 236 (quotation). Thus, although more residents might have adhered to the age threshold around the time her account was written, fewer apparently did in the past. Note: I discuss age restrictions specifically—in their own right—below in this section, as my focus here in the discussion at hand is for purposes of addressing the expanding of this chronological window of retirement.

century—in acknowledgement and formalization in federal fair-housing policy.¹¹¹

Overall, DEVCO played its part in popularizing a brand of retirement citizenship, via Sun City, Arizona, that existed in a universe parallel to public policy—even as it was, as writer Marc Freedman points out, dependent upon it.¹¹² At least in the area of retirement housing, developers such as Del Webb thus arguably played as much of a role in shaping and promoting the rights of retirement as did Congress or the AARP.¹¹³

In exploring the top-down making of “Sun Citizenship,” this project examines the perspective and efforts of DEVCO, in part an attempt to follow in the footsteps of work in urban and suburban history paying attention to and incorporating the role of developers and other private interests.¹¹⁴ Webb was involved in different and significant ways as it

111 In Part I, in Chapter 2, and in Part II, in Chapter 5, I discuss this issue from the standpoint of residential development. In terms of such practices as they played out in relation to public policy, at the state and local levels, I discuss such related issues in Part III, in Chapter 7, while in my Epilogue I address age restrictions here at the federal level in the 1980s and 1990s.

112 In terms of Freedman, as he puts it: “In the case of Sun City, the developer was helped by the government in many other ways, both direct and indirect: Purchasers of Sun City homes were buoyed not only by government pensions but also by FHA loans. Furthermore, age-segregated housing—again—was specifically protected under fair housing legislation.” For this, and broader evidence and point to which I return in Chapter 3, see again Freedman, *Prime Time*, 63. For perhaps additional discussion involving financing here, see also 62. To be clear, Webb and other developers and interests thus were enmeshed with the state by the later 1980s—and, at the state and local levels, even earlier. But what became such policies appear to have *originated*, or at the very preceded federal policy, in the approaches and efforts of homebuilders such as Webb, including in terms of the broader industry context in historical perspective. In particular, see my Chapters 2 and 5.

113 While my focus in this dissertation is on the rise and defense of retirement rights in relation to retirement *housing*, it does not look at how the political culture of, and ungirding, retirement in this vein might have shaped understandings and practices in relation to retirement—and American life—more broadly. My discussion in the Epilogue, specifically possible parallels between popular critiques of Sun City in the 1980s and debates over the social-welfare state for older Americans. For example, it might be worth exploring if Webb and others—in utilizing the ages of “50” or “55” in age restrictions—helped to reshape ideas about retirement more generally, in the ages with which Americans equated or associated retirement. And, in terms of how my treatment here of Webb might fit within frameworks dealing with business and business history published since I first undertook this project, see the work cited in a later note below, where I discuss the role of developers.

114 My thinking about the broader role of homebuilders and other participants in or related to the housing industry has been shaped by, and my project aims to add to, work such as the following. For example, see again Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 217-18. For an example in suburban history, see, for instance, Self, *American Babylon*, 16. Other important work shaping my thinking, specifically in terms of other private interests in metropolitan politics, is the scholarship of Nathan Connolly on housing markets. For example, see Nathan Daniel Beau Connolly, “By Eminent Domain: Race and Capital in the Building of an American South Florida” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2008); Connolly, “Sunbelt Civil Rights: Urban

developed Sun City, Arizona. Such ways might be illuminated and framed within practices identified and explained by scholarship dealing with various aspects of urban history and urban politics.

In terms of home sales, for example, Liz Cohen suggests the agency of homebuilders, writing in her discussion “that whatever the developer’s particular position on residential integration, his will could determine the racial composition of an entire community, and in more cases than not, he was convinced that his profits depended on keeping it white.”¹¹⁵ As Evan McKenzie has explained in his work on homeowners’

Renewal and the Follies of Desegregation in Greater Miami” in *Sunbelt Rising*, ed. Nickerson and Dochuk, 164-87; Connolly, “A Little Insurance: Landlords, Colored People, and Forgotten Uses of the Federal Housing Administration” (paper, based on material from forthcoming book cited above, *Governing America in the Global Era* (GAGE) Colloquia Series on Politics and History, Democracy and Governance Studies, Miller Center, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, October 12, 2012). Clay Howard’s work also offers an example of including the efforts of development and other actors from top-down perspective both in a suburban context and an industry context more similar to that which I study. For example, see his work in what has been published recently as Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 938, esp. 940-41, 943. And, importantly, see also his work from his dissertation, which—when then-in-progress—provided a model in different ways as my own project developed. For work in its final form, see, for example, Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 129, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 144, 145-146, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 150-151, 157, 157-158, 160-161, 166, 167, 174. And for yet others, see also, for example, 145, 146, 146-147, 148, 150, 152-153, 159. And for specific chapter in which this material—and other, cited elsewhere—appears, see “Boom” in Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 128-191. Useful here as well, Irby’s article deals in part with industry dimensions to housing markets. See again Irby, “Taking Out the Trailer Trash.” And for additional discussion of the role of developers and others connected to the homebuilding industry, see also previously cited work of Evan McKenzie, specifically towards the end of the previous section of this Introduction. Also see, for example, 79-80, 80-81, 81-82, 83, 83-84, 85. And more broadly, my project seeks to capitalize on the growing interest and scholarship in business history. For an overview of new scholarly thinking and approaches in the re-energized field of business history, see Kim Phillips-Fein and Julian E. Zelizer, “Introduction: What’s Good for Business” in *What’s Good for Business: Business and American Politics since World War II*, ed. Phillips-Fein and Zelizer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3-15, esp. 3-4, 7-10. For several excellent recent studies looking at the role of business interests, see Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2009); Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, *Sunbelt Capitalism: Phoenix and the Transformation of American Politics* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). Other scholarship dealing with capitalism has shaped my thinking as well, particularly in relation to concerns about dollars and cents from industry perspectives: William H. Sewell Jr., “The Political Unconscious of Social and Cultural History, or, Confessions of a Former Quantitative Historian,” in *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 22-80, esp. 78-79. For a recent overview placing Sewell and related scholarship in historiographical context, see Cook and Glickman, “Twelve Propositions for a History of U.S. Cultural History,” 35.

¹¹⁵ See again Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 217-18 (quotation 218). Here, he cites the cases of William Levitt and Joseph Eichler. See, in order, 217, 217-18. For other accounts on Levitt’s discriminatory practices, see Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 241; McKenzie, on trend and also citing Levitt, in McKenzie,

associations, “Taken together, they give a developer the power to create a distinct lifestyle in a development, which the developer can use as a powerful marketing tool. Moreover, they are the rules of the regime under which, ultimately, the residents will be living.”¹¹⁶ Something to which restrictions could apply as well, amenities—schools,

Privatopia, 69, 70-71. And for discussion of role and efforts of other participants connected to the housing industry, in Cohen, see also Cohen, 217, 219, 221. In terms of sales practices in *Sun City*, see relevant discussion in my Chapters 5 and 7, where I discuss the age-segregated brand of retirement developed by Webb.

¹¹⁶ McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 128. For context of discussion here, including “restrictions,” see also 127-128 (quotation 127). For specific discussion perhaps building towards or further reinforcing the above illustrating the two aspects apparently conveyed by the quotation in the text on the agency of the developer, see point, that—as he puts it—“the developer’s idea of how people should live is, to a large extent, cast in concrete,” see 127. Note: for background on, including how such an “association” works, see also, for example, 126-127 (quotation 127), 129. Meanwhile, for “restrictions that the developer may have created as part of a target-marketing strategy,” also see 129. For additional discussion elsewhere, see also 57. And though not citing deed restrictions here, at least explicitly, for “intentional homogeneity created by CID builders,” see also 191. For discussion in relation to retirement housing or related markets, see, for example, McKenzie on work of Louv: Louv, *America II*, 114, discussed/cited in McKenzie, 57. For additional discussion, see also McKenzie, 161, 191. In terms of McKenzie on p. 161 here, also previously cited, I cite again this discussion of this specific court case in my Epilogue in discussing myself the broader trend of and event surrounding the legality of such housing. Meanwhile, for discussion—including retirement—perhaps addressing similar idea, see also Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 46, 48-49. Next, for work on efforts of developers or other private interests as top-down in relation to—or otherwise seemingly involving in whatever way/s, however indirect in discussion—to deed restrictions specifically, whatever the particular aspect/s of and the purpose/s served, and regardless of chronology, see the following. For McKenzie, see, for example, McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 9, 21, 30-31, 35, 36, 37, 41, 51, 55, 57, 58, 69, 70, 70-71, 127, 129, 148. For discussion quoted and cited above, presumably involving restrictions, see 127-128, 129. For work of J.C. Nichols relevant here, by way of the “permanent mandatory-membership homeowner association,” see 38-39 (quotation 39), 40, 41. And for role here, see also, for example, 40-41. For Longstreth as perhaps relevant here, of Nichols and Abraham Levitt, of the Levitt family, see also 129-130, 130. And by way of such groups elsewhere, see also 71-72, 72, 75. For developers or similar parties in previously cited historical scholarship, see the work of Tom Sugrue. For discussion of by way of “neighborhood improvement associations,” see Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 44-45 (quotation 44), 212. And for same or similar, of “grassroots enforcement,” see also 220. For additional discussion elsewhere, see also 245. If involving developers, see Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 19-20. Perhaps also relevant is discussion that follows, by way of “HOAs.” For quotation and context of preceding paragraph, see 20. And, perhaps more implied, see again Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, *Suburban Nation*, 175. For other accounts, see, for example, again Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, 138, 199. For other, top-down actors—private and public—including restrictions, see, for example, McKenzie, 58, 60, 60-67; Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 197-198, 201, 203, 208-209, esp. 208, 213, 215; Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 43-44, esp. 44, 44, 46, 182, 245; Self, *American Babylon*, 104. And for “developers” again in Sugrue here, see also Sugrue, 182. And for discussion perhaps more generally, but applicable here, see also Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 204, 214. And, presumably post-*Shelley v. Kraemer*, discussed in previously cited accounts, Cohen shortly after writes, relevant to my purposes here in terms of top-down perspectives: “Other strategies of exclusion employed to do the job of the outlawed restrictive covenants depended on the power of real estate market gatekeepers—developers, brokers, mortgage lenders, and, of course, property owners.” See Cohen, 217 (quotation), 219, 221. For discussion in Sugrue, also see 46-47.

shopping centers, and other such resources—were features originating with developers and, even more, could be ingredients accompanying housing in a broader development recipe.¹¹⁷ In the process, whether addressing related or other issues, homebuilding for

And in relation to “property values,” or what presumably was, specifically, see—for example—McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 51; Sugrue, 220. And for Blakely and Snyder, see again, however direct, Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 20. And for another account, on “investment,” see Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, *Suburban Nation*, 175. Here, see also Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, 138, 199. For top-down parties and such concerns, see, for example, McKenzie, 72. And, presumably also relevant here, see also 74. See also evidence discussed and quoted in Cohen, 219; Sugrue, 46. Perhaps relevant here, see also Sugrue, 220. And more generally perhaps, see again Cohen, 217. For Self, see discussion—including evidence quoted—in Self, 104. And for perhaps overview, see Self, 265. For developers as top-down, see also Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 8, 14, 18-19, 46, 48; McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 71. For other discussion involving agency, see also, for example, McKenzie, 80-83, 103. And for agency or efforts of “realtors” elsewhere, see also, for example, McKenzie, 71; Sugrue, 220 (quotation), 226. Lastly here, but no less important, for historians writing of cases in which developers—or, more specifically groups representing developers or similar actors—lobbied government at different levels, and thus relevant for my study in terms of examples/frameworks of the role of the developer in politics that illuminates and frames my work on homebuilders promoting their own agendas in the rise of retirement housing in my Part I and in the efforts of the Webb Corporation involving federal fair-housing policy in the late 1980s in my Epilogue in particular, see the following. If this involved lobbying or similar efforts, see Kenneth Jackson on role of the NAHB in one respective discussion: Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 194. And for seemingly broader discussion here, see also 193-195. In Sugrue’s study of Detroit, see, for example, case from previously cited chapter—“‘The Coffin of Peace’: The Containment of Public Housing”—in Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 61, 63, 72. For additional, later discussion here—whether shaping or reflecting the more general orientation of policy, nonetheless useful for my purposes from the standpoint of identifying the role, or at least presence, of developers—see also 85. As Sugrue writes, for example: “The roster of housing officials in Detroit in the Cobo years reads like a Who’s Who of the city’s real estate and construction industries.” See 95. On Albert Cobo himself, see 82. And, for perhaps another example, involving “Committee for Home Protection” in Self’s work—over public housing as well—see Self, *American Babylon*, 73-74. And for yet additional discussion, suggesting agency of industry, see also, for example, Self, 260-261, 263-264, 264-265. For another example in Sugrue’s study, see also Sugrue, 49-50. On history of governing organizations in Sun City, Arizona, beginning with the Sun City Civic Association and whether illustrating the above or not, see—for example—Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 123. For the Sun City Home Owners Association—which I discuss later in Parts II and III—and role perhaps relevant here, see also 125. On role of DEVCO in the Sun City Civic Association, see also Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 125. And for what might have been, or otherwise involved this, see also 98. For discussion elsewhere in Freeman and Sanberg addressing this from another perspective, if not locating agency elsewhere, see also Freeman and Sanberg, 80. Perhaps offering an explanation of a more nuanced involvement, see also Sturgeon, 125. On age restrictions in Freeman and Sanberg, involving different organizations but particularly the role of the Sun City Home Owners Association, see 227. And as I discuss in my Chapter 7—such segregation was pursued through the medium of sales rather than through deed restrictions—at least prior to the mid-1970s.

117 For mention and discussion of amenities, including that involving the roles they played in relation to any underlying development, see, for example, the following accounts—which do so from different perspectives and some or all of which I return to later in this dissertation, along with others. Note: my project views any “amenities” as any such resources in relation to and as operating within a residential framework, whatever their particular function in serving or enhancing residents of given developments. First, for amenities in Sun City scholarship, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 161, 173, 179, 187. Here, Findlay describes DEVCO as offering a “package”: Findlay, 173. Perhaps involving amenities, too, see also 178. And for others, see, for example, Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 79, 80, 81, 84-85, 87, 96, 101, 101-102, 103, 106, 121, 124, 141; VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and*

the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009, 212; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 33, 35, 62, 64. On another development preceding Sun City, Youngtown, and in relation to, see, for example, Findlay, 172; Sturgeon, 61-62, 63, 66. As perhaps relevant here, see also Findlay, 172-173, esp. 173. On broader trend, see also 52, 54-55, 66. On Youngtown, see also VanderMeer, 210, 212. Other developments in Phoenix and Arizona, in studies on or otherwise including Sun City, Arizona: Findlay, 172; VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 39, 65; “John F. Long” in VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 94; VanderMeer, 211, 212. And for developments more generally in Arizona and also Phoenix area, see the following. While I address in a later chapter, see Sturgeon on context of Webb’s broader—and earlier—efforts, including—or presumably so—amenities: Sturgeon, 74-75, 75-76. And for important work on developments in Phoenix by Philip VanderMeer here, see, for example, VanderMeer, 208, 210. Perhaps relevant here, too, see also 209. On other development, including a trend for which I cite literature on such development nationally, see 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 227, 228. And for amenities, including in relation to retirement, see also Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 39, 46.

Next, for other important scholarship, not on Sun City, Arizona, see the following. For Liz Cohen, in relation to shopping and also—in the process—citing the case of the first Levittown development, see Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 257-259. And in relation to this Levittown, including making point about “more than mere housing”—something, to be sure, to which I return in my Chapter 4—see also Carol A. Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1986), 96. And for same or similar points, along with discussion of amenities, see also Barbara M. Kelly, *Expanding the American Dream: Building and Rebuilding Levittown* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 33 [?], 36; Witold Rybczynski, *Last Harvest: From Cornfield to New Town: Real Estate Development from George Washington to the Builders of the Twenty-First Century, and Why We Live in Houses Anyway*, paperback ed. (2007; New York: Scribner, 2008), 160-161. More specifically, this edition is identified towards beginning of book, on copyright page, as: “First Scribner trade paperback edition May 2008.” For work on Kenneth Jackson, including framing, or at least otherwise mention, of “more than shelter,” see Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 236. For another account, important and useful in different respects, on the first Levittown specifically, see Longstreth, “The Levitts, Mass-Produced Houses, and Community Planning in the Mid-Twentieth Century,” 144. On other Levittown developments and overall, in terms of amenities or what might have been, see, for example, 125, 125-126, 154, 155-158. And on other efforts, including earlier, see also the following for amenities or, again, what might have been such resources: Longstreth, 128-129, 129-130, 147, 148. For another scholarly account citing amenities for what presumably was the first such development, and perhaps related to a broader issue and approach, see Marc A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 2. For other accounts on amenities—or again, what might have been—in various Levitt efforts, including the first Levittown, see Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 237; Christensen, 96, 97, 97-98, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103; Christine Hunter, *Ranches, Rowhouses, and Railroad Flats: American Homes: How They Shape Our Landscapes and Neighborhoods* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 298-99.

For relationship discussed in work on “New Towns,” see Ann Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia: The Planned Communities of Irvine, Columbia, and The Woodlands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 18-19. On Columbia, specifically, see, for example, 114, 121, 123-34, 153. And on The Woodlands, see, for example, 180, 194, 196. For Bloom on such communities overall and Reston, Virginia, in particular, see, for instance, Bloom, *Suburban Alchemy*, 5, 17-18. For discussion in relation to Irvine, see, for example, Martin J. Schiesl, “Designing the Model Community: The Irvine Company and Suburban Development, 1950-88” in *Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County since World War II*, ed. Rob Kling, Spencer Olin, and Mark Poster (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 60, 61, 61-62, 63, 63-64, 66, 67. And in Part II, among other sources, I use a relevant, more period study that addressed various amenities: Edward P. Eichler and Marshall Kaplan, *The Community Builders* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), study first, or also, cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 192. More specifically, see, for example, Eichler and Kaplan, 19, 42. Additionally, for McKenzie discussing amenities—including in relation to “new towns”—see, for example, McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 10, 19, 20, 55, 82, 84, 96 (quotation), 97. And here, McKenzie is drawing on Eichler and Kaplan. See Eichler and Kaplan, *Community Builders*, 34-35, 104-119, quoted and cited in McKenzie, 97.

In terms of schools specifically, see the following scholarship, for example. First, for Howard’s excellent work, on schools in homebuilding for younger families, see again Howard, “Building a ‘Family-

retirement—and efforts in other markets—also appeared in and played out in what perhaps was a print culture particular to the development industry.¹¹⁸

Friendly' Metropolis," 941. And in his dissertation, which has served as a useful guide for my own project here, see, for example, Howard, "The Closet and the Cul de Sac," 157-158, esp. 157, 166, 167. And for Howard on other amenities, particularly churches, see 157-158, esp. 157, 166, 174. For discussion of schools, though not in relation to—or not specified—developers but nonetheless important, see also 133, 156, 157, 166, 166-167, 167-168, 186, 187, 189. And for others here, see 133, 156, 157, 174-176, 186, 187, 189, 190. Meanwhile, in a recent issue of the *Journal of Urban History* featuring work exploring the place of schools on the suburban landscape, Matt Lassiter writes of existing literature on this relationship: "These books ... generally locate schools and housing in distinct sections of the narrative and treat them as separate sections of a multifaceted civil rights movement, rather than analyzing the interplay between the two in metropolitan space." See Matthew D. Lassiter, "Schools and Housing in Metropolitan History: An Introduction," in "Special Section: Schools and Housing in Metropolitan History," ed. Lassiter, *Journal of Urban History* 38, no. 2 (March 2012): 197. On scholarly dichotomization of suburbia and schools, see also 196-98. Yet Dougherty's work, though apparently not dealing with large developments, offers an exciting example of work exploring suburban schools as a sort of suburban amenity. For Dougherty on schools, particularly as understudied, in the suburban literature, see also Dougherty, "Shopping for Schools," 205, 206, 221n4. For overall article, see 205-24. For schools discussed, or discussion involving schools, in scholarship cited earlier in this note, see also, for example, Longstreth, 144, 148, 152; Christensen, 96, 97, 100. On actual location of schools in the case of, for example, Columbia, Maryland—perhaps another aspect of schools-as-amenities or an amenity itself—see Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 121. Note: my discussion of relevant scholarship overall here is not exhaustive, particularly in terms of accounts—or specific pages—on amenities and housing in relation to development efforts more broadly. See my Chapter 4, where I discuss such issues and relevant accounts.

118 Various materials that I utilize at different points in this dissertation—from the Urban Land Institute (ULI), for example—help to illuminate the context of the industry in which developers—including Webb specifically—operated and also coverage of Webb's efforts specifically in relation to Sun City, Arizona, thus understanding the significance of Webb's efforts, including the influences of different ideas and practices entertained and/or put into practice in Sun City. But to be clear, my work is not the first to explore an industry-level perspective in seeking to explore and explain suburban development. Evan McKenzie, for example, describes such a context: "Through the Urban Land Institute and the National Association of Home Builders developers could obtain publications detailing exactly how to design and build standardized CIDs that would be approved by FHA, drawing on the accumulated wisdom and experience of community builders from Jesse Clyde Nichols' era to the present. ULI could provide numerous case studies of model developments around the country, presented in high-quality format with photographs, architectural renderings, and references. With little efforts, a builder who knew next to nothing about CIDs could acquire what amounted to a set of 'cookbooks' that would cover every aspect of their design and construction, including marketing to target audiences, obtaining government approval, drafting legal documents, retaining contractors and subcontractors, and setting up and operating a homeowner association." See McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 107. And this might have been, or been part of, what he calls a "professional and legal architecture" just before. See 106. Whether included here or not, materials generated by industry conferences are something I utilize in my work as well. For perhaps other examples illustrating this, though discussed elsewhere, see 92, 127. And related or not, but nonetheless useful for my purposes, as additional evidence of discussion amongst homebuilders, though not indicated if drawing on print materials, McKenzie discusses a study from the early twentieth century: "Monchow found consistencies across the nation, suggesting the degree to which *community builders were sharing information and learning from one another's experiences* in designing regimes of restrictive covenants." See work of Helen Monchow as discussed and cited in McKenzie, 43 (emphasis added). And for other discussion of growing significance within the industry, see McKenzie, discussing and citing work of Marc Weiss, in McKenzie, 37. For Weiss as used by McKenzie more specifically here, see Marc A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 43-44. In his work, Brody also writes of "a kind of cookbook

Various accounts dealing with Sun City, Arizona, have addressed the role of Webb as a developer, significant in several respects for purposes of this dissertation. As John Findlay explains in his study, for example, “Like most other for-profit developers of retirement homes, DEVCO’s primary training came from building subdivisions for the general population,” and, as historian Carl Abbott writes of Webb retirement-related efforts, “It was the Phoenix community that caught the national imagination, even though

approach” in relation to *The Community Builders Handbook*. For example, see Brody, “Constructing Professional Knowledge,” 96. And, importantly, for the analytical approach and framing his uses to explore what he calls “the diffusion of the Neighborhood Unit concept” and how it played out, see, for example, Brody, 81 (quotation), 91. For idea of transformation of, see also 4-5, 6-7. Also, for broader chapter in this this appears, see again “Diffusion of the Neighborhood Unit” in Brody, 81-111. And for perhaps same or similar idea, of “best practices” in relation to Levitt, see also Longstreth, “The Levitts, Mass-Produced Houses, and Community Planning in the Mid-Twentieth Century,” 174. Even if not identical to McKenzie’s work, for example, such accounts provide frameworks for thinking about broader industry contexts. Along with McKenzie’s study, an applied example of this is the work of Clay Howard, whose dissertation has provided a model here as well in accounting for industry perspectives via industry materials. For Howard, see, for example, Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 145-146, esp. 146, 167, 174. For elsewhere in his work, see also Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 940, 940-41. And for others, see also, for example, Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 135. For other work utilizing industry materials—and to which I return in my Chapters 2 and 4—see also Brody, “Constructing Professional Knowledge.” Included in Body is discussion of efforts by the Urban Land Institute—of “Panel Studies”—that seems to apply my project in terms of the ULI document involving Webb that I utilize, useful here from both analytical and methodological standpoints in explaining the language and ideas at the level of the industry. For ULI here in Brody, see discussion—including language quoted—in Brody, “Constructing Professional Knowledge,” 96. In fact, for the ULI I located above on “panel service,” see “Foreword” to ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 5.

My thinking about how different material—including the material and perspectives from which they drew—helped to spread relevant ideas and practices has been shaped by scholarship dealing with print culture. In particular, see Roger Chartier, “Culture as Appropriation: Popular Cultural Uses in Early Modern France” in *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Steven L. Kaplan, New Babylon: Studies in the Social Sciences, no. 40 (Berlin, New York, and Amsterdam: Mouton Publishers, 1984), 229-53, esp. 232, 236-37, 240-48, 250; Roger Chartier, “Texts, Printing, Readings” in *The New Cultural History: Essays*, ed. Aletta Biersack and Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 154-75, esp. 158-59, 160-61, 161-63, 163-66, 170-71, 175; Robert Darnton, “Peasants Tell Tales: The Meaning of Mother Goose,” in *The Great Cat Massacre: And Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (1984; New York: Vintage Books, 1985), 9-72, esp. 62-64. Additionally, influential to my thinking here is the work of Benedict Anderson, which provides an important framework for understanding the role of “print-capitalism” in the creation of identity and culture in collective terms: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991), esp. 36 (quotation), 42-43, 44-45, 46, 63-64, 64-65.

Lastly, such frameworks also are helpful in illuminating not just an industry-level role and perspective but also efforts involving the relaying of information at the level of grassroots political activism. More specifically, for my purposes, this might apply to discussion in my Chapter 7, where I discuss the role and history of an organization, Adult Action, which involved groups of homeowners in Arizona. Useful, too, from—for my purposes—both analytical and methodological standpoints—is discussion in Tom Sugrue’s study of Detroit, in which he explores print-based material in activism among homeowners. For Sugrue, see, for example, Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 211, 211-12, 219.

it was a real estate development first and a social experiment second.”¹¹⁹ While such accounts offer frameworks for thinking about the tensions between Sun City and suburbia

119 For quotations, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 172 (first quotation); Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier*, 70 (second quotation). And, for surrounding discussion of respective contexts in which they appear, see also Findlay, 171-172; Abbott, 68, 70. For Findlay’s account, which has provided a framework for understanding the broader shape and significance of Sun City—including tensions between the suburban and industry status quo and Sun City’s own distinctiveness, even if Webb’s efforts changed accordingly over time—and for further discussion and exploration, as discussed elsewhere in his study, see the following. For role—and work—as “builders,” see also 171. For discussion elsewhere, of “as something other than a construction company,” see also Findlay, 177. And, for perhaps relevant discussion later in the study, see also 192-193, esp. 193. Furthermore, Findlay’s discussion on p. 177 appears in the context in which Findlay discusses DEVCO’s personalization strategy. See again Findlay, 177. Here, Findlay continues, pointing to Webb’s wartime internment camp as offering another perspective. For this, in context, see again Findlay, 177. And on Webb here in other accounts, see, for example, Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 74, 75; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 33 (photo and caption), 34; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 31; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 56. And for Freedman discussing this in his account, and—important for purposes here, in understanding Webb’s role as a developer—he characterizes this as: “For Webb none of this posed an ethical problem; a job was a job.” See Freedman, 61. Meanwhile, additional accounts appear to address or otherwise discuss Webb’s role to whatever extent, again useful in understanding Webb’s role: Tom Austin, quoted in Calvin Trillin, “Wake up and Live,” [n.p.?], quoted/cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 207. And elsewhere, Trillin himself stated: “One’s first impression of Sun City is that it looks like any other attractive real-estate development.” For quotation and following description, see Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 123. His description here also served to set up what he would next describe as the distinctive nature of the community, including Sun City as a *retirement* community. See 123-24. For another account, see Breen as cited in Freedman, 61. And for another, see Freeman and Sanberg, 22. And for other evidence perhaps illustrating general idea, of “strictly a commercial proposition,” see Jacobson [?] in Jacobson and Breen interview, 7. For Webb spokesman Jerry McLain as perhaps offering evidence as well, see Jerry McLain, interview, by Karen Ullman, May 12, 1976, transcript, 16, Phoenix History Project, now, also according to previously cited finding aid, in folder 10, box 16, AHS-Tempe Oral History Collection, PP-OH1, AHST. For identification of McLain, see accompanying Jerry McLain, Phoenix History Project “Personal Questionnaire,” May 12, 1976. Here, McLain offers perhaps more nuance as well—and that perhaps fits within a framework suggested by Freedman, in citing Breen and elaborating. For Freedman, Freedman, 61. And for McLain, see again McLain, interview, 16. For another account, see Trillin, as discussed and cited in Calhoun, 207-208. Additionally, although chronology not clear, see also idea raised in Blechman, *Leisureville*, 131. For Levitt as discussed in same or similar light, see also Richard Longstreth’s work: Longstreth, “The Levitts, Mass-Produced Houses, and Community Planning in the Mid-twentieth Century,” 174. And in addition to Sun City, Arizona, see the following. As Frances FitzGerald puts it in her account: “These communities were not, of course, ideological or programmatic; many of them had been conceived and built by commercial developers.” For quotation, and context, see FitzGerald, *Cities on a Hill*, 20. I return to the subsequent part of broader quotation here in my Chapter 5. See again FitzGerald, 20.

Various work dealing with “new towns” in the U.S. case—discussed in greater depth in my Chapter 4—have provided accounts and frameworks shaping my thinking about Sun City within suburban framings. Such work explores different ways in which such developments both could diverge from and also operate based on and within suburban and other development practices and contexts—tensions even suggested by the titles of the following studies. In Bloom’s study, see, for example, Bloom, *Suburban Alchemy*, 3-4, 4-5, 5-6, esp. 18-19, 20,-21, 21, 34, 42-43, 43, 66-67, 183, 207, 277, 277-278, 279, 280-281, 281-282, 283, 284. For Ann Forsyth’s study, also perhaps more prescriptive than that of Bloom, see, for example, Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 18, 19, 247, 275, 283, 284, 289. For perhaps other discussion relevant for my purposes, see also 163, 171-172, 205.

in the arena of political culture, and more generally, they help to explore both the industry context and the built environment in their own right.¹²⁰

And for discussion of one view of Irvine case offering parallel to the Sun City assessment of Abbott, for example, see also Forsyth, 13. Finally, for other accounts to which I return in my Chapter 4 exploring important tensions, see Eichler and Kaplan, *The Community Builders*, 24; also Eichler and Kaplan, 24, quoted/cited in McKenzie, 96; Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 291. And similar to the point Findlay makes here—to which I return later—see also that described in Bloom, 66. And, while I note this again later, in my Chapter 5, for discussion in scholarship of the work of Clarence Perry and what perhaps was a similar dynamic to such tensions here, see, for example, Brody, 59.

Lastly here, Bloom's study also offers important discussion for thinking about and explaining *political culture* in Sun City and its suburban dimensions. As Bloom writes: "Unlike residents of most subdivisions, those of new towns self-consciously pursued civic ideals that extended beyond property values, local suburban issues, and domestic tranquility." Bloom, *Suburban Alchemy*, 86. And for further comparison revealing such distinctiveness, see also 86-87. For additional discussion of, see also 90. However, it might be argued that discussion on p. 91 involving the form and apparatus of resident-level efforts was not necessarily unique to the sort of community Blooms describe; after all, if "a stronger local voice" is not entirely specific or quantifiable, at least some residents in Sun City were politically active—while pursuing issues tied to taxes and property values—and kind of print culture, as Sugrue shows in his study, previously cited, could exist among homeowners elsewhere. See Bloom, 91. Nonetheless, Bloom's work here provides important comparative discussion, both for such developments and for my reading of the Sun City case. As Bloom also writes, contrasting the case of Celebration, Florida—in the work of Andrew Ross—with those in his own: "The residents he describes are primarily concerned with issues relating to construction quality, property values, education, and family life, not unlike most of the residents of Columbia, Reston, and Irvine. The resident leadership of Celebration, however, unlike that of the towns in this study, has focused exclusively on these traditional suburban issues. Ambitious programs relating to social or racial integration, mass transit, feminism, teenagers, or cultural affairs have not emerged and have not even been much discussed." See Andrew Ross, *The Celebration Chronicles: Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Property Value in Disney's New Town* (New York: Random House, 1999), discussed in Bloom, 283; Bloom, 283. Ross first cited on p. 282: Ross, discussed/cited in Bloom, 282. In terms of my project, this is not to say that Sun City did not serve other, broader functions—such as those dealing with retirement recreation and age-segregated social community—nor that it did not accommodate aging, on part of Webb and of residents in some ways, whether through volunteer efforts or the locating of alternative housing and nursing-type facilities in the community. But, on the political front, key ingredients of the Sun City recipe—such as age segregation and age restrictions—simultaneously would serve issues of taxes and property values, the latter of which even would underpin positions among some residents within the development in their opposition to such housing aiming to provide alternatives to residents. I discuss events, and broader issues they related to, at different points in Parts II and III of this dissertation.

120 Webb's previous work, too, helps to fill out picture and perspective of Webb as undertaking efforts transcending retirement or Sun City. Although I return to the following in my Part II in greater detail, for important accounts see Sturgeon, see "'It's a Paradise Town,'" 74-76; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 34, 35, 59-60; Roy Drachman quoted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 56; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 17, 19; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 31; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 61. And in the above, Sturgeon—in fact—points to the Pennsylvania Levitt development: Sturgeon, 75. Findlay addresses Webb's previous efforts, including housing, although he presents in the following light, as differing from what became Sun City: Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 171-172. And for other efforts, though he does not appear to connect, if at all, as the above in terms of broader development arc like Sturgeon, see also 171. After—and seemingly in addition to—discussion involving "market elasticity," the California study, continued—perhaps offering an insightful and useful framework in its own way, in terms of any such continuity in role: "Viewed from another perspective, the developers of retirement communities are today merely filling the current housing needs of the same families for whom they built tract houses 15 to 20 years ago. The families who bought 'three bedrooms and two baths' in 1950 have now raised their children and are looking for smaller units designed to meet the needs of their new position

Even more, as the developer, DEVCO had the capacity to—and did—shape Sun City politics, whether directly or indirectly. Showing how the political culture of retired

in the life cycle.” See Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 30. And for fuller context of here, see also 29-30. For later discussion, involving “long records” to which I return later in my Chapter 4, see also Barker, 42-43 (quotation 42). And for context of here, and to which I return to in relevant discussion in my Chapter 3, see also, for example, Barker, 42. And for various accounts offering “suburban,” “Levittown,” or what might have been related, development-oriented comparisons—which I return to later—dealing with seemingly operational nature of Webb in relation to Sun City, perhaps painting a broader context, see again Findlay in which he writes of “mass-produced” in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 160. And for others, see also Andrew H. Malcolm, “Leisure Suburb for Elderly Thriving at Sun City, Ariz.,” *New York Times*, March 24, 1974; Jerome L. Kaufman, “Planning and an aging population,” *Information Bulletin*, no. 148 (Chicago, Illinois: American Society of Planning Officials, 1961), 11, <http://www.planning.org/pas/at60/pdf/report148.pdf> (accessed April 11, 2013.), account first cited in M. Scott Ball, *Livable Communities for Aging Populations: Urban Design for Longevity* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2012), 1. And if affordability was an operational concern, related in terms of a general approach and/or methods, see also, for example, VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67. In fact, Kenneth Jackson in his history of suburbia connects Webb to Levitt’s broader practices: Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 237. And for Sturgeon connecting Webb to Levitt, see also Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 75. And perhaps relevant here, see Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 109. And although not drawing suburban comparison but writing of Webb, that “he might be considered the Henry Ford of retirement living,” see Freedman, *Prime Time*, 61.

Meanwhile, as broader context further dealing with development, another angle might deal more with Webb and the actual built environment or form that the housing of Sun City took. For such issues in various accounts on different levels, see, for example, the following—and to which I also return again later, also in more detail. For example, see important article—and overall framework—by Zonn and Zube: Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 19-25. For other important work here, see Sturgeon, drawing on Kenneth Jackson: Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 238-241, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 87; discussion, to be sure, of Sun City in Sturgeon, 87. Additionally, Scott Ball writes of “specialized suburban forms” here, suggesting the influences of both: Ball, *Livable Communities for Aging Populations*, 12. For other accounts, see Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 123; again, on Sun City Center in Florida, also FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 204; Malcolm, “Leisure Suburb for Elderly Thriving at Sun City, Ariz.”; Spindler, “Foreword” to Jacobs, *Fun City*, vi; Kaufman, “Planning and an aging population,” 11, 12, 13, figure 2 (and caption). Assuming this involved geography, on “suburban” as perhaps same or similar to Jackson’s “peripheral location” as used by Sturgeon in the above—though Findlay offers an explanation of more complexity—see, for example, Findlay, 204-205, 208; Jackson, 238 (quotation) here first discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 87; Sturgeon, 87. Further down the scale, while also perhaps applicable to the operational nature of Webb’s efforts, above, if “tract” involved the built environment in terms of homes in relation to each other, as essentially grouped, see also Findlay, 160 (quotation); Jacobs, *Fun City*, 1. On homes themselves, and perhaps overlapping with Sturgeon—drawing on Jackson—above, see also Teaford, 109; Jackson, 239, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 87; Freedman, *Encore*, 51. On another issue, that of affordability, see Jackson, 240-41, esp. 241, first discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 87; discussion corresponding to overall arc of Jackson in Sturgeon, 87. For Jackson directly here, see Jackson, 238-241. For VanderMeer’s previously cited/quoted account invoking “Levittown” relevant here, see again VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67. And, in having cited specific prices, see discussion including “modest,” to which this might be referring—and language Findlay, too, uses, in the above—in Teaford, 108-109 (quotation 108); Findlay, 160.

My work does not necessary treat such frameworks and areas of analysis of “suburbia” and “development” as the same thing, I do use them somewhat interchangeably from the standpoint of Sun City, or any community with particular features, as an urban form, developed by a homebuilder or a larger developer, and featuring a political culture among residents revolving around issues of homeownership. In my view, such a “suburban” model, or one of a “development,” serves as a point of comparison for understanding Sun City, and I cite various historical studies and other accounts in this Introduction and elsewhere in my dissertation of work of more specific given communities, or other locales.

residents living in Sun City sometimes formed in relation to efforts and actions on the part of Webb, activism in some cases sought to re-affirm the retirement community intended by Webb, while in other cases it challenged and mobilized against DEVCO. Useful here is work already existing on Sun City, particularly Findlay's case study, in which he does consider the agenda and actions of the developer at different points and, furthermore, discusses tensions and the give-and-take between DEVCO and residents.¹²¹ So is scholarship on so-called "New Towns," for example, undertaken in the United States by the 1960s, and similar developments—and to which Findlay, along the way, compares Sun City. Scholars of such communities as Columbia, Maryland, and Irvine, California, themselves have addressed the role of developers, including their relations with area residents and activists.¹²²

121 See discussion of relations between DEVCO and residents to varying degrees and on different issues in Findlay, see Findlay "Sun City, Arizona," 179, 181, 182-83, 187, 190, 192, 193, 195, 200, 205, 205-6, 207, 208, 209. In some pages here, the relationship appears to have been—or is cast here as—perhaps more indirect. For DEVCO and incorporation, for example, see 205, 205-6, esp. 206, 208. And for tensions between DEVCO and residents involving incorporation apparently, see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee, 1960-1985*, 226. On incorporation as relevant here, see also Blechman, *Leisureville*, 130. More generally, offering a useful framework of developer-resident relations in one crucial arena that I use and explore in my project, he writes: "Through its advertising, DEVCO helped to establish certain patterns of thought in the minds of buyers." See Findlay, 179. Later in this section, I cite the specific case of, and pages for, Sun City and schools, for example, relevant here in particular. Another important account is that of Sturgeon, which explores the relationship between the developer and residents in different ways. In her account, see, for example, "'It's a Paradise Town,'" 92-95, 96-98, 98-100, 100-101, 101-3, 105-6, 107, 118, 119-22, 123, 124-25, 125, 126-27, 129, 131-33, 140-41, 151-52, 152-53, 154-55, 156. To be clear, while these studies offer important accounts and frameworks for understanding relationships and interactions, my goal here is to connect the role of developers to suburbia, grassroots political culture, and their respective literatures. Meanwhile, for and on history of other issues and involvement to whatever extent, see also, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, 80, 83, 84-85, 215, 217, 219-220, 222, 226, 228, 229-230. And for in Trillin, see Trillin, "A Reporter at Large," 130, 167-168. And for Sturgeon and Blechman both discussing in relation to early efforts involving age segregation previously cited that might reflect a relevant dynamic here—if Webb played a meaningful role here and thus is reflective as such—see also Sturgeon, 105; Blechman, 130.

122 For Findlay, see "Sun City, Arizona," 192-93, 284-85. For scholarship on these other communities addressing these issues at various points, see, for example, case of Columbia in Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 153. And for the case of The Woodlands, in Forsyth, see, for instance, Forsyth, 198-199. For Forsyth critiquing literature with which she engages in relation to developers, see Forsyth, 43. And for Forsyth on *incorporation* here, see also Forsyth, 69. In the note below, I also cite specific pages for evidence from Schiesl's study of Irvine. For discussion in scholarship on Levittown, Pennsylvania, on what were local issues involving Levitt—although not dealing with the same relationship/s or not

More specifically, politics on the ground in Sun City in part took place in relation to the brand of retirement and built environment Webb developed—or did *not* develop. Materially and financially, amenities could serve as sources and sites of political tensions and negotiation. In particular, schools were not a feature of this brand, and residents—fighting the school district of which Sun City was part—sought to further cultivate and defend a dynamic that took root in the 1960s.¹²³ Along the way, a new focus on DEVCO’s part beginning in the mid-1960s—“DEVCO basically abandoned the lower end of the housing market, aiming increasingly to please the middle- and upper-income brackets of elderly Americans, and it changed its marketing strategy accordingly,” Findlay explains, for example—that led to economic diversity and class divisions that ultimately factored into debates over school taxes in Sun City.¹²⁴ Additionally, residents

necessarily so—see also Longstreth, “The Levitts, Mass-Produced Houses, and Community Planning in the Mid-twentieth Century,” 160, 161-163; Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement*, 101. For other scholarship involving tensions between, see also that of Robert Self. See, for example, Self, *American Babylon*, 125. And for later, see also 280-281. If involving private development, see also 279-280. For other discussion involving developers from earlier, see also 120, 124-125, 128; Self, “Prelude to the Tax Revolt,” 153, 154. And for role of more generally in study, see, for example, also Self, *American Babylon*, 16.

123 On schools taxes in Sun City, see the following. For DEVCO on school taxes and residents, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 179, 207; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 154-55, 158n4. And also perhaps relevant here, see again VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 214. While I cite additional relevant accounts in my Chapter 6, for events surrounding Sun City and school taxes in Sun City, see, for example, Findlay, 206-207. And for apparent tension identified in Trillin, see also Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 168. On other amenities and over which debate or tensions unfolded, regardless of parties involved in that the amenities were developed and thus existed as such sources and sites at a most basic level, see, for example, the following: Sturgeon, 98-101; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 131; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee, 1960-1985*, 79-81, 83-85, 215-218, 228. And for accounts from Meeker, see Meeker, “Overview,” 15; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 95; Meeker, interview, 12. And for Trillin, see Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 155, 167-168, 168; Freireich, interview; Freireich, summary and “Synopsis,” 3. And for other literature offering examples and a framework of such relations, see also Schiesl’s work on Irvine on tensions dealing with amenities and other issues involving the developer, area residents, and others in different ways: Schiesl, “Designing the Model Community,” 69-70, 71-72, 72-74, 74-78, 78-79, 79-84. For Howard on opposition to various “spaces” in his work, and which I cite again in my Chapter 4, see Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 176, 177-178 (quotation 177).

124 While I return to this overall shift, citing the following and other accounts, in my Chapter 6, for quotation and important overview of shift here, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 181, 182-192 (quotation 183). And, to be clear, for divisions within Sun City, which—as I show in Chapter 6—were politicized within broader debate over such taxes, specifically see Findlay, 186-189, esp. 189.

questioned DEVCO on its role involving age restrictions, for example, which—it turned out—the developer actually did not employ in the deeds of the homes it sold until the 1970s, while amenities again surfaced on the political landscape here in relation to what “Sun Citizens” argued were the ostensible complications brought about by younger persons.¹²⁵

Searching for Sun City

125 While I discuss events and issues surrounding age restrictions here in my Chapter 7, for top-down role of developers in relation to restrictions more generally, see again discussion and cited accounts at earlier points in this section in work of McKenzie and others. In terms of amenities, particularly the relationship between age restrictions and amenities—of anxieties involving amenities flowing from, real or imagined, failed restrictions involving children in the case of retirement communities—mentioned in the latter half of the text above, scholarship has addressed linkage between amenities and restrictions in different forms. However, these are not necessarily the same thing; while events in Arizona did make such a case, amenities overall might have been more a function of homeownership in the first place, or more generally, than of *age alone*. Nonetheless, for useful scholarly accounts—applicable or not—in previously cited studies, see the following. For historical perspective offered in McKenzie, see, for example, McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 30-31, 33. And historical—or however historical—or not, see also 55. Perhaps relevant here, from standpoint not of restrictions but of “common ownership arrangements,” see also 177. As Blakely and Snyder for their part explain at one point—though not in relation to restrictions: “Whenever a significant recreational feature such as a golf course or lake is part of a development, the gate controls access and assures buyers that the amenity will be theirs alone.” See Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 16. Arizona retirees concerned with matters of age restrictions in the 1970s might have viewed such *restrictions* in such a light. Another example, one that I discuss in my Chapter 7 as well, is Webb’s dealing with third-party developers for new development in the 1980s—which prompted some Sun City homeowners to confront what they perceived as threats. While already cited earlier, here see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silvery Anniversary Jubilee*, 228. And for what might have been context as discussed in this account, see also 229-230, esp. 230. For another account perhaps offering relevant background of specific context and/or more generally here, see Blechman, *Leisureville*, 130-131, 131. For useful framing account of context of political culture from his study, see again Self, *American Babylon*, 279-280, 280-281, 289-290.

Similar to other Americans across the twentieth century who articulated their grievances against producers and others when encountering what they perceived as unjust treatment or unfair practices, Sun City retirees at times operated within the framework of consumer protest—at least on a discursive level in the public criticisms of Webb on the part of some residents. Although this study does not draw explicit parallels with, or draw directly from, the rich literature on the history of consumer activism developed in recent years, much of this work has heightened my awareness and shaped my understanding of and thinking more generally about the relationship between consumerism and politics. For such work, see, for example, Lizabeth Cohen, “Encountering Mass Culture,” in *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 99-158; Cohen, “Depression: Rise of the Citizen Consumer,” “War: Citizen Consumers Do Battle on the Home Front,” and “Politics: Purchasers Politicized,” in *A Consumers’ Republic*, 18-61, 62-109, and 345-97, respectively; Cheryl Greenberg, “Don’t Buy Where You Can’t Work” in *Consumer Society in American History*, ed. Glickman, 241-73.

This dissertation connects the different fields of political, urban, and cultural history in exploring the culture and politics of retirement and retirement communities. In doing so, it draws from a wide body of sources and diverse range of source types. Incorporating materials that are both print and visual in form, local and national in scope, popular and elite in perspective, and industry and grassroots in their agendas, the primary-source base for this project fuels the construction of retirement politics both from above and from below.

Materials illuminating the top-down construction of retirement used in this project were produced in sectors public, private, and otherwise—in the arenas of politics, popular culture, academia, and business. The work of scholars of aging in the 1950s and 1960s, for example, often from conferences and edited collections centering on the growing field of gerontology, provide evidence of key ideas advanced and frameworks developed to understand and, quite literally, problematize retirement in the postwar years. Traditional political sources—speeches, statements, correspondence penned by elected officials including not only U.S. Presidents but also members of Arizona’s Congressional delegation and state leaders—reveal how politics and political discourse over the emergent rights of retirement took shape, along with the perhaps less-traditional ones of political television commercials analyzed here as well. The work of government workers and bureaucrats—particular those within the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA)—is examined as well, including material presented by Washington officials to audiences in the private sector, thus reflecting broader conversations taking place beginning in the 1950s.

This project seeks overall to locate and recover the perspective of the private sector in the construction and promotion of the market for retirement housing. Various materials surrounding the homebuilding and real-estate development industries, including journals and reports, produced, in particular, by the National Association of Home Builders and the Urban Land Institute help to illustrate the rise—and, in the process, relaying—of various ideas and practices.¹²⁶ And, although no official or comprehensive archival collection or collections exist for the developer of Sun City, nor its parent corporation, materials of major importance for this dissertation come from the former Sun Cities Area Historical Society, in Sun City, Arizona, which houses materials collected from DEVCO.¹²⁷ These include advertising materials, company newsletters, oral histories, material donated and also produced by a former president of DEVCO, plans and reports for Sun City and Sun City West, a small collection of audiovisual materials, among other highly valuable materials supplemented by other sources from elsewhere—particularly corporate reports for the Webb corporation, as well as correspondence of Webb Corporation lobbying for legislative changes as retirement-community developers faced uncertainty in the late 1980s.

126 Two previously cited accounts provide excellent and important methodological models of utilizing industry-level sources. For McKenzie's study, see, for example, McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 91-92, 93, 107. For Clay Howard's work, see again 146, 167, 174. And, for his use again of material from *House & Home*, also see, for example, 161, 162, 162, 163-164. And for yet another study, which looks at *The Community Builders Handbook*, by the Urban Land Institute, some of which I also utilize in my work on retirement development—and its different relationships with industry practices more generally—see also Brody, "Constructing Professional Knowledge." For background history of this title, see, for example, Brody, 97. Applicable here as well, see also the ULI document I discuss in the note immediately below.

127 In recent years, and since the completion of my research, or the great bulk of my research, it is now called the "Del Webb Sun Cities Museum." And again, I utilize a document by an ULI event specific to Del Webb in Part II of my project. For this, see again Urban Land Institute, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*. And for what presumably was broader practice of here, see also discussion in Brody, "Constructing Professional Knowledge," 96. And last but not least, my use of various industry-generated or -related materials includes or otherwise involves conferences dealing with homebuilding, in part or in full.

This project draws in particular on the ideas expressed and debates that unfolded in the local press. From a review covering roughly twenty years of one Sun City newspaper, letters to the editor are a particularly rich source of political views and discourse, supplemented by similar letters and editorial comment supporting and criticizing Sun City in the metropolitan press over certain key events. More formal, organized political activism on the part of retired residents also is evident from the local press, which at times published position papers and other statements from local groups over issues of taxes and other matters.

Meanwhile, unpublished materials analyzed include letters from constituents to elected and other officials at all levels of government—federal, state, and Maricopa County. And here, letters written addressing different issues further serve as an effective source base; in some cases, letters include attachments in the form of other sources and documents outlining the role of particular persons or groups and illustrating positions on given issues. As other surviving evidence related to grassroots activism located through similarly less direct avenues of source-recovery, cases files from the Maricopa County Planning and Zoning Commission sometimes include correspondence with organization leadership and documents stating official organizational positions. Legal sources—court cases—similarly provide rich source material below the level of procedural matters and formal rulings, particularly in the form of testimony from recorded depositions and court transcripts. Additionally, meeting minutes not only from bodies at the county level—both the Maricopa County Planning and Zoning Commission and the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors—but also legislative committees at the state capitol addressing

various issues of relevance to Sun City further provide information and background on key events, and windows into the intent and ideologies undergirding policies.

In analyzing these sources, this dissertation takes the form of a case study.¹²⁸ Such a methodological tack raises the issue of broader application beyond the more selective place and population studied. But a more narrow scope and focus simultaneously allows for greater specificity, from which can come potential for greater analytical depth of events and issues in a given locale—and how they change over time.¹²⁹ Making the case for studying Sun City, Webb had an important hand in shaping retirement, as scholars have asserted.¹³⁰ And illustrating the sheer scale on which Webb did it, former DEVCO president John Meeker explained years later, presumably referencing the Long Island community developed by Levitt & Sons in the postwar years, “Sun City, Arizona [*sic*] was the largest development of its kind by a single builder in the history of this country. Leavitt Town [*sic*] built 14,000 units. Sun City built 25,000 units.”¹³¹ At the same time, some issues—property taxes, in particular—might have

128 While a case study, my dissertation, however, is neither a comprehensive history of Sun City nor of retirement communities in the United States.

129 My thinking here about the role and richness of the case or community study via the local has been shaped and reaffirmed, in particular, by Andrew Highsmith, who shared his thoughts with me on this point during his time as a graduate student at the University of Michigan. At the same time, both the context of the broader homebuilding industry provided in my Part I and references to other retirement developments elsewhere, in Part II, do seek to paint a broader national picture.

130 See again Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 205-6; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 54-55, 71. For additional discussion of Sun City and place in context, also see 39-40. For discussion of broader reach of Sun City, see Freedman, 72. And as Hal Rothman puts it in one account: “While Sun City didn’t create retirement as a concept, it did institutionalize the retirement community as a separate phenomenon, apart from other stages of life.” Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 155.

131 For Findlay mentioning “size,” see also Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 174. For Meeker quotation, see John Meeker, interview by Melanie Sturgeon, March 6, 1996, C246, transcript, 16, SCAHS, “Oral History Project,” bk. 2, SCAHS. On Meeker and position as DEVCO president, see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary*, 231; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 103; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 37, 116. I cite accounts dealing with Meeker again and additionally in Chapter 3 and in later chapters. In terms of Meeker’s point in the text above, I cite another Meeker document making the same point in Chapter 7. Evidence, in fact, substantiates Meeker’s claim—at least from the standpoint of the volume of homes built. Based on figures of well over 17,000 homes and 82,000 and 75,000 residents, respectively, Kenneth Jackson describes the pioneering Long Island community as “the largest housing

resonated in relation to other retirement developments and housing occupied by aging Americans more generally. And in terms of the representativeness of Sun City, even if residents of Sun City were not representative of *all* older Americans—from an income standpoint, for instance—there socioeconomics varied *within* Sun City and, eventually, between Sun City and Sun City West.¹³²

In doing so, this case study unfolds within certain loosely defined chronological boundaries. At the front end, it largely follows in the path of Richard Calhoun's

development every put up by a single builder," while Richard Longstreth identifies it as "the biggest such endeavor to be consummated by a single developer." See Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 234, 235 (quotation); Richard Longstreth, "The Levitts, Mass-Produced Houses, and Community Planning in the Mid-twentieth Century" in *Second Suburb: Levittown, Pennsylvania*, ed. Diane Harris (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 123. For additional figures for Levittown, New York, and also for Levittown, Pennsylvania, also see Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 74, 76. As such numbers indicate, Meeker's figures cited in 1996 are thus inaccurate, although in a document cited in Part III, he puts it at a number much closer to the above. Regardless, while the first Levittown might have been the largest housing development by number of *residents*, Sun City might have been the largest by number of *units*, at least as of the late 1970s. Although, as Ann Forsyth writes of another major—perhaps even bigger—development, though chronology and/or classification might complicate comparison: "The Irvine Ranch in Southern California is the largest privately master-planned new community or satellite new town ever built in the United States." Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 53. For other figures of Sun City's growth, also see, for example, Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona, 160. For Findlay's account, on both "size and longevity," although not addressing this point, see also Findlay, 168-169 (quotation 168).

132 On Sun City's population as not representative from different standpoints, see relevant discussion in Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 189, 197. For broader contexts discussed in Findlay useful for looking at the issue of representativeness, see also 167, 168, 168-69. And for discussion elsewhere, see discussion of expert points in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 210. However, for other accounts painting perhaps a different picture, in terms of migration and retirement housing and other housing, see FitzGerald, "Sun City—1983," 209, 210; discussion and figures in Schuman, in part citing FitzGerald, *Cities on a Hill*, 209, 210, see also Schulman, *The Seventies*, 86-87, 87. Findlay's account does, however, acknowledge significance of migration by period presumably overlapping with FitzGerald: Findlay, 167. Meanwhile, in terms of further discussion in my text, for variations *within* Sun City, see Findlay, 189. In Part III, I again cite Findlay—and other important accounts—in exploring such differences between aging Americans in Sun City and elsewhere, and internally and across developments as well. Finally, Carole Haber and Brian Gratton's study might offer a useful framing of sorts accounting for what perhaps were both differences amongst aging Americans and the common bonds of older ages transcending them: "We have argued that the old have never constituted a single entity, uniformly loved or universally envied, all-powerful or all-impoverished. Rather, the elderly population has always been as complex as other age groups. Class, gender, race, ethnicity, and region have provided these men and women with a wide variety of roles. Yet in tracing their past, we have found that history has had a powerful influence on the elderly as a group, altering their social position and transforming their relationship to children, work, and community." Haber and Graber, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 172. For discussion dealing with "diversity" specifically elsewhere, see also xiv. On such differences in terms of inequality elsewhere in their study, see, for instance, 183. And for "major problems" pointed to elsewhere, see also Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 149. Finally, on mention of "disparities," along with context of point in which it appears, see Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 49.

excellent history, in which he argues in favor of a post-1945 periodization based on such factors as the new attention of experts—particularly those in gerontology—to aspects of and issues surrounding older ages.¹³³ Additionally, the postwar decades represent the context in which the homebuilding industry increasingly embraced retirement housing and in which Sun City, Arizona, was envisioned and undertaken, both shaped by evolving ideas and practices and further shaping such trends.¹³⁴ Bookending this study of retirement and retirement communities via Sun City at the other end, meanwhile, are developments and debates in the last decades of the twentieth century. By this time, Sun City and DEVCO and the Webb Corporation had undergone important changes, including the final homes having been built in Sun City, while issues of school taxes and age restrictions were political issues alive and well.¹³⁵ And in terms of retirement politics at a broader level, a dramatic change in attitudes themselves toward the previously vulnerable aging American had taken place—a context, evidence suggests, to which Sun City itself was not immune.¹³⁶

Part I lays the foundations for the balance of the project, both historically and in terms of the issues explored in this dissertation. Chapter 1 explains and establishes the context of the rise of retirement in the middle decades of the twentieth century and the

133 See Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 2-12, esp. 4-5. And for discussion of retirement specifically, see 5-11, esp. 5, 6, 9-10. Another factor he identifies is that of the sheer size of older Americans as a population—something he seems to suggest was a trend that concerned experts. And here, furthermore, for pointing to different aspects associated with this trend. See 3-4, esp. 3. While I cite additional evidence later in this dissertation, for evidence of discussion in period of relevant figures, see, for instance, “The Family,” 46; Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 301, 302. And for another excellent scholarly account on retirement at mid-century, see also Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 215-241.

134 For Calhoun’s broader framing of efforts of “the business community” and others, see again Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 2, 11-12 (quotation 12). For efforts in housing, and homebuilding for retirement, see also 201-12. And for Achenbaum again on “entrepreneurs” and others, see again Achenbaum, *Crossing Frontiers*, 9.

135 I discuss such issues in Chapter 7, of Part III, and in the Epilogue.

136 See my discussion and analysis in the Epilogue for here as well, including the different period and secondary sources I use in discussing this apparent backlash.

central idea of “retirement problems.” It shows how a wide range of experts diagnosed the different ways in which retirement and its related issues threatened to marginalize and disempower older Americans. In addition to the questions of employment, identity, and income, housing represented a major disconnect between built environments capable of accommodating retirement and the residential realities in which many aging Americans lived—from the home itself to the surrounding neighborhood and community. Chapter 2 then shows how different experts—government officials, academic experts, the homebuilding industry, and others—all promoted steps that had the capacity to address concerns swirling around housing from different angles. What resulted was not simply *new* housing for retirement but also housing that was *improved* from the standpoint of the different demands generated by, or otherwise related to, retirement. And it was here, in the 1950s and the early 1960s, that homebuilders increasingly sought to tap into what they viewed as new markets for private housing for retired Americans.

The development of Sun City, Arizona, is the focus of Part II. Chapter 3 explores the road to Sun City, Arizona, detailing its origins in the efforts of DEVCO personnel—and placing this within the context of Webb’s previous efforts as a contractor and developer. Specifically, it examines how DEVCO helped to shape ideas and practices about retirement, particularly defined and developed in relation to various amenities—amenities that ultimately would be contested politically in different contexts. Chapter 4 explores the making of Sun City in relation to Sun City as a residential development—from the standpoint of Webb as a developer and of the built environment of Sun City. This chapter considers how DEVCO ultimately created a somewhat suburban landscape and yet in the process diverged from certain standards and practices in accounting for the

particularities of retirement. Chapter 5 explores how the creation of the social community of Sun City similarly broke with suburban conventions, even as it carried over certain racial and class distinctions from a segregated metropolitan America. Here, attention is given to how DEVCO did challenge thinking about age segregation, creating a community promoting and naturalizing ideas about separate spaces for older Americans as a right of retirement—and that would have important implications for the political economy of the metropolitan area.

The chapters in Part III focus on Sun City political culture from the perspective of the grassroots. Chapter 6 specifically looks at how retired “Sun Citizens” pursued their particular vision of retirement and defended the community from threats, real and imagined. In opposing school bond issues for the expanding local district of Peoria, they advanced political positions reflecting different ideas about “need,” making arguments revolving around the politics of fixed incomes *while also* advancing their interests as homeowners and interpreting local taxes within a framework of consumerism, while—in the process—triggering resentment from parents and others throughout metropolitan Phoenix. Successfully renegotiating their political relationship with the Peoria schools by the mid-1970s, Sun City residents and residents of other retirement developments—as Chapter 7 explores—organized around the issue of implementing and enforcing age restrictions upholding age-segregated and age-restricted communities. Restrictions, supporters argued, offered not only lower taxes but also “peace and quiet,” among other by-products perceived as necessary or desirable.

Although both Sun City and Sun City West existed outside of their respective school districts by the early 1980s, and although both would apply for—and receive—

protection in the form of county-backed zoning for retirement communities in 1984, political tensions over school taxes, for instance, surfaced again later in the decade, explored in the Epilogue of this dissertation. And the age-restricted nature of such developments in Arizona—and across the nation—suddenly faced unsettling questions and ambiguities with amendments to the Fair Housing Act in 1988 aimed at addressing discrimination against younger families residing in rental housing. Sun City residents, Webb, and political leaders representing them worked to define and defend a brand of retirement politics promoting “Sun Citizenship” and the interests of “Sun Citizens.” No matter how much this brand drew from and mirrored the built environment and political culture of suburban America, the making of a new culture and politics of retirement blurred the boundaries between age, class, and space in significant and lasting ways.

Chapter 1 Retirement and “Retirement Problems”

In a 1947 pamphlet published by the Public Affairs Committee, George Lawton and editor Maxwell Stewart conveyed to readers the dilemma of retirement. Titled *When You Grow Older*, it told of the case of “Mr. A.,” a character who wrestles with the end of his work-centric life as he knows it. “During the celebration,” it said in reference to his “farewell dinner,” “the honored guest is overcome with contradictory emotions and a little dazed. The next few days are mostly ‘shock.’ The irony of the retirement tribute begins to dawn on the retired persons. ‘At that parting dinner,’ he says to himself, ‘they covered me with garlands, then exiled me from the human race and sent me off into the wilderness.’” This displacement, the authors explained, was capable of bringing about unhappiness and uncertainty. “With this job he tied up his entire existence and sense of importance, to say nothing of his earning capacity,” they wrote. “When the job goes, everything else goes too.”¹³⁷

The growth of retirement in the middle decades of the twentieth century represented a new, potentially unsettling experience for older Americans and for American society. Retirement introduced what in effect was an added, discrete period of

The title of this chapter—that of “retirement problems”—is borrowed from the title of Tibbitts’s previously cited piece published in the *American Journal of Sociology* in 1954. See again Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 301-8.

137 George Lawton and Maxwell S. Stewart, *When You Grow Older*, Public Affairs Pamphlet no. 131 (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1947), 1. For biographical information on Lawton, see, for example, “George Lawton, Psychologist, 57: Gerontologist Here Dead—Author of Books and Articles Was with Yeshiva U.,” *New York Times*, October 9, 1957; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 219. For another account of similar period evidence exploring tensions between work and retirement at mid-century, particularly in terms of gender, see the following chapter in Wood’s work: Wood, “Postwar Manhood and the Shock of Retirement,” in *Retiring Men*, 140-82. For discussion more immediately relevant to here, see, in particular, 140, 148-49, 161, 161-63, 163-66, 168-69. I cite Wood in this chapter in subsequent notes where appropriate as another layer of analysis from a secondary source to reaffirm my own discussion. Additionally, I cite at points his subsequent chapter.

life bookended by the end of work on one side and eventual death on another. Although it would offer opportunities defined in opposition to work and family, retirement also generated anxieties and deprivations in the process. By the 1950s, academic experts, government officials, policymakers, activists, and others sought to identify and explain the different challenges facing older Americans—challenges that involved their well-being in different respects as they crossed over the threshold into retirement. And overlapping with issues of employment and income were matters of the residential environment of retirement. Along with discussing central concerns about the affordability of and access to housing in a new stage of life, observers and experts pointed to what they argued was a disconnect between the existing housing of older Americans and the particular circumstances aging persons experienced in the face of changes not only in work but also in physiological condition and familial, personal, and community relationships.

Such discussion at mid-century acknowledged and pondered the predicament of retired Americans as one of vulnerability and uniqueness. In terms of both retirement and retirement housing, it operated on a language and logic of the “needs” or “special needs” of older Americans—of a distinctiveness of older persons that only could be accounted for through efforts explicitly accounting for the different ways in which older ages strained the different means and abilities of older citizens.¹³⁸ That retired Americans faced very real “problems” and had particular needs were points very likely anchored in reality, and the analysis and advancement of the crisis of retirement thus was neither simply a discursive tool for legitimating the power of elites nor a political strategy

138 For example of language and discussion of “special needs,” see again Loewenberg, “Designing Homes for the Aging,” 55.

on the part of older Americans themselves in making various claims.¹³⁹ But far from inevitable, such a framing and treatment were a critical part of an overall project of shaking up retirement-as-usual in American life, the notion of a disconnect between experience and environment providing fertile theoretical and ideological ground in which new practices ultimately would take root.

Popularizing Retirement

Retirement in the twentieth-century United States was the product of various economic, political, and demographic factors. Shaped by the restructuring of labor markets, the agendas of policymakers and labor, and the values and desires of older Americans and their families, it diverged from an older, established relationship between work and old age characteristic of American life prior to more modern times. “Two hundred years ago, scarcely anyone ‘retired’ in the full modern sense of the word,” historian David Hackett Fischer has written. “Most men worked until they wore out. So also did many women, whose maternal tasks normally continued to the end of life.”¹⁴⁰ But by the late nineteenth-century, retirement had gathered momentum.¹⁴¹ As Andrew

139 For “problems,” see again Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 301-8.

140 Fischer, *Growing Old in America*, 4. On practices and experiences in this period, see, for example, Fischer, 54-55; Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 89-90, 114-15, 181. Dora Costa points out an important difference between earlier and more modern understandings of retirement. As she writes, “we cannot be certain that defining *retirement* as a departure from paid labor, regardless of the number of hours worked, captures the meaning that the term had in the past. In the past men may have been more likely to phase work out of their lives slowly.” See Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 7. Achenbaum makes a seemingly similar point in relation to farming in the twentieth century: “‘Retirement’ on a farm usually connotes reduction—not cessation—of work. Indeed, an elderly farmer may stop performing daily chores but still remain in charge of planning and overseeing major operations as well as coordinating workers’ activities.” See Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 96, 98.

141 As Costa explains her historical study: “My focus is on the evolution of retirement from 1880 to the present. Throughout this period retirement rates have been rising. In fact, much of the long-run rise in retirement rates occurred before the postwar growth of Social Security and private pension plans.” Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 3 (quotation), 6. And suggesting early practices foreshadowing broader trends that developed later, Haber and Gratton write: “Rather than mandating the continued employment of

Achenbaum has explained, an emphasis on “Efficiency” in the economy in the latter decades of the century had the ultimate effect of marginalizing older Americans via retirement practices and pensions—and something that only increased in the early twentieth century.¹⁴²

A turning point was Social Security. Representing federal intervention in the rise of a social-welfare state for older Americans, with its implications from the standpoint of employment, it ultimately popularized retirement. As several scholars put it in the *Handbook of Social Gerontology: Societal Aspects of Aging* (1960), a pioneering publication in the area of “social gerontology” with chapters by academic and government researchers that reflected the new and growing interest in aging in American life, “Before the introduction at the end of the thirties of the federal Social Security System, with its program of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, retirement was almost non-existent as an institutionalized form of life for the great bulk of older persons in the United States.”¹⁴³ Income was a key driver: while some older Americans might have

the old, vibrant farm areas actually *enabled* aging farm couples to retire. In the villages to which they often relocated, they set up a separate and distinct life-style, one that prefigured retirement in the mid-twentieth century. This option depended on an accumulation of wealth sufficient to guarantee regular income in old age.” Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 93-94, 95 (quotation).

142 See Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 39-54, esp. 47-50 (quotation 48). For additional discussion of various aspects involving policies towards retirement, see, for example, Chudacoff, *How Old Are You?*, 111-13; Fischer, *Growing Old in America*, 135, 143; Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 13-16, 18-19, 263 but also 266-67; Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 106-108, 113-14; and Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 4, 16-17. For an overview of history of, see “Retirement” in W. Andrew Achenbaum, Steven Weiland, and Carole Haber, *Key Words in Sociocultural Gerontology* (New York: Springer Publishing Company, 1996), 145-49, esp. 145-47. For another useful overview, discussing views and treatment of aging Americans but perhaps differing in term of a focus on “unemployment,” which I cite in the following paragraph, see also Atchley, “Retirement,” 452, 453. For perhaps persisting ideas about and practices towards aging persons, see also 450, 451.

143 Clark Tibbitts, preface to *Handbook of Social Gerontology: Societal Aspects of Aging*, ed. Tibbitts (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), ix-x (first quotation ix); Donahue, Orbach, and Pollak, “Retirement,” 341-42 (quotation 341). Thank you again to Andy Achenbaum for suggesting what again presumably was this Tibbitts collection. On significance of Social Security, also see Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 88-115, esp. 88, 114. In one chapter of his study dealing with “gerontology’s intellectual capital,” Katz identifies the Tibbitts-edited collection above: Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 8-9, 101, 102 (quotation). For chapter itself, see “Textual Formations and the

had the means necessary to do so, and some apparently did, financial concerns worked against the realization of retirement for a greater number of older persons.¹⁴⁴ Even if the trend of retirement already was underway, events of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries represented its beginnings rather than its full maturation and breadth.¹⁴⁵

And Social Security, furthermore, not only paved the way for this incarnation of retirement but also perpetuated it, according to scholars, in effect hardening the employment/non-employment dichotomy and popularizing such practices. “Social Security thereafter,” Carole Haber and Brian Gratton explain, “transformed the working

Science of Old Age,” 77-103. And Andrew Blechman writes in his recent account, in overviewing key changes including Social Security, of “the creation of a whole new class of people—retirees.” Blechman, *Leisureville*, 27.

144 See “Retirement” in Achenbaum, Weiland, and Haber, *Key Words in Sociocultural Gerontology*, 147; Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 101, 104-5, 109, 181-82. As Haber and Gratton put it: “On the whole, only the wealthiest, the sickest, or the few guaranteed regular retirement income left work permanently. The very concept of retirement was foreign to many workers” (105). For discussion of possible spectrums of employment and other issues, see 104, 105. However, they also point out that this did not mean that older Americans were necessarily poor prior to the advent of Social Security. More specifically, they question the following: “The standard explanation for the shift from work to retirement as the normal experience of old age echoes the impoverishment model evident in the history of welfare: industrialization deprived people over fifty of meaningful work, forced them into unemployment, and mandated a public retirement system” (88). For additional discussion, also see, for example, 65-66. On the role of the financial variable as an impetus for retirement, see also Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 1-2, 3, 32-33, 53, 54-55, 55-56, 56-57. And for discussion of factor of leisure, and leisure and income, see 3-4, 56, 57, 133, 155. For yet another account dealing with Social Security here, see also Freedman, *Prime Time*, 49-50. Finally, another account useful in understanding retirement viability explains: “Retirement pensions provide the means for carrying out retirement. Without pensions, retirement is possible only for the economic elite.” For quotation, and preceding listing of forms of, see R.C. Atchley, “Retirement” in *Encyclopedia of Gerontology*, ed. James E. Birren, 2d ed. (Oxford: Academic Press, 2007), 450. And for Atchley’s account on Social Security, see also 452-53

145 For evidence qualifying the significance of changing trends in retirement overall in this period, see again “Retirement” in Achenbaum, Weiland, and Haber, *Key Words in Sociocultural Gerontology*, 147. And as Frances FitzGerald puts it in her useful account, emphasizing the extent of change—or the capacity for change: “Historically speaking, the very notion of retirement—on a mass scale, at any rate—is new, and dates only from the industrial revolution, from the time when a majority of workers (and not just a few professionals) became replaceable parts in organizations outside the family. The possibility of retirement for large numbers of people depended, of course, on the establishment of adequate social-insurance systems, and these were not created until long after the building of industry.” See FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 207.

lives of the elderly by encouraging them to leave the labor force en masse.”¹⁴⁶ Even more, William Graebner, emphasizing the political context of Social Security, argues that it was imposed from above as part of efforts to remedy various economic concerns, thus ultimately representing a “piece of unemployment legislation” and “a piece of retirement legislation, which promised to accomplish what other retirement legislation had accomplished—the removal of people from the work force.”¹⁴⁷ Whether Social Security was causal or not, both contemporaneous accounts and subsequent scholarship cite

146 See again Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 110-12 (quotation 111). More specifically, for context of this quotation, see 110-11. For discussion of figures illustrating this, see 111-12. Here, their account differentiates between programs *within* Social Security as well. For Gratton’s work elsewhere, see also Brian Gratton, “The Labor Force Participation of Older Men: 1890-1950,” *Journal of Social History* 20, no. 4 (1987): 691, 698-99, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 7-8. For brief background, and an important account I cite below in relation to the work of William Graebner, also see Findlay: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 165.

147 See Graebner’s work, as I use it in my project, as it appears in the following: Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 268, first cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 165 and 346n15. Graebner’s account, and this point specifically also first cited in other accounts: Graebner, on points including this, cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 10; Graebner, 180-90, 98 [*sic*?]-199, cited in Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 30-31. Graebner *A History of Retirement*, further cited in Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 111; Graebner as quoted in Brian Gratton, *Urban Elders: Family, Work, and Welfare among Boston’s Aged, 189-1950* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 23 (first quotation), study first cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 7-8; Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 184, quoted in W. Andrew Achenbaum, review of Graebner, in “Applied History,” special issue, *Journal of Social History*, 14, no. 4 (Summer 1981): 783; Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 181-214, esp. 183-84 (second quotation 184), 184-92, 198-99, and 240-41, 263, 269. In terms of my use of Haber and Gratton, and Graebner, I use the former to set up the latter, which also is cited by the former, in order to stress the political nature as illuminated in Graebner. Graebner similarly quoted and work cited in Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20th-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 118. For overall point, see also 117-18. For Graebner in relationship to other scholarship, see also Graebner, 181-83. For Graebner in relation to and discussion of additional treatments, see discussion of Graebner and relevant literature—including that of Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, for example—in Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 15-16. For Graebner as cited elsewhere, also see Graebner as cited in John Myles, “Postwar Capitalism and the Extension of Social Security into a Retirement Wage” in *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States*, ed. Weir, Orloff, and Skocpol, 271-72. Richard Calhoun makes a similar point in his study. For example, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 6. For yet another account, perhaps drawing on Graebner as well, see also Freedman, *Prime Time*, 48. And for another account perhaps fitting within this overall interpretation, including the factor of “unemployed younger workers,” also see Blechman, *Leisureville*, 26. For another account explaining the role of “unemployment,” see also Atchley, “Retirement,” 450 (quotation), 451, 452. On promotion of retirement by different interests, also see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 42, 43-46, 54-55.

figures pointing to an overall, further-unfolding trend.¹⁴⁸ “The 1950 level of participation of older men in the labor force represented a culmination of a long-time decline extending at least as far back as 1890,” Clark Tibbitts wrote in a study by Census official and expert Henry Sheldon. “In that year, 68 percent of the men 65 and over were in the labor force in contrast to 42 percent in 1950.”¹⁴⁹

148 First, see useful discussion and figures comparing 1930 and 1950, from discussion noted above, cited in Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 112. For discussion and evidence illustrating change over broader window, see, for example, figures in Henry D. Sheldon, with two chapters by Clark Tibbitts, *The Older Population of the United States*, prepared for the Social Science Research Council in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census Monograph Series (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), 53, 54, table 19, “Labor Force Participation Rates of Males 45 Years Old and Over, by Age: 1890 to 1950,” first or also cited in Henry D. Sheldon, “The Changing Demographic Profile” in *Handbook of Social Gerontology*, ed. Tibbitts., 33, table 2; Clark Tibbitts in Sheldon, 127. On why, see, for example, 127-28. This account also points out what another, below, calls “a temporary reversal of a long-run downward trend” due to a “manpower crisis during the war years” in the middle of the century. On this, see Sheldon, 53 (second quotation); Fred Slavick and Seymour L. Wolfbein, “The Evolving Work-Life Pattern” in *Handbook of Social Gerontology*, ed. Tibbitts, 301 (first quotation). For the figure of “about 42 per cent of males” elsewhere, see also Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 301. And for figure for older American women, see also 301. As the title page and preface of Sheldon indicate, Sheldon was affiliated with the Bureau of the Census, and in terms of authorship, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare’s Tibbitts wrote the “introductory and summary chapters,” also according to the title page (quotation) and preface. In subsequent citations, I specify authorship as relevant. For others offering broader window, see also John W. McConnell, “Aging and the Economy” in *Handbook of Social Gerontology*, ed. Tibbitts, 494; Slavick and Wolfbein, “The Evolving Work-Life Pattern,” 301, esp. table 4, “Labor-Force Participation Rates by Age and Sex, 1900-1958.” On why here, see 301-2. For figures in account of Frances FitzGerald, particularly for later in the twentieth century, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 207. For a figure of “about 20 percent,” also see again Haber and Gratton, 112. For another discussion including figures, see also Freedman, *Prime Time*, 50. Furthermore, older Americans were retiring at a higher rate relative not only to previous cohorts of older persons but also to other, contemporary age groups: the percentage of those in the 55-64 age group totaled just over 83 percent in 1950, versus approximately 42 percent for the 65-and-older group for the same year, thus suggesting how older ages—perhaps sixty-five—functioned as cut-offs for retirement. See again Sheldon, 54, table 19. For Freedman using this younger group as well, see again Freedman, 50.

149 Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 127. And, figures in some accounts above go beyond 1950, illustrating a furthering of this trend. For example, Slavick and Wolfbein continue, after quotation in above note: “With the conclusion of World War II the downward trend was resumed and even accentuated. In 1958 a little over one in three males 65 and over was in the labor force, a figure substantially below the low point reached in 1940 after a decade of depression.” See Slavick and Wolfbein, “The Evolving Work-Life Pattern,” 301 (emphasis added). For specific figure from data to which they refer readers in their broader discussion here, see again 301, table 4. For this from the standpoint of “the average age of first retirement,” see Atchley, “Retirement,” 453. And, for figures for retirement prior to 65 years of age in the later twentieth century as recounted in FitzGerald’s case study, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 208. Here, for Freedman on figures for perhaps broader window, see also Freedman, *Prime Time*, 50. And, for discussion of and figures on shift towards “leisure,” see also Freedman, 71.

In the process, modern retirement took on potentially greater prominence for old age, particularly in quantitative terms. Addressing one factor, a pair of scholars wrote in the *Handbook of Social Gerontology* wrote, “As we all know, life-expectancy has increased significantly,” while Henry Sheldon in the same collection clarified that the significance of the demographic stemmed from the scale on which Americans collectively realized retirement, in light of the fact that “these years have been gained largely at the younger ages, particularly by the reduction of infant mortality.”¹⁵⁰ Drawing

150 Slavick and Wolfbein, “The Evolving Work-Life Pattern,” 298 (first quotation); Sheldon, “The Changing Demographic Profile,” 37 (second quotation). On the first point, discussed by Slavick and Wolfbein, they went on to illustrate this: “A baby boy born today has a life-expectancy of over 18 years more than one born at the turn of the century; a baby girl has a life-expectancy of over 22 years more than one born at the turn of the century.” For additional evidence, of key figures showing changes, see also 299, table 1, “Expectancy of Life and Working Life at Birth in the United States, 1900-1955.” And for discussion and figures elsewhere, see, for example, Sheldon, “The Changing Demographic Profile,” 37, 38, table 5, “Expectation of Life at Selected Ages, by Color and Sex [:] 1949-51 and 1900-1902.” In his account, Calhoun discusses figures for 1900 and 1950. See figures relayed in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 3. And for figures including 1980, see those discussed by FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 205; Schulman: Schulman, *The Seventies*, 84. And both Slavick and Wolfbein and a document surrounding the White House Conference on Aging spoke of this trend as celebrated, whether from their perspectives of those of others: Slavick and Wolfbein, 298; White House Conference on Aging (WHCA) (January 9-12, 1961), *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, prepared by the Planning Committee on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications, National Advisory Committee for the White House Conference on Aging (1960), 1.

On the second point here, a broader version of the above quotation in the text by Sheldon went: “The inference that the increase in life-expectation means that people are living longer needs examination. The increase means that there has been an increase in the number of man-years lived by a cohort of births, but these years have been gained largely at the younger ages, particularly by the reduction of infant mortality. As figures ... indicate, the gain in expectation of life at the older ages has not been large. *The increase in life-expectation does mean, however, that more persons have survived to attain the upper ages.*” For this quotation, and broader discussion, including of the “explanation of the increase in our older population” which he is addressing, see again Sheldon, 37 (emphasis added). For the table to which he refers, omitted in the quotation immediately above, see 38, table 5, “Expectation of Life at Selected Ages, by Color and Sex [:] 1949-51 and 1900-1902.” Sheldon makes this point in his study, previously cited, as well: Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 17. In a scholarly account useful in understanding demographics surrounding old age, Andrew Achenbaum makes the seemingly similar point that “it has always been possible for a baby to attain a visibly apparent and empirically verifiable ‘ripe old age’ even though the likelihood of that event has increased tremendously since 1790.” For quotation and context of his discussion, see Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 1-2, esp. 2 (quotation). Both Frances FitzGerald and John Findlay provide important accounts identifying and explaining the significance of the demographics at hand also contributing to my understanding of this distinction and, more particularly, the historical import here of retirement. FitzGerald, for example, puts it: “Old age is nothing new, of course, but for an entire generation to reach old age with its membership almost intact is something new.” For this quotation and explanation of, as well going on to acknowledge and cite statistics illustrating the fact of

on the work of an expert at the Bureau of Labor Statistics, another account—also in the *Handbook of Social Gerontology*—discussed another factor, explaining, “The combined effects of increased life-expectancy and decreased working-life expectancy is an increasing number of years outside of paid employment.”¹⁵¹ As Tibbitts put it, also in Sheldon’s study, “Earlier retirement, plus rising longevity, results in more years of retirement.”¹⁵²

Along with the changes wrought by retirement in a quantitative sense, there very well might have been important *qualitative* changes. Perhaps suggesting the extent to which federal policy had a significant ideological impact, Frances FitzGerald has written that “The Social Security Act of 1935 created an economic floor for those who could not work. More important, it created the presumption that American workers had a right to

“some increase in longevity,” see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 205-6 (quotations 205). For Findlay, see “Sun City, Arizona,” 165. And here, Findlay cites FitzGerald, presumably drawing on her account, specifically p. 205, on this point: FitzGerald, 205-6, cited in Findlay, 165. I return to these accounts, citing their discussion and figures provided, in relation to my discussion of the implications for homebuilding for retirement.

151 S.A. Garfinkle, “Changes in Working Life of Men, 1900 to 2000,” *Monthly Labor Review* 78 (1955): 297-300, and “Tables of Working Life for Women,” *Monthly Labor Review* 79 (1950): 901-7, discussed and cited in McConnell, “Aging and the Economy,” 495 (second quotation), including table 3, “Average Remaining Lifetime and Average Number of Years of Work Remaining for Men and for Working Women at Ages 50 and Over, 1950.” Here, McConnell’s account continued, providing a very useful example: “In 1900 a white male worker of 60 years of age had a life-expectancy of 14.3 years, a working-life expectancy of 11.5, and a prospect of 2.8 years in retirement. By 1950 the corresponding figures were 15.7 years, 9.7 years, and, consequently, 6.0 years of retired life” (495). For additional and evidence elsewhere, see figures from WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 37, including unnumbered table “Life Expectancy, Work, Life, and Retirement for Men: 1900-1975.” The projection for 1975 in this table included figures for 17.2 and 9.0 years, respectively, which resulted in “Retirement life expectancy” of 8.2 years. For yet additional evidence, from a younger threshold, see, for example, Slavick and Wolfbein, “The Evolving Work-Life Pattern,” 299. And for discussion of how this more generally involved pre- and post-work ages, and for specific discussion of younger ages, see also 298-99, 299. For evidence elsewhere here, see also WHCA, 1. And finally, and no less importantly, that “decreased working-life expectancy” in McConnell’s account at the top was related to—if not directly a result of—retirement, might be suggested by his discussion before: McConnell, 494.

152 Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 5. For Tibbitts mentioning “the extension of the length of life,” to which he might be referring here in “rising longevity,” and for the point that I discuss at the end of the note above, suggested here by Tibbitts’s discussion immediately before the quotation in the text, see also 5. For “an increasing number of years in retirement,” see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 1. For previously cited evidence from this document, see again 37.

retire—a right to live without working after the age of sixty-five.”¹⁵³ And perhaps suggesting the extent to which retirement took on a life of its own in the process, Haber and Gratton write that “In the Social Security era . . . retirement became the expected and normal state of life for elderly men.”¹⁵⁴ Describing its entrenchment, Graebner argues that “retirement” overall blossomed in the middle decades of the twentieth century into “a full-fledged ideology, embodying a way of life and a way of thinking about the experience of being old.”¹⁵⁵

Retirement Finances

Retirement represented a new, socially and politically constructed space existing outside of the arena of employment. But within this new space, the well-being of retired Americans could prove elusive, and experts and observers at mid-century called attention to the fact that older Americans confronted a series of challenges. Outlining such challenges, Lawton and Stewart stated that “Old age, and even middle age, carry with them serious social, economic, and psychological problems.”¹⁵⁶ Overviewing the contemporary retirement crisis in 1954, Clark Tibbitts—a former administrator of the

153 FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 207.

154 Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 88. For similar point, see 182. And Arnold Rose, in pointing to the implications of this threshold suggested the responsibility of Social Security: “It seems likely that the Social Security Act of 1935 did more to define this limit than any other single event.” See Rose, “The Subculture of the Aging,” 12.

155 Graebner *A History of Retirement*, 241, in part quoted in Achenbaum, review of Graebner, 783; Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 215, 240-241 (quotation 241). Additionally, I discuss and cite Graebner’s excellent analysis of the culture of leisure in retirement later in this chapter. Perhaps pertaining to and illustrating the extent to which retirement took on, in a sense, a life of its own, also see interesting point in previously cited work of Costa: Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 56. Stephen Katz provides an interesting and useful discussion perhaps relevant here as well. “They are considered here,” he writes of “Pensions and retirement” in a previously cited chapter, for example, “to be part of the same technology of differentiation insofar as they disciplined old age as a special part of the life-course.” See Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 60-61 (quotation 61), 64, 66-67.

156 Lawton and Stewart, *When You Grow Older*, 2.

University of Michigan’s Institute for Human Adjustment now working for the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW)—reported that “Fairly numerous studies of the adjustment of various occupational and population groups of the retired shows that the principal problems faced by the individual are maintenance of income to meet the requirements of active and healthful living; discovery of new occupations or social roles; finding opportunity for social contacts, companionship, and affection; maintenance of health; and procurement of suitable living arrangements.”¹⁵⁷

For their part, older Americans were well aware of different old-age struggles. And concerns about those born out of and tied to income, in particular, had important political implications. One scholarly narrative of “the struggle for old-age justice” explains that, in light of the persistent financial precariousness of older Americans even in the decades after the passage of Social Security, a “growing perception of social injustice and common political identity among the elderly inspired the formation of a number of influential senior organizations of national scope.”¹⁵⁸

Financial matters were a major focus of investigation and attention.¹⁵⁹ According to a document surrounding the 1961 White House Conference on Aging (WHCA), the

157 Clark Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 303-4 (quotation 303). In terms of Tibbitts, he was identified in the issue as “chairman of the Committee on Aging and Geriatrics” of HEW. For additional biographical information on Tibbitts, including discussion of his contributions to and significance in the area of aging, see, for example, Achenbaum, *Crossing Frontiers*, 160-64, 194-96, 165, 166, 204-5. For additional discussion of difficulties of retirement, see, for example, Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 40-41. For “special problems,” see also Havighurst and Albrecht, *Older People*, 10-30 (quotation 10). Additionally, one of the studies cited in the pages cited for Tibbitts, Cavan, et al., *Personal Adjustment in Old Age* (1949) is discussed and cited later in this chapter. See Tibbitts’s reference, see Tibbitts, 304n2.

158 Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, ix (first quotation), 110-11 (second quotation 111), 114, 133, 143. These groups included, they continued, the AARP and others (111). And here, they also identified several others factors that I happen to focus upon on the pages below.

159 This very well might have been due to the seeming centrality of income to other facets of retired life—that other issues flowed from income. As Tibbitts further wrote in 1954: “Obtaining sufficient income for shelter, food, clothing, increased medical needs and for active living is commonly regarded as the most pressing need of retired persons and their dependents.” Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American

second of a series of roughly decennial events spanning much of the second half of the twentieth century, the issue largely was this: “Many older people have low incomes.”¹⁶⁰ In terms of Social Security, benefits themselves increased via a series of legislative changes over the course of the 1950s, perhaps helping to stabilize the financial landscape of old age.¹⁶¹ But even such gains in income were not enough to solve the overall financial predicament that some—if not many—older Americans faced.¹⁶² As sociologist and gerontology expert Jill Quadagno has explained, “Until the 1960s ... Social Security

Society,” 304. For similar evidence on this point, also see WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 27-28; Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 112.

160 For document and quotation, see Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book* ([Washington, DC]: Federal Council on Aging, [1961]), 5. It did point out, however, different factors at play thus complicating this picture. For income, also see Havighurst and Albrecht, *Older People*, 22-23. For history of the 1961 WHCA, and its precursor and successors, see, for example, Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 144-45; Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 141-46. The WHCA of 1961 discussed shortly below in relation to the rise of Medicare, and the 1971 WHCA is discussed in Part III. Despite this overall, general trend, it is important to acknowledge that older Americans were not a monolithic group in terms of finances. For differences noted and detailed by various accounts, see Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 131-32; White House Conference on Aging (January 9-12, 1961), *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, prepared under the direction of the Planning Committee on Income Maintenance (Washington, DC: [WHCA?], 1960), 12, 13, 14-15; Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference*, 22, 24, chart 15.

161 On Social Security in the 1950s, see, for example, Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 221; Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 116; Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 174; Jill S. Quadagno, *The Transformation of Old Age Security: Class and Politics in the American Welfare State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 153; Béland, *Social Security*, 121, 123, 127-28; Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 132. For discussion of impact going back to late 1940s and well into the 1950s due to changes, see also Margaret S. Gordon, “Aging and Income Security” in *Handbook of Social Gerontology*, ed. Tibbitts, 209, 232-33. On overall improving picture due to different sources of income, see Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 304; Tibbitts in Sheldon, 132; WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 28-29, 30-32. For discussion of growth of Social Security in several different ways, see 31; Donahue, Orbach, and Pollak, “Retirement,” 343-44; Quadagno, 153; Costa, 174. For coverage to groups previously not covered specifically, see, for example, Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 39; Béland, 121. For several very useful accounts discussing the financial gains made among older Americans, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 165-66; FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 207-8; Schulman, *The Seventies*, 85. FitzGerald pays attention to differences by gender and age, too: FitzGerald, 207.

162 On this general point, see, for example, Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 304; Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 132; assuming referring to the rise of Social Security, Gordon, “Aging and Income Security,” 208; WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 29. Issues of inflation and costs associated with aging discussed, for example, in the last source here on p. 32 will be discussed below as well. This source does express some optimism for future years. See 33.

was still basically a poverty program.”¹⁶³ And in terms of private pensions, the number of Americans participating in programs multiplied in the middle decades of the century, reaching roughly one-third of workers, according to studies published in the late 1950s.¹⁶⁴ One account in the *Handbook of Social Gerontology* acknowledged that the reach of such pensions was somewhat limited, and while another cautioned that “Further expansion is likely to be very slow,” the *Background Paper on Income Maintenance* for the 1961 WHCA offered a more optimistic perspective: “The fact that the current number of beneficiaries amounts to only a fraction of the number now covered indicates that there will be an increasing impact of the pension movement in the future.”¹⁶⁵

The financial bind of retired Americans very well might have been a product of retirement itself, as aging workers followed the newly revised roadmap of old age. Here, a distinctive economic trajectory—what the study of Census study by Henry Sheldon published in the late 1950s described as a “parabolic curve”—structured the lives of Americans from the standpoint of work and income, in which the later working years

163 Quadagno continues: “It was not until a series of amendments were legislated by Congress between 1968 and 1974, which substantially increased benefits, raised the wage base, and implemented automatic adjustments, that Social Security guaranteed older citizens a true retirement wage.” See Quadagno, *The Transformation of Old Age Security*, 153, first cited on this point in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 8. Such subsequent changes are discussed in a later chapter of this dissertation.

164 On rise and size of private-pension programs, see WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 11, 31; Gordon, “Aging and Income,” 244. For specific figures—31 percent and 36 percent, respectively—see studies cited in the following: A.M. Skolnik and J. Zisman, “Growth in Employee Benefits Plans,” *Social Security Bulletin* 21 (March 1958): 4-12, cited in McConnell, “Aging and the Economy,” 506; Skolnik and Zisman, “Growth in Employee-Benefit Programs, 1954-1957,” *Social Security Bulletin* 22 (March 1959): 4-12, cited in Gordon, “Aging and Income Security,” 244. For rise of such pensions in historical perspective, and reasoning behind in terms of interests of corporate interests, unions, and others, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 42-43, esp. 43, 45-47; Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 215-16, 218-221; also see Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 148.

165 See, in order above, Gordon, “Aging and Income Security,” 244; McConnell, “Aging and the Economy,” 506 (first quotation); WCHA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 31 (second quotation). For caveats of this WHCA document, however, see again 31. Yet the homebuilding industry would notice this, like other demographic and other features of aging Americans. For pensions, also see Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 3-4; Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 132. On pensions, also see FitzGerald’s overview again: FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 207; Schulman, *The Seventies*, 85.

began down a slope of lessened earnings later in one's career before ending in something approaching a financial cliff of sorts upon retirement.¹⁶⁶ As Clark Tibbitts wrote in Sheldon's study, "Income rises to a peak in the middle years and thereafter declines; and it declines sharply following retirement."¹⁶⁷ As one illustration of this, assuming a retirement age of 65 years old, the median income fell among working men in the 55-64 year-old category from more than \$2,500 to slightly over \$1,100 in the 65-and-old category—a drop-off of more than 50 percent upon crossing this chronological threshold.¹⁶⁸ And as Haber and Gratton note, income flowed—or flowed to a lesser extent—from retirement practices: "Mass retirement under Social Security has . . . introduced an unprecedented drop in individual's earnings at specified retirement ages."¹⁶⁹

The financial challenges facing older Americans stemmed, at least in part, from the fact that they had "low incomes." And low incomes—or *lower* incomes—themselves stemmed partly, if not largely, from retirement.¹⁷⁰ But "income needs" identified and

166 Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 112-15 (quotation 112), including table 43, "Median Income of Persons with Income in 1949 and Percent with Income of Less than \$2,000, by Age and Sex," 115-16. For additional discussion of this point, see also Gordon, "Aging and Income Security," 211, 212, fig. 1, "Median Income by Age, for Men and Women with Income, Families and Unrelated Individuals, United States, 1948 and 1957."

167 Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 131 (quotation).

168 For discussion and specific figures upon which calculations based, see again Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 113, table 43. And here, in contrasting the 55-64 and 65-and-older age groups, I have borrowed from a similar comparison by Tibbitts, in which he does this based on income at the level of the family: Tibbitts, "Retirement Problems in American Society," 304. For another account making a comparison like mine but for 1958, see Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 23, including chart 14. Sheldon also suggests looking at "the income level of the consuming units in which older persons are found rather than a matter of the individual income *per se* of older persons." See Sheldon, 117-18 (quotation 118).

169 Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 83.

170 For period evidence on income of discussion de-emphasizing individual agency in the financial constraints facing older Americans, see citing of "no fault of their own" in a study of Grand Rapids, Michigan, in the early 1950s: Woodrow W. Hunter and Helen Maurice, *Older People Tell Their Story: Report of a Survey of the Needs of Older People Undertaken in Grand Rapids, Michigan and Recommendations for Community Action Developed by a Local Forum on Aging* (University of Michigan: Institute for Human Adjustment, Division of Gerontology, 1953), 83.

discussed by the *Background Paper on Income Maintenance* for the 1961 WHCA extended, for example, to particularities inherent to aging. While older Americans ultimately would receive protection in the form of health insurance via Medicare, passed in the mid-1960s, the WHCA explained that “medical needs of older persons are likely to be greater and, because they are less apt to be protected against medical costs through prepayment arrangements, more of their retirement incomes may be claimed by out-of-pocket medical expenses.”¹⁷¹

171 WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 21. For quotation elsewhere, see also, White House Conference on Aging (WHCA) (January 9-12, 1961), *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, prepared under the direction of the Planning Committee, Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), 15. On this point, also see Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging*, 5. On relative consumption of medical resources, see, for example, Federal Council on Aging, 29, 55, including chart 44, 56, including chart 45; WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 26. And for “expenditures,” presumably as a result of such consumption, see Federal Council on Aging, 30 (quotation), including chart 21; WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 24. For break-down of consumption, see also Federal Council on Aging, 31; WCHA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 24. For mention of relative difference, see also Federal Council on Aging, 5. For another measurement, from the standpoint of the “percentage of total consumption expenditures” across age groups, with the exception to the overall trend for those in the “Under 25” category, see also discussion of and evidence from 1950 in Gordon, “Aging and Income Security,” 216, including table 2, “Family Expenditures for Major Groups of Goods and Services Purchased for Current Consumption, Two-Person Families with Income from \$1000 to \$2000, by Age of Family Head, Urban United States, 1950.” On “medical expenses,” also see Glenn H. Beyer, *Housing and Society* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), 420. On medical profile and consumption of aging persons in secondary accounts, also see Oberlander, *The Political Life of Medicare*, 23. For additional evidence, see discussion of evidence cited in Marmor, *The Politics of Medicare*, 13. In terms of the financial implications of, see the following. As Marmor’s account continues: “As age increases, income decreases, producing an inverse relationship between medical expenses and personal income.” See Marmor, 13. As additional evidence a politically supportive editorial on insurance, which I address below as well, in *The Washington Post, Times Herald* in 1963 pointed out that “illness is inescapable among the elderly—and ruinously expensive.” For quotation and specific context and background, see editorial, *Washington Post, Times Herald*, February 23, 1963. On challenge posed to income, see also Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 132. And, if “the increasingly high cost of medical care” involved consumption on the part of older persons, then see also 133. And addressing the particular nature of such “costs,” the *Background Paper on Income Maintenance* explained at a later point: “The cost of medical care is unlike the cost of food, housing and other items in the budget. Medical costs are uneven and unpredictable in their impact. Income and savings that are adequate for the usual day-to-day expenditures can become completely inadequate if heavy medical bills must be paid out-of-pocket.” See WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 24. Finally, in terms of the insurance issues here, the *Background Paper on Income Maintenance* later explained: “Older persons are inevitably a high cost group to insure “They spend at least twice as many days per capita in general hospitals as the population as a whole; chronic conditions occur with much greater frequency at the older ages.” WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 26. Here, it continued: “To insure them, then, means either that they themselves must pay the relatively high rates that reflect their heavy utilization—and that may dictate that benefits be limited in order that the policy can find a market—or that their excess costs be spread over

Factoring into this financial equation, too, was the broader economic context, which—when combined with different dimensions of, or otherwise overlapping with, retirement—particularized the predicament of older Americans, as various accounts suggest. “Adjustments to changes in the value of the dollar have been made relatively quickly for large groups in the population through current earnings,” another WHCA document, the *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, explained. “But for retired persons who can no longer count on earnings, the adjustment has all too often had to come in the reduced amounts of different kinds of goods and services they could purchase and in their level of living. *To the person living on a fixed income, the*

younger members of the insured group, or paid by the former employer or financed through a governmental subsidy. A fourth alternative—paying during the working years for benefits in retirement—has been used too little to have an impact at present.” On the insurance landscape here and its complications in postwar decades, also see WHCA, 25-26; Oberlander, *The Political Life of Medicare*, 23; Quadagno, *One Nation Uninsured*, 55-56, 61-62; Marmor, *The Politics of Medicare*, 12; Gordon, *Dead on Arrival*, 24, 129. For mention of insurance as lacking, see also Federal Council on Aging, 5. Continuing, here it also makes a point about differences across class as well (5).

Meanwhile, on Medicare, specifically the rationale behind Medicare in light of the above insurance landscape, Marmor, *The Politics of Medicare*, 12; also Oberlander, *The Political Life of Medicare*, 34;. And, for various historical overviews of the rise of Medicare and its key features, see, for example, Eric R. Kingson and Edward D. Berkowitz, *Social Security and Medicare: A Policy Primer* (Westport, Connecticut: Auburn House, 1993), 43-46; Berkowitz, *America’s Welfare State*, 166-75; Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine: The Rise of a Sovereign Profession and the Making of a Vast Industry* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 368-69; Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 93-95; Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 114-22; Gordon, *Dead on Arrival*, 23-28; Jonathan Oberlander, *The Political Life of Medicare*, 18-31. Also For WHCA of 1961 promoting federal efforts leading up to Medicare, see Achenbaum, *Crossing Frontiers*, 200-1; Butler, *Why Survive?*, 331; Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 143-44, esp. 144; W. Andrew Achenbaum, *Older Americans, Vital Communities: A Bold Vision for Societal Aging* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 141. On the place of this event, one of the above accounts explains: “The 1961 White House Conference represented a turning point in the power balance between reluctant Washington elites and aging-policy reform advocates.” See again Powell, Branco, and Williamson, 144. And reflecting the growing presence—and power—of older Americans on the political landscape, the issue of health insurance helped to cultivate what Arnold Rose described as “a sense of common lot and common interests” on the way to Medicare, while having a role within the broader emergence of favorable policies and the attendant political infrastructure ungirding the success of such efforts. See Rose, “The Subculture of the Aging,” 4-5 (quotation 5), 13-14; Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 111, 113-14, 117, 133-34. Donahue and Tibbitts also mentioned the issue in their collection from the 1961 conference at Michigan: Donahue and Tibbitts, preface to *Politics of Age*, x. And as Quadagno explains in her account, this was a leading issue—and one undertaken by John F. Kennedy the candidate and Kennedy as President: Quadagno, *One Nation Uninsured*, 59, 67. For “political clout” on the rise in the 1960s, see again Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 24-27 (quotation 25).

effects of a price rise . . . are crucial.”¹⁷² Compounding this, the *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*—a document produced by the Federal Council on Aging highlighting the different dilemmas facing older Americans illustrated with text and graphics—explained, “An especial burden for persons 65 or older, stemming from their greater-than average need for medical care, results from the considerable rise in the cost of such services in recent years.”¹⁷³ Illustrating exacerbation on yet another front, the *Background Paper* pointed to “the increase in the life-span and the decrease in employment at the older ages, resulting in a longer period of years over which the average retired persons is subject to the effects of economic change.”¹⁷⁴

In the case of Social Security, for example, Congress had raised benefits in the 1950s in the face of a slippery economic slope confronting Social Security-collecting Americans—a situation, one *Background Paper* for the 1961 WHCA explained it, in which “the purchasing power of a benefit awarded in 1940 had been cut almost in half by

172 WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 3 (emphasis added). On inflation and purchasing power, see, for example, Gordon, “Aging and Income Security,” 253; McConnell, “Aging and the Economy,” 513; WHCA, 17; Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 29. For additional language of “fixed incomes,” see also Federal Council on Aging, 29. For qualification of dynamic according to particular “source or sources,” see again WHCA, 17. And suggesting repercussions beyond dollars and cents, Tibbitts wrote in 1954 that “continually rising prices depress the value of pensions and financial holdings and lead to prolonged uncertainty and worry.” See again Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 304.

173 See Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 29, including chart 20. On this point, also see Margaret S. Gordon, “Income and Assets of the Elderly and Their Implications for Housing Programs” in *Housing the Aging: Research Needs*, ed. George W. Grier (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1962), 142-43. Work of Gordon and others appears in the second section of this overall document. I discuss the issue of housing, cited by Gordon here (143), below. One *Background Paper* said of inflation and the spending of older Americans in relation to others, “an index of changes in the price of goods and services typically bought by older persons, and weighted according to the relative importance of an older person’s budget might show a somewhat different pattern than the over-all consumer price index.” See WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 14-16 (quotation 15).

174 WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 8.

mid-1950.”¹⁷⁵ Although the political environment of benefits in the postwar decades was one in which “consensus prevailed over dissent”—further, subsequent increases and legislative changes pushing benefits upwards would trigger more of the latter later in the century—evidence suggests that cracks already were forming in the short-term.¹⁷⁶ In 1963, a piece in *U.S. News & World Report* titled “How Good Do Old Folks Have It?” explained a shift over time experienced by older Americans—from their unfortunate status as “forgotten people” to one in which they benefited from Social Security and other favorable policies—that came at the expense of others: “It is pointed out that young families today carry the big burden. They start out with homes to establish and pay for, with children to educate, with insurance costs to meet and an estate to build.”¹⁷⁷

There were, furthermore, caveats to the financial vulnerability of older Americans. Although the *Background Paper on Income Maintenance* would go on to discuss the financial dilemmas and implications associated with “medical needs,” it stated at the outset that “The fact that they have lower money incomes than others is not in itself an indication that these incomes are inadequate.”¹⁷⁸ As evidence, it identified ways in

175 WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 18-19 (quotation 18); McConnell, “Aging and the Economy,” 513. For benefits undercut in 1940s specifically, see Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 83. For another account addressing inflation in relation to changes in Social Security, whether explicit intention or not, see Béland, *Social Security*, 121, 123, 127-28, 138; Haber and Gratton, 83-84. For other accounts involving changes in 1950s, see those previously cited in this section. Other pensions, however, generally lacked such measures in the postwar years for addressing the shrinking of beneficiaries’ purchasing power. See WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 25-27, esp. 25; McConnell, “Aging and the Economy,” 513. However, for discussion seemingly of ways of addressing inflation, see 513-14.

176 For discussion of this climate and quotation, see Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 39-40.

177 “How Good Do Old Folks Have It?” *U.S. News & World Report*, January 21, 1963, 68-70 (quotations 68). This piece, more specifically, was addressing the views and positions of “Tax planners” (68). In terms of developments in the 1980s, I discuss this in the Epilogue.

178 WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 21. For Haber and Gratton discussing this general idea in their study, see Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 84. For other, period accounts making seemingly similar point about income as an indicator, and its limits, see, for example, WHCA, 11; Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 132. For another account, see discussion—in particular citing George Katona—in Campbell, “Social and Psychological Determinants of

which spending shifted over time, further suggesting features of retirement distinctiveness. “One type of outlay that for years dominates most family budgets--the cost of raising and educating children--is greatly reduced or ended,” it pointed out, among several other examples provided. Continuing, the account referred to a trend involving homeownership, something of which older Americans more generally displayed high relative rates, explaining that “since they are more likely than younger persons to own their homes free and clear, they may be able to stretch a given income further than those who must pay rent or are still making payments on the mortgage.”¹⁷⁹

Voting Behavior,” 96. For another account perhaps making this point, in context of discussion in, see also Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 5.

179 For these and other examples, within the context of the particular passage previously discussed and cited from this account, see WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 21. For comparison to “younger families,” with discussion overlapping at points with the language above, in another WHCA document, see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 14-15 (quotation 15), 15. For another account making age-based comparison/s, see also, whether drawing on Katona here or not, Campbell, “Social and Psychological Determinants of Voting Behavior,” 96. And while the direct reference here is to “average asset ownership,” this account does mention home equity subsequently, in context of paragraph in which it appears. See 96-97 (quotation 96). Additionally, for reference to “in relation to their needs and in relation to other age groups,” see WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 11. The *Chart Book* similarly stated at one point that “the financial needs may be reduced for the older person who has retired, whose children are self-supporting, and whose house is paid for.” See Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 5. For another account, which discuss changes over time and financial implications but that seems to offer in a different framing of the finances of older Americans in the immediate context, see also Beyer, *Housing and Society*, 420. Although not necessarily making point involving relative homeownership within context of distinctiveness or financial distinctiveness of older Americans, see also discussion in Alexander Kira, George Tucker, and Carl Cederstrom, for the New York State Division of Housing by the Housing Research Center, Cornell University, *Housing Requirements of the Aged: A Study of Design Criteria* (1958 [?]; Ithaca, New York: Center for Urban Development Research, Cornell University, 1973), 2. See also 2-3 for broader context of paragraph at hand. Next, for specific evidence of comparison between age groups on “free and clear” homeownership, see figures discussed in Walter K. Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People” in *Handbook of Social Gerontology*, ed. Tibbitts 564. For figures for both groups, see also the following for the table to which this directs readers for older homeowners: Vivrett, 565, table 6, “Value, Mortgage Debt, and Owners’ Equity in Non-Farm Houses Occupied by All Spending Units and Spending Units Aged 65 and over, Early 1954.” And for specific figures for older homeowners in context of and at points in the first WHCA document above, see those discussed and cited from different sources—“the latest Survey of Consumer Finances of the Federal Reserve Board” and “the sample of nonfarm OASI beneficiaries interviewed in 1957”—in WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 17. For background of the latter, see 14. And for same figure, for “OASI beneficiaries” presumably from the same source discussed a couple of pages earlier, see also 15. For figures elsewhere, presumably from the same sources as above, see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 13. For what might have been the same source for 87-percent figure, from “The 1959 Survey of Consumers’ Finances,” see also that discussed and cited in Harry Held and Martin J. Lindloff, “Financing Housing for the Elderly: Present and Potential Methods” in *Housing the Aging*, ed. Grier, 199. [DM—CHECK] For

another figure, for “Married couples,” from different evidence, see also that discussed and referred to from a “University of California survey” in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 122 (quotation), 123, table 50. For description of size of “free and clear,” but without specific figure, see also Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 130. On “mortgage debt” and that more generally, and in relatively so as well, see WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 19-20 (quotation 20). On “debt” and also relatively, so, see also 11; WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 16.

More broadly, for discussion and evidence of homeownership and the financial roles of home equity, or what presumably was such equity, in general, see the following, for example: WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 15, 16, 17, again 21; WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 12, 13, 15; Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 121, 122; Tibbitts in Sheldon, 132; Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 5, 28; Beyer, 419. On homeownership, for instance, though not clarifying equity, see also White House Conference on Aging (January 9-12, 1961), prepared under the direction of the Committee on Housing, *Background Paper on Housing* (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1960), 10, document also cited—if not first cited—in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 196. For another citation here, also see 205. Furthermore, the copy of this document from the WHCA that I viewed was included in a bound volume that included the *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications* and those on other topics cited in my project that I viewed as well. And, for another account, addressing “equity” but not homeownership directly, see—involving Katona or not—Campbell, “Social and Psychological Determinants of Voting Behavior,” 96-97 (quotation 97). Additionally, for secondary literature addressing homeownership, even if not explicitly tying to home “equity” nonetheless apparently financial factors, see again, for example, Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 84; Costa, *The Evolution of Retirement*, 15; Schulman, *The Seventies*, 85. Note: A few pages earlier, Haber and Gratton do speak of “home equity.” See Haber and Gratton, 82. On homeownership more generally among older Americans in different accounts’ respective discussions as financially and/or relatively significant, see, for example, WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 15, 17; WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 12-13, 13; E. Everett Ashley III, “Where and How Older People Live Today,” in *Housing the Aging*, ed. Wilma Donahue (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954), 15; Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) and E. Everett Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs* (Washington, D.C., 1957), 4; E. Everett Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years: A Guide for Selecting Retirement Housing” (paper, Tenth Anniversary Conference on Aging, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 25, 1957), 1. Here, Ashley specifically mentions “equity” in discussing homeownership (1). In other cases, even if “equity” not specifically stated, housing nonetheless presumably had value to such persons. And, for specific figures of, see, for instance, that of “66 percent” from the late-1950s “Survey of Consumer Finances,” also cited above, discussed and cited in WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 17. For figures or descriptions elsewhere, see, for example, those discussed and/or cited in WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 12, 13; WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 23; Ashley, “Where and How Older People Live Today,” 15; HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 4; Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 1; Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 564, and, as referred to, 565, table 5, “Ownership-Tenancy, Monthly Rental, and Condition of Non-Farm Dwelling Units, by Household Heads under and over Age 65 Years, 1950”; Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 2-3, 3. And for 1960, for example, see Beyer, *Housing and Society*, 419. For figures elsewhere or in other accounts from various sources, see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 12, table 5, “Income Saved, Assets and Net Worth, and Home Ownership, of All Spending Units and Spending Units with Head Aged 65 and over, Specified Years, 1950-54”; Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 123, table 50, “Assets of Married Couples with Head 65 Years Old and over, and of Unrelated Males and Females 65 Years Old and Over: 1952.” For mention of “2 in 3” perhaps relevant here, see also Federal Council on Aging, 28. And for 1960, see, for example, Beyer, *Housing and Society*, 419, and as referred to, 445, table 13-9, “Percentage Distribution of Tenure of Occupied Housing Units, U.S. Total and Head Sixty

Years Old or Over, 1960.” For figure relative to others, see also those discussed in Vivrett, 564; Norman Strunk, “Financing Homes for Owner Occupancy” in *Housing the Aging*, ed. Donahue, 155; Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, 3. And for general point about, though no figure cited, see also Ashley, “Where and How Older People Live Today,” 15. For figures without discussion, see also Vivrett, 565, table 5; WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 12, table 5. And for general discussion of trend, see also Costa, 15. And here, for more elaborate evidence, see 15, including figure 2.7, “Home Ownership (Percentage) among Men Aged Sixty-Five or Older, by Retirement Status, 1900-1990.” As one account suggested, such a trend was a product of the particularly of aging: “This is to be expected since the head of the family aged sixty-five has had substantially more years to save for a home than a family head aged thirty or forty.” Strunk, 155-156. However, for discussion of post-“65” trend, also see Gordon, “Aging and Income Security,” 217-18. Also for “equity” figures, also see those cited in WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 17; WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 13. And for general description of, in relation “average asset ownership,” see again Campbell, 96, 96-97. Indeed, as the Sheldon study stated: “The evaluation of the economic position of older persons, purely in terms of reported income and standard budget, is calculated perhaps to paint the bleakest possible picture. A large proportion of this segment of the population apparently have financial resources other than those reported as income.” See Sheldon, 121. And, for discussion and/or evidence in different accounts of “assets,” see, for example, WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 11 (quotation), 16-19; WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 13, 14; Sheldon, 121, 122, plus 123, table 50, “Assets of Married Couples with Head 65 Years Old and over, and of Unrelated Males and Females 65 Years Old and over: 1952”; Tibbitts in Sheldon, 132; Federal Council on Aging, 5, 28; Campbell, 96. And for relative perspective here, see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 16; again Campbell, 96. For older Americans from a net-worth perspective, see, for instance, WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 16, 17; Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 28. For a relative net-worth perspective, see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 16; evidence, including from the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security, discussed and referred to and cited in McConnell, “Aging and the Economy,” 492-93, including table 1, “Percentage Distribution of Net Worth of Aged Spending Units Compared with All Spending Units” (492). For a definition of, also see Slavick and Wolfbein, “The Evolving Work-Life Pattern,” 305. But for limits of homeownership and home equity in practice, see Federal Council on Aging, 28; WHCA, *Background Paper on Income*, 17; WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 13-14; Beyer, 419. For accounts presumably addressing another area as lacking, whether just mentioning or as part of a broader narrative, see also discussion in WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 17, 17-18, 19; Federal Council on Aging, 5.

A handful of accounts offer further caveats as well. The Sheldon study stated, after discussing evidence from and citing the previously mentioned University of California study: “All of these figures suggest that, if assets are regarded as a supplement to income, income data *per se* overstate the financial stringency under which older people live. If, however, assets are viewed as insurance against emergencies requiring large financial outlays such as, for example, protracted and serious illness, then they appear to be less adequate; particularly when it is recognized that a major element in the value of total assets is the value of owned homes.” See Sheldon, *Older Population of the United States*, 122. For discussion of limits involving same or similar point, among others, see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 10. And one *Background Paper* also pointed out at one point that “that any comparison should of course recognize that the aged do not have the same opportunity to replace their assets once they are used.” See WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 18. Campbell emphasized the enduring issue of earnings in retirement: “The fact that does distinguish the economic situation of older people, however, is their very low income and their *very poor prospects for the future*.” See Campbell, 97 (emphasis added). And on a perhaps broader level, there was an imbalance *across* assets. Beyer stated: “Equity in the homes that are owned represents most of the savings of the aged. Their liquid assets usually are small.” Beyer, 420. Meanwhile, for discussion involving disparities amongst older persons, including involving homeownership, see discussion in, for example, the following. One account stated at one point: “A more

At the same time, however, homeownership, however, ultimately could represent a liability in different ways.¹⁸⁰

Identity Crisis

As Lawton and Stewart also wrote in *When You Grow Older*, “Many older persons seem to be convinced that the problem of old age is chiefly a money problem.” Questions about the well-being of aging Americans, however, could transcend such considerations, they explained. “Our man of sixty-five might ask himself if the retirement contract or insurance policy contains a clause also guaranteeing him, with his monthly check, the possession of the arts and skills which will fill those twelve years,” they asserted, in reference to contemporary life-expectancy,” with a sense of personal achievement and usefulness.”¹⁸¹ Addressing the gaping hole once filled with work, the

important consideration is that of home ownership; a retired worker who owns his home free and clear is more likely to be in a better financial position than one who must pay out a large part of his reduced income for rent.” See Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 132. For same or similar idea, see also Beyer, 419. For discussions from another standpoint, not apparently citing equity, see also Federal Council on Aging, 22. Whether referring to homeownership or home equity in speaking of “owned homes,” see also 25. As another account explains a disparity from another standpoint: “Persons with higher incomes had higher equity in their homes.” See Beyer, 419. And among other disparities he cites, for income tied to homeownership—that “owners had higher incomes than renters”—see also 419. And for other factored related to it, see also Federal Council on Aging, 5. Tibbitts’ account in Sheldon also mentions “average retired worker” in relation to finances at a broader level and thus perhaps can be read as involving an implied disparity. See again Tibbitts in Sheldon, 132. For discussion of what one describes as “financial asset holdings” perhaps suggesting an implied disparity in speaking of “many,” see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 16. For other evidence, see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation of Retired Persons*, 14. For other discussion and/or evidence of in accounts, whether or not part of a narrative of older Americans’ finances, see, for example, Federal Council on Aging, 5, 28; WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 17, 17-18, 18-19; WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation of Retired Persons*, 14. Perhaps discussing in relation to such a broader point in light of context, see also Beyer, 420.

On “Income in kind,” see, for example, discussion in WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 15-16 (quotation 15); WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 12-13; Federal Council on Aging, 27. For what presumably was additional evidence of this, see also Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 132. On limits here, however, see again WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 15.

¹⁸⁰ I return to the various complications accompanying homeownership later in this chapter.

¹⁸¹ Lawton and Stewart, *When You Grow Older*, 13. For examples of similar points about the significance of concerns other economic ones alone, see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 8; Slavick and Wolfbein, “The Evolving Work-Life Pattern,” 300; Tibbitts in

University of Chicago's Robert Havighurst explained, "Retirement is a new way of life. The elderly man who has filled his day with eight or ten hours of work must find new ways of *living* these eight or ten hours daily."¹⁸²

The key, according to aging experts, would be to channel the river of retirement in the right direction. Gesturing towards a potentially darker side of life in retirement, the Sheldon study stated that, "although retirement from one's career is coming to be looked upon as a normal phase of the work cycle, there still remain overtones of the negative attitude toward joblessness, along with other problems not solved by the rocking chair or the fishing pole. The retired older man is often at odds with himself and with society."¹⁸³ More time and money aside, it was far from certain that retirees would desire or enjoy retirement. With the creation and enlargement of the window of time of post-employment life, retirement itself might have been the enemy. Aging experts, however, soon weighed in, diagnosing emergent ills and prescribing ostensibly appropriate steps to be taken.

In the work of aging experts, old age was born anew in mid-twentieth century. One area in which this occurred involved aging from a physiological perspective. "In contrast to past experts," Haber and Gratton write of those helping to shape new thinking within the emergent, formalizing arena of geriatric study, "they argued that old age was

Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 112. For a good overview of period concerns—and evidence ultimately to the contrary—see, for example, Atchley, "Retirement," 454. Other secondary sources of relevance cited at later points in this section.

¹⁸² Robert J. Havighurst, "Retirement from Work to Play" in *The Meaning of Work and Retirement*, Eugene A. Friedmann and Havighurst, with William H. Harlan, et al. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), 187 (emphasis added). This page—and other pages from chapter, though not identified as such by Graebner—first cited in Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 229. And more broadly, collection itself discussed and first cited in Graebner, 229-30; Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town," 77-78. For an excellent and useful overview, see work of Havighurst and others first cited in Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town," 13-14. And on Havighurst and Friedmann, see 77-78.

¹⁸³ Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 40-41.

not a disease but a normal and ultimately healthy part of the life cycle”—a shift that represented a departure from “a medical model of growing old that stressed the inescapable physical and mental deterioration of all aging individuals” running back to the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁴ Reflecting shifting thought, medical expert Edward Stieglitz explained, for instance, “Aging is not all downhill. Some capacities are improved as other diminish.”¹⁸⁵ Experts also unbundled the definitional components making up long-running, but ultimately flawed, understandings of aging, differentiating between old-age-as-lived and old-age-as-constructed.¹⁸⁶ Roughly a decade later, an official of the New York State Division of Housing’s Bureau of Research asserted that “what constitutes being aged or elderly must be recognized as a physiological and psychological process, even more than a chronological one. Some persons are old at 55, others are young at 75.”¹⁸⁷

184 Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 155-56, 158, 166 (quotations, in order, 166, 155). For developments in the interim, see also 158-63. On evolving thinking in this area in the middle decades of the century, also see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 69-72. And I rely on discussions from two chapters in Calhoun in this and the paragraphs below as well involving the evolution of thinking on aging: Calhoun, “Biological and Social Scientists and the Problem of Aging Stereotypes,” 67-96, and also pages from “Social Scientists and Images of the Aged,” 99-106, 111. Finally, on rise of geriatrics, see also Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 4-5, 71; Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 147.

185 Edward J. Stieglitz, “The Personal Challenge of Aging: Biological Changes and Maintenance of Health” in *Living Through the Older Years: Proceedings of the Charles A. Fisher Memorial Institute on Aging*, ed. Clark Tibbitts (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949), 54. Whether addressing this particular point or not, Calhoun cites Stieglitz here as well, though subtitle slightly different: Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 69. Note itself appears on p. 70. Haber and Gratton also cite other work of Stieglitz, suggesting his role in the evolution of the study of old age: Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 166. And for Calhoun citing and discussing additional period scholarship suggesting this point, see again Calhoun, 72.

186 For a useful overview of this idea of different means of defining aging, also illustrated with specific examples in text below and in the next note, see discussion of evidence in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 70, 72, 108.

187 Richard W. Hill, Jr., “Position Paper: Basic Considerations on Producing Housing for Older People” in National Council on the Aging (NCOA), *Building for Older People: Financing, Construction, Administration* (New York: 1961), 1V. Stieglitz might have been making this point, too: Stieglitz, “The Personal Challenge of Aging,” 50, 51. For background and information on the NCOA document above, which consists of two separate sections, see title page of NCOA, *Building for Older People*. Throughout this dissertation, I simply cite the title of the overall document, *Building for Older People*, since the

Discussion in gerontology circles also revolved around the idea of “adjustment,” which, according to Stephen Katz provided “an ideal conceptual device for enfolding the human difficulties of old age into disciplinary thought.”¹⁸⁸ As Havighurst, writing in 1954, told it, “The ordinary person has the opportunity to fill a variety of social roles—parent, homemaker, husband or wife, son or daughter, member of a kinship group, member of an informal friendship group, club member, worker, church member, citizen, user of leisure time.” The complication here, he continued, was that aging represented a rupture in the identity of the older or retired American: “But at the ages from about 50 to 75 he is deprived of several social roles or at least must see them reduced.”¹⁸⁹ Although Havighurst would have an answer of his own to the unsettling question at hand, securing—indeed *inventing*—a “social role” fitting for retirement was not automatic, the University of Michigan’s Wilma Donahue and her co-authors in a piece in the *Handbook of Social Gerontology* explained. Referring to this “new category of persons,” they wrote that “they have not had any institutionalized reference groups or clearly defined role

alphabetical component—whether upper-case or lower-case—of the numbering indicates which one to which each piece belongs.

188 For an excellent discussion historicizing this idea, see work of Katz: Stephen Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 9, 117-18, 119 (quotation), 120; Katz, “Busy Bodies,” 136, 137-38. For examples from the period, see Havighurst and Albrecht, in *Older People*, 52-53, 285. And, importantly, for broader context of experts next beginning to entertain and embrace additional approaches to and issues surrounding the study of old age, see Calhoun, 72-76, esp. 74-75, 97; Haber & Gratton, 166-67; Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 119-20; Stephen Katz, “Busy Bodies: Activity, Aging, and the Management of Everyday Life,” *Journal of Aging Studies* 14, no. 2 (June 2000), 136-37; Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 147.

189 Robert J. Havighurst, “Flexibility and the Social Roles of the Retired,” in “Aging and Retirement,” ed. Clark Tibbitts, special issue, *The American Journal of Sociology* 59, no. 4 (January 1954): 309 (quotation), again article, and issue, first cited in Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 230. After all, he explained: “The movement through adulthood and old age involves changes in role activity.” For discussion of such “changes,” see 309-10, 311 (quotation). Yet while Graebner utilizes this piece primarily in terms of tensions involving leisure, my focus here is on the broader identity crisis with the onset of retirement. For another useful account here of this idea, also see Otis, ““Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,”” 158.

categories with which they could identify themselves and their position in society and thus expect to have sources of role expectations.”¹⁹⁰

To be sure, there were forces at play more actively undermining—if not precluding—means for easing along the move into retirement or older ages, according to aging experts in the early postwar years. They began to advance critiques in which they viewed the landscape of retirement at mid-century not as politically neutral but rather as man-made to some extent. Explaining different ways in which “adjustment” could occur, the academic experts who authored one pioneering work in the late 1940s identified both “Personal adjustment” and “Social adjustment,” the former of which involved “the individual’s restructuring of his attitudes and behavior in responses to a new situation in such a way as to integrate the expression of his aspirations with the expectations and demands of society,” while the latter—providing the broader “context”—revolved around “the process of revising social standards and procedures in order to increase the social efficiency and standards and procedures in order to increase the social efficiency and to facilitate the adjustment of its members.”¹⁹¹ As Tibbitts explained this relationship at one

190 Donahue, Orbach, and Pollak, “Retirement,” 331-36 (quotations 334). For discussion of specific concepts referenced, see 332-34. As Havighurst succinctly explains the dynamic between self and society—and in relation to “adjustment”: “Living a social role means meeting community expectations. Meeting social expectations usually brings both social approval and personal satisfaction: A woman who spends a good deal of time as a housekeeper knows she is doing something of which society approves and is happy in the knowledge.” Havighurst, “Flexibility and the Social Roles of the Retired,” 309. For an account providing important background on these ideas, also see work of experts as discussed in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 100-1, 102. Finally, for biographical information on Donahue, see, for example, Calhoun, 110.

191 First, for excellent account overviewing ideas here, including discussion and quotations providing framework for elaboration in my outlining and quoting of material—directly from book—below, see R.S. Cavan, E.W. Burgess, R.J. Havighurst, and H. Goldhamer, *Personal Adjustment in Old Age* (Chicago, Illinois: Science Research Associates, 1949), 11, discussed and quoted in Katz, “Busy Bodies,” 137. For quotations in text, again overlapping with the above, see Ruth Shonle Cavan, Ernest W. Burgess, Robert J. Havighurst, and Herbert Goldhamer, *Personal Adjustment in Old Age* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949), 10-11 (quotations 11), account initially cited in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 13; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 99, 102-3. For additional discussion of this work in Calhoun, see Calhoun, 99, 102-4. For another account referring to “*individual adjustment* and *societal adjustment*,” see

point, “Adjustment to the changes of the later years is, basically, an individual matter. It can be successful, however, only in an environment which provides opportunity. And, since it is society which creates roles, attitudes, and social values, institutions, facilities, and services, the individual or personal problems of retirement have their societal counterparts.”¹⁹²

The identity crisis brought about by retirement circled back to the disconnect plaguing aging in American society. A path leading Americans out of middle age and into retirement and older ages continued to prove elusive in the face of ideas about the “obsolescence of old age” that *themselves* increasingly were outdated in the emergent scholarship of gerontology.¹⁹³ In surveying period gerontological thought, Richard Calhoun lays out the arguments and insights of another postwar text, produced by one of Donahue’s co-authors, foundational to the field and the new directions it explored and advanced. Speaking of Otto Pollak, he writes, “The consequent raising of social expectations,” which otherwise were impeded by “stereotype and negative bias” towards

Otto Pollak, with assistance from Glen Heathers, *Social Adjustment in Old Age: A Research Planning Report*, bulletin no. 59 (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1948), 40, study also first cited in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 13; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 99-102. And for Katz on both, see, Katz, “Busy Bodies,” 137; Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 119. For important discussion about “adjustment” in various literature, see also Calhoun, 100-6.

192 See again Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 303. And elsewhere, acknowledging that “we have failed to educate people or to provide an opportunity for them to live the kind of lives which will continue to abound in rewarding experience,” he wrote that “Most people, fortunately, now recognize the community’s responsibility to provide that education. Many people and communities are beginning to realize, also, that no matter how much older people learn, they cannot make adaptations until appropriate health services, living arrangements, jobs, and opportunities for creative and social expressions are available to them. Some communities and organizations are developing this concept now and are experimenting with the provision of services and facilities that will enable older people to grow in full maturity.” Tibbitts, “National Aspects of an Aging Population” in *Growing in the Older Years*, ed. Wilma Donahue and Clark Tibbitts (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1951), 5, 5-6, first cited also in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 105. For same or similar overall dynamic, see also, for example, L.C. Michelson, “The New Leisure Class,” in “Aging and Retirement,” ed. Clark Tibbitts, special issue, *The American Journal of Sociology* 59, no. 4 (January 1954): 373; Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 135; Federal Council on the Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 78.

193 Quotation from chapter Achenbaum, “The Obsolescence of Old Age” in *Old Age in the New Land*, 39-54 (quotation 39).

old age revealed in studies showing imagined linkages between aging and various limits, “would permit expansion in the number of meaningful social roles available to those outside the traditional family setting and/or in retirement.” And, as Calhoun continues in his reading of Pollak, such steps served a familiar, overriding goal with which aging experts concerned themselves: “Through the act of providing such roles, he concluded, society could best ensure each person the opportunity to adjust successfully to later years.”¹⁹⁴

As Katz also explains, experts operated on and promoted an “ideal of activity” in particular.¹⁹⁵ And explaining how such ideas appeared in—if not trickled down to—print

194 See again Calhoun on work of Pollak in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 99-102, esp. 101-2 (quotation 102). For a direct reference from Pollak on this general point, see Pollak, *Social Adjustment in Old Age*, 41. For discussion of research revealing such attitudes cited in Calhoun’s previous chapter, see Calhoun, 80-94. See also 23. For Calhoun on same or similar issues involving the undermining of the place of older Americans, see his discussion of Cavan on the “relationship between social expectation and stereotype,” see also 102-3 (quotation 102). For additional discussion by Calhoun, including his reading of several studies originating from efforts at the University of Michigan, see 75-80, 86-87, 104-6, 111-12. Donahue and her colleagues very well might have been making the broader point discussed and cited in this note as well: “Furthermore,” they added, “with the general cultural rejection of old age and the association of retirement and old age as an unpleasant situation, there has been, in effect, a large measure of rejection of socialization for an unwanted new role, much as one would decline preparing to die and avoid anticipating it.” Donahue, Orbach, and Pollak, “Retirement,” 335.

Just as experts concerned with the physiology of old age had done, gerontologists also de-emphasized the “chronological” perspective as well—a point that seemingly was related to unfavorable ideas associated with aging. Pollak took the position that “many old age problems originate not in changes in physical and mental capacities but in changes in social opportunities and expectations, which create new needs and block the satisfaction of permanent needs in customary ways.” At the root of this, he continued, was this: “Our society has established fairly sharp age distinctions in most of its institutions, and when the individual reaches old age as defined by society he experiences pressure to behave in terms of the opportunities and expectations established for his age-sex category without regard for his needs of capacities.” See Pollak, *Social Adjustment in Old Age*, 4-5, 39-40 (quotation). Citing Pollak, Calhoun also addresses the issue of “chronological definitions of oldness.” See Pollak as cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 100. For Calhoun discussing this point in relation to other literature, also see 20, 48-49, 70, 80, 100, 106, 108, 111. For “*chronological age versus function age*,” see also discussion of by Pollak, 10-14 (quotation 10). And here, Calhoun writing on the position of aging experts towards retirement policy appears to explain what might explain how the two issues here were connected: “Fixed, involuntary retirement ages, they argued, perpetuated certain misconceptions about the aged. These viewed, in turn, limited employment opportunities for the older worker.” Calhoun, 48-49 (quotation 48). For historical scholarship addressing this relation in discussing retirement, see, for example, Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 163; Chudacoff, *How Old Are You?*, 111-12, 113, 114, 115.

195 See discussion—and quotation—in Katz, “Busy Bodies,” 135, 136, 138-39 (quotation 138). On thought here, also see Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 123; Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 69. Explaining the relationship between the key ideas that Katz, in particular identifies—and whose work I rely on to a great

extent in my discussion here in setting up my own project—Katz writes: “In the 1950s, gerontologists emphasized the importance of activity *to the process of healthy adjustment in old age.*” See Katz, “Busy Bodies,” 138 (emphasis added). Here, Katz continues, citing work by Robert Havighurst and a co-author, a study that—viewed directly—connected the two, positing, for example: “It may be expected that personal adjustment will be related to activity in such a way that the more active people—mentally, physically, socially—are the better adjusted.” And presumably confirming this, they also wrote: “The American formula for happiness in old age might be summed up in the phrase ‘keep active.’” First, for study as discussed and cited by Katz, see R.J. Havighurst and R. Albrecht, *Older People* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1953), 11, cited and discussed in Katz, “Busy Bodies,” 138. For source directly, see Havighurst and Albrecht, *Older People*, 54 (first quotation), 55 (second quotation), 286-87. For cited elsewhere in a Katz account, see also that in Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 123. Perhaps illustrating this elsewhere, Havighurst’s 1954 article explained—in relation to the fall-out from the apparent changes—that “he grows discontented unless he is able to compensate for this by increasing activity in other roles or by the developing of new ones; that is, by role flexibility.” This privileged, in effect, an embracing of change: “As one’s children grow up and move away, as one’s aging parents grow old and feeble, as physical energy and attractiveness decrease, as death takes away husbands, wives, and friends, as retirement take away work, as the fires of ambition die down—as these things happen, people must learn to get new satisfactions in place of old ones out of new activities in place of old ones.” Havighurst, “Flexibility and the Social Roles of the Retired,” 309 (first quotation), 311 (second quotation). For Achenbaum citing Havighurst, and thus suggesting how Havighurst’s piece here can be seen as pertaining to this discussion, see Havighurst as cited in Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 69. See for discussion of changing roles, see also Havighurst, 309-10; and also Havighurst and Albrecht, *Older People*, 266-84, esp. 284. For historical accounts on Havighurst, see Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 230; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 221; and, again, Achenbaum, 69. And perhaps suggesting the extent to which this view gained momentum by the 1960s, the report for one *Background Paper* discussed similar points as well. See WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 12-13. In terms of Graebner’s analysis, which first cited this piece, the ultimate result, he seemingly suggests, was that of accommodating rather than subverting retirement. For his critique of Havighurst, see discussion in Graebner, 230. For Graebner on different possibilities, see 231, 241. For useful account on same or similar idea, see again Otis, “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,’” 158.

What eventually appeared as “Activity Theory”—Katz’s discussion goes on to discuss how “a *theory of activity*” took a more definite or formal shape, the fuller context to which I return in my Chapter 5—similarly emphasized the accommodation of change in such ways as well. For Katz here, see again Katz, “Busy Bodies,” 138. For idea here, see Robert J. Havighurst, “Successful Aging,” *The Gerontologist* 1, no. 1 (March 1961): 8 (quotation); Havighurst, Bernice L. Neugarten, and Sheldon S. Tobin, “Disengagement and Patterns of Aging” in *Middle Age and Aging: A Reader in Social Psychology*, ed. Neugarten, ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 161. For theory in historical perspective, also see Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 226-30, cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 11-12; Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 215, 227-28, 241; Sturgeon, 14-15, 15, 21; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old Age*, 111-12; Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 123-24.

Meanwhile, Katz’s article, above, in particular offers a valuable perspective on the broader reach of this idea. For instance, he writes: “The association of activity with well-being in old-age seems so obvious and indisputable that questioning it within gerontological circles would be considered unprofessional, if not heretical. The notion of activity, a recurring motif on longevity since the Enlightenment, today serves as an antidote to pessimistic stereotypes of decline and dependency.” He also points out: “Despite the pervasiveness of the term in gerontological research, there is no universal definition or standard science of activity. There are certainly different forms of activity referred to by gerontologists; in particular, activity as physical movement, activity as the pursuit of everyday interests, and activity as social participation. Although these forms are studied and promoted both separately and jointly, it is apparent that the idea of activity courses through a gerontological web of theories, programs and schools of thought whose influence and status are based less on *what* activity means than on *where* it is utilized (which is everywhere).” See Katz, “Busy Bodies,” 135 (first quotation), 136 (second quotation). For additional discussion perhaps relevant to the first here, see also 139.

broader audiences, “Detailing the numerous possibilities offered by school, hobbies, volunteer work, and new occupations, they portrayed the ‘golden years’ not as a time of inactivity but as an occasion for new experiences and opportunities.”¹⁹⁶ Indeed, as Joseph Buckley, the author of *The Retirement Handbook: A Complete Planning Guide to Your Future* (1953), in part put it, “The old notion that retirement is a state of suspended animation in which doddering invalids or semi-invalids whittle time away in their rocking chairs waiting for the undertaker is obsolete.”¹⁹⁷ As George Lawton put it in his own book, *Aging Successfully* (1946), “Our purpose should be, not to outwit old age, but to utilize it; not to dread it as an enemy, but to welcome it as a potentially fruitful period.”¹⁹⁸

196 Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 166-68 (quotation 168). Although the evidence they specifically cite, on pp. 166-68, appears to have come from the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, differing somewhat by academic and more popular work, some of these ideas—here and in analysis involving housing for retired Americans undertaken later in this chapter and elsewhere in this dissertation—seem to have been underway in the 1950s, if not earlier. For another scholarly account offering important and useful analysis of print culture dealing with retirement, see Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 231, 231-34. And for Calhoun on a shift more broadly and the rise of “a collective identity” conceived in the affirmative, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 23-24. For broader shift, also see 2, 18-32. And Haber and Gratton add, Social Security itself factored in important ways. For example, they write: “Social Security reduced the worry that gray hair or wrinkles would lead directly to humiliating joblessness, family impoverishment, or complete dependency.” See 165 (quotation), 170, 171. And, for evidence of top-down relationship of academics and others that I mentioned at the top here, see, for example, the work by Clark Tibbitts and Wilma Donahue included by one author in the 1962 edition of his book: see bibliography in Joseph C. Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook: A Complete Planning Guide to Your Future*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 9. And as further evidence, see relationship suggested by Haber and Gratton, whose work here is discussed and cited below: Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 164. For evidence dealing with audience, see, for example, Buckley, xv. 197 Joseph C. Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook: A Complete Planning Guide to Your Future* (New York: Harper, 1953), 1. Thus, he explained: “The modern idea calls for retirement to a new life rather than retirement *from* life” (1). For other accounts utilizing Buckley, specifically this first, 1953 edition, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 169; Wood, *Retiring Men*, 170, for example. Katie Otis draws on Buckley, too, in her discussion of expert literature: Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 33-34, 34, 38, 39, 40. And for her broader discussion here, see again 32-40. Later analysis in my work draws from other, subsequent editions of Buckley’s book, and, in turn, I indicate which edition is used. The evidence, and my analysis of it, both here and in the example below adds to themes explored by Graebner in his account: Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 231-32, 232, 233.

198 George Lawton, *Aging Successfully* (1946; New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), 6. Lawton and Stewart mentioned this book and its relationship with the document: Lawton and Stewart, *When You Grow Older*, 1. The very language itself impeded a crucial reconceptualization of older ages, the co-authors of *Wake Up Younger! How to Make the Most of Your Later Years* (1961) suggested: “‘Retirement’ should be an obsolete word but it is still in use because no better term has been coined to characterize our

Realizing retirement in such a vein, furthermore, necessitated the taking of action on the part of the individual in the lead-up to actual retirement.¹⁹⁹ “Retirement offers a rosy future for those who plan and work for it,” Buckley advised in relation to one important point. “As you progress in planning your retirement career, you become more realistic about the opportunities that lie ahead and less and less responsive to the emotional fears of difficult adjustments and boredom.”²⁰⁰ As the author of another book published in the early 1960s, *A Brighter Later Life* (1962), put it, “Doctors today speak of ‘retirement shock.’ This is the sudden descent of boredom and nothingness upon those who have not looked ahead to their later years.”²⁰¹ Protecting oneself from any such retirement ills would take the form of an overall approach of pre-emption, according to Buckley: “The attitudes, hobbies, talents, and skills you develop during your middle years, your savings program, the diet you follow, the care you give your health, your philosophy of life—all will greatly determine your well-being after retirement.” Further still, he continued, it was chronologically cumulative in a sense: “Retirement should not be a complete break with the past. It should merely be an extension of your plan for better living, conceived and developed during your pre-retirement years. If you make life worth living before retirement, you won’t have difficult adjustments to make to enjoy

later years. ‘Retirement’ connotes a complete cessation of activity when, in fact, it means a *change* of activity.” See Samuel Gertman and Helen Alpert, *Wake Up Younger! How to Make the Most of Your Later Years* (New York: The Citadel Press, 1961), 221.

199 My analysis in this paragraph also adds to Graebner’s excellent analysis dealing with prior action: Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 231, 233, 234. For discussion of “formal retirement preparation programs,” 231-33. For useful discussion in Sturgeon, see also Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 44-46. For another historical overview of efforts, and on various issues, see again work of Calhoun. For example, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 223-37. For another account, see also Freedman, *Prime Time*, 53-54. And for more recent work, see Wood, *Retiring Men*, 156-60.

200 For this quotation, see, for example, Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 5-6. For similar idea, see 1-2, 4.

201 Howard Whitman, *A Brighter Later Life* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), 332.

retirement.”²⁰² Such a trajectory also paralleled one laid out by Havighurst. “The deliberate cultivation of role flexibility after about the age of 50 may be wise,” he wrote in 1954.²⁰³

Within this arena, recreation in different forms represented a potential vehicle of potential value for aging Americans in pre- and post-retirement experiences.²⁰⁴ “Leisure is coming to have a new place in our lives, and particularly in the lives of older people,” the above *Background Paper* explained. “Formerly looked upon as a means of rest and recuperation, it is now becoming an end in itself – opportunity to choose ones [*sic*] own activities; opportunity for self-development, citizenship and community activity, practice of avocational skills, recreation.”²⁰⁵ Such “opportunity” could involve a kind of liberation, defined in relation to pre-retirement life.²⁰⁶ As another University of Chicago researcher, L.C. Michelson, himself wrote in 1954, “The individual must now live for himself—to satisfy his own person rather than worry about what a job or other people

202 For example, see Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1953), 319. For additional discussion on this general point, see also 3-4. And for additional evidence of language of “attitude” and “attitudes,” respectively for example, see Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 4, 5.

203 See Havighurst, “Flexibility and the Social Roles of the Retired,” 311. And for Calhoun on “preparation,” including, in fact, citing Havighurst’s piece here, see, for example, discussion in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 9-10, 218-22 (quotation 218).

204 For excellent scholarly discussions of addressing the role of leisure here overall, which I draw on in this section and which I also further cite below, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 166; Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 227-31, esp. 228, 229-30, 230-31; Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 60-62, esp. 60, 61, 62. Findlay also cites most of these pages in his account: Achenbaum, 60-61, cited in Findlay, 166.

205 WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 38. For language of “opportunity” elsewhere, see, for example, Clark Tibbitts, preface to *Free Time: Challenge to Later Maturity*, ed. Wilma Donahue, Woodrow W. Hunter, Dorothy H. Coons, and Helen K. Maurice (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1958), xi; Tibbitts, “Aging as a Modern Social Achievement” in *Free Time*, 27.

206 Offering a useful framework for thinking about and explaining one aspect of retirement, relevant immediately above and also below, one expert writes: “Individuals usually see retirement as an emancipatory life stage, one in which the individual is free to decide for him- or herself what goals to pursue. At retirement, individuals see themselves as shifting from working for someone else to working for themselves.” See Atchley, “Retirement,” 449-450. Also offering a useful framework, historian Gary Cross discusses idea of “freedom” in retirement marketing in his account, which I return to discuss and cite—along with other relevant accounts dealing with same or overlapping ideas—in my Chapter 3 in discussing Sun City, Arizona: Gary Cross, *An-All Consuming Century*, 187.

require of him.”²⁰⁷ And as the authors of *Wake Up Younger! How to Make the Most of Your Later Years* (1961) told it, “Literally free of the chains of responsibility that bound us fast to family, home, job, and other restrictive conditions, we can ‘freely’ explore the length and breadth of the new enchantments all about us. Travel. Hobbies. A new life of new friends. Schools with classes in gardening, cooking, ceramics, creative writing, radio and television, engineering, botany and zoology.”²⁰⁸

Overall, an emergent culture of retirement recreation prevailed.²⁰⁹ But, at the same time, as the same *Background Paper* further explained, this new landscape of leisure did not offer sure footing for retired Americans who now occupied it. “The large and relatively sudden increment of free time finds both individuals and society without clearcut patterns and facilities for its use,” it said of the unsolved equation of modern retirement.²¹⁰ “Throughout history the tasks of making a living and nurturing the new generation precluded leisure, except in limited amounts,” Tibbitts wrote in the 1950s.

207 Michelson, “The New Leisure Class,” 373. Similarly, he wrote, for instance, that “the satisfying and creative uses of leisure in retirement conduce to a way of life that brings tangible results and opens new horizon for people whose potential talents were never really known” (373). For mention of commitments, also see 371. For a description of his study, see 371.

208 Gertman and Alpert, *Wake Up Younger!*, 140. For additional language of “responsibility,” and also of “obligations,” see also, in order, 139, 140. And for language of Tibbitts of “freedom from work and family responsibilities,” see also Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 7.

209 The following accounts discuss in different ways this overall trend—of the shift towards retirement, including “leisure pursuits,” for instance: Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old* 55-62 (quotation 57), 115, 115-16, 241-255, 261-264; Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 59, 60-61, 62; Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 112-113; Atchley, “Retirement,” 453; Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 215, 227-34, 240-41. However, on earlier tensions involving retirement itself by historians and observers in the period, see Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 227; Tibbitts, “Retirement in American Society,” 303; Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 50. For role of specific factors in relation to retirement, see, for example, Achenbaum, 59-60, 61; Tibbitts, 303; Sheldon, 48-50, 53, 133; McConnell, “Aging and the Economy,” 503-504. For a good period overview of literature addressing a range of factors, including attention to class, in rise of retirement, see Donahue, Orbach, and Pollak, “Retirement,” 356-61. And for opposition to by various interests, see also Calhoun, 47-54, 55.

210 See again WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 38. For useful scholarly accounts dealing with, and particularly tensions involving, leisure here, see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 166; Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 227, 228-29, 229-30; Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 61. And for Calhoun on the role of “work” and “the work ethic,” perhaps relevant here, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 35-36 (first quotation 36), 51-54 (second quotation 51).

“But now the situation is different. No other culture has offered the length of life and the amount of free time now enjoyed by the industrialized countries of the Western world. What shall be done with it?”²¹¹ After all, the *Chart Book* illustrated this visually, as well as with text stating, “When he reaches later maturity and retires from work, the average individual at age 65 receives a gift of an additional 30,000 hours of time to use as he wishes.”²¹²

At issue in the uneven ground between the existence of copious leisure and its actual application was, in part, the extent to which recreation in retirement was out of balance. “The problem comes when a person has the same—or more—leisure when he reaches retirement age,” Michelson wrote. And yet, at the very same time, he continued, “His children are grown, educated, and married, and he has either attained his working goals or renounced them. The problems of putting the children through school and paying the insurance and the mortgage no longer exist. There yawn ahead just golden years of inactivity.”²¹³ Describing the limits of leisure, another scholar in the postwar decades wrote, “Our work-minded, still rurally oriented American culture has not yet developed an attitude toward leisure as *end time*, capable of its own interest value,” he

211 Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 305. For seemingly similar idea elsewhere in his work, see Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 7.

212 Federal Council on Aging, 1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book, 75, including chart 62. See also 74 for similar evidence; WHCA, Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications, 38.

213 Michelson, “The New Leisure Class,” 372-73 (quotations 372). Specifically, he identifies several points illustrating the fruitful friction of a work/leisure dialectic—something Graebner identifies in his own analysis, thus shaping my work here. One, for example, was this: “Leisure is particularly good at that time because the time free from business is made satisfying by the knowledge that there will be a return to work—with its corresponding meanings to the individual” (373). For Graebner, see analysis in Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 229. As additional evidence perhaps illustrating this idea, Tibbitts, for example, wrote that “some retired men turn to repair and maintenance of the home, gardening, and postponed hobbies. But these are not enough; most people need more formal interests as substitutes for the responsibilities of the earlier years.” Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 306.

wrote.²¹⁴ Such limits thus were due as well to the degree to which leisure's apparent opposite loomed large. Havighurst and Eugene Friedmann explained in the opening chapter to a collection on the subject in the 1950s that "the job—or work activity—can be regarded as an axis along which the worker's pattern of life is organized."²¹⁵

214 He continued: "The elderly generation of the present are the social pioneers in forging a path for years of time which is substantially *unrelated* to work, relatively *free* of family obligations, increasingly available over a span of *years* rather than hours, and ideologically open to *new and creative directions*." See Max Kaplan, "The Uses of Leisure" in *Handbook of Social Gerontology*, ed. Tibbitts, 408. And, he wrote in the preceding paragraph, seemingly also paralleling Michelson's point, above, for example: "Leisure activities are *related* to routine and expected patterns of behavior and are therefore relatively easy to perceive. Indeed, to the worker, leisure can well be a 'loafing' period, accompanied by the security that soon enough the time will come for meaningful, productive, and socially interdependent work" (408). For evidence perhaps further illustrating the persistence of work, see also, for instance, discussion Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 9-10. And for Calhoun on what he referred to as "the alleged universality of the work ethic in American culture," see 51-54 (quotation 51). And yet for evidence suggesting a changing picture, see discussion in Donahue, Orbach, and Pollak, "Retirement," 377-78.

215 Robert J. Havighurst and Eugene A. Friedmann, "The Older Worker and the Meaning of Work" in *The Meaning of Work and Retirement*, Friedmann and Havighurst, with Harlan, et al., 3. Again, this collection first cited, and discussed, in Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 229-30. Wood also makes use of Havighurst and Friedmann here in his analysis, whether in making this or a related point: see Havighurst and Friedmann, 3, as cited in Wood, *Retiring Men*, 148. And, for broader discussion here related to his focus, see also 142-48. For discussion of "*functions*" more broadly in Havighurst and Friedmann, see Havighurst and Friedmann, 3-5 (quotation 3), 7, table 1, "The Relation between the Functions and Meanings of Work." For additional discussion of such points elsewhere in this collection, also see Havighurst, "Retirement from Work to Play," 189-91. For Wood citing period work, see again Wood, 148. And for other period accounts discussing such points, including citing the work of Friedmann and Havighurst in particular, see discussion in Donahue, Orbach, and Pollak, "Retirement," 377. And for another, see also Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 40-41. And for "usefulness and self-sufficiency," see also Tibbitts, "Retirement Problems in American Society," 305. For similar point, also see discussion in Wood, 202-3.

And such concerns seemingly connected back to the exclusion of the older Americans via the underlying factors shaping aging. As Calhoun, citing Pollak, described this scenario: "Here again, modern society not only deprived the older person of the occupational role, but did so by channeling him into an essentially roleless state called 'retirement.'" See Pollak as discussed by Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 101. For additional discussion of "responsibility" here, see also 219. For "role ambiguity," see also Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 61; also Findlay, who cites Achenbaum, "Sun City, Arizona," 166. For discussion of issue of "role ambiguity" by one historian, see Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 61. For another account, which also cites Achenbaum, see Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 166. And, for Tibbitts on "roles" and other arenas, see again Tibbitts, "Retirement Problems in American Society," 303. And here, for discussion perhaps addressing this, see also 305, 306. Perhaps similarly, Havighurst writes: "Modern life puts a premium on role flexibility without necessarily making role flexibility easier to gain." Havighurst, "Flexibility and the Social Roles of the Retired," 311. And, in terms of retirement recreation, Havighurst wrote towards the end of his chapter in the collection with Friedmann, "The personal problem of retirement for the average person will be made easier if our society provides more facilities and greater assistance for older people to learn to enjoy the leisure arts." Havighurst, "Retirement from Work to Play," 194. For seemingly similar point, see also Michelson, "The New Leisure Class," 373. And for perhaps similar evidence involving a "total lack of facilities and resources for utilizing what older people have to offer," see Lawton, *Aging Successfully*, 7.

In whatever form it took, such retirement recreation would have to exceed certain thresholds in order to perpetuate the palatability of retirement, experts argued. “What passes for recreation is often too often just sitting,” Havighurst and Albrecht determined in *Older People*. “The most frequent recreations of older people are physically passive, and they run the danger of being mentally passive”²¹⁶ As Donahue and her co-authors put it, “Retirement years should be spent actively and, if possible, constructively.”²¹⁷ In communicating retirement principles to the masses in a chapter titled “How to Enjoy Leisure,” Buckley warned that “Taking it easy should not mean merely eating, sleeping, reading the newspaper, listening to the radio or watching television, chatting with neighbors and sitting on a park bench.”²¹⁸ As the authors of *Wake Up Younger!* explained, “Inactivity begins to be a bore instead of a blessing. Retirement from something to nothing does not turn out to be what you want.”²¹⁹ Meanwhile, the alternative—of doing “nothing”—ran the risk of real physiological consequences, something Tibbitts suggests in noting that “there is evidence of premature

216 See Havighurst and Albrecht, *Older People*, 141.

217 Donahue, Orbach, and Pollak, “Retirement,” 395. They discuss research of relevance here on p. 395 as well. As a Tibbitts account suggests, critical differences existed across a spectrum. His previous quotation in the text continued: “An alternative is to encourage retired adults to live out their years in pursuit of time-filling hobbies, at such entertainment as circumstances afford, and in reflective vegetation—as a reward for past contributions,” Tibbitts wrote in 1954, contrasting undesirable and desirable paths potentially taken in retirement. “Or they may be regarded as a new and rich source of energy, experience, and wisdom capable of attaining a self-realization and carrying important community responsibilities.” Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 305-6. For additional discussion of this idea, see again 306. And here, for further discussion of various forms of leisure and extent to which they were viable, see also 306. For a secondary account offering a framework of sorts here involving different levels of, see Wood, *Retiring Men*, 204.

218 Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 116. For same, or nearly identical text, also see Buckley (1953), 89. On “radio-listening,” however, see discussion—omitted from the quotation in the text earlier in the paragraph—in Havighurst and Albrecht, *Older People*, 141.

219 See again Gertman and Alpert, *Wake Up Younger!*, 221. And as Buckley elaborated: “A retired person who consistently follows this pattern of life has no objective, no direction and is drifting into unhappy idleness.” See again Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 116. For earlier edition, also see Buckley (1953), 89.

deterioration when retirement deprives the organism and the mind of activity.”²²⁰ And as Buckley asserted, “The secret of longevity in retirement is to keep active both mentally and physically. If the mind and the body are allowed to remain inactive for any considerable period of time, the result is a rapid deterioration of their functions.”²²¹

Harnessing the power of leisure, thinking went, could illuminate the darkness the long shadow that laboring otherwise cast over one’s life, post-employment.²²² “The extra-economic meanings of work can nearly all be discovered and realized more fully in leisure activities,” Havighurst asserted in the collection published in 1954, more specifically explaining that “retirement from work will simply be the signal to increase and adapt one’s play or leisure-time activity so as to get the satisfactions from play that were formerly obtained from work.”²²³ In the process, another component critical to

220 See Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 307. On this point, and citing Havighurst and Albrecht, see again Katz, “Busy Bodies,” 138; Katz, *Disciplining*, 123.

221 Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1953), 24. On the slippery, even possibly fatal slope retirement ostensibly entailed in expert discourse, see also Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 177; Wood, *Retiring Men*, 151-53. The former, of course, is from Findlay’s work, which I cite and utilize extensively throughout this dissertation. Here, this relates to Sun City, Arizona.

222 For secondary accounts again shaping my discussion here, see again discussion in Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 215, 229-30, 232, 233, 234; Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 166; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 13-14, 44; and again Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 57, 61-62.

223 See the following: Eugene A. Friedman and Robert J. Havighurst, “Can Retirement Satisfy?” in *Aging in Today’s Society*, ed. Clark Tibbitts and Wilma Donahue (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentiss [sic?] Hall, 1960, 369-75, cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 13-14, esp. 14; Havighurst, “Retirement from Work to Play,” 189, 192 (quotations), first cited in Sturgeon, 77-78. Note: While this account from Havighurst first cited in Sturgeon, the citation itself includes the surrounding pages and only the collection title rather than that of the specific piece. For important discussion of in Graebner, see Graebner on Friedmann and Havighurst, et al., *The Meaning of Work and Retirement*, 186, for example, as discussed and cited in Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 230. Additionally, Michelson wrote: “The fundamental problem of retired people—today’s leisure class—is essentially the substitution of a new set of personal values and new kinds of activity for the lifelong job of earning a living, raising a family, and overcoming the day-to-day obstacles that affect one’s income, status, and career.” Michelson, “The New Leisure Class,” 371. And as Gertman and Alpert also put it: “‘Play’ can give you many of the values you found in ‘work.’” See Gertman and Alpert, *Wake Up Younger!*, 223. And as they wrote: “Hobbies? Yes, with the proviso that they can build your self-worth” (231). For relevant discussion, see also 223, 224-25. For Buckley on role of such leisure and for more detailed discussion including specific examples, see, for example, Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 101-2, 103-14, 118-30, 131. And for discussion of taking action in pre-retirement life, see specifically 101, 102. For more, also see discussion in Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 228, 234. And elsewhere, Havighurst alone more specifically described in his discussion of “role flexibility” means of reaping the internal and external benefits made possible by leisure;

older ages could flow from retirement recreation. “Not only do they give a sense of usefulness, but new interests in the creative arts, community service, continuing education, and citizenship activities automatically solve a large part of the problem through providing new friendships which satisfy the need for companionship,” Tibbitts explained in relation to an overall issue that itself concerned experts.²²⁴ If one’s job and

the former could include the possibility that “satisfaction of creative activity and new experience which he once got from his work, he may, now that he is tried, get from hobbies,” while in the case of the latter, “prestige that success in work gave may be secured from heightened civic activities or from developing a hobby such as growing roses, painting, or cabinet work.” Havighurst, “Flexibility and the Social Roles of the Retired,” 310, 310-11 (quotations 310). For language, if not idea, of “substitutes,” see again Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 306. For another discussion of this overall idea, see Woods’s framing and analysis in relation to gender, including readings of Havighurst, whose work I seek to discuss and historicize: Woods, *Retiring Men*, 184, 196, 197-98, 199-203, 204-5. His work explores, and questions, the actual success of this retirement strategy, among other issues, in one chapter. See the following: Woods, “Work, Play, and Gender: The Making of Retirement Culture,” in *Retiring Men*, 183-223, esp. 210-12, 216.

224 Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 307. For discussion of developments—and also examples—presumably applicable to this, see 307. Perhaps similarly, as Buckley suggested: “Group activities provide a means of doing worthwhile things and an opportunity to enjoy the companionship of congenial people.” For quotation, as well as following discussion of efforts and examples in the process here, see Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 118. For discussion involving “social contacts,” see also 131. For similar point, also see Jane M. Hoey, “The Need for Community Services to the Aged” in *Housing the Aging*, ed. Donahue, 232-33; Wilma Donahue and E. Everett Ashley, III, “Housing and the Social Health of Older People in the United States,” in *Aging and Social Health in the United States: Report of an International Seminar Held at Merano, Italy, July 9-13, 1957* (Ann Arbor: Division of Gerontology, University of Michigan, 1959), 144-45. For this and other functions discussed by Buckley, elsewhere, see Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1953), 91-92. And Buckley also wrote, in relation to retirement migration: “In community-sponsored recreation and handicraft centers, in social clubs and church groups, they meet and make new friends, and avoid the sense of frustration and loneliness.” Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1953), 203-204.

For secondary accounts of relevance here, see the following. For a previously cited account perhaps on this relationship, but at the very least involving “the support to be found in peer-group associations,” see Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 61. For another account, and one linking the two seemingly more definitely, see also Wood, *Retiring Men*, 204. And for Wood discussing “sociability,” perhaps relevant here, see, for example, 205 (quotation), 206, 207, 210. Perhaps relevant here as well—if not dealing with the capacity of the recreational on this front and in relation to this point, then at least discussing the two at the same time—is Michelson’s study, in which he writes, for example, that “the new leisure should force him into activities with others.” For quotation and related discussion, see Michelson, “The New Leisure Class,” 373-374, 374 (quotation). Perhaps relevant as well, whatever the relationship—assuming there was one—is what he found. Among other points, Michelson writes: “The isolating hobbies, as well as the other vital activities mentioned, contribute to adjustment in retirement when the community contains many and varied stimuli for social intercourse. Because of its sociability and well-planned recreational and hobby programs, the mobile-home community most closely approximates this type of community” (378). Such concerns presumably follow concerns and point raised in other accounts, given earlier discussion, whether applying to one or all of the above. For example, see Michelson, 373. For what might have been examples from study illustrating this, see 377. In my Chapter 5, I explore how such ideas played out in relation to Sun City, Arizona.”

children defined life *prior* to retirement, then fun and friendship might have taken precedence *in* it.

Retirement extended to other interests as well. Graebner argues that, in the mid-twentieth century, “the leading advocates and beneficiaries of retirement—corporations, labor unions, and insurance companies—became increasingly aggressive in marketing retirement as a consumable commodity, ignoring its origins as a device for corporate and bureaucratic efficiency and control.”²²⁵ Even more, this “selling of retirement,” in Graebner’s words, might be framed within the broader shape and trajectory of postwar consumerism, particularly the rise of “market segmentation” and the ways in which the variable of age—specifically *older* ages—factored into the equation of the marketplace.²²⁶

The rise of a consumer culture revolving around older Americans was somewhat gradual. “Aside from an initial flurry, some years ago, very little interest has been shown in the older persons as a consumer,” the dean of Cornell’s New York State School of

On broader issue here, Tibbitts overviewed it: “A major problem of retired persons is to find replacements for earlier sources of social contacts, companionship, and affection.” Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 307. Here, in continuing, he both lays out the forces—perhaps particular to retirement and/or aging more broadly—creating the situation at hand, while also continuing to detail the added effects if otherwise not addressed. And for earlier mention of “social contacts, companionship, and affection,” see also 303. For Wood on this point in terms of “male-exclusive work cultures and social circles,” see Wood, *Retiring Men*, 162. Meanwhile, for other period accounts of relevance, see also Wilma Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live” in *Housing the Aging*, ed. Donahue, 23, piece also cited—if not first cited—in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 55-56. And for Michelson again, see Michelson, “The New Leisure Class,” 373. For mention of “lonely and maddening inactivity,” see also 371 (emphasis added).
225 Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 15, 183-87, 215, 227, 231, first quoted and cited in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 10-11; Graebner, 215 (quotation). Some of this already cited above in discussion of print culture of retirement. For example, see again 227, 229, 232, 233-34, 235. In terms of the consumer marketplace, however, he discusses how the life-insurance industry promoted leisure: see 231, also first cited in Sturgeon, 43-44. For Freedman here as well, see Graebner discussed in Freedman, *Prime Time*, 53.

226 On “market segmentation,” see again Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 292-98 (quotation 295), 309-31. And for discussion of idea elsewhere, see also, for instance, Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 194. For age, and old age, in Cohen, see Cohen, 318-20, 322. For similar discussion involving age, see, for example, Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 186-91. For old age specifically, see 186-89. And for Calhoun here, see also 194-195, also 210.

Industrial and Labor Relations wrote in 1960. “Advertisements directed to middle-aged people about financial preparation for retirement are plentiful, but there is little evidence that either new industry or old industry is taking seriously the production of goods or services used exclusively by older people.”²²⁷ Nonetheless, this market gathered momentum over the course of the 1950s and 1960s in terms of both profile and products.²²⁸ One *Background Paper* reported, “The group is not only growing in number, but it is also growing in economic power. Although there are many elderly with inadequate incomes, the aggregate purchasing power of older people as a group is large and is growing rapidly.”²²⁹

For its part, the private sector had a capacity to help older Americans cross over to retirement, taking the lead down this unexplored trail of old age. “Business leaders have an opportunity to show older persons the possibilities now opening to them for a fuller life,” one scholar of business wrote in the early 1960s. It involved not only taking the lead but also taking aging Americans by the hand: “In fact, marketers can wield a great influence in hastening the acceptance of a new philosophy which can aid senior citizens in better adjustment to our present society.”²³⁰ Such a relationship could take place, more

227 McConnell, “Aging and the Economy,” 516. For discussion of reasons behind, but also change underway, see 516-18.

228 For excellent narrative of rise of this market, see again Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 190-92, 195-200.

again first cited, along with other pages, in Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 24, 25; excellent analysis of evidence in Otis, 24-25, 40. For other accounts, see again Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 186-87; Schulman, *The Seventies*, 86. And Cross, for example, again discusses Sun City, Arizona: Cross, 188-89. Thus, such evidence might offer a slightly different periodization than that presented by Cohen—that, in other words, efforts already were underway. For Cohen, see again Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 320, 322. In the following chapter, I discuss and cite accounts on the rise of housing here as well. At the same time, for limits, see, in addition to previously cited material from McConnell, McConnell, “Aging and the Economy,” 518.

229 WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 6. And for this document on efforts underway, see also 7.

230 Robert E. Dodge, “Purchasing Habits and Market Potentialities of the Older Consumer,” in “Problems of the Aging,” special issue, *Law and Contemporary Problems* 27, no. 1 (Winter 1962): 143.

specifically, in terms of retirement culture increasingly dominating retirement discourse. “Recreation may provide the opportunities for activity heretofore impossible,” he explained. “But for the older person the transition from work to ‘play’ may be awkward and associated with feelings of guilt or inadequacy. In other words, if the market for recreation is to be served adequately, the older person’s role in life must be clarified for him, and he must be educated to the importance of recreation in his life.”²³¹ The homebuilding industry increasingly recognized the significance of retired Americans, seeking to sell older, prospective buyers on and to socialize them to retirement and retirement housing. In order to sell retirement homes as retirement remedies, however, housing would have to stress and strain aging Americans with complications of its own.

Origins of Downsizing

Experts in academia, government, and other sectors explored and explained the ways in which housing, too, presented older Americans with various challenges. Clark Tibbitts, for example, wrote in his 1954 overview, “Retirement from family duties and from work creates problems of living arrangements for many older persons.”²³² In *Social Adjustment in Old Age* in the late 1940s, Otto Pollak had written, “Decrease in family income, decrease in the number of family members, the traumatic experience of the loss of a marriage partner, or simply failing health may make the existing living arrangements of older persons unfeasible.”²³³ And in the early 1960s, a Congressional subcommittee

231 Dodge, “Purchasing Habits and Market Potentialities of the Older Consumer,” 150.

232 See Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 308.

233 Pollak, *Social Adjustment in Old Age*, 85. And, as Tibbitts put, continuing from above: “Departure of children generally reduces the amount of space needed. Reduced income sometimes makes it essential to seek less expensive housing. Rural homes must often be vacated in favor of the young family taking over the farm. Illness, declining energy, or loss of spouse may also dictate a change in living arrangements.

report stated that “much of the existing housing occupied by senior citizens is too large, too old, too costly, or too inefficient and unsafe for changes which occur with age.”²³⁴

After all, one presenter at a 1964 conference sponsored in part by the New Jersey Division on Aging emphasized the distinctive features of this population, explaining “that the elderly *do have significantly different needs* in housing and related community facilities and in community services.”²³⁵ According to those engaged with questions involving the relationship between aging and housing, the residential landscape inhabited by aging Americans failed to fully work in light of the particularities of retirement. More specifically, experts discussed what they viewed as a disconnect—financially and otherwise—between the home and the members of the household living in it.

For older Americans, the good that housing delivered was literal and simultaneously financial. In terms of homeownership, equity accompanying it more

And, for some, completion of family or career offers opportunity to migrate to a more attractive section of the country.” Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 308.

234 Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, Subcommittee on Housing, *Report on Housing for Senior Citizens*, 87th Cong., 2d sess., 1962, Committee Print, vii-viii (quotation viii). However, the HHFA’s Ashley pointed out, in relation to a position or perspective of President Eisenhower: “Unlike the question of failing strength which sooner or later hits everyone, rich and poor alike, all people do not automatically develop a housing problem just because they reach age 65 or any other arbitrary age level. As the statistics will bear out, a substantial number of older persons are well housed in their own homes and neither need nor want to make a change. There is, however, a significant and growing number of persons and families whose housing arrangements are unsatisfactory and who under prevailing conditions find it difficult if not impossible to improve their situation.” For quotation and context quoting and citing President Eisenhower, along with the context of its own, see HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 2. As this document indicates dealing with its authorship: “Paper by E. Everett Ashley, 3rd; Director, Statistical Reports and Development Branch, Housing and Home Finance; Presented at 12th Annual Short Course in Residential Construction, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois; January 17, 1957” (1).

235 George W. Grier, “Address,” in Conference on Local Planning for Housing the Elderly, East Brunswick, N.J., *Local Planning for Housing the Elderly* ([Trenton]: New Jersey Division on Aging, [1964]), 11. Here, he points out, however: “They do not stem from basic differences in either physical or psychological makeup between older and younger people. The mere attainment of age 65 does not change a persona dramatically unless he happens to have a stroke on his 65th birthday. Other than that, he remains much the same kind of person that he was the year before, and only slightly more different from the same individual five or ten years earlier—although his circumstances may be different and they will diverge increasingly from younger people’s as time goes on” (11). For discussion of these trends in greater depth, see 12-14. Grier is identified in the document as working for the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies in Washington, D.C. For example, see 9. For additional evidence, of language of “special group,” see Beyer, *Housing and Society*, 415.

specifically had significance not only for income more broadly but also from the standpoint of paying for—or providing—housing. For example, as the *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons* for the WHCA in 1961, “Since they are more likely to own their homes free and clear, their housing expenses can be expected to be lower than for families paying rent or still making payments on the mortgage.”²³⁶ At the

236 First, see earlier discussion of role of homeownership and, more particularly, home equity within the finances of older Americans. Second, for purposes here, see the following accounts, which seem to address housing more specifically within their respective contexts—and whatever the exact financial edge. For quotation, see WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 15. Another WHCA document explained: “Even though real estate taxes and upkeep costs may require considerable outlay of funds, the current housing costs for the majority of homeowners can be expected to be less than for nonowners.” For this, which I return to shortly below in a note as a caveat of sorts, see WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 15. And for a similar point, also see Beyer, *Housing and Society*, 419. For discussion elsewhere involving housing in relative terms but with more apparent emphasis on “income,” for instance, see also the previously quoted material in WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 21. For another, see also 17. For another account referring to “financial position,” see also Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 132. Additionally, for yet another, although not in relative terms, see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 12. And for housing in relation to “nonmoney income” elsewhere, see also Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 27. Perhaps relevant here, the HHFA’s E. Everett Ashley suggested how efforts on the part of older Americans could be financially strategic, explaining: “Not uncommonly they feel that if they own their home free and clear by the time they retired they can at least be assured of a roof over their heads come what may. In other words, *the ownership of a home constitutes an important part of many of our older families own social security programs.*” For quotation and its context, see Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 1 (emphasis added), 2. For same or similar point elsewhere by Ashley, see also, for example, HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 4; Ashley, “Where and How Older People Live Today,” 15. Another put it: “Owning a home, free of mortgage by retirement, has actually constituted pre-retirement planning of housing for later life for many people.” See Hatcher, “Housing in Pre-Retirement Counseling - Factors in Selecting and Assessing a Place to Live for the Later Years,” 6D. Meanwhile, as one account wrote of a divide surrounding homeownership in light of such a trend: “A sharp drop in income upon retirement can mean only that many older people who do not already own their homes cannot afford to purchase or rent adequate quarters.” See Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 566 (quotation). For almost identical quotation elsewhere, see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 23. For discussion of housing and other issues and complications, see the following. In terms of rental housing, Ashley explained, for example, that “as the heads of families pass sixty-five they tend to retire or at least to curtail their work. This, in turn, results in a decline in income. As a result, many aging renters find themselves unable to afford the quarters which previously had satisfactorily housed them.” See Ashley, “Where and How Older People Live Today,” 17-18. For context, of trend as relevant “especially among those who are renters” in referring—more broadly—to “generally healthy but aging persons,” see 17. Furthermore, for discussion of as “high proportion of income,” and its consequences or possible ones, see Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 72, including chart 60. For another account presumably relevant here, see also Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 109, esp. 110; Tibbitts in Sheldon, 130. For another mention of “unreasonable portion of their incomes,” whether in relation housing more generally or not, see WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 10.

same time, different potential “costs” inevitably confronted older homeowners.²³⁷ As the *Background Paper on Income Maintenance* noted, “Real estate taxes, in particular, are a real burden for aged persons, the majority of whom are homeowners.”²³⁸

Beyond finances, voices in discussions about housing for aging Americans examined how housing at what might be seen as different spatial scales potentially imperiled older persons in various ways.²³⁹ Concern on one level revolved around the

237 For quotation, and relevant discussion, see Hatcher, “Housing in Pre-Retirement Counseling - Factors in Selecting and Assessing a Place to Live for the Later Years,” 6D. For broader piece, see also 1D-9D. For another important account, of “housing costs,” see also Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 3, 6-7 (quotation 7). For other strategies for those staying in homes, see also, for example, Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 7. For additional evidence, see also Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 23. And for mentions of, in certain contexts, see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, WHCA, 15, 17; WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 12; Beyer, *Housing and Society*, 419. And for more general reference to “the cost of home ownership,” see WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 10. A few accounts seem to discuss as a part of broader point about the dichotomy of homeownership—as not necessarily free. See, for example, Hatcher, 6D. For evidence in relation to “Financial resources” more generally, see Donahue, 23.

238 WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 21. For “property taxes” in Hatcher, see again Hatcher, “Housing in Pre-Retirement Counseling - Factors in Selecting and Assessing a Place to Live for the Later Years,” 6D. For “taxes,” presumably the former in Ashley, see also Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 6. For references to elsewhere, again within their respective contexts, see also WHCA, 15, 17; WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 12, 14; Beyer, *Housing and Society*, 419. For taxes elsewhere, see WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 55. Also, as another WHCA document discussed: “Income in kind serves, in a sense, as a hedge against inflation. Homeownership and other sources of nonmoney income release cash dollars (although not necessarily an equivalent number of dollars) for purchasing other goods and services. *In an inflationary period marked by rising real estate taxes and higher upkeep costs, however, the nonmoney income derived from homeownership may be seriously reduced even though the value of the capital asset increased.*” See WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 12 (emphasis added). And yet, another explained elsewhere: “Even though real estate taxes and upkeep costs may require considerable outlay of funds, the current housing costs for the majority of homeowners can be expected to be less than for nonowners.” WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 15. For same and/or similar language elsewhere, see also 17. For idea elsewhere, see Beyer, *Housing and Society*, 419. For discussion of “preferential tax treatment,” which I cite again in my Chapter 2, see WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 11 (quotation), 20-21, 21; WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 15.

239 In this next few paragraphs, I generally follow Ashley’s own organizational framing in zooming out along different spatial scales. For Ashley, see Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” esp. 3, 3-6. In terms of his broader ordering here, however, I have discussed finances—in relation to homeownership—first, thus connecting back to my earlier discussion of period discussion of related issue, before going on to what I discuss here and below. Additionally, I have added a scale of sorts in the middle, of the sheer quantity of space, drawing on material from Ashley—who does addresses such points in different accounts but does not appear to present such discussion within the organizational context cited above—and others. Furthermore, I add on material from Ashley’s accounts about dilemma of homeownership that again is not located with the above framework but that I incorporate into my discussion a coda of sorts in connecting different ideas. Meanwhile, I draw in part in the preceding paragraph from the study of Kira and others in

immediate built environment—and, more specifically, this environment in relation to the occupants living within in it. “The aging person will probably have difficulty reaching, lifting, pulling, bending over, and getting up and down,” University of Minnesota architecture professor Walter Vivrett explained, a point the *Background Paper on Housing* for the WHCA of 1961 similarly made. “While some exercise is obviously beneficial, if carried beyond a certain point, it introduces excessive fatigue and hardship and even the abandonment of routines and activities.”²⁴⁰ Another by-product of the disconnect in housing both accounts subsequently addressed dealt with fundamental safety. “Accident prevention,” the WHCA document put it, “takes on increased significance in the housing of the old, for failure in sight or hearing, unsteadiness of gait and sense of balance, unsteadiness of hand, and lapses of memory make for a higher incidence of accidents, particularly falls, among older people.”²⁴¹

addressing the financial landscape of older persons, while in the following chapter—my Chapter 2—I follow the organizational framing, beginning with finances and then moving to and moving up spatially, there. For Kira and others, see again Kira, Cederstrom, and Tucker, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 2-3. And again, other relevant pages cited later. Also, for an excellent period overview of “the economic, sociological, psychological and physiological aspects of aging,” see Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 1-19 (quotation 1). For another useful account, see also Sidney Spector, “Housing for Senior Citizens,” *New York Law Forum* 11, no. 1 (Spring 1965): 31-34. For a useful overview from a more contemporary perspective, see Lawrence A. Frolik, “The Special Housing Needs of Older Persons: An Essay” in *Aging and the Law: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, ed. Frolik (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 171-80.

240 See Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 586 (quotation); also WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 13. For Vivrett overviews physically related issues of aging persons, see also 585-87. For similar evidence. For discussion of specific issues, also see Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 13, 15, 16, 16-19. For more general encapsulation of issues, see also, WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 9; Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 3. For biographical identifying information on Vivrett, see also *Handbook of Social Gerontology*, ed. Tibbitts, xiv.

241 WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 13 (quotation); also Vivrett, “Housing and Community Setting for Older People,” 586. For example, see Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 586; WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 9. On this point, Vivrett goes on to discuss steps to address this—part of his broader critique of “society’s failure to anticipate the evolving situations and needs of the aging individual in relation to the home and community.” See 585 (quotation), 586. I return to this framing in the following chapter. For the Kira study here on “sense of balance,” see again Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 15. Further still, Havighurst and Albrecht cited an “increasing danger from falls, due to the increasing brittleness of bones and their slow mending

Discussion involving residential space, more broadly, looked at it from the standpoint of sheer quantity—what the Congressional subcommittee’s report had suggested in its “too large” reference.²⁴² Such an excess was the product of a growing gap with the past, according to various accounts. “Elderly people rattle around in houses far too large for their present needs, as they continue to occupy homes bought to meet the needs of a family with several children, all of whom have now married and set up homes of their own,” E. Everett Ashley of the federal Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) stated in a paper before a 1957 conference at the University of Michigan—a residential trend among older Americans setting up this disconnect, he seemingly explained, that ultimately flowed from financial and other factors underlying or otherwise associated with homeownership.²⁴³ As the *Chart Book* explained in addressing one

rates,” thus seemingly suggesting that, beyond simply the increased incidence of such an event, significant, too, were the extent of impact and the accompanying consequences. For Havighurst and Albrecht, see Havighurst and Albrecht, *Older People*, 29.

242 See again Congressional subcommittee report previously cited above. For “too large” elsewhere, see, for instance, Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 2. For bibliography of sources on various topics, some of which—in terms of both sources and topics—are discussed and cited in this dissertation, see 76-121. Finally, Havighurst and Albrecht mentioned the issue of “size” in *Older People* in 1953, writing in full that “the old home is likely to become a burden because of its size; or ill health makes it necessary to go where nursing care is available; or the attraction of a better climate and a more convenient and more interesting location pulls one away.” See Havighurst and Albrecht, *Older People*, 318.

243 First, for quotation, see Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 2. For same or similar point by Ashley elsewhere, appearing in accounts in relation to points to which I also return below, see Ashley, “Where and How Older People Live Today,” 15; HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 3. For same or similar idea, see also, for example, Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 67; Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 130, 131; Sheldon as quoted in WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 27. For mention elsewhere, see also, for instance, Sheldon, 106. For mention of “retention of the family home,” and what presumably was the related discussion earlier, see Flora Y. Hatcher, “Housing in Pre-Retirement Counseling - Factors in Selecting and Assessing a Place to Live for the Later Years,” in *Building for Older People*, 6D, 7D (quotation). Hatcher identified as working for the HHFA, as “Assistance [*sic*] to the Administrator” (1D). For yet additional evidence, of general trend, see also, for example, Ollie A. Randall, “Living Arrangements to Meet the Needs of Older People,” in *Planning the Older Years*, ed. Wilma Donahue and Clark Tibbitts (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), 36-37, piece first cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 105-6, esp. 125n5.

Other accounts also help to illustrate a broader understanding and framing of the relationship between space and the family over time. For example, see Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 564, 567. The executive with the United States Savings and Loan League explained: “What constitutes a housing problem for many aging families is the fact that they are overhoused. In their peak productive years and while they were rearing a number of children, they acquired a large house. In these later years, their income—because of retirement, in most cases, diminished, and children left home to form homes of their own.” See Strunk, “Financing Homes for Owner Occupancy,” 156. In particular, however, see the following. The WCHA *Background Paper on Housing* explained: “In its typical cycle, the household expands and then contracts. Adjustments in living accommodations are commonly made in order to meet the needs of the family and its members as conditions make such changes feasible and advantageous.” See WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 1. On “four stages of the family life cycle”—which began with the “*Young couple*,” progressed to the “*Founding family*” and the “*Expanding family*,” and ended with the “*Contracting family*”—according to one expert, see Glenn H. Beyer, *Farm Housing in the Northeast* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1949), 10-11, cited in Glenn H. Beyer, *Housing: A Factual Analysis* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958), 171-72 (first quotation 171, all other quotations 171-72). On accordant “housing requirements,” see 172-73 (quotation 172). According to the directly quoted Beyer study, he appears as “Professor of Housing and Design and Director, Housing Research Center, Cornell University.” See Beyer, *Housing*, n.p. [title page]. For the WHCA document itself outlining a trajectory of change, see also WCHA, 1. For another framing of change over time, also see, for example, an account by an official of the New York State Division of Housing: Richard W. Hill, Jr., “Addenda II: Housing for Senior Citizens” in NCOA, *Building for Older People*, 17V-18V. For biographical information, see 17V. For overall arc more broadly, see Paul C. Glick, “The Family Cycle,” in “The American Family and Its Housing,” special issue, *American Sociological Review* 12, no. 2 (April 1947): 164, 165, 167-69; Glick, “The Life Cycle of the Family,” *Marriage and Family Living* 17, no. 1 (February 1955): 3, 5-7. Glick, “The Life Cycle of the Family,” also or first cited, for example, in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 94. For interesting discussion perhaps applicable to frameworks in accounts here in de-naturalizing such trajectories of age and aging, see again Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 60-61. See, for example, the following. “In such models,” he writes of “traditional developmental models,” “a logic of sequence (or narration) organizes the stages of life into universal and progressive arrangement. A logic of association correlates with each stage a set of specific behavioral attributes, conflicts, and opportunities. Sequence and association thus structure what have come to be accepted as the attributes of infancy, childhood, and adolescence, adult, young old, and old old individual stages” (60). Finally, for Clay Howard’s work on housing among *younger* families in the postwar United States, from an industry perspective, which I return to in the next chapter, see Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 940-41. And for context of demographic developments, see again 935-36.

Second, for discussion of role of financial factor in homeownership—and how it ultimately seems to have factored into trend discussed and the overall disconnect at hand—see Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 1, 1-2. For same or similar point elsewhere by Ashley, the relationship between financial strategy and trend stated and presented perhaps more directly, see also, for example, HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 4; Ashley, “Where and How Older People Live Today,” 15. He writes, for example: “That older families do not give up their larger homes just because the children have gone off on their own is due in part, at least, to the fact that 68 per cent of the households headed by persons sixty-five or older own their own homes. In fact, the proportion of home owners among this age group exceeds that for all others in the population.” He next goes on to discuss the financial factor here. See again Ashley, “Where and How Older People Live Today,” 15. Ashley’s initial account, however, appears to identify a sort of intermediate step in the chain of events, discussing “rational consideration” in the process. See again Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 1-2 (quotation 2). Meanwhile, for discussion of “sentimental and emotional considerations,” which presumably contributed in some way to the step above and, more broadly, the residential disconnect, see Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 1 (quotation), 1-2. And for Ashley elsewhere writing of “sentiment, inertia, or economic necessity,” though not necessarily in exact order or context as above, see Ashley, “Where and How Older

particular metric of the housing of aging Americans, “Large houses and small household groups result in but little overcrowding in the homes of older persons.”²⁴⁴ After citing

People Live Today,” 16. And for almost identical language, see also HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 4. For same language in another context, see also Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 65. For additional evidence of others, see the following. Discussing another, seemingly within the same or similar context to Ashley’s “A Happy Home for the Later Years” account, cited above, the *Background Paper on Housing* for the WCHA stated that “it is unlikely that very many families would abandon their three- or four-bedroom homes for smaller ones as the children grow up and leave home, for it is part of the American dream that children will return to the homestead with children of their own; moreover, a personal status value is implied in owning a home that is more than big enough to meet one’s basic needs.” See WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 17. And for what have been reference to earlier reference, see 16. And for same or similar language of the quotation above in Vivrett, see Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 590. Another account addresses that of “status” in perhaps a similar context: Randall, “Living Arrangements to Meet the Needs of Older People,” 37. Here, Randall goes on shortly after to address what seemingly was another factor or factors: “A home is something more than a building; it represents at times all that is left which I reminiscent of a family’s growth and the fullness of its life together” (37). Perhaps combining two of the points identified above, and in a perhaps similar light in writing of “retention of the family home,” Hatcher explained: “Bound up in homes acquired over long years are memories of the children growing up, baptisms, weddings and funerals. These cherished values not only represent the past, they also provide reason for the future. Large family homes are commonly retained primarily as a place for the children to ‘come back to.’” For quotation and context of point here, see Hatcher, “Housing in Pre-Retirement Counseling - Factors in Selecting and Assessing a Place to Live for the Later Years,” 7D. For discussion of seemingly other factors, see also discussion and evidence provided in Hunter and Maurice, *Older People Tell Their Story*, 34, 38. For quantitative evidence on, see also 40. For discussion involving “a feeling of security,” also see Beyer, *Housing and Society*, 423. Finally, for other factors, for discussion of “habits” perhaps applying here as well, specifically in light of discussion later in account previously cited as perhaps relevant see also Randall, 35-36 (quotation 35). And for later discussion, see again 36-37. Below, I cite Vivrett’s account for another factor.

244 Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 69. On home and household sizes, see also 6, 67-68. Here, in terms of the former, it explained: “More than three-fourths of the elderly households consist of only 1 or 2 persons” (68). And for such sizes elsewhere, see Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 563, including “Table 3: Size of Non-Farm Households in the United States, 1950 (Distribution of Persons in Dwelling Units by Heads of Family over and under 65 Years of Age),” 564, including “Table 4: Size of Non-Farm Dwellings in the United States (Number of Rooms in Dwelling Units by Heads of Family over and under 65 Years of Age in 1950)”; WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 21, 22, “Table 6. Size of Nonfarm Households in the United States: Distribution of Persons in Dwelling Units by Heads of Family over and under 65 Years of Age in 1950” and “Table 7. Size of Dwellings, Number of Rooms in Dwelling Units by Heads of Family over and under 65 Years if Age in 1950 in Nonfarm Areas”; Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 104, 105, table 41, 106-7. And for “crowded” in Vivrett, see also Vivrett, 563-564 (quotation 564). For discussion of different costs of housing—with a counterpoint—elsewhere, see also, for example, Vivrett, 567-68. And for other discussion of “ability,” perhaps financial, see also Strunk, “Financing Homes for Owner Occupancy,” 156. On “crowding” discussed elsewhere, see, for instance, HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 3 (quotation), 19, table 5, “Extent of Crowding: Distribution of Persons Per Room in Dwelling Units by Heads of Family over and under 65 Years of Age in 1950 in Nonfarm Areas”; Ashley, “Where and How Older People Live Today,” 15; Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 563-64; WHCA, 21. The Kira study provides same or similar evidence to the *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, though not identified as such: Federal Council on

relevant statistics, the text accompanying the document's corresponding figure clarified the residential implications: "The absence of crowding among older persons is not always an advantage, however. Declining strength and limited income often make the extra space a physical and economic burden, rather than a pleasure."²⁴⁵

Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 69; Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 2. And here, in fact, this cites work by Ashley: E. Everett Ashley, III, "Housing for the Elderly," *Construction Review* 4, no. 3 (March 1958): 5. Beyer offers another view: "It is often stated that the elderly generally live in large houses. However, the term 'large' is a relative term. From the standpoint of the number of rooms, there is little difference between the size of housing occupied by the elderly and the total housing occupied by younger families. What is different, however, is the fact that the families of the aging usually are smaller in size than younger families, and therefore aged families have more space 'per person.'" See Beyer, *Housing and Society*, 427. As Ashley explained: "Much of this lack of crowding among older families results not doubt from the fact that they do not contract the size of their quarters as rapidly as their families dwindle in numbers. Houses bought to meet the needs of a family with several children are frequently retained even after all the children have married and set up homes of their own." See, for example, HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 3. And for this point in the Kira study, see again Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, 2. And for what Ashley described as "the smallness of the family groups among the aging" from which the above flowed, see HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 3 (quotation); Ashley, "Where and How Older People Live Today," 14-15; Vivrett, 563-64, esp. 563 (and table 3); WHCA, 21, 22 (table 6); Sheldon, 104, 105, table 41, 106-7; Tibbitts in Sheldon, 130. And Ashley, additionally, attributed this to the following, writing that "one of the most striking things about older persons is the high concentration of one and two person families, resulting from the combined effects of children leaving home and the death of spouses." HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 3. For this point elsewhere in his work, also see Ashley, "Where and How Older People Live Today," 14. The Sheldon study also remarked: "The fact that children leave home as they grow up is sufficiently commonplace to make the smaller number of persons in households headed by persons 65 and over a foregone conclusion." See Sheldon, 106. The Sheldon study, however, appears to focus—in terms of aging—on "single-person households," which Tibbitts explains, too: Sheldon, 106 (quotation); Tibbitts in Sheldon, 130. Sheldon—or Tibbitts in Sheldon—also quoted/cited in WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 27. 245 Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 69. For discussion in relation to home size, see also 67. While concerns about housing as a "burden" might have been free-standing concerns, evidence also suggests that they might have been part of—or at least connected to—other points. For example, the *Chart Book* stated: "Some older persons adjust their living arrangements to their changed physical and economic circumstances. Others who have failed to do so have suffered an unnecessary waste in their hard-earned and much-needed assets by clinging to deteriorating properties which they are neither physically nor financially able to manage." See 65 (emphasis added). For discussion elsewhere in the document perhaps suggesting broader preoccupation, in the sweep of the previously cited pages, see also 70-71. For earlier discussion perhaps connecting the dots, though not culminating in wealth, or "equity" (71), see also 6. Similar to the point made by the *Chart Book* in the text above, Ashley's previously quoted and cited account earlier in this paragraph continued, pointing out the implications of the out-of-sync relationship between an excess of space of the home and its occupants: "Oldsters struggle to operate and maintain large houses which, as the years pass by, become increasingly burdensome for them to handle." Ashley, "A Happy Home for the Later Years," 2. And in Ashley's other accounts, he writes in one, for instance: "For an indeterminate share of the group, however, home ownership is undoubtedly more or less of a burden. Because of sentiment, inertia, or economic necessity, elderly men and women continue in some cases to struggle with a house beyond their physical and financial means to carry." For quotation and its full context, see Ashley, "Where and How Older People Live Today," 17-18 (quotation 18). For essentially same language of quotation, see HHFA and Ashley, *Older*

Zooming out, experts such as Ashley addressed the broader, urban context of housing. Among the points dealing with and pertaining to the significance of “location” in his discussion of housing, “Is it near public transportation and everyday shopping facilities?” Ashley asked. The rationale he offered was this: “This is important since, as the years go by, the aging tend to become progressively less able to operate their own automobile and unable, or disinclined, to walk long distances.”²⁴⁶ And among the benefits of “the old neighborhood” Buckley cited was that of one’s social circle: “Your personal friends most likely live nearby.” But canceling out this point, presumably, was what he presented as a fact of residential life in retirement: “Local newspapers carry obituary notices of close friends who cannot be replaced.”²⁴⁷

People and Their Housing Needs, 4. Additionally, Ashley makes such points within a context suggesting similarity to the concerns advanced in the *Chart Book*. In particular, see context of quotation above in Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 2. For another account, see, for example, Ashley, “Where and How Older People Live Today,” 15-16, esp. 16. Finally, as additional evidence of discussion of complications, Tibbitts wrote in 1954: “Most retired persons seem to prefer to maintain their own homes, even beyond the point at which it has become a physical and financial burden.” Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 308. For other drawbacks in this context, see also Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 98. And for perhaps additional evidence, see also Federal Council on Aging, 6. For a perhaps similar discussion, involving “market value,” see also Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, 3. And on the possible *financial* consequences of such changes, one WHCA document explained: “With decreasing physical ability, aged persons can do less for themselves and may need to incur higher expenses for maintaining the home and comfortable surroundings.” WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 21. For same quotation, see WHCA, *Background Paper on Impact of Inflation on Retired Persons*, 15.

246 Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 5-6 (quotation 5).

247 For this point and relevant quotations, as well as discussion of other points, see Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 232. Whether discussing this in relation to housing specifically or not, Donahue wrote in her 1954 overview: “Companionship may become a scarce commodity when the spouse dies, when children become progressively more absorbed in their own families and affairs, and when friends move away and can no longer be visited or entertained.” See Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 23. For Ashley on socializing, too, see again Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 6. Another factor at this level dealt with social difference amongst area residents, including the role of race. For example, see Rosow on this: Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 333. For discussion of “unfavorable change in the neighborhood environment” overall, see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 16. And as a piece in one trade journal discussed later in the 1960s: “A too-large home or a *changing neighborhood* is usually what starts older buyers shopping for a new home.” See “This Man Has \$18,000 Cash, and He’s Looking for a Place to Live—Sell Him Something,” *American Builder* 101, no. 10 (October 1968): 51 (emphasis added). In terms of retiring elsewhere, addressing race, among others, was the UAW-Chicago collaboration, which stated: “Moving means leaving old friends.

Another question aging Americans would have to answer in making sense of the housing landscape involved that of with whom—if anyone—they would reside. A trend that the *Chart Book* identified as having created complications at the same time seemingly factored into prescriptive efforts pertaining to housing: “As attention is directed toward suitable housing for them, a prime consideration must be the importance to older persons of maintaining their independent living arrangements as long as possible.”²⁴⁸ Discussion of housing for aging Americans included, if not departed from,

Their places must be filled. People usually want to live with those who have similar social educational racial and religious backgrounds.” For this, see UAW, *Family, Friends and Living Arrangements*, 22.

248 First, for quotation, see Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 64. Second, in terms of the trend of “independent living” that helped to create complications discussed earlier in this section, see again 64. For trend earlier in the document, see also 6. And, for complications, see again 65, 67. For discussion elsewhere of such trend as complicating, see again Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 308. Finally, for discussion of the statistical backing of this trend and—in the process—evidence itself, see the following. The *Chart Book*, above, specifically stated: “Most older persons—70 percent in 1950—live in their own homes.” See Federal Council on Aging, 64. And for point elsewhere, see also 6. For other accounts of relevance here, for “over two-thirds” and exact statistic of category of “As Head or Wife in Own Household,” see Gordon F. Streib and Wayne E. Thompson, “The Older Person in a Family Context” in *Handbook of Social Gerontology*, ed. Tibbitts, 449, including table 2, “Percentage Distribution by Living Arrangements, for Selected Age Groups, 1950.” Here, this account draws on and includes data from the Sheldon study. On point immediately above, which based on context of page in Streib and Thompson and on content from Sheldon perhaps comes from p. 129 in Sheldon, see Sheldon cited in Streib and Thompson, 129. And for statistic, see Sheldon, 96, cited in Streib and Thompson, 449, table 2. For statistic directly from Sheldon, see Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 96, table 35, “Percent Distribution by Living Arrangements, for Selected Age Groups: 1950. For statistic of “about 69 percent” in text, see also 96-97 (quotation 97). And for evidence of this elsewhere, see also, for example, WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 4, table 2, “Living Arrangements of Persons Aged 65 Years and Over, Percentage Distribution by Age and Sex, 1950.” Offering perspective here is the Sheldon study, which stated: “If persons who are heads of households or wives of household heads (including male heads without wives present and female heads without husbands present) may be regarded as maintaining their own households, then again the population 65 and over is not strikingly different from younger age groups.” For quotation and statistical evidence, including point and evidence about eventual change, see, for example, Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 96, including table 35. For contextual point referenced in quotation here, see also 95. For presumably same point, along with statistics, see also Vivrett, 551. If not distinctive in this regard, I do utilize accounts to discuss below how the generational make-up of older households did differ. For another reference to “two-thirds,” specifically “Roughly two-thirds,” see also Tibbitts in Sheldon, 130.

Overall, I have attempted here to identify and differentiate between what I have read to be essentially two separate usages and meanings of “independent living” as they appear in this document specifically—one as the *root* of complications and the other as an ongoing concern within a prescription for housing, or new housing, for older Americans. Further, below I attempt to link this language and idea to discussion of and emphasis on “independence” as well. And here, I also seek to differentiate between different ways in, or levels on, which this had multiple meanings and functions as part of the project of

what perhaps was an emphasis on “independence” more generally.²⁴⁹ And it played out, for example, in relation to residential politics defined in familial terms. “For the parental generation, and even more for the unmarried or widowed or divorced siblings, there is a strong valuation of ‘independence,’” Harvard sociologist Talcott Parsons explained of the trend of “residential isolation” across generational lines evident by different measures. “The negative side of this is the fear of ‘being a burden’ to others, but there also is the positive side of freedom to lead a life free of unaccustomed supervisions.”²⁵⁰

retirement housing—or re-housing. Also, for discussion of complications flowing from “Independence,” perhaps similar to the *Chart Book*, see also Sheldon, 98.

249 For clarification, my discussion here assumes that the “independent living” discussed and cited above and that of “independence,” as different accounts speak of it, are dealing with the same general idea, although my discussion and analysis of the discussion of “independence” seeks to sort again the various meanings of this, as noted above and further explained below. For scholarship here, for John Findlay and Achenbaum discussing, offering a framework, see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 161, 208; Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 20. On this idea overall, Wilma Donahue, for example, explained in the 1950s: “Old people and experts agree that a prime requisite of housing is one which provides for maximum of independence and privacy regardless of whether it is a communal- or individual-type dwelling.” Wilma Donahue, ed., *Housing the Aging* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954), 35-36, first cited and quoted in part, on this specific point, in Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 553; Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 35 (quotation). Also providing a framework, Vivrett stated: “As medical science extends life-expectancy at birth and brings more and more people into middle age, later maturity, and old age, there is an evolving a new independence of action for these age groups. This independence of action is expressing itself in the determination of an independence and a separateness of living arrangements—not only for middle age but also for later maturity and for old age.” See Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 549. And as the *Background Paper on Housing* put it: “There is general agreement among professional workers in the major field of endeavor that human services should be geared to treat and to restore all individuals to optimum health and to help them maintain themselves insofar as possible in their own homes. Whether in independent houses or apartments, or in some form of group setting, the basic objective of independence for the individual is the same, the only difference being in the extent to which it is capable of realization.” See WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 17. As another put it: “The goal of most married couples is to continue life in their own home, preferably one in which they husband and then his widow maintains independence as head of household.” WCHA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 25. The accounts of Ashley and Vivrett overview various “studies,” which in the process revealed resistance to other housing possibilities. For example, see discussion of evidence in Ashley, 27 (quotation), 28-29; Vivrett, 553-554. For another account, mentioning a “loss of independence,” see also Streib and Thompson, “The Older Person in a Family Context,” 449. While here, in the pages below, I focus on discussion of “independence” in terms of generational relations, in the next chapter I address discussion seemingly dealing with resistance to other conditions perceived as not amenable.

250 For quotations and context of broader discussion, see Talcott Parsons, “The Aging in American Society,” in “Problems of the Aging,” special issue, *Law and Contemporary Problems* 27, no. 1 (Winter

1962): 22-23 (quotations 23). While benefits of or reasons underlying this position, real or imagined, appear to apply to those who presumably were aging Americans, immediately preceding the first line of this quotation, Parsons also wrote: “For younger, *i.e.*, middle-aged married couples there seems to be a strong set of motivations to maintain their ‘privacy’ in the sense of not taking in permanently anyone other than their own children.” Nonetheless, that this is in reference to the older group is suggested not only by the focus of the overall piece but also by discussion in the subsequent two paragraphs. However, if even if applying to both, at least would have included the older group. And thus, if this framework is limited in *not* referring specifically here to aging Americans, then the secondary account by John Findlay does offer one: “Senior Americans customarily voiced a desire not to interfere with or burden the lives of their children and grandchildren, and in return they expected little intervention by their children in their own lives. Owning their own houses and, for some, living in segregated communities satisfied a preference for independence from other generations.” Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170. For similar discussion of this last point, also see Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 71. And for Achenbaum on “independence” more generally, see again 20. For another scholarly account citing “residential privacy,” see also Michel Dahlin, “Perspectives on the Family Life of the Elderly in 1900,” *The Gerontologist*, 20, no. 1 (February 1980): 105, article first cited in Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 36. For another period account addressing a generationally mutual feeling, see also Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 89. And for later discussion referring to this, see again 98. For another account, and tensions involving, see also “The Family,” 46-47. As other period evidence of perspective, see also 33-34, esp. 33.

Other accounts, both contemporaneous and by scholars in more recent times, address the trend Parsons discusses from different angles and/or with different demographic evidence. As historian and demographer Steven Ruggles writes: “The decline of coresidence between the aged and their children is the single most dramatic change in the American family during the past two centuries.” See Steven Ruggles, “Chapter Ae: Family and Household Composition” in *Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to Present*, Vol. 1: Population, Pt. A: Population, Millennial ed., ed. Ruggles, Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 655. For discussion of and figures involving this shift, see again 655. More specifically, Findlay, for example, writes in his useful overview here: “Whether old or young, Americans increasingly came to consider two-generation households the norm. As a result, the proportion of people aged sixty-five and over who lived in a household with a child fell constantly, from around 60 percent in 1900 to 16 percent in 1950 and 9 percent in 1970.” Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170. And here, he cites various sources in the accompanying note that appears at the end of this quotation. For other useful accounts, see also discussion and same and/or other figures in Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 44; Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 188; FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 209. And for discussion and various figures in other accounts by Ruggles, see also Steven Ruggles, “The Transformation of American Family Structure,” *American Historical Review* 99, no. 1 (February 1994): 118. And, for table referred to on 117, see also 116-117, table 4, “Percentage Distribution of Living Arrangements of Elderly Individuals and Couples, by Race, Sex, and Marital Status, United States, 1880-1980.” For additional evidence here, see also fig. 1, “Percent of Elderly Persons Residing with Own Child, by Age: United States, 1880-1980.” For page referring to this, see also 122. For another account, see Steven Ruggles, “The Decline of Intergenerational Coresidence in the United States, 1850 to 2000,” *American Sociological Review* 72, no. 6 (December 2007): 964. And for evidence referred to here, see also 965, fig. 1, “Percent of Persons Age 65+ Residing with Their Own Children Age 18+; United States Whites and Blacks, 1850 to 2000.” And for additional evidence, see also 983 fig. 7, “Percent of Elderly Residing with Children, Showing Potential Effects of Removing Social Security Income: United States Individuals and Couples age [*sic?*] 65+, 1850 to 2000.” And this is referred to on p. 982. And for other scholarship, see, for example, discussion and figures same or similar to others, above, see also Dahlin, “Perspectives on the Family Life of the Elderly in 1900,” 100, including table 1, “Living Arrangements of the Elderly by Marital Status in 1900 and 1975.” Finally, for shift viewed from another perspective, from that in one of Ruggles’ pieces above of “elderly whites residing alone or with their spouse only,” see Ruggles, “The Transformation of American Family Structure,” 117. And see again, for relevant evidence,

In terms of the former, experts suggested that and how generational ties in the residential realm could become complicated knots. “Many parents are, of course, taken in by their children, although in most instances, this is hardly a satisfactory solution from either party’s point of view, particularly since, in our highly competitive urban-industrial economy, the head-of-the-household role now belongs to the breadwinner,” a study by Cornell University’s Alexander Kira and two co-authors explained, the relegating of older Americans to the wings taking place against a backdrop of different power dynamics accompanying “the rapid disappearance . . . of the three-generation family

116, table 4. For evidence elsewhere, see figures in Dahlin, 100, table 1. And for an example of a period account, see discussion and figures in Ernest W. Burgess, “The Older Generation and the Family” in *The New Frontiers of Aging*, ed. Wilma Donahue and Clark Tibbitts (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1957), 161, 162, table 1, “Living Arrangements of Older People, 1952: Percentage Distribution.” Here, p. 161 refers to table on 162. Piece also, if not first, cited in Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 8. Achenbaum also cites this piece: Burgess, cited in Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 71. Also, for evidence from other perspective, see also Burgess, 162, table 1. And on gender, see, for example, Burgess, 161-162, including table 1, 162-163.

Finally, experts did point out and to the limits within the broader arc of aging, at older ages, whatever the context. According to one account: “However, as age increases, there is increasing isolation and loss of independence.” See Streib and Thompson, “The Older Person in a Family Context,” 449. Immediately prior, this account cites the Sheldon study in discussing housing trends among older Americans: Sheldon, cited in Streib and Thompson, 449. And Sheldon itself also offers an important account for purposes here, putting it, more specifically: “For the age group 65 and over the proportion was about 69 percent. *Within this group*, however, the proportion of persons living in their own households *dropped off rapidly*, so that by the time the age group 85 and over is reached slightly less than 40 percent were heads or wives.” See Sheldon, 97 (all emphasis added). For other relevant figures, also see Streib and Thompson, 449, table 2; Sheldon, 96, table 35. For additional discussion and figures, also see WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 25, 26. For point and evidence from perspective of “households headed by other people,” see also 25. For perspective in terms of “relatives,” see the following. The Sheldon study put it: “To a very considerable extent, this increase with age in the proportion of persons living as relatives of the household head represented the entrance of parents into the households of their children.” See Sheldon, 97, including table 36, “Relatives of Household Head, by Relationship to Head, as Percent of All Persons, for Selected Age Groups: 1950.” For additional evidence, see figures discussed in WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 26. And for secondary accounts, see also discussion and figures, within their respective contexts, in Ruggles, “The Transformation of American Family Structure,” 122, and, as referred to, 123, fig. 1; Dahlin, 101, including, as referred to, table 2, “Characteristics of the Young-Old and the Old-Old in 1900 and 1970: Marital Status, Living Patterns and Labor Force Participation.” On gender here, specifically “widows,” see again Streib and Thompson, 449.

unit.”²⁵¹ Perhaps illustrating such ideas, for example, a television commercial sponsored by the National Council of Senior Citizens on the road to Medicare—“For All the Rest of

251 For primary quotation in the text, see Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 7. For other quotation, dealing with “three-generation family unit,” see 6. And for dynamics over time, see 7. They also continue, from text above on the implications for such older Americans: “The change in the economic and social roles generally results in the aged and retired parent finding him- or herself superfluous, non-contributing and a burden on the young family” (7-8). For overall discussion, see 6-8. Here, at least on p. 8, the Kira study cites a piece by the University of Chicago Ernest Burgess: Burgess, “The Older Generation and the Family,” piece—for purposes here—first cited in Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 8. Although no page or pages specified, for material perhaps overlapping here, see, directly, Burgess, 158-160, 163, 164, 168, 170. He wrote, for instance: “The three-generation family headed by the adult child reverses the superordinate-subordinate relation,” the University of Chicago’s Ernest Burgess explained. “Here the older person gives up his independent status and is assigned a dependent role with the accompanying loss of status and consequent unhappiness” (163). And, on generational mutuality, he wrote: “In conclusion, it is evident that, from the standpoint of each generation living its own life, residing together in a three-generation household will not be on the average the best dwelling arrangement” (170). For additional evidence, see also 169. On younger generation/s, see also 164. As the Sheldon study put it: “Other persons living as relatives of the household head may be considered as living in the three-generation family setting, a situation which has been of concern in much of the literature on aging, and such persons tend to have subsidiary and dependent roles in the household.” See Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 97. As historical background, Ruggles writes: “Between 1850 and 1950, this system was shattered by an economic revolution. Jobs in large-scale commerce, manufacturing, and transportation eclipsed agricultural work and self-employed crafts, and this destroyed the economic logic of the traditional patriarchal family. Millions of young people left their parents’ farms, attracted by the high wages, independence, and excitement of town life. When those wage workers grew old, they were unlikely to live with their children. In each succeeding generation, fewer and fewer fathers were farmers or self-employed craftsmen. Thus, fewer could offer the incentive of occupational inheritance to keep their grown children from leaving home, and fewer had any real need to keep their adult children at home.” Ruggles, “The Decline of Intergenerational Coresidence in the United States, 1850 to 2000,” 968. For broader discussion, see also 966, 967-969, 984, 985. For similar or same material and discussion elsewhere in his work, see also Ruggles, “Family and Household Composition,” 655-656, 657. On “education,” also see Ruggles, “The Transformation of American Family Structure,” 126-127.

Important to my discussion at hand—in attempting to lay out and describe contemporary expert thinking—is scholarly work contextualizing period accounts. For discussion at a more general level, see Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 71-72. Here, Achenbaum cites the account of Burgess, above, as one of two accounts: Burgess, “The Older Generation and the Family,” cited in Achenbaum, 71. And in the process, Ruggles contextualizes such accounts as well. On one hand, he validates narratives of such experts in relation to his respective work above. For discussion of period work, see that in Ruggles, “The Decline of Intergenerational Coresidence in the United States, 1850 to 2000,” 966, 966-967, esp. 967 and 967n5. For more recent work cited, see also 966. And for discussion cited above, see again 967-969, 984. And for role of “cultural inertia,” see also 985. For Ruggles elsewhere, see again that in Ruggles, “Family and Household Composition,” 655-656, also 656. A period account that might fit Ruggles’s discussion and framing, see again the study by Kira and co-authors. In addition to the narrative of generational dynamics over time, cited above, see also mention of “changing concepts of parent-child relationships” perhaps as evidence: Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 7. And for discussion in Burgess as well, see, for example, Burgess, 158-159. Ruggles, in fact, cites another Burgess account: Ernest W. Burgess, “Family Structure and Relationships” in *Aging in Western Societies*, ed. Burgess

(Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 271-298, cited in Ruggles, “The Decline of Intergenerational Coresidence in the United States, 1850 to 2000,” 967. Additionally, for Achenbaum addressing what involved “the image of the extended family,” see Achenbaum, 71-72, including 72n4. And yet, for Ruggles perhaps addressing the change over time within scholarly thinking, see Ruggles, “The Transformation of American Family Structure,” 103-106. For overall piece, see 103-128.

On the other hand, Ruggles also challenges—or points to challenges—in different ways. In terms of narratives that the Kira study and the Burgess piece from 1957 seem to advance, Ruggles identifies and explains those involving “mobility” and also “urbanization” as ultimately falling short. First, for Ruggles, see “The Decline of Intergenerational Coresidence in the United States, 1850 to 2000,” 969. For “industrialization and urbanization” elsewhere, see also Ruggles, “The Transformation of American Family Structure,” 126. Second, for evidence from period accounts, see Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, 7; Burgess, “The Older Generation and the Family,” 159. And for discussion involving “urban way of life” and “urban conditions” perhaps relevant here, see also 160 (first quotation), 165 (second quotation). Beyond the “other explanations” here, see also discussion in Ruggles, “The Decline of Intergenerational Coresidence in the United States, 1850 to 2000,” 969 (quotation), 970-971. And for period evidence here, see, for example, Burgess, “The Older Generation and the Family,” 165. For other discussion in Ruggles, relevant to the above or not, see also Ruggles, “The Transformation of American Family Structure,” 127; Ruggles, “Family and Household Composition,” 656, 657.

Finally, Ruggles reviews discussion involving the following: “In this scenario, the increase of aged living alone resulted from *increasing income* of the aged, a consequence of the Social Security program and the growth of private pensions.” For quotation and discussion of work, which here tends to involve more recent scholarship for the most part, if not entirely, see those in Ruggles, “Family and Household Composition,” 656 (emphasis added). For elsewhere, see Ruggles, “The Decline of Intergenerational Coresidence in the United States, 1850 to 2000,” 965-966. And for another Ruggles piece relevant here, which also cites work going back to the 1960s, see Ruggles, “The Transformation of American Family Structure,” 124-126. Among the work that Ruggles cites is that of Haber and Gratton in two instances. For example, see Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 966, cited in Ruggles, “Family and Household Composition,” 966. For other citation, see also Haber and Gratton, 45-47, cited in Ruggles, 965. For discussion of trend over time directly from their study, also see, for example, Haber and Gratton, 21, 22, 42-45, 181. For a potentially similar point about the impact of Social Security, in a secondary account, see also Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 199-201. In terms of period accounts, for cited work—presumably evidence of period thinking—specifically see 124n40. For evidence from a period account above, see that on “increased financial independence” in Kira, Cederstrom, and Tucker, 7. However, for Ruggles on “problems” of, see also Ruggles, “Family and Household Composition,” 656. For refuting position and stating his own elsewhere, see also Ruggles, “The Decline of Intergenerational Coresidence in the United States, 1850 to 2000,” 984. And, though ultimately reaffirming his position, he also writes, for example: “The increasing economic independence of the aged—brought about in part by the Social Security program—contributed to the increase of separate residences and helped to accelerate the pace of decline in coresidence in the years following World War II. Rising affluence of the aged was not, however, the primary reason for the massive decline in the intergenerational coresidence since 1850; the increasing resources of the younger generation played a much more important role.” Ruggles, “The Decline of Intergenerational Coresidence in the United States, 1850 to 2000,” 984. For another statement of this last point, whether or not involving Social Security, see also Ruggles in “Family and Household Composition,” 656, 657, 657-658. For a similar point, see discussion in Dahlin, “Perspectives on the Family Life of the Elderly in 1900,” 106.

For different accounts covering some or all of the issues above, whether within similar or other contexts, see, for example, Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 549-550, 550; Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 5-6, 6-7; Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 301-2; Donahue, Orbach, and Pollak, “Retirement,” 373; Cavan, et al., *Personal Adjustment in Old Age*, 33-34; New Jersey Old Age Study Commission, *A Positive Policy toward Aging: Report of New Jersey Old Age Study Commission to the Governor, the State Legislature, and to the Citizens*

Your Life”—included a series of vignettes on the consequences of *not* having insurance. In one, a retired couple had their “little house in the country,” the wife eventually becoming sick, however. “So, here we are,” the husband tells the viewer, as multiple generations appear to eat dinner, the couple presumably having moved into the home of a child. “I’d give anything to be back there, feeling we were standing on our own feet.”²⁵²

of New Jersey ([Trenton]: [New Jersey Old Age Study Commission], 1957), 5-6; Wilma Donahue, statement to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging, *The Aged and the Aging in the United States: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate*, pt. 1, 86th Cong., 1st sess., June 16, 17, and 18, 1959, 270. And for previously cited piece in *Time* from the early 1960s on “no room for three generations in a city apartment or a suburban housing development,” see “The Family,” 46. 252 And, as the narrator explained it: “Medicare could prevent situations like these, situations where big hospital bills wipe out the things people have saved a lifetime for.” See National Council of Senior Citizens, Inc. (NCSC), commercial, “For All the Rest of Your Life” (1967 [?]), ID# 05870, Julian P. Kanter Political Commercial Archive, Political Communication Center, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. Although the date is listed in the catalogue here as 1967, it must have been 1965 or earlier given that Medicare was passed into law in 1965. For context in which this NCSC document perhaps took place, in what Calhoun describes as “special programming” addressing old age, see his discussion in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 151-57. Here, this NCSC document might overlap to some extent with Calhoun’s discussion of one televised work from 1954 in terms of residential politics involving older and younger generations. See discussion of “The Mother,” which he goes on to describe as “a one-hour play appearing on the Philco Television Playhouse on April 4, 1954,” in Calhoun, 155. For additional evidence, covering various issues, see the story of one older couple, the “Walters,” in Havighurst and Albrecht, *Older People*, 144-145 (quotation), 145. For another period account perhaps of relevance here, see again Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 89, 98. And for Achenbaum on “independence” more generally, see again Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 20. Furthermore perhaps illustrating issues here are the following. Whether related to residence or not, next in the NCSC commercial is next is the story of an older man facing “an operation and a least a month in the hospital, maybe more,” with the narrator towards the end saying, for example, “When the big bills hit the retired, they hit the whole family.” See again NCSC, “For All the Rest of Your Life.” Additionally, for discussion of “the fear of how a prolonged illness of either one of them would effect [*sic?*] the household” in the case from *Older People*, above, see also Havighurst and Albrecht, 146. And though not necessarily in relation to residence, either, *Time* in the early 1960s continuing from a quotation in my Introduction, wrote: “In fact, the old in general are less afraid of dying than of contracting a long and expensive illness that would make them a disastrous burden to their families or force them into the charity wards.” See again “The Family,” 46. It went on, shortly, after, to discuss in relation to “medicare, in one form or another” as well. See again 46.

Meanwhile, in terms of the families of older Americans, in another story a young man in a suit and tie arrives home and finds a bill for his mother’s medical expenses in the mail. “Just beginning to get our heads above water, do a few things for the kids, and bang, mom’s in the hospital,” he narrates it, Medicare—like Social Security—thus liberating younger generations from having to divert resources away from their needs to cover those of their parents. The commercial next includes footage of President Johnson speaking to a group of people and then Kennedy promoting medical care for older Americans apparently before the NCSC, which, based on the content of the speech he delivered appears to match a copy of the print speech delivered in 1963, then additional discussion and footage involving the NCSC. See again NCSC, “For All the Rest of Your Life.” For Kennedy speech, see President John F. Kennedy

At the same time, something perhaps applicable to Parson's reference to "the positive side of freedom" in his discussion, "independence" could be beneficial in ways perhaps less re-active. "Modern family patterns more and more call for grandparents and other older persons to live independently," *How to Provide Housing Which the Elderly*

(remarks, Second Annual Convention of the National Council of Senior Citizens, Washington, D.C., June 13, 1963), 1-2, esp. 2, folder: "Medical Care for the Aged 6/2/1962 – 6/13/63," Subject Files – 1961-64, box 36, Theodore C. Sorenson Papers, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library (JFKPL). As additional evidence, in print, a booklet promoting the King-Anderson bill similarly targeted the children of aging Americans who had children of their own, explaining that such insurance for older Americans would serve multiple, important functions for all involved; in addition to the care needed by aging parents, it served the interests of the children's generation by *not* compromising resources needed to raise their own children. "We want our children to have the best up-bringing and education for a good start in life, not imperiled by devastating medical expense." And on the point about providing for children in the face of the threat of excessive expenses related to parents, the "Responsibility" was explained as the following: "Few of us can afford the increasing cost of raising and educating our children properly and, at the same time, carrying the full burden of costly medical care for our parents." And also, it explained: "We must not jeopardize the future of our children by draining the family budget to meet these medical expenses." At the same time, it suggested another theme—that of laying the groundwork of medical coverage for their own future: "We want to pay now for a medical care program for ourselves when we reached 65." See *Each Family Has . . . 3 RESPONSIBILITIES* (n.d.), in folder: "Medical Care for the Aged 6/2/1962 – 6/13/63," box 36, Subject Files – 1961-64, Sorenson Papers, JFKPL. The above bill, as indicated in the document, was H.R. 4222. For a brief history of King-Anderson and its ultimate role in Medicare, see, for example, Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 94-95. Achenbaum identifies this as the "Anderson-King bill" in his account (95). See also Quadagno, *One Nation Uninsured*, 67.

Finally, in terms of the logic of Medicare following that of Social Security here, as President Kennedy stated on the financial dangers posed to younger generations: "Others say that the children of aged parents should be willing to pay their bills; and I have no doubt that most children are willing to sacrifice to aid their parents. But aged parents often choose to suffer from severe illness rather than see their children and grandchildren undergo financial hardship. Hospital insurance under Social Security would make it unnecessary for families to face such choices—just as old-age benefits under Social Security have relieved large numbers of families of the need to choose between the welfare of their parents and the best interests of their children." See President John F. Kennedy, "Special Message to Congress on the Needs of the Nation's Senior Citizens," February 21, 1963, in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy: Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, January 1 to November 22, 1963* (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1964), 191-92. For discussion of how this served the younger generations, before and after Social Security, see, for example, Kramarow, "The Elderly Who Live Alone," 338; Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 41, 43, 142, and, if involving a financial aspect, 181; Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 61; also on this point, Blechman, *Leisureville*, 26-27. For this in relation to medical insurance, see, for example, Rhodes, *Health Care Politics, Policy, and Distributive Justice*, 211; Oberlander, *The Political Life of Medicare*, 24. For additional discussion of idea prior to Medicare, see also Marmor, *The Politics of Medicare*, 12. For additional evidence here, see the story quoted/included in Havighurst and Albrecht, *Older People*, 144. As additional evidence, though not in relation to Medicare, involving "costs," see also Burgess, "The Older Generation and the Family," 166. Perhaps relatedly, for discussion of concerns at a broader, societal level, see excellent discussion by Graebner: Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 234-36. Meanwhile, in the period, Tibbitts referred to a possible "appearance of a huge pressure group of social, financial, and medical dependents." Tibbitts, "Retirement Problems in American Society," 307. For additional discussion at the level of "the economy," see 304-305 (quotation 304).

Can Afford: A Guide to Its Development by Builders, Organization Sponsors Such As Unions and Denominational Groups, and Other Private and Public Interests, first published by the State of New York in the late 1950s, stated, “It is held that this permits the older persons to live as he or she likes, free of unwanted intrusion into their affairs by their children.”²⁵³ It might have extended to grandchildren. For example, a 1957 FHA publication explaining housing efforts for older Americans contained a cartoon image, captioned “THE THREE GENERATION HOUSE IS OBSOLETE,” depicting young and old occupying the same room, a seemingly chaotic scene in which the youngest members were busy at play—and perhaps at the expense of the interests of the oldest (Figure 2.1).²⁵⁴

253 See New York State Division of Housing, *How to Provide Housing Which the Elderly Can Afford: A Guide to Its Development by Builders, Organization Sponsors Such As Unions and Denominational Groups, and Other Private and Public Interests* rev. ed. (1958; [Albany?]: New York State Division of Housing, 1961), 1. And, on the other side, it continued here: “The middle aged sons and daughters with children of their own to raise for the most part prefer to rear the young ones without intrusion by grandparents.” Coverage from *Time* discussed and cited elsewhere, reaffirms such thinking while seemingly suggesting further tensions involved, in writing that “few any longer live with their children. This traditional solution is packed with hazard in contemporary America. The young people’s sense of their right to live their own lives conflicts with the Biblical injunction to ‘honor thy father and thy mother.’ The old folks’ conviction that I don’t [wa?]nt to be a burden’ conflicts with ‘after [all?] I’ve done for them, they owe it to me.’” See “The Family,” 46-47. The changes indicated here in my quotation of this are not in the original document itself but rather stem from holes punched in this copy for inclusion in Meeker’s binder here. As additional evidence, two sociologists in 1960 seemingly invoked this point, writing that “perhaps a realistic appraisal of the older person’s familial relationships not only should emphasize the misfortunes of the older person who feels excluded by the conjugal pattern but also should emphasize the opportunities which some older persons may enjoy because of independent from entangling familial alliances.” Streib and Thompson, “The Older Person in a Family Context,” 486. Achenbaum also includes this same—or effectively the same—quotation in one of his studies. See Streib and Thompson, as quoted and cited in Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 72.

254 Federal Housing Administration, *Housing for the Elderly: How FHA Helps* (Washington, DC: Federal Housing Administration, 1957), 2. This cartoon image also appears in Albert M. Cole, “What the Aged Need in Their Homes,” *New York Times*, August 4, 1957. And as additional evidence, one factor cited in the previously cited 1950 study was that of “annoyances of small children in the home.” See again “Housing Conditions Among Recipients of Old Age Security Living in Los Angeles County,” quoted in Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 29. Perhaps illustrating this further, Burgess told of one the perspective of one retiree. “We are always delighted when our married son, his wife and children, and our married daughter and her husband and children come for a visit,” he said of family time spent at his “large country house.” “But after two days of visiting when they say goodbye [*sic*], how relieved my wife and I feel.” Quoted in Burgess, “The Older Generation and the Family,” 169.



Figure 1.1. Ideas about housing illustrated by the FHA: Federal Housing Administration, *Housing for the Elderly: How FHA Helps* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Housing Administration, 1957), 2.

Towards New Housing

And yet residential dilemmas, according to dominant voices on all things aging, were avoidable. If aging Americans took pro-active positions, rethinking ideas and expectations about what constituted housing conducive to older ages, the different issues falling underneath the umbrella of retirement housing might be dealt with. Thus, just as aging Americans were to embrace retirement recreation in seeking out new hobbies, for example, they also were to reject an increasingly outmoded residential environment in

favor of something more in line with the economic and other constraints now shaping retirement.²⁵⁵

First, the residential trajectory of aging Americans involved what perhaps was their very own agency, however conscious. “The middle aged couple who has reared a family and seen its children grow into adulthood and finally leave home to establish lives of their own,” Walter Vivrett described of what might have amounted to a sort of ignorance, if not complacency, “is likely to settle back with a feeling of a job well done and say: ‘Now we can relax and enjoy ourselves. Our home is paid for, we have many friends in this community, we have more time than before, and we can begin to do the things we’ve always wanted to do.’”²⁵⁶ Whether addressing additional or different issues, NCOA official Ollie Randall wrote, “Older people are usually reluctant to relinquish anything which is tangible evidence of former status, and this *apparent rigidity* is frequently encountered in their grim, pathetic, and ultimately futile efforts to hang on to their homes without regard to the wisdom of the action.”²⁵⁷

255 Journalist Andrew Blechman offers an interesting and useful account of more recent thinking here, see discussion and comments of “Bill” quoted in Blechman, *Leisureville*, 193-94. In terms of the evidence from this man, whom he refers to as “A grizzled veteran of the industry,” the majority—with the exception possibly of that of lawn maintenance—do not appear necessarily to deal with or stem from aging.

256 And, his account continued: “Very often they do, and life continues evenly until the husband or wife dies and the other (usually the woman) is left alone.” Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 554. For similar discussion, also see WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 16. And an HHFA account argued in favor of acknowledging underlying reasons: “The counseling job is not to destroy but to strengthen these deeply meaningful values. The sharp challenge here lies in the extent to which pre-retirement preparation can suggest substitute housing approaches that retain these values and at the same time encourage decisions toward improved and more suitable living arrangements.” Hatcher, “Housing in Pre-Retirement Counseling,” 7D.

257 Randall, “Living Arrangements to Meet the Needs of Older People,” 36-37 (emphasis added). For biographical information on Randall, see “Ollie A. Randall, 94; Advocate for the Aged,” *New York Times*, December 28, 1984; Randall, 31. That experts took a critical view of the decisions made by aging persons, in effect judging them, is suggested, for instance, by Ashley’s mention of “rational consideration,” suggesting that their actions were *ir*-rational and thus perhaps in need of changing. See Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 1-2 (quotation 2). Wilma Donahue took what appears to have been a stronger position, one perhaps invoking the issue of agency: “Older people, although wanting to remain independently in their own homes, have done little to provide themselves, even when financially able to do so, with new housing adapted to their changed needs. This is surprising when they are aware that frailty

Ashley, the HHFA, and others emphasized the encouragement of acknowledging future complications. In *Housing the Elderly: A Review of Significant Developments*, published in the late 1950s, the HHFA asserted that “a major challenge which faces those dealing with the housing needs of the elderly is to get across to the aging early in the game the importance of realistically evaluating their housing requirements for the years ahead.”²⁵⁸ Meanwhile, according to the *Chart Book*, older Americans could benefit from efforts: “Preretirement education is increasingly bringing to the attention of individual and families the advantages of adapting their living arrangements to their changing needs as they become older.”²⁵⁹

and illness are always imminent in older age and that few communities have services such as housekeeping, nursing, and home medical care, which make it feasible to continue living in their own homes until they are very old.” Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 34. And the HHFA stated: “The dimension of the problem of alleviating the bad housing situation of many of our present aged population reflect *the failures on the part of most of them to face facts earlier in the aging process.*” HHFA, *Housing the Elderly*, 15 (emphasis added). Although such experts presumably were well-intentioned, nonetheless this perhaps parallels Graebner’s critique of the top-down, expert culture surrounding retirement, which, he argues, promoted a “theme of individual responsibility.” For excellent discussion and analysis, see Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 234-36 (quotation 235).

258 See Housing and Home Finance Agency, Office of the Administrator, *Housing the Elderly: A Review of Significant Developments* (Washington, DC: Housing and Home Finance, Office of the Administrator, 1959), 15. Here, the document next quotes and cites a piece utilized later in this dissertation, Geneva Mathiasen, “Some Current Attempts at Better Buildings for the Aging, *Architectural Record*, May 1956. This piece is quoted as follows: “Therefore, pre-retirement counseling by industry or the community suggests planning at an early age for the kind of housing needed for the later years and making a move whenever the family is grown and less space is required.” Mathiasen quoted in HHFA, 15. On the point in the text, the HHFA similarly declared: “An effective job of consumer education must be done to encourage families to plan ahead for their housing requirements during their later years.” And next, similar to the context for the material above, the emphasis apparently is on the following: “In this connection, steps must be taken to encourage more effective adaptation of existing housing accommodations to the needs of older people.” See HHFA, 14-15, 37 (quotation). After all, it explained elsewhere, efforts were to take place seemingly sooner rather than later, flowing from a particular trajectory it laid out, stressing action to be taken during “Middle Age,” the point at which “attention first should be directed to the housing requirements of people as they grow older,” rather than later. HHFA, *Housing the Elderly*, 9-11 (quotations 9). On issue of “more space” here, see 9. Wilma Donahue identified “five major events which profoundly affect housing needs” on her own: Donahue, statement to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging, *The Aged and the Aging in the United States*, 276.

259 Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 66. And, it stated elsewhere in the document: “Older people need to understand the importance of maintaining an open mind about curtailing their housing spaces as their families decrease in size.” See 69. For discussion of “education and planning,” see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 15. For another mention of

Players in the private sector engaged with such issues, too, illustrated by the positions taken by members of the homebuilding industry in conveying ideas about “needs.” An executive with the Builders Association of Metropolitan Detroit outlined a “cycle of housing need,” which unfolded as follows: “There are first, the needs of the young husband and wife at the beginning of married life. Then, as the husband and wife become parents and the family grows, their housing needs grow correspondingly. And finally, when the children grow up and leave their parental home and the husband and wife are again alone, the needs are reduced.”²⁶⁰ Addressing housing for aging Americans involved, furthermore, awakening people to changing “needs.” Citing the expert opinion of Donahue in a piece in 1953, *American Builder* reflected this thinking, writing of the need “to educate people to accept a change of residence as a normal part of the life pattern of the later years.”²⁶¹

And there were efforts via channels devoted to older Americans. “One of the great American dreams is to arrive at age sixty-five with a house that is ‘paid up, free and clear, in which to spend our later years,’” one advice book read. “But when did we buy the house? Very likely around age thirty-five to forty-five, with a 25-year mortgage. What a happy day when we burned the mortgage. At last, a house of our own for the rest of our lives—mission accomplished!” Setting up the disconnect between the past,

“education,” see also Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 590. And for discussion of rise of “pre-retirement preparation activity” in various places, see also Hatcher, “Housing in Pre-Retirement Counseling,” 1D (quotation), 2D.

260 Earl C. Doyle, “The Building Industry and Housing the Aging” in *Housing the Aging*, 50-51 (quotation 51).

261 “The Over-65 Have Housing Problems—Here They Are—Here’s What Might Help Them,” *American Builder* 75 (November 1953): 59. And more explicitly, one Indiana homebuilder and another author in the above collection, suggested: “Perhaps we would sell to even more oldsters if we had some way of teaching old dogs new tricks, that is, if we could convince more old people of a need for a smaller and more convenient home for the later years.” James F. Peacock, “Detached Dwellings” in *Housing the Aging*, ed. Donahue, 66, also cited, if not first cited, in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 55-56.

present, and future, the very reason for purchasing the home in the first place also held the key to understanding why it was now out of sync with the current householders. “But—and here’s the nub of every realistic decision on housing we’ll ever make—why did we buy that house when we did? Wasn’t it in order to meet the needs we then faced—for room and space for a growing family of youngsters and their friends, for a busy pair of young adults and their expanding friendships and interests, and for a geographical location favorable to all?”²⁶²

Even more, this disconnect potentially was perilous. “Many retired persons live in houses or apartments originally constructed for the living patterns of younger people,” Buckley wrote in the 1962 edition of *The Retirement Handbook*. “They live in big houses built for the period when they were raising a family—houses that become burdensome to maintain when strength and income decline. Or they live in crowded apartments booby-trapped by slippery floors, dangerous equipment, accident-prone bathtubs, poorly lighted rooms, or stairways that take a toll of the heart.”²⁶³ The author of *How to Retire—And Enjoy It* (1949) recommended to readers the “avoidance of shelter which will become utterly impossible later on because it’s too big, too heavily taxed, too expensive to maintain.”²⁶⁴ At the same time, illustrating how retirement print culture

262 Gertman and Alpert, *Wake Up Younger!* 182-83. Reflecting the language and idea of difference with aging, this was the point at which, it also said, “now, twenty-five years later, *your needs have changed*” (184). For similar evidence, see also point about “educational programs” from the Wilma Donahue-chaired “Housing and Living Arrangements” in Hunter and Maurice, *Older People Tell Their Story*, 78.

263 For example, see Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 84.

264 Ray Giles, *How to Retire—And Enjoy It* (New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949), 92. However, he was not necessarily advocating moving: “Too many regretfully give up their old homes when better management and adaptability would enable them to stay where they were and, perhaps, increase their retirement income” (258).

could offer ways of actually dealing with housing issues, *Retirement Planning News* discussed a range of “special features,” for instance, in a piece in the 1950s.²⁶⁵

The various media with which aging Americans engaged over retirement and housing matters also relayed to readers concerns about the viability of cross-generational housing. As Haber and Gratton explain in their analysis of modern “advice literature,” “The ideal, writers agreed, was to establish strategies that allowed elderly individuals to dwell in their own households or enter alternate living arrangements that guaranteed continued control and independence.”²⁶⁶ Evidence bears this out, illustrated in print in the 1950s and 1960s, and even slightly earlier.

For example, Lawton and Stewart addressed the potential for generational tensions in residential situations in *When You Grow Older*. “If you are thinking of living with a son or daughter and their family, you must realize that the chance of the arrangement’s being mutually satisfactory in the typical American household is about one in a hundred,” they informed readers—a point Buckley seconded in his first edition of *The Retirement Handbook*.²⁶⁷ For his part, Buckley warned readers that they “may find it difficult to resist the impulse to boss your children, in-laws and grandchildren. Or, even

265 For such “special features” and other ways of negotiating the residential landscape of older ages, as suggested by various evidence it discussed, see “Many People Plan New Homes for Retirement,” *Retirement Planning News* 1 [no. 1?] [(February 1956)?]: 6. This particular issue of the journal, based on Graebner’s discussion and analysis on the following page, first cited in Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 233.

266 Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 144 (first quotation), 169 (second quotation). Again, additional evidence points to an even earlier point of development on such issues, going back at least to the 1950s. And here, in discussing this literature, they again point to the role of Social Security in making this possible, in terms of both living arrangements and work life. See 170. Also, for interesting discussion of residential politics *within* older couples, in terms of gender and gender politics, see Wood, *Retiring Men*, 184-85, 186-90, 190-95.

267 Lawton and Stewart, *When you Grow Older*, 19. And one point they mentioned was “excessive dependence of parents on children or vice versa” (20). For Buckley, see Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1953), 209. For Buckley in a later edition, see also *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 238.

worse, you may find that they want to boss you.”²⁶⁸ In *The Golden Years: An Invitation to Retirement* (1956), author Thomas Collins addressed the risk of “being turned into baby-sitters,” perhaps suggesting that it was children who now were burdening *their* parents.²⁶⁹ Overall, as the Older and Retired Workers Department of the United Automobile Workers (UAW), in the organization’s collaboration with the University of Chicago, emphatically put it to participants of a “program” addressing retirement issues, “IF YOU AND YOUR WIFE ARE STILL A FAMILY UNIT--STAY PUT IN YOUR OWN PLACE. If you can manage you present living arrangements financially, all the better. If you can’t and decide on a smaller place, try to stay put in a ‘place of your own.’”²⁷⁰

268 Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1953), 209. For evidence of earlier discussion of problems generated by co-habitation from the perspective of children and in the view of expert writers, see also Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 39-41; For Achenbaum discussing these themes as they played out earlier in the twentieth century, see also Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land*, 116. 269 Thomas Collins, *The Golden Years: An Invitation to Retirement*, (New York: The John Day Company, 1956), 139. For background on Collins and his work, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 160. For recent scholarship making use of Collins, in relation to other subject matter, also see Wood, *Retiring Men*, 162, 163. Burgess also wrote that “the majority resent the role of baby sitter if they sense they are being exploited and their own plans and interests are being disregarded.” See Burgess, “The Older Generation and the Family,” 168. However, he does not seem to specify here if this point refers to generational co-habitation or family relations more generally. And, whether in sharing the same context with Burgess or not, two other accounts deal with this. As an account of the New Jersey Old Age Study Commission in 1957 stated: “A welter of dynamically changing environmental factors have weakened much of what was once automatically secure grandparental household status. The new and invidious term, *baby sitter*, sums up much of the change.” New Jersey Old Age Study Commission, *A Positive Policy Toward Aging*, 5. And for evidence and discussion of in more recent times, in relation to the homebuilding industry, see Andrew Blechman’s recounting of his experience with a “questionnaire,” in part dealing with baby-sitting and presumably generational tensions, in Blechman, *Leisureville*, 35.

²⁷⁰ Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 231-33 (first quotation 232); Older and Retired Workers Department, United Automobile Workers, *Family, Friends and Living Arrangements*, Discussion Guide no. 4 in *You and Your Retirement* series (Chicago, Illinois: The Union Research and Education Projects, University College, The University of Chicago, 1958), 16 (second quotation). For the specific benefits of doing so that it lists, see 16-17. For raising of issue of co-habitation more generally, see 15. And for evidence similar to that examined earlier, see “situations” included on pp. 8-9 (quotation 8). Graebner first cites this by way of citing another document in this series in his analysis, and I encountered the one I cite here after Graebner’s work led me to the series. For Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 232n55. In the text on p. 232 he also discusses the broader efforts here. For Calhoun on relationship of the UAW and Chicago here, see also Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 225. Whereas Graebner focuses on efforts involving retirement from the standpoint of the tensions between work and leisure, the second half of this

Conclusion

Retirement—and, more broadly, old age—introduced a variety of “problems” in the minds of experts that confronted, challenged, and unsettled many older Americans. An important aspect of the expert framing of retirement dilemmas was that aging individuals shared a common ground of financial, social, and other changes. Ideas and expressions about distinctive “needs” took shape not only in relation to retirement overall but also in relation to housing, which raised new issues while exacerbating others.

But housing, experts insisted, also represented an arena in which residential questions could be answered—as well questions about moving through older ages. If space, for instance, was in different ways contributing to retirement troubles, then it might be harnessed in developing a new vision and experience for retired Americans. But whether for homeowners or renters, housing would depend on mechanisms and measures aimed at stimulating and enlarging the pool of prospective retirement housing. And, not least, it would mean making housing, at the levels of development and design, more appropriate to aging. Beginning in the 1950s, proponents of new, redesigned housing for older Americans made deliberate interventions in the name of accommodating old age, undertaking efforts that ushered in—in both theory and practice—new residential landscapes for retirement in the postwar decades.

chapter—and dissertation more broadly—focus on issues of housing. At the same time, returning to the issue of housing, proximity remained important within this new, changed social landscape of the American family. On this point, see, for example, Burgess, “The Older Generation and the Family,” 170. And as one workshop at a 1960 conference stated: “Living near relatives appears to be more desirable to most elderly people than living with them.” See “Workshop Proceedings on Physical Planning for Older People” in NCOA, *Building for Older People*, 4W. For additional evidence, see “research” cited in Beyer, *Housing and Society*, 428.

Chapter 2

New and Improved

In 1956, U.S. Senator John Sparkman, the chairman of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Housing, wrote in the opening of a piece in the National Association of Home Builders' *Correlator*, "Improvement of housing for older persons is, of course, a part of the general task of providing more and better housing for everyone. However, the process of aging involves certain social, economic, and physical characteristics which are particularly pertinent in determining housing needs."²⁷¹ As one "Section" of the 1961 White House Conference on Aging would define what this entailed several years later, "Adequate housing means housing which the aging can afford, which meets the special physical needs of the aged, and which is designed to avoid isolation from the rest of the community or an institutionalized feeling."²⁷² And yet, as the authors of a Grand Rapids, Michigan, study in the 1950s wrote, "Some older people commented that wanting to make a change and being financially able to do so were distinctly different things. Others explained that they couldn't find suitable quarters."²⁷³ Indeed, as the study by Census official Henry Sheldon later in the decade noted, "There is some evidence of a rising demand by both elderly couples and single men and women for living arrangements geared to their special needs and pocketbooks, and thus, it may well be that the apparent desire or willingness to remain in the family home in which they have reared their children reflects, in some degree, the lack of any practical alternative."²⁷⁴

Expert opinion in the 1950s and early 1960s in the realm of retirement housing sought not only to diagnose the residential dilemmas of aging Americans but also to

271 John Sparkman, "The Growing Need for Housing the Aging," *NAHB Correlator*, 10, no. 3 (March 1956): 71.

272 See White House Conference on Aging (WHCA), *The Nation and Its Older People: Report of the White House Conference on Aging, January 9-12, 1961* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Special Staff on Aging, 1961), 181, document first cited in Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 225. For same or similar point, also see 182. For Sparkman seemingly making this point, see Sparkman, "The Growing Need for Housing the Aging," 72-73.

273 Hunter and Maurice, *Older People Tell Their Story*, 38. For point expressed another way, also see 40.

274 See Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, quoted in WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 27. For Sheldon directly on this point, see Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 130. For "no reasonable alternative," see also Coleman Woodbury, "Current Housing Developments for Older People" in *Planning the Older Years*, ed. Donahue and Tibbitts, 62. Collection first cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 105-6. And for yet additional evidence, also see Hunter and Maurice, *Older People Tell Their Story*, 34.

prescribe steps to overcome them.²⁷⁵ For those concerned with issues involving retirement housing, one goal was expanding the quantity of possible housing for older Americans—what Sparkman himself at one point referred to as “an adequate supply of dwelling units at low cost or low rent.”²⁷⁶ Underneath an umbrella of expanded “supply” thus would fall issues of access and affordability. Furthermore, participants in this movement helped in a different way to create new and improved residential space and spaces for retired Americans, something that took place in both the public and private arenas.²⁷⁷ These efforts would attack, more specifically, housing on different levels—from the immediate built environment of housing itself, to the positioning of housing in relation to the surrounding community and metropolitan area, to supplementing or tapping into the financial means of individuals to make housing attainable in the first place.²⁷⁸ In harnessing the power of public policies and of space, such efforts to build a new and improved retirement drew much of their pull from—while helping to further

275 The periodization I employ here in this chapter is intended to help explain the context in which Sun City, Arizona, emerged. In Part II, I then supplement the case of Sun City, Arizona, with additional evidence from the 1960s—though some evidence, of course, might or does fit within trends and points addressed by sources in this chapter.

276 Sparkman, “The Growing Need for Housing the Aging,” 72. For additional language of “supply,” also see Harry Held and Martin J. Lindloff, “Financing Housing for the Elderly: Present and Potential Methods,” in *Housing the Aging*, ed. Grier, 185. I also use “supply” in this chapter, within a general supply/demand framework.

277 Katie Otis’s excellent chapter in her study offers a useful model for encompassing both public and private housing for aging Americans under the broader umbrella of retirement housing. See again Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 66-134.

278 While this chapter addresses the “financial” dimension that Otis identifies in her discussion of “special needs,” the general order of topics I present and discuss in this chapter roughly follows the arc also presented in the Kira study, specifically moving from financial matters to housing and especially the foci within housing—which I note later—and thus spatially from an organizational standpoint. See again discussion of evidence in Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 67; parallels where relevant in Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*. For another example of work utilizing a same or similar progression, including financial matters and moving seemingly spatially while also—as my chapter here does as well—taking a private-sector framing at the outset in discussing housing itself, see Howard’s chapter: “Boom” in Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 128-191. More specifically, see, for example, 131-132, 132, 133, 136-143, 144-145, 156, 158, 159-165, 165-168, 174-176.

promote in the process—what amounted to, real or imagined, retirement distinctiveness.²⁷⁹

Supply and Demand

In the 1950s, aging experts assessed the housing landscape as it pertained to older Americans. “The housing problem has been and still is a perennial and critical one for families of all ages in our society,” Wilma Donahue opened a chapter in an edited collection based on a 1952 University of Michigan conference on the subject. “Through the combined efforts of private enterprise and government, however, significant progress has been made in housing younger families, especially since the Second World War. But what has been done to house the aging during this and earlier periods has been negligible in comparison to the needs.” Despite evidence of progress, there were “new and urgent questions,” she explained, including: “What special features should be built into houses which will meet the special requirements of the older age group? Are architects and builders interested in an undertaking to house the aging and do they consider it financially feasible? What are the attitudes of different lending agencies toward the older person as a prospective borrower? To what extent are government resources for housing available to old people? To what extent can communities be expected to provide more

279 As noted in my Introduction, my project explores what perhaps can be seen as a counterpart demographic to the families Clay Howard explores in his work. Here, more specifically, my work shares overlap with Howard’s work in the arena of housing and underlying “needs,” including as such issues played out—noted above—not just in terms of financing but also the built environment at different scales. While I cite specific pages or parts below in this chapter and chapters in my Part II on a point-by-point basis corresponding to my discussion, for Howard’s work to which I refer in full, see again “Boom” in Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 128-191; Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 933-55. For quotation of “needs” again, see Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 156.

than shelter and minimum nutritional and medical care in the housing of public charges?”²⁸⁰

The conference at Michigan was foundational. The following decade, Wilbur Cohen, the future Secretary of the federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare who had served in different capacities in Washington, D.C., and at the University of Michigan, testified to the significance of the conference and Donahue’s efforts. “It was here in Ann Arbor, under her farsighted direction, that the movement for retirement housing received its first major impetus,” he stated in a 1964 speech. “It was here in 1952, through the Fifth Annual University of Michigan Conference on Aging, that Wilma Donahue brought together for the first time a wide-ranging group of architects, builders, financial agencies, researchers, and community planners together with representatives of government and of older people themselves and set them the task of developing the guidelines for a national housing program for senior citizens.”²⁸¹ The homebuilding industry took notice as well, as the National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) invited Donahue to join a round table at its 1953 convention in Chicago. “It’s amazing

280 See Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 21-22 (first quotation 21, second quotations 22). For overview of developments, see Donahue, “Programs in Action” in *Housing the Aging*, ed. Donahue, 243-272.

281 Wilbur J. Cohen, “Address,” October 9, 1964, 1, , folder: “Papers, Speeches, Reprints 1964,” box 5, Clark Tibbitts Papers, Bentley Historical Library (BHL), University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Although viewed directly by author, this document first cited and quoted from in Achenbaum, *Crossing Frontiers*, 164-65. And, Cohen continued: “During the dozen years that have followed that conference and in its report, ‘Housing the Aging,’ private builders, nonprofit sponsors, and local housing authorities have dotted the Nation with its clustered apartments, high-rise apartments, residence clubs, retirement hotels, and whole villages for older and retired people.” And further in part: “Their efforts have been increasingly supported by Congress. First official recognition of the housing needs of older people came in the Housing Act of 1956. The immediately favorable responses and the growing recognition of need led each succeeding Congress to extent further encouragement and support to sponsors and builders.” See Cohen, 2. For biographical information on Cohen, see, for example, Wolfgang Saxon, “Wilbur Cohen, Leading Architect of Social Legislation, Dies at 73,” *New York Times*, May 19, 1987. Finally, as Achenbaum notes, along with indicating background information: “Notations on the text indicate that Tibbitts drafted the speech.” See Achenbaum, 165n23.

how much interest in this subject has been stirred up by your conference this summer and you are to be congratulated for the stir you created, because a great deal of practical good is going to come of it,” round-table moderator Irving Rose, of Detroit homebuilder Edward Rose and Sons, wrote her in the wake of the convention.²⁸²

Nonetheless, in his account, Richard Calhoun points to the role of concerns on the supply side in discussing the evolving landscape of retirement housing. Describing the position taken by a representative from the Builders Association of Metropolitan Detroit at the 1952 Michigan conference, he writes, “Older people, he admitted, were a difficult market, lacking economic strength and hence of limited profitability. Should, however, mortgage and financing money be made available, the demand for such housing would quickly bring builders into the field.”²⁸³ Addressing the subject in the NAHB’s *Journal of Homebuilding* in 1957, E. Everett Ashley explained, “One of the frustrations of many older persons has been their inability to finance the purchase of a house better suited to their retirement needs than the quarters they currently occupy.”²⁸⁴ Continuing, and in the

282 Irving Rose to Wilma Donahue, January 26, 1953, folder: “National Assoc. of Home Builders, January 17,” box 2, Wilma Donahue Papers, BHL. For background on the round-table event, see National Association of Home Builders, “Outline for Round Table Conference on Housing the Aging, National Association of Home Builders Convention, Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, Saturday, January 17, 1953, Room 522, 2:00 P.M.,” n.d., folder: “National Assoc. of Home Builders, January 17,” box 2, Donahue Papers.

283 See Calhoun on Earl C. Doyle, “The Building Industry and Housing the Aging” in *Housing the Aging*, ed. Donahue, 49, discussed and cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 205. For additional relevant discussion by Calhoun, also see Calhoun, 113, 203-4. On financial means, elsewhere, see also Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 308; Woodbury, “Current Housing Developments for Older People,” 66-67; Held and Lindloff, “Financing Housing for the Elderly,” 185; for what appears to have been rental housing specifically, Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 35. In this same piece, Donahue also might have been addressing the financial question in writing of “the poor” (34). And this factor might have been part of a broader “lack of education of old people, builders, and planners” that she discussed. See 33-34, 36 (quotation). And for example of consumption more broadly, see “How the Old Age Market Looks,” *Business Week*, February 13, 1960, 72. On issue of financing elsewhere, also see Held and Lindloff, 185; Peacock, “Detached Dwellings,” 70-71. This piece also discusses the disconnect of demographics and housing discussed earlier. For this, see Held and Lindloff, 186-88, 190-92, 192.

284 E. Everett Ashley 3rd, “Financing of Home Purchases by Our Elderly Citizens,” *NAHB Journal of Homebuilding* 11, no. 11 (November 1957): 43. Although he did acknowledge change was underway,

process suggesting how the factors that complicated financing for older prospective homebuyers seemingly were in different ways particular to and exacerbated by retirement or older ages, he wrote, “Understandably enough, many lenders have been reluctant to deal with oldsters because of their relatively short life expectation, low incomes and greater vulnerability to financially catastrophic illness.”²⁸⁵

Ashley in another piece made a similar point. And although here he perhaps did so more directly in relation to the role of industry, in the former he does seem to address the supply perspective to some extent—not to mention the fact that it was published in an industry publication. In order, see E. Everett Ashley, III, “Financing Housing for Older People,” *NAHB Correlator* 10, no. 3 (March 1956): 105; Ashley, “Financing of Home Purchases by Our Elderly Citizens,” 44. For Calhoun on financing here, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 113-14, 204, 205. For another period account mentioning financing, see also Peacock, “Detached Dwellings,” 70. For more *specific* evidence of the home-finance dilemma facing older Americans, see that discussed in HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 3; that according to Norman Strunk in “Older Persons Find It Difficult To Get Loans for Home Purchases,” *New York Times*, September 7, 1952. For additional discussion, including evidence from Strunk, see discussion and Strunk cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 113-14, esp. 204; Strunk as cited in “Older Persons Find It Difficult To Get Loans for Home Purchases”; Donahue and Ashley, “Housing and the Social Health of Older People in the United States,” 151-2; plus Held and Lindloff, “Financing Housing for the Elderly,” 218-19. Here, this last account also considers progress, though further recognizing the limits at hand: Held and Lindloff, 219. Strunk also had a piece, previously cited, in the Donahue collection: Strunk, “Financing Homes for Owner Occupancy,” 155-68. Also, for Buckley in 1953 on financing, see, for example, Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1953), 64.

²⁸⁵ See again Ashley, “Financing of Home Purchases by Our Elderly Citizens,” 43. For similar and same evidence, respectively, see also HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 3, 5. For additional discussion of such points, see, for example, Calhoun on Henry Churchill in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 204; Held and Lindloff, “Financing Housing for the Elderly,” 219. Compounding this was the nature of the housing itself, again apparently tied to aging. “Many older people desire a small house situated like any other house in a normal community,” one account stated in the mid-1950s. “Few of these have so far been built, in part at least, because of the difficulty of favorable financing for a one-bedroom house.” See Geneva Mathiasen, “Some Current Attempts at Better Buildings for the Aging,” *Architectural Record* 119 (May 1956): 198, piece first cited in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 56. Mathiasen also quoted in New Jersey State Old Age Study Commission, *A Positive Policy towards Aging*, 175. Additionally, as *Business Week* noted around mid-decade, seemingly in relation to this point, the issue was this: “Private builders find it hard to make money on the small units the oldsters want.” See “14-Million Americans Over 65: A Neglected Market?” *Business Week*, February 4, 1956, 87, also cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 204-5. Another homebuilder explained, after which he detailed efforts taken: “We are building no two-bedroom houses. These two-bedroom houses are a glut on the market.” See Peacock, “Detached Dwellings,” 66. And a housing expert whose affiliations and activities included advising the federal government and holding an appointment at the University of Wisconsin, Coleman Woodbury pointed out, “Lenders . . . are naturally and properly concerned with seeing that the housing units on which they advance money will have a continuing market, at least for the period of the mortgage loan, regardless of what may happen to the original borrower. They are reluctant, therefore, to advance funds for what they look on as specialized types of housing, whether for older people, unusually large families, or others.” Woodbury, “Current Housing Developments for Older People,” 67. For biographical information on Woodbury, see 61. For later biographical information on Woodbury, see also “Members of the Panel on Urban Problems,” *New York Times*, December 15, 1968. And Tibbitts noted: “Housing is an expensive

And yet, per expert outlook on the project of re-housing retiring Americans, there was hope for the balancing out of supply and demand. “Fortunately,” Wilma Donahue expressed a partly optimistic view of expanding the residential landscape of retirement, “there is a sizeable number (65 per cent) of older families who already own their homes; and if some means for liquefying these assets can be found, they will become potential buyers of new and more suitable housing.”²⁸⁶ From the standpoint of basic financial viability, a pair of contributors active in the banking industry explained in a Brookings Institution study from the early 1960s, “The favorable liquid asset position of many elderly, plus the high incidence of home ownership, suggests that many of them could afford a down-payment on a moderately priced home or apartment sufficient to bring the monthly payments in line with their lower-than-average monthly incomes, provided that they could dispose of their present properties under conditions acceptable to them.”²⁸⁷ It could play an important role as well in terms of negotiating an unfavorable home-financing landscape. “Too often the home builder seeking permanent financing on houses for older persons,” Ashley wrote elsewhere, in the *Correlator* in 1956, “expects to find the same low down payment terms afforded younger purchasers.” One strategy he thus suggested entailed the following: “The older person who owns his home will have a

commodity, not easily turned over if it is of special design.” Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 308.

²⁸⁶ Wilma Donahue, “Programs in Action,” Donahue, 266. For such resources, particularly those involving homeownership, see also relevant discussion in previous chapter. And For Calhoun again mentioning the industry stance on resources—of “larger numbers of people with sufficient amounts of either cash or credit to be able to afford new housing—but seemingly not identifying explicitly as flowing from homeownership, see again Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 205.

²⁸⁷ Held and Lindloff, “Financing Housing for the Elderly,” 190. Sparkman, after all, opened his 1956 piece, writing “One of the greatest problems facing the nation today is that of providing adequate shelter for elderly persons at a cost they can afford.” See Sparkman, “The Growing Need for Housing the Aging,” 71 (quotation), also 72. For perhaps similar point, see Held and Lindloff, “Financing Housing for the Elderly,” 185.

substantial equity in it and through the sale will have sufficient cash to handle a smaller home.”²⁸⁸

For their part, prospective homebuyers would, of course, need home equity. Buckley addressed the topic in *The Retirement Handbook* (1953), relaying to a popular audience ideas about homeownership, including benefits tied to the new-housing-for-retirement project. “If you decide to relocate to a better retirement area or if your home is too large, you can sell the home and use the cash to buy a small, comfortable home better suited to your needs,” he told readers. “Going into debt and becoming obligated to make mortgage payments to buy a retirement home is risky. It is harder to get a mortgage, too, when your income earning capacity is reduced as it is when you retire.”²⁸⁹ And doing so, experts limited not only to Buckley affirmed, hinged on making the relevant efforts sooner rather than later.²⁹⁰ “Since the cycle of need is normal, or usual, it would be wise

288 Ashley, “Financing Housing for Older People,” 105. For discussion of another discussed below as well, see also 106. For Ashley elsewhere expressing basic idea, though not apparently framed in relation to industry, see Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 2-3, 8. For discussion of this general point, about “property at least as a semi-liquid asset,” see “Who Will Build for the Nation’s Aged?” *House & Home* 8, no. 1 (July 1955): 136.

289 Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1953), 210-11. For Buckley on what perhaps was the overall goal of homeownership as “security in old age,” see again 210. For more elaborate discussion of financing landscape by Buckley in this edition, see also 64. And for Buckley discussing homeownership elsewhere, though not necessarily in relation to a new-housing strategy, see 63, 64. In a later edition, Buckley discussed the above points, including making the following about home equity: “There are a great many persons already retired or approaching retirement who own their homes mortgage free or have a large equity in their present homes. These homeowners can finance a retirement home by selling their older homes.” For discussion and quotation, see, not necessarily in order above, Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 62, 63, 83, 91 (quotation). I return to this last passage in Buckley shortly below as well on trend underway. In the meantime, for discussion of same or similar points elsewhere, see “How to Buy an ‘R’ House,” *Retirement Planning News* 3, no. 1 (January 1958): 7. Journal first cited in Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 233.

290 For Buckley here, see Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1953), 210; Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 83. And for idea but not in relation to new housing, see also 63 (1953 ed.); 62 (1962 ed.). As additional evidence, the homebuilding industry addressed homeownership and timing as well, according to one newspaper account from the early 1950s: —as well as homeownership and financial well-being: “The NAHB now is stressing the idea that a working man with retirement plans in mind should buy a home by the time he is 40 so that he can have his mortgage cleared by the time he is 65 and ready to collect on his social security.” See Robert F. Loftus, “Future Social Security Benefits May Sway Housing Market,” *Washington Post*, January 6, 1952.

for people to plan their lives accordingly,” the Builders Association of Metropolitan Detroit executive argued. “Even while they are paying for the home in which they are raising their family, they should be looking ahead to meet the ultimate needs of their old age. When you plan for the future you are less likely to be caught short.”²⁹¹

Events in the 1950s were somewhat encouraging. In 1954, Donahue pointed to the efforts of the NAHB, which—among other things—held the 1953 round table in which Donahue had taken part and which it viewed in an optimistic light.²⁹² “It is recognized that considerable opportunity exists for builders to develop this market,” according to an NAHB document dealing in part with what the round table sought to do. “It is hoped that the conference can develop specific recommendations and suggestions for accelerating this type of housing.”²⁹³ And homebuilders were, in fact, responding

291 Doyle, “The Building Industry and Housing the Aging,” 52. Furthermore, and as Doyle might be suggesting in the last part of this quotation, it involved not only pre-emptive effort but also, importantly, effort itself. As the executive from the U.S. Savings and Loan League suggested, “Families which have not saved enough for a down payment on a home by the time age sixty comes along evidence a lack of the frugality and thrift that savings and lending institutions like to see on the part of potential borrowers—or they have had more than their share of poor health and bad luck.” See Strunk, “Financing Homes for Owner Occupancy” in *Housing the Aging*, 164. He continued: “Most of the kind that represent a good credit risk at age will have built a savings fund or acquired a home prior to reaching that age. If the home is unsatisfactory, they can sell and transfer their equity to a more suitable house” (164-65). On “responsibility” and related ideas offering a useful analytical framework helping to define the significance here, see Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 234-36. The Grand Rapids, Michigan, study made a perhaps similar point involving idea of “responsibility” as well: Hunter and Maurice, *Older People Tell Their Story*, 83.

292 For Donahue on these different efforts, see Donahue, “Programs in Action,” 266-67. For report, which I cite again and quote from later in this chapter, of this group, see “Report of Housing the Aging Committee, To: NAHB Board of Directors, Meeting in Chicago on January 17, 1953,” folder: “National Assoc. of Home Builders, January 17,” box 2, Donahue Papers. Donahue recounts that, beforehand: “At the University of Michigan Conference on Housing the Aging, of which this book is a report, Allen Brockbank, then President of the National Association of Home Builders, pledged that the building industry would take steps to solve the housing problems of the older people of this country.” See Donahue, 266. For developments more broadly, see also 267-70. For “increasing interest,” see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old Age*, 204 (quotation), 205.

293 See National Association of Home Builders, “Outline for Round Table Conference on Housing the Aging, National Association of Home Builders Convention, Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, Saturday, January 17, 1953, Room 522, 2:00 P.M.,” n.d., folder: “National Assoc. of Home Builders, January 17,” box 2, Donahue Papers. For additional view of NAHB on aim of event to jumpstart significant action, see also Walton Onslow to Wilma Donohue [*sic*], December 15, 1952, folder: “National

positively to the prospects of this emergent market, at least for those with the means to buy new housing. As *Nation's Business* announced in the spring of 1956, "Enterprising private builders have pushed retirement housing out of a rut in the past 24 months."²⁹⁴ Along the way, one early leader in the retirement-housing market was New Jersey homebuilder, Carl T. Mitnick, a president of the NAHB who had taken part along with Donahue and others in the 1953 NAHB event in Chicago.²⁹⁵ Telling of the homes he sold to retirees in North Cape May, New Jersey, in the 1950s, Mitnick explained in 1958 that "an amazing—to me—number of retired people come into our office ready to talk a

Assoc. of Home Builders, January 17," box 2, Donahue Papers. And Donahue, in turn, also expressed a sense of satisfaction—and perhaps attempted to further spur the organization. After the conference, Donahue wrote to her contact at the NAHB: "It was my feeling that the meeting on the aging was very worthwhile. It was much impressed with the interest shown, the amount of progress made, and the potentialities for further development which your great organization possesses. I do trust that the Board acted upon the recommendations of the group and that there will be a continuing committee to study and report upon the problem of housing for the aging. Studies of housing preferences of the older age group are much needed; is it possible your organization might be able to undertake some research in this area?" See Wilma Donahue to Walton Onslow, January 26, 1952 [1953?], folder: "National Assoc. of Home Builders, January 17," box 2, Donahue Papers. Yet for the committee on its purpose, see "Report of Housing the Aging Committee," 2.

294 Tris Coffin, "Progress: Retirement Housing Offers New Market," *Nation's Business*, 44, no. 5 (May 1956): 14. And, it continued, citing the role of the NAHB specifically: "Much credit goes to the National Association of Home Builders, New York builder T.P. Coogan, is a pioneer in this field. The NAHB has spread the word that here is a hot market and is sharing its members' experiences." Some activity in the area of retirement housing was already underway in Florida in the 1950s, for example. "Few efforts have been made to identify this market for the home builder, because little is known of the actual needs and desires for housing of the retired person," the NAHB's *Correlator* stated in 1956. "However, in Florida, where a number of builders are concentrating a major share of their efforts in this market, some trends are beginning to take shape." See "What Florida Builders Have Learned," *Correlator*, 10, no. 3 (March 1956): 77. For Florida's Sun Deck Homes and "Leisure City" in Florida, for example, see Sturgeon, "'It's a Paradise Town,'" 55; Donahue, "Programs in Action," 267-68 (quotation 267); "Who Will Build for the Nation's Aged?" 137; and "Leisure City, Homestead, Florida," in "What Florida Builders Have Learned," 81. For additional coverage, see also "'Retirement Village' Is Started by N.Y. Developers in Florida," *New York Times*, September 23, 1951. For excellent overview of rise of retirement developments more generally, see again that in Sturgeon: Sturgeon, 51-57. And for work of Walter Keyes, whom Sturgeon refers to on p. 54 and whose idea I return to at later points in Part II of my dissertation, see the Florida State Improvement Commission's Walter E. Keyes, as discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 52-53, 54. And for discussion of earlier housing in Sturgeon as well, see also Sturgeon, 49-51.

295 For biographical information on Mitnick, see "C.T. Mitnick, 87, Home Builder and Philanthropist in New Jersey," *New York Times*, October 19, 1992. For Mitnick and 1953 event, see NAHB, "Outline for Round Table Conference on Housing the Aging," 1.

100 per cent cash deal. The money comes from various sources—the sale of a home now too expensive to maintain for just a couple; life savings; and investments.”²⁹⁶

In terms of access to new housing via financing for those who, out of necessity or for other reasons, depended on it, encouraging developments in the 1950s were taking place. “Because of the big retirement he has tapped, Mitnick has managed to get FHA to liberalize its terms,” the *Correlator* in 1956 reported on events in New Jersey. “A buyer 60 years of age can get a 20-year loan with little trouble.”²⁹⁷ In his piece in this issue, Ashley at the same time quoted one “Detroit lender,” who stated, “When I first went into the mortgage business, lenders were reluctant to make loans to people over 55.” But, he pointed out, continuing, “Today that picture is changing as lending institutions are beginning to realize the loans are perfectly good, if other factors are equal, almost without regard to the age of the borrower. The effective life of the average mortgage is only seven to eight years today and the life expectancy of your borrower at age 65 is often that much or more.”²⁹⁸

296 Carl Mitnick, “North Cape May” in “Retirement Towns: Builders Get in the Act,” *The Journal of Housing* 15 (October 1958): 333. For another example, see case of Long Island, New York, homebuilder Bernard Krinsky cited in “Retired Want to Live with Younger Families,” *NAHB Correlator* 10, no. 3 (March 1956): 103; Coffin, “Progress: Retirement Housing Offers New Market,” 14 [?]. And as Buckley wrote in 1962: “New home builders report that 50 to 75 per cent of their sales are to senior citizens for cash. Almost half of these retirement buyers make a down payment of over \$3,000 and over half can make payments of \$50 to \$80 per month.” See Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 91. Practices along these lines would manifest themselves in later years as well—as in the case of Sun City, Arizona.

297 For example, see “New Jersey Beach Draws Many Oldsters,” *Correlator* 10, no. 3 (March 1956): 75-76.

298 See “Detroit lender” quoted in Ashley, “Financing Housing for Older People,” 105. For additional, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 205; on this point, too, also Freedman, *Prime Time*, 36. Also, see again Held and Lindloff, who engage the issue of “the recent increase in life expectancy”: Held and Lindloff, “Financing Housing for the Elderly,” 219. For case of Bernard Krinsky perhaps relevant here, see again “Retired Want to Live with Younger Families,” 103; “Progress: Retirement Housing Offers New Market,” 14 [?]. Nonetheless, for limits even within an evolving landscape, see again Held and Lindloff, 219.

Regardless, more formal action appeared in the form of federal-housing legislation passed in the 1950s.²⁹⁹ A major component of legislation in 1956 involving public housing revolved around access—an expansion of it. According to an account from one HHFA official, “The Housing Act of 1956 made *single* men and women 65 years of age and older eligible for occupancy, restricted previously to families of two or more persons.”³⁰⁰ In terms of home-buying, an FHA publication titled *Housing for the*

299 For brief overviews of the 1956 amendments, see, for example, Gordon, “Aging and Income Security,” 249; Fred Cottrell, “Governmental Functions and the Politics of Age” in *Handbook of Social Gerontology*, ed. Tibbitts, 645; and also HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 5. Overall, by the early 1960s, the embrace of housing for older Americans via federal housing policy towards older Americans was evident. As Albert Cole, HHFA Administrator, was quoted in HHFA literature: “Suitable housing for the ever growing number of older citizens is now recognized as a proper concern of the Federal Government. Under provisions of the House Act of 1956, we have embarked upon a program to aid eligible older individuals and families in obtaining dwelling places better adapted to their needs.” See Cole quoted in HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, n.p. [inside front cover].

300 For quotation, see Spector, “Housing for Senior Citizens,” 37 (emphasis added). On legislation here, see also HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 13; Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 10; Public Housing Administration (PHA), *95,000 Senior Citizens: The Story of What Public Housing Has Done and Is Doing for Them* (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1960), 3. For this, or version of, described in literature in early 1960s, see also Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA), “Federal Programs for Senior Citizen Housing: Fact Sheet on the Federal Assistance Available through Direct Loans, FHA Mortgage Insurance, and Public Housing to Help Providing Housing for Senior Citizens” (Washington, D.C.: Housing and Home Finance Agency, Office of the Administrator, 1962), [3?]. For mention of restrictive nature of, see also Havighurst and Albrecht, *Older People*, 164. Explaining the issue behind this, more specifically, one account recounted that “until 1956 the law made no provision for one-person aged households. When a wife or husband died, the remaining partner usually had to be evicted to make room for another family.” See Jane Jacobs, “Housing for the Independent Aged,” *Architectural Forum* 107 (August 1958): 188. And as the head of Cleveland’s Metropolitan Housing Authority, Ernest J. Bohn, explained: “In the early days of the public housing program when the husband or the wife of a resident passed away, and as soon as the body was cold, the residuum of the family was asked to move because it no longer constituted a ‘family’ as defined in the law.” See Ernest J. Bohn, “Current Types of Housing and Living Arrangements” in NCOA, *Building for Older People*, 2F. As another account put it: “An aged person living in public housing whose husband or wife dies has long been a problem to local housing authorities—for authorities generally were forced, unwillingly, to evict the single person left in order to make the best possible use of the unit he occupied for low-income families.” See “Design for Aged Single Persons,” January 1953, in National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials (NAHRO), *Toward Good Housing: Selected Articles from the JOURNAL OF HOUSING* (Chicago: National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, 1956), 21. And seemingly in terms of access in the first place, Donahue explained that “local authorities tended to discriminate against the older couple because of the probability that one of the pair would soon die and leave the other as a single individual who would then have to be asked to move away to make room for a family.” See Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 35. For additional discussion of same or similar issues, see also Cottrell, “Governmental Functions and the Politics of Age,” 645; Henry S. Churchill, “Some Random Thoughts on Housing for the Aged” in *Living in the Later Years*, Southern Conference on Gerontology, ed. T. Lynn Smith (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, for the University of Florida Institute of Gerontology, 1952), 43, piece first cited in Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,”

Elderly: How FHA Helps (1957) explained of “the FHA mortgage insurance plan” in Section 203 that, as a result of legislation in 1956, “now, for the first time, a person who has reached 60 may borrow the necessary down payment and the closing costs from a member of his family, from his employer, from a charitable institution, or from any other source acceptable to FHA.”³⁰¹ And, for those not buying homes but nonetheless seeking

592; also, what presumably was this piece based on collection title and date, Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 113, 203-4. For additional discussion dealing with younger families trumping older ones, see Woodbury, “Current Housing Developments for Older People,” 67-68. Here, Woodbury also cites original public-housing policy. See p. 67 on this point. Additionally, Woodbury calls for change. On this, see pp. 68-69. For another account perhaps referring to earlier public-housing policy, see Donahue, 34-35. For brief background and purpose of the legislation in 1937, see Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 219, 223-24. For scholarly overviews, see Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 98-99; Stephen M. Golant, *Housing America’s Elderly: Many Possibilities/Few Choices* (Newbury Park, California: SAGE Publications, Inc., 1992), 122-23, 123; Friedman, “Public Housing and the Poor,” 454. Again, Friedman’s piece first cited in Wright, *Building the Dream*, 239. For another mention in Otis of efforts in public housing, whether or not the same as above, see also Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 69. For various developments in the early 1960s, also see Spector, “Housing for Senior Citizens,” 37-38; Friedman, “Public Housing and the Poor,” 454; and, including state of later in the twentieth century, Golant, *Housing America’s Elderly*, 123. Also, efforts at the local and state levels in some ways preceded later, federal efforts. For discussion of efforts, see, for example, discussion of various cases in Donahue, “Programs in Action,” 259-60, 261; Churchill, “Some Random Thoughts on Housing for the Aged,” 43; Bohn, “Current Types of Housing and Living Arrangements,” 1F. In fact, this was a point that Bohn made in telling of that of Cleveland: “Long before Congress passed the public housing legislation for the aging referred to, we in Cleveland were convinced that since a large percentage of the aging have low incomes, so many of them living on Aid for the Aged grants and Social Security, it was most essential that the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority accept this challenge and do something about it” (1F).

301 For discussion and quotations, see Federal Housing Administration, *Housing for the Elderly: How FHA Helps* (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1957), 5. For additional discussion, see also Ashley, “Financing of Home Purchases by Our Elderly Citizens,” 43; HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 5-6; though not specifying 1956 by year explicitly, Spector, “Housing for Senior Citizens,” 41; WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 40; and also, though not dating initially as 1956, Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, Subcommittee on Housing, *Report on Housing for Senior Citizens*, prepared by the Housing and Home Finance Agency, 87th Cong., 2d sess., 1962, Committee Print, 3. In addition, Spector indicates that the minimum age apparently was raised to 62 years at some point. For description of, though not identified as such, including changes in 1961, see also HHFA, “Federal Programs for Senior Citizen Housing,” [3?]. And for description of overall efforts as of early 1960s, see also 1. Additionally, Sturgeon briefly discusses the 1956 mortgage-insurance legislation, though not identifying it as “203”: Sturgeon, ““It’s a Paradise Town,”” 60-61. More specifically, her account draws on work by Ashley: E. Everett Ashley, “Government Provisions for Financing” in *Retirement Villages*, ed. Burgess, 109, cited in Sturgeon, 61. And, one journalistic account recalls legislation in 1956, including “mortgage insurance,” though not specified if for for-sale or multi-family housing: FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 210. For discussion of “effect” of such efforts, see WHCA, 40. However, also see again Held and Lindloff, “Financing Housing for the Elderly,” 219. Furthermore, a flaw of what very well might have been Section 203 was the following, according to one recommendation from a 1961 housing event: “The young family is seen as a good credit risk; the man over 62 (with his Social Security income as an assurance of income) is eligible for special loans. The man in his late 50’s, attempting to begin his housing

new housing, it detailed the workings of what it reported was “Mortgage insurance to enable nonprofit organizations to provide multifamily rental accommodations designed especially for older people,” subsequent efforts towards the end of the decade covering “projects . . . developed by either non-profit or profit-motivated sponsors.”³⁰²

plan for old age, is regarded a bad credit risk. He should be eligible for the special loan terms open to the elderly.” See “Summary of Three Housing Clinics on Environmental Planning” in NCOA, *Building for Older People*, 9k. And on background and information of NCOA here, see again note in previous chapter—mentioned again here since focus of document is on *housing*. For Graebner on dilemma of “the middle-aged,” see, for example, Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 268.

Other FHA efforts were aimed at, or at least relevant to, older Americans. For example, in terms of a “trade-in program,” Ashley explained in one piece how it worked: “By making interim financing more readily available, the present FHA regulations enable a home owner, regardless of age, to apply the equity he has built up in his old house as a downpayment on another house. This means that many older people may find themselves able easily to finance the small home they wish to acquire for their retirement years.” See Ashley, “Financing of Home Purchases by Our Elderly Citizens,” 43-44 (first quotation 44); Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 8 (second quotation); HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 6. For overview of program in general, Hugh L. Morris, “FHA Acts to Ease Terms Of Trade-In House Plan,” *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, May 27, 1956; also “Trade-In Plan Requirements Eased by FHA,” *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, June 3, 1956.

302 For Section 207, in 1956, see FHA, *Housing for the Elderly: How FHA Helps*, 3 (first quotation), 7, 10; HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 7; and, though not specifying Section 207, Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 9-10, esp. 10. For Section 231, in 1959, see Federal Housing Administration, *Housing for You When You’re 62: What FHA Does About It*, no. 699 (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1961), 7 (second quotation); Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, Subcommittee on Housing, *Report on Housing for Senior Citizens*, 2-3. For what presumably was this, including changes to as of early 1960, see HHFA, “Federal Programs for Senior Citizen Housing,” [3-4?]. And, though not specifying explicitly 1959, see also Spector, “Housing for Senior Citizens,” 40-41. Also created in 1959 was Section 202, which, as one account defined it, was as follows: “Section 202 of the Housing Act of 1959, as amended, authorizes the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to make low- interest-rate, long-term loans to private nonprofit corporations, consumer cooperatives, or public bodies or agencies . . . which sponsor rental or cooperative housing and related facilities for older families and persons.” For this, as well as demographic for which intended, see Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, Subcommittee on Housing, *Report on Housing for Senior Citizens*, 4-5 (quotation 4). For additional discussion, see also, for example, Spector, “Housing for Senior Citizens,” 39; Libby Perl, “Section 202 and Other HUD Rental Housing Programs for Low-Income Elderly Residents,” CRS Report for Congress, RL33508, September 13, 2010, 3, [http://www.chapa.org/sites/default/files/202CRSreportonS118\(2\).pdf](http://www.chapa.org/sites/default/files/202CRSreportonS118(2).pdf) (last accessed May 27, 2014); U.S.

Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy and Development Research, *Housing for the Elderly and Handicapped: The Experience of the Section 202 Program from 1959 to 1977* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, Division of Policy Studies, 1979), 9, 16-17; Held and Lindloff, “Financing Housing for the Elderly,” 208-9. For discussion of, including changes, though not identified as such, see also HHFA, “Federal Programs for Senior Citizen Housing,” 1 [-2?]. For background of and changes over time, see also Golant, *Housing America’s Elderly*, 123-26; also Perl, “Section 202 and Other HUD Rental Housing Programs for Low-Income Elderly Residents,” 2-7. And in its coverage of Sun City and retirement housing in the early 1960s, *Time* briefly discussed various efforts as well, one of which might have been Section 202: “The Family,” 50. For another possible mention here, see also Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 69.

Just as important in the 1956 legislation and its subsequent amendments was the shaping and promotion of evolving ideas about citizenship for older Americans in the process. Such housing was built on ideological ground providing firm footing for policymakers, activists, and others. Here, attitudes and policies reflected a new emphasis on accounting for aging, as part of this, at least in terms of efforts in private housing, involved a fueling of legislative goals via a logic of distinctiveness. In *Housing for the Elderly*, the FHA asserted, “Good housing is important to elderly people as to anyone else, but is often much harder for them to obtain.” But, it continued: “Reduced incomes, physical limitations, and special housing requirements pose serious problems for the elderly in finding suitable living quarters.”³⁰³

Another part, perhaps as a result of this heightened degree of vulnerability, appears to have mirrored the preoccupation with and functional execution of “social

303 For quotation, see Norman P. Mason, “Introduction” to FHA, *Housing for the Elderly*, 1. For language of “special needs,” see Neil J. Hardy, “Introduction” to FHA, *Housing for When You’re 62*, 3 [?]. Additionally, such documents provided information on various efforts, thus seemingly representing efforts “marketing” them, similar to work by historian David Freund, who has demonstrated the role of the state in disseminating and selling, in a sense, its policies. In studying the role of federal policy in residential segregation in the twentieth-century United States, he shows how the FHA undertook promotional efforts beginning in the 1930s with the aim of spurring the housing market. For Freund’s work here, see David Freund, “Marketing the Free Market: State Intervention and the Politics of Prosperity in Metropolitan America” in *The New Suburban History*, ed. Sugrue and Kruse, specifically 20-29 (quotation from title). For evidence of efforts of FHA for older Americans, see FHA, *Housing for When You’re 62*; FHA, *Housing for the Elderly*. For Clay Howard’s excellent discussion of FHA efforts involving younger families, along with ideological position it took, see also Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 937, including “Figure 1. Pamphlet published by Federal Housing Administration.” For discussion of other efforts and material, also see 937-38, 938-39, 939. For discussion involving FHA, also see, for example, Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 138, 158, 166. I return to the FHA—and others—on amenities later as well. Meanwhile, several years later, Mason would write, suggesting, for example, how the HHFA interpreted the size of the population of older Americans—and perhaps illustrating Calhoun’s discussion about this and other factors in understanding the significance of post-1945 developments: “As our senior citizens continue to make up an ever increasing share of our population, more and more attention is being focused upon their needs. Foremost among these is their housing. In this area the programs of the House and Home Finance Agency are making an important contribution.” See, in order, Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 3; Norman P. Mason, foreword to Housing and Home Finance Agency, *Housing for the Elderly...A Fact Book*, rev. (Washington, D.C.: Housing and Home Finance Agency, Office of the Administrator, 1960), n.p. (quotation).

adjustment” discussed by gerontology experts.³⁰⁴ In his “Special Message to the Congress on the Needs of the Nation’s Senior Citizens” in 1963, President John F. Kennedy emphasized the capacity for enhancing lived experience. “Isolation and misery can be prevented or reduced,” he asserted. “We can provide the opportunity and the means for proper food, clothing, and housing—for productive employment or voluntary

304 See again discussion of scholarly views of “adjustment” in previous chapter. Discussing the main ideas set out by a “University of Michigan trilogy” from the late 1940s and early 1950s, and the different ways aging issues were approached, Calhoun writes: “Some chose to emphasize the cultural, economic, and social bases of adjustment difficulty and variously offered plans to attack these sources within the political and social sphere—improved housing design, anti-discrimination legislation, increased OASDI benefits, or educational activities. Others discussed ways in which working with the individual—through casework services, counseling rehabilitation, recreational programs, psychotherapy—could help facilitate adjustment.” See Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 105-6 (first quotation 105, second quotation 106). On this idea in relation to pension politics, see again Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 59. Thus housing policy might be seen in the same light as income and employment policy, for instance. In fact, in the late 1940s, Otto Pollak addressed the place to some extent of housing and facilities as well. For example: “Research attention should also be directed particularly to the various forms of social security legislation which are expressions of societal adjustment to the problems of aging on the largest scale. More limited expressions of this kind of societal adjustment are exemplified in special forms of housing for the aged and community centers for the recreation of older people.” See Pollak, *Social Adjustment in Old Age*, 41. Woodbury explicitly addressed legislative efforts in this arena: “We must work directly and diligently for amendments to federal, state, and local housing legislation and policy that will recognize the needs of older people – not as some incidental appendage to housing for other segments of the population but as an integral part of an intelligent program to assure every human being in this nation decent, pleasant housing reasonably suited to his needs and within his economic capacity.” See Woodbury, “Current Housing Developments for Older People,” 77. Again, collection in which this appears initially cited in Calhoun, 105-6.

Perhaps relevant here as well in terms of an analytical framework is the discussion of the position that “social insecurity among the elderly was caused not by personal failings but instead by *societal dysfunctions* and the vicissitudes of fate” in the earlier politicking of pensions. See again Power, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 59 (emphasis added). Shaping my think here, as well as in a later section in this chapter pertaining to the built environment, is work on disability history. For instance, see Edward D. Berkowitz, *Something Happened: A Political and Culture Overview of the Seventies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 133-34, 153-57, esp. 154. He writes, for example, and demonstrating a striking similarity to ideas about aging going back to the postwar years, that a “rights strategy shifted the burden of adjustment from people with disability to society itself” (154). For a relatively recent overview of relevant literature and issues, see Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky, “Introduction: Disability History: From the Margins to the Mainstream” in *The New Disability History: American Perspectives*, ed. Longmore and Umansky (New York and London: New York University Press, 2001), 1-29. For context of rising significance of older Americans, see Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 91-97. Future research might more fully examine and locate such politics in relation to social movements involving other groups.

service—for protection against the devastating financial blows of catastrophic illness.

Society, in short, can and must catch up with science.”³⁰⁵

More specifically, as HHFA Administrator chosen by Kennedy and later head of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Robert C. Weaver explained the struggles of older Americans as a product of generational favoritism. “For many years we have been building homes and expanding communities primarily to take care of the growing family,” he stated at a 1961 meeting. “We have done far too little to provide for the needs and desires of the dwindling family. Our older citizens have been the *forgotten generation* of our rampant urban growth in modern years.” Further illustrating the importance—if not origins—of intervention, he continued: “We are beginning to change that. And we must correct it.”³⁰⁶ And towards the end of his presentation, seemingly defending older Americans against any sort of pathological rationale for activist efforts on behalf of old age, Weaver made a critical distinction—and one hinging on a view of age-as-relative. “Elderly people are not problems,” he clarified. “They just have

305 Kennedy, “Special Message to the Congress on the Needs of the Nation’s Senior Citizens,” 188-90 (quotation 190, emphasis added).

306 Robert C. Weaver, “Housing Older People -- Opportunities for the Housing Industry” in NCOA, *Building for Older People*, 2a (emphasis added). For coverage of this and issues discussed, see “Retirement Housing Field Beckons,” *NAHB Journal of Homebuilding* 15, no. 5 (May 1961): 27-28. On brief history of Weaver’s professional career, including his roles with HHFA and HUD, see “Whatever Happened To: Robert C. Weaver?” *Ebony*, April 1972, 182. For additional evidence dealing with this apparent favoritism, with a net effect marginalizing older Americans, see again, for example, Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 21; also Wilma Donahue and Clark Tibbitts, “Introduction” in *Planning the Older Years*, ed. Donahue and Tibbitts, 4. For additional related evidence, one popular writer in the mid-1960s questioned other priorities over what he believed were more pressing ones: “A fraction of the cost of developing new atomic weapons, a fraction of the cost of protracted lunar explorations could all but wipe out the problem of caring for the needy elderly and the aged in this country.” See Leland Frederick Cooley and Lee Morrison Cooley, *The Retirement Trap* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965), 170-71. For additional evidence, of language of “neglect,” specifically, see Woodbury, “Current Housing Developments for Older People,” 65, 77. And for additional evidence on generational disparity, see discussion in Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 67.

problems. Like every age group, between helpless infancy and helpless senility, they face the difficulties characteristic of their period of life and activity.”³⁰⁷

Perhaps providing additional justification for public policy coming to the rescue of residentially vulnerable older Americans was what they had done in the past.³⁰⁸ In a statement delivered to a subcommittee of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, Weaver spoke of “the fact that people who had spent lifetimes in contributing to the amazing growth of the American economy were forced to live in degrading conditions, dependent, isolated, and in houses unsuitable to their age or physical status.” Nor was the remedying of such conditions “welfare,” he continued: “The senior citizens of this Nation have not asked for charity, they ask only for the opportunity to spend their retirement years in dignity, in self-respecting surroundings, in continuing contributions to their neighbors and their community.”³⁰⁹ In offering his idea for future efforts, the head

307 Weaver, “Housing Older People,” 7a. Weaver similarly quoted as well in Ashley, “Better Living Through Better Housing for Senior Citizens,” 1. This distinction very likely rested on a logic of distinctiveness that he addressed earlier, when he explained that “as an age group they face common problems that differ from the younger population and that impose on them and the community definite living requirements. These are the problems of declining health and growing infirmity, of generally lower incomes as their earning days end and of adjustment in their mode of living as they shift from the ranks of wage-earners into retirement and from the cares and responsibilities of rearing families to living alone.” See Weaver, 2a-3a (quotation 3a). For Weaver elsewhere on “the special nature of aging,” see Robert C. Weaver, statement to Senate Special Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, *Housing Problems of the Elderly: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, Special Committee on Aging, United States Senate, 87th Cong., 1st sess., pt. 1, 1961, 75-78* (quotation 76), 83-84. Perhaps reflecting an attempt to de-pathologize older Americans, he said before this Senate subcommittee: “America’s older citizens want to be accepted as people—like the rest of us. Their problems are special; but they differ in degree, not in kind” (83).

308 See again relevant discussion of and worked cited on older Americans as “deserving” in the Introduction.

309 See Weaver statement to Senate Special Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, *Housing Problems of the Elderly*, 83. For the report Weaver might be referring to in the context from which this quotation appears, see Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging, United States, *Aging Americans: Their Views and Living Conditions: A Report*, 86th Cong., 2d sess., 1960, Committee Print. Additionally, for the history of the subcommittee to which Weaver refers and from which the Senate’s Special Committee on Aging apparently emerged, see James L. Sundquist, *Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1968), 287; Bennett M. Rich and Martha Baum, *The Aging: A Guide to Public*

of Cleveland's Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA), Ernest Bohn, spoke of "a program so that those who made this country great during their productive life can reap the harvest of their labors."³¹⁰ And justification further might have flowed from what one legal scholar has discussed were the politics—and apparently racial and class-based politics—underlying the different paths public housing ultimately took. "Housing for the elderly taps the only remaining reservoir of poor people who are also white, orderly, and middle-class in behavior," one legal scholar has written, suggesting, perhaps, how age effectively doubled as race. "Neighborhoods which will not tolerate a 10-story tower packed with Negro mothers on AFDC might tolerate a tower of sweet but impoverished old folks."³¹¹ Older Americans, according to such thinking, were different indeed.

Policy (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1984), 8; Funigiello, *Chronic Politics*, 99, and, for earlier history of failed attempt to create an aging subcommittee in 1956, 96; also, on both the history of the subcommittee and of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, see Achenbaum, *Crossing Frontiers*, 198-294.

310 For quotation and its context, see Bohn, "Current Types of Housing and Living Arrangements," 8F. With this idea presumably applying to housing, Public Housing Administration literature, furthermore, explained at one point: "The elderly citizens of our country are, naturally, those who have already made their major contribution to our way of life. They have labored in business, government, the arts, science, and in every facet of our economy, for a half century. In that time, they have given of themselves to the community, to the church, to the schools, and contributed to every phase of our society." See PHA, *95,000 Senior Citizens*, 2. For same or similar "theme" present earlier in the twentieth century surrounding pension politics, see also Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 76-77 (quotation 76). And an editorial along the way to Medicare cited in the previous chapter also stated this: "In a land which boasts of an economy of abundance it seems almost unthinkable that workers who contributed to that economy should be allowed to spend their declining years in penury, dependence and humiliation. Men and women who have earned the right to secure and [*sic?*] honorable retirement ought to have that right assured to them." See again editorial, *Washington Post, Times Herald*, February 23, 1963. For additional evidence of language of "deserves" explicitly, see also discussion involving federal policy more generally by Kennedy in 1963 stated, for instance: "In the last three decades, this Nation has made considerable progress in assuring our older citizens the security and dignity a lifetime of labor deserves." See again Kennedy, "Special Message to the Congress on the Needs of the Nation's Senior Citizens," 189. For language of "deserve," though not mentioned in relation to work, see Ashley, "Financing of Home Purchases by Our Elderly Citizens," 44.

311 Friedman, "Public Housing and the Poor," 454. Friedman again first cited, and also similarly quoted here, in Wright, *Building the Dream*, 239. Also, assuming this was citing Friedman, Friedman cited in Vale, *From the Puritans to the Projects*, 286. Here, Friedman continues, elaborating on the particular financial constraints of older Americans—as well as citing other issues, including generational politics, though whether this involved financial, residential, or other reasoning does not appear to be specified. On the trajectories of elderly and non-elderly public housing, specifically the ascendancy of the former, see again discussion and evidence in Friedman, 454. On this trend also see Eugene J. Meehan, *The Quality of Federal Policymaking: Programmed Failure in Public Housing* (Columbia, Missouri: University of

Homebuilding for Retirement

The homebuilding industry took steps of its own in the postwar decades to bolster housing for older Americans.³¹² Making use of federal policy in some instances, and diverging from it in others, trade associations and homebuilders promoted and pursued an evolving market for new retirement homes.³¹³ Trumpeting not only such factors as the demographics of aging America but also the implications for the private sector, they disseminated various facts and features—seemingly illustrating practices parallel to a trend discussed by Evan McKenzie in his study, in which he writes in relation to “common-interest developments (CIDs)” that “a builder who knew next to nothing about CIDs could acquire what amounted to a set of ‘cookbooks’ that would cover every aspect

Missouri Press, 1979), 36-37, cited in Vale, 288; point about “the highly desirable characteristics of elderly as tenants” in Meehan, 36; discussion, including Meehan cited, in Pynoos, “Linking Federally Assisted Housing with Services for Frail Older Persons,” 159; Helene Slessarev, “Racial Tensions and Institutional Support: Social Programs during a Period of Retrenchment” in *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States*, ed. Margaret Weir, Ann Shola Orloff, and Theda Skocpol (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University of Press, 1988), 371-72, 372; Lawrence J. Vale, *Purging the Poorest: Public Housing and the Design Politics of Twice-Cleared Communities* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 347n33. And in terms of racial politics again, for accounts mentioning or discussing race, see again Pynoos, “Linking Federally Assisted Housing with Services for Frail Older Persons,” 159; Slessarev, 372; Vale, *Purging the Poorest*, 347n33.

312 This section focuses on homebuilding in the late 1950s and the early 1960s to explore the historical and industry-level context in which Sun City, Arizona, both emerged and helped to create. In fact, several of the articles appearing in trade publications in the early 1960s discussed and cited in the following sections featured coverage specifically on Sun City, Arizona, suggesting how the development helped to shape ideas about practices about the retirement-housing market to some extent. The purpose of the following sections, however, is to provide a broader view of the *industry*. For example, see “West: The Community Facilities Approach” in “Oldsters: Housing’s Youngest Market,” *American Builder* 82, no. 5 (May 1960): 85; Robert W. Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Housing Market,” *House & Home* 19, no. 2 (February 1961): 94, 95 (caption), and “You Can Even Create a Retirement Town” in “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 108, 109; “The Retirement Market,” *NAHB Journal of Homebuilding* 15, no. 7 (July 1961): 51, and “Arizona Is Mecca for Retirees” in “The Retirement Market,” 56, 57; Douglas Fir Plywood Association, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market: A Cyclopedic of Market Fact, Buyer Preferences, Design Features and Community Planning, Financing, Construction, Merchandising Ideas* (Tacoma, Washington: Douglas Fir Plywood Association, 1961), sec. V, 7.

313 Here, I am not the first to explore the role and efforts of the homebuilding industry. See, for example, the following. On the NAHB, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 205. For another excellent account, see Otis, who discusses DFPA material and also the case of Florida: Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 45-48.

of their design and construction, including marketing to target audiences, obtaining government approval, drafting legal documents, retaining contractors and subcontractors, and setting up and operating a homeowner association.”³¹⁴ As *Practical Builder* explained it in the early 1960s, “It is with some dismay that we observe builders, who produced over 12 million homes in the last decade, failing to see the significant business opportunities in building new homes for the steadily growing segment of older people. It seems apparent that the home building industry is facing *a major educational and selling job.*”³¹⁵ While helping to shape the social, political, economic, and cultural changes undergirding retirement in the United States into a new consumer market, organizations connected to and members in the homebuilding industry seized and relied upon information and evidence from academics, architects, government, and each other,

314 First, my discussion here focuses on how the homebuilding industry actually made sense of, discussed, and further promoted housing and used such points as these and others in industry publications and other materials in a more detailed analysis to understand how this took the form of a broader strategy and its logic and functioning. For an excellent account already having made point that I seek to make here and with the evidence below from my own research, see, for example, and along with any other accounts previously cited in my Introduction to this dissertation—Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 205. And, if such “voices” included or otherwise were connected to homebuilders or parties related to the industry, see also 204. And, for another account undertaking research on housing at another, different point in the life cycle also addressing industry perspectives in terms of how trends translated into markets, see also, for example, Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 940-41; Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 129. And for other industry or related perspectives, see also 135-136, 145. And for point in work of Howard Chudacoff, see also Chudacoff, *How Old Are You?*, 169.

Second, for McKenzie, see the following. For quotations, see—in order as they appear in text, again McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 7, 107. Here, he refers—for example—to the work of the Urban Land Institute, specifically. See 107. And for idea expressed in perhaps broader terms, of “*professional and legal architecture*,” see again 106 (emphasis added). If applicable here, see again Brody on “a kind of cookbook approach” in Brody, “Constructing Professional Knowledge,” 96. And on “diffusion” and results, Brody, 4-5, 6-7, 81 (quotation), 91.

315 “The Great Market Potential in Building New Homes for Our Senior Citizens,” *Practical Builder* 26, no. 2 (February 1961): 128 (emphasis added). Although formal or complete authorship does not appear to be attributed for the piece, it does indicate different contributions. For these, see 131.

exhibiting a kind of cross-fertilizing promotionalism that helped to fuel the rise of homebuilding for retirement.³¹⁶

In the 1950s and 1960s, homebuilders increasingly embraced retired Americans.

“By 1956,” Calhoun writes, “the NAHB was openly advising its constituency that the

316 I am not the first to identify such efforts—in relation to homebuilding for retirement or for homebuilding at large. For secondary sources at various points illustrating and dealing with the ways in which the homebuilding industry drew upon each other and also upon the work of non-industry experts, such as academics and others, see again the following for useful frameworks and examples. First, in terms of work cited in my Introduction and also above, see, for example, Evan McKenzie’s discussion of an industry-level print culture, including what might have been a sort of print-based show-and-tell among peers. For discussion involving “numerous case studies of model developments around the country,” see McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 107. Also see again “*professional and legal architecture*” by McKenzie, which—as noted in my dissertation Introduction—to which might be added industry conferences, as well as the ULI practice identified by Brody presumably applying to the context of the ULI document involving Webb that I draw upon in chapters in my Part II and that, based on its content, could illustrate such conversation amongst developers. See again, in order here, McKenzie, 106 (emphasis added); Brody, “Constructing Professional Knowledge,” 96; Urban Land Institute, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*. Indeed, as the last document here explains, in relation to its different “Councils” of the organization: “Each Council has a twenty-five member Executive Group: Group members are business leaders chose from the fields of land development, homebuilding, shopping center operation, merchandising, real estate investment, finance, industry, utilities, transportation; who by reason of their knowledge and experience are expert.” For first quotation, see “Foreword” to ULI, 4. For second quotation, see “Foreword” to ULI, 5. And for Howard again, see, for example, Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 146. For perhaps elsewhere in his work, see also Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 940, 940-41. And for evidence from *House & Home* perhaps illustrating this, see also, for example, 160-161. And for another industry perspective, involving the California Real Estate Association discussing demographic or perhaps related evidence and although source not indicated source of, if any, see also, for example, 135. For other work utilizing industry materials and, importantly for purposes here, also how such material drew upon different, non-industry ideas—specifically the work of Clarence Perry—see also the work of Jason Brody, which I utilize myself in my project in different ways, returning to in particular in my Chapter 4. In his work, see, for example, Brody, “Constructing Professional Knowledge,” 4-5, 5, 8, 38, 60, 81, 92, 95. Next, for existing work dealing with *retirement* specifically, see, for example, Melanie Sturgeon, who notes in her study of the 1952 Southern Gerontology Conference: “The Gerontology Conference published the names of those attending the Conference, and it is telling to read through the number of builders and developers who had registered.” See Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 53, 71n30 (quotation). While her point here might be about the rise of homebuilding for retirement, which she discusses in the broader context in the text, it might—intentionally or not—serve to demonstrate the capacity for exchange that presumably would have taken place in a conference setting with different interests or perspective represented. For context mentioned above in Sturgeon for the former, see 49-57, esp. 54-55, 66. On limits, however, also see, for example, 55-56. And in terms of the latter, Sturgeon does discuss how Webb contacted Robert Havighurst—which I discuss along with other evidence in the following chapter. Additionally, Calhoun discusses and cites evidence from *House Beautiful* from the early 1950s suggesting the influence of aging experts: Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 202-3. He also points out the use of the work of “social scientists” apparently, too, the quotation that follows relevant at the very least from the standpoint of discussion among multiple parties or sectors even if not directly involving homebuilders: “Through the 50s influential voices increasingly spoke of the ‘burgeoning’ or ‘booming’ retirement housing market and cited some statistics compiled by social scientists to justify various public initiatives” (204). For perhaps additional evidence, see also case of industry member or representative and a University of Michigan event, discussed in Calhoun, 205.

over-sixty-fives constituted a ‘hot market,’ comprehending that large numbers of people with sufficient amounts of either cash or credit to be able to afford new housing.”³¹⁷

Housing for aging Americans already had caught the attention of the NAHB at least several years earlier, when the round table at the Chicago convention reported to Association leadership on the favorable demographic and other factors of this population. “First of all, there are more than 13,000,000 people in the United States who are 65 years of age or older,” the committee wrote in the case of the former. “That number is increasing at the rate of approximately 400,000 per year. This is a large enough segment of our population so that its special housing problems should be carefully considered by builders, because it is a large market for us.”³¹⁸

Efforts in promoting housing for older Americans continued into the latter part of the decade and the beginning of the next. Carl Mitnick co-chaired and the National Housing Center and the NAHB sponsored a conference in Washington, D.C., that Mitnick characterized as “the end of a period in which a small group of pioneers struggled to direct national attention to a very serious social problem and a good business

317 For quotation, see again Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 205. On rise of homebuilding for retirement, see again, Calhoun, 195, 196, 201-10, again first cited—along with broader range of pages—in Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 24, 25; also Otis, 40, 45, 45-48; Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 67, 68-69; Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 187-88; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 49-57, esp. 54-55, 66. For an example from the period, see “Built to Older People’s Taste,” *Business Week*, April 15, 1961, 47-48. And, for accounts on financial resources such as Social Security as factors, among others, for homebuilding, see—in addition to accounts previously cited in different places in my Introduction on this point—again Calhoun, 196, 203, 204.

318 “Report of Housing the Aging Committee,” 1. And on finances, it continued: “To reinforce that position, an examination of the net worth of the aged is of consequence. Sixty percent of the over 65 population have assets of \$5,000 or more, and 85% are practically debt free. Sixty-five percent own their own homes, but a large number of these are either over-housed or [*sic?*] live in sub-standard dwellings” (1). And, later, it stated, clarifying its purpose and emphasizing the scope of the opportunity at hand: “As a final comment, we should like to point out that the purpose of this report is not to make specific recommendations, but rather to highlight some of the problems and to point out the fact that a large and excellent market for home builders is being virtually ignored” (2).

opportunity,” according to a document from the event.³¹⁹ Quoting Wilma Donahue’s assessment of the generational housing gap from the perspective of the early 1950s, the HHFA reported towards the end of the decade that “In the seven subsequent years, interest in this segment of the housing market has increased encouragingly. Many home builders, [*sic?*] for the first time are seriously exploring the sales potential in this area.”³²⁰ And yet, while homebuilding for retirement was turning a corner, William C. Loring, a Harvard-trained sociologist working for Prudential Insurance, wrote in *Architectural Forum* in 1960 that “for an industry that can produce 1.5 new million units a year, the lack of enterprise with which it has treated potential customers in the postchildren age brackets has been shocking.”³²¹ At the very least, any further efforts would take root in fertile demographic soil. As the duo contributing to the Brookings Institution study

319 See Mitnick as presumably paraphrased in National Housing Center (NHC) and National Association of Home Builders (NAHB), *Summary Report on “Housing Our Senior Citizens”: A Conference Held May 28, 1958* (Washington, DC: National Housing Center, 1958), 32. Additionally, Mitnick elsewhere indicated that his concerns involved both “sale housing” and “rental housing.” See Mitnick as cited on p. 1. For coverage of event, see “Housing for Elderly Is Needed,” *NAHB Journal of Homebuilding* 12, no. 7 (July 1958): 16; “150,000-Unit Rental Market for Elderly,” *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, June 7, 1958.

320 Housing and Home Finance Agency, *Housing the Elderly: A Review of Significant Developments* ([Washington, DC]: Housing and Home Finance Agency, Office of the Administrator, 1959), 3. And here, it continued, citing the role of public policy: “Federal and state financial aids have stimulated activity in both the private and the public housing fields” (3). Pointing to the housing gap, and thus perhaps representing a less celebratory narrative of events, Vivrett did acknowledge: “A few private builders in some sections of the industry, however, have fulfilled a responsibility and exploited the market potential by building specifically for older people.” See Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 569.

321 For quotation, see William C. Loring, “A New Housing Market: The Old,” *Architectural Forum* 113, no. 6 (December 1960): 111 (quotation), 112. For biographical information on Loring, see 110. In addition to his employment with Prudential, the article indicates that he was “research and executive director of the Housing Association of Metropolitan Boston, Inc., he proposed and helped obtain adoption of the Massachusetts program for housing the elderly.” And in addition, it indicates he wrote *Standards of Design: Housing for the Elderly* along with Robert Woods Kennedy, which is cited below in this chapter as well. Others took a perhaps less critical view, pointing to efforts while also acknowledging remaining work to be done: Donahue, statement to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging, *The Aged and the Aging in the United States*, 273; Weaver, “Housing Older People,” 6a.

explained, “The result of this long-continued inequity in the supply of new housing has been to create a tremendous potential market demand among today’s elderly.”³²²

One organization in the 1960s that sought to further the project of homebuilding for retirement was the Tacoma, Washington-based Douglas Fir Plywood Association (DFPA). Overall, it sought to promote the plywood products of its manufacturer members through a variety of uses, ranging from plans for various storage possibilities in the home, to home bomb shelters, to the construction of second homes.³²³ And inadvertently, second homes segued into retirement homes—an experience, the group pointed out, similar to that of Carl Mitnick, who, as he described it, “literally stumbled into the field of building homes for the elderly.” “The association’s interest in retirement housing grew out of research into the vacation home and second home market,” DFPA materials recounted of its migration into this area. “Like individual builders, the association found that many people expressing interest in a second house were actually looking for something for their retirement years.”³²⁴

322 See Held and Lindloff, “Financing Housing for the Elderly,” 185. On issue of past practices as “profitable,” see also Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 603.

323 Specifically, see Douglas Fir Plywood Association (DFPA), *52 Fir Plywood Home Storage Plans* (Tacoma, Washington: Douglas Fir Plywood Association, 1955); DFPA, *Nuclear Fallout and Family Survival* (Tacoma 2, Washington: Douglas Fir Plywood Association, 1961); DFPA, *Exciting! New! LEISURE-TIME HOMES of Fir Plywood* (Tacoma 2, Washington: Douglas Fir Plywood Association, 1958). Later, in the 1960s, the DFPA and NAHB collaborated on a publication promoting second homes, too: DFPA and the National Association of Home Builders, *Builder’s Guide to the Second Home Market* (Tacoma, Washington: Douglas Fir Plywood Association, 1963). For these efforts in the context of the lumber industry in the late 1950s or early 1960s, see also “Plywood Casts Its Eye on Retirement Housing,” 83. I am not the first to encounter and incorporate DFPA materials in my research. For other accounts discussing the DFPA, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 205, esp. 215n20; Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 45n111, 46; Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” in “Everything Old is New Again,” 68-69.

324 For Mitnick quotation, see Mitnick, “North Cape May” in “Retirement Towns,” 333. For relevant discussion, including on Mitnick, and quotation from DFPA, see DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. IV, 1. For additional discussion of DFPA, see also Douglas Fir Plywood Association, *House of Freedom: The Compact Home for Active Retirement: Background/Living Features/Construction Features/Study Plans* (Tacoma, Washington: Douglas Fir Plywood Association, 1961), n.p.; “Plywood Casts Its Eye on Retirement Housing,” 83. Its goals in this area were, of course, business-driven. “The

The efforts the DFPA subsequently undertook attempted to identify and elaborate on the shape and make-up of this market. After the organization convened a conference of “experts” in Tacoma towards the end of 1960, *Practical Builder* reported in January on the event, stating, “MISCONCEPTIONS plus a lack of centralized information about the market are preventing average builders from tapping the vast retirement housing field, a market already involving over 23 million people.”³²⁵ Among other “conclusions,” one involved the financial means of aging persons: “All retired persons are not indigent . . . they can usually pay for what they want and frequently conclude their purchases with cash.”³²⁶ Another point addressed in coverage of the event was that “Only a small

plywood association makes no bones about the reasons for its interest,” *Business Week* reported in late 1960. “It wants this market, and it wants to get to it first.” For this, as well as its efforts in the context of its broader, respective industry, see again, “Plywood Casts Its Eye on Retirement Housing,” 83. The DFPA’s position perhaps paralleled trends within building more broadly in terms of the opportunity suggested by housing for older persons “If the construction industry is to operate at maximum capacity during the next few years -- and thus to make its contribution to national prosperity and growth -- it must direct its attention to unmet housing needs and untapped markets,” one HHFA official stated in citing President Kennedy’s addressing of housing in 1961. “This is because the general postwar shortage of homes for young and growing families has been largely met. The elderly constitute one of the most important and pressing of our current unmet housing needs.” See M. Carter McFarland, “Federal Aids for Housing the Elderly” in NCOA, *Building for Older People*, 1f. For Kennedy on this point, see President John F. Kennedy, “Special Message to the Congress on Housing and Community Development,” March 9, 1961, in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy: Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, January 20 to December 31, 1961* (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO, 1962), 165. Additionally, as Mitnick explained how the formula transferred to retirement: “Fortunately, my preoccupation with a ‘resort house’ meant bending my energies to building a small house at a modest price.” See again Mitnick, 333. For additional discussion of Mitnick, see also “New Jersey Beach Draws Many Oldsters,” *Correlator* 10, no. 3 (March 1956): 75. For Mitnick and retirement housing in North Cape May more broadly, see also Jeffrey M. Dorwart, *Cape May County, New Jersey: The Making of an American Resort Community* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 235-36, 243, 246; HHFA, *Housing for the Elderly*, 26-27. And for DFPA explaining its overlap with Mitnick, having “found an acute need for *basic low-cost housing* for older people,” see again DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. IV, 1.

325 On event, see DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, section IV, 1; DFPA, *House of Freedom*, n.p.; “Retirement Housing Offers Great Business Possibilities,” 151. For quotation of coverage, see “Retirement Housing Offers Great Business Possibilities,” 151.

326 “Retirement Housing Offers Great Business Possibilities,” 151 (first quotation), 153 (second quotation). For additional discussion, including citing of Mitnick and his experience, see also 153, 155.

percentage of retired persons needs special care of the sort provided by institutions.”³²⁷

Assuming this “special care” was a reference to the health of aging persons, it fit within a broader context of now-outdated views of old age. “In considerable degree, today’s attitudes toward the older person may be carry-overs from an earlier era -- still fresh in the society’s memory -- when many fewer persons lived to an advanced age, when retirement from work was almost universally associated with illness or disability, and when to be recognizably old was usually to be sick or feeble,” the editor of the Brookings Institution study stated.³²⁸

The DFPA’s efforts continued as it collaborated with the AARP and the NRTA on the “House of Freedom” project, intended and executed as “a model retirement house for the White House Conference on Aging in January 1961” in Washington, D.C.³²⁹ One

327 See again “Retirement Housing Offers Great Business Possibilities,” 153. For similar evidence from the following month, see also “The Great Market Potential in Building New Homes for Our Senior Citizens,” 128. For connection to the DFPA event, see also 131. And Donahue might have been addressing this point in relation to housing specifically in material previously cited in this chapter: “The failure of builders and contractors to recognize that older people represent a market potential of considerable size has left the private market for individual dwellings virtually unserved. It has been commonly assumed that housing the aging is a matter of concern only to those who have responsibility for the poor and the sick. See again Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 34.

328 George W. Grier, “Part I: The Overview” in *Housing the Aging*, ed. Grier, 23-24. Meanwhile, another period account confirmed a relatively favorable health picture overall: “What should be realized is that, in spite of these conditions, the overwhelming majority of older persons can and should enjoy a reasonable measure of health and activity.” See Samuel Gertman and Harold L. Orbach, “Health Services in the Retirement Village” in *Retirement Villages*, ed. Ernest W. Burgess (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, Division of Gerontology, 1961), 83. Collection first cited in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 1. In fact, as FitzGerald also pointed out in her account, later on in the century: “The younger generation in this country has grown up with the notion that people should reach the age of sixty-five, and reach it in good health. But American now over sixty belong to the first generation to do that. Modern medicine has increased longevity to some degree, but, just as important, it has alleviated some of the persistent, nonfatal maladies of the body. Throughout history, of course, some people have reached their eighties in excellent health, but until this century the majority of Europeans and Americans aged as many people still do in the poorest countries of the world—suffering irreversible physical decay in their forties and fifties.” See FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 206.

329 For background of project and quotations in text, see DFPA, *House of Freedom*, n.p. (first quotation); DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Market*, sec. IV, 1-2 (second quotation 1); “‘House of Freedom’: Experiment in Housing for Elderly,” *Architectural Record* 130 (September 1961): 286; “Plywood Casts Its Eye on Retirement Housing,” 82. The “House of Freedom Advisory Committee,” based on the 1960 conference, included several persons who appear at different points in my project—Mitnick, Cornell’s Alexander Kira, and also a Florida homebuilder. See DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Market*,

issue was that of affordability. “It was shown to demonstrate what can be done in a single family dwelling unit,” *Architectural Record* stated. “The sponsors felt it would stimulate better low-cost housing programs by private builders and public agencies.”³³⁰ Asserting that “Retired persons can finance home purchases more easily than you might think,” project materials pointed to “several Federal programs for retirement housing.”³³¹ And in February, *House & Home* published a 16-page piece that included coverage of the DFPA’s project—while also pointing to evidence illustrating, among other things, the financial capabilities of this group. It cited Loring in several instances, including a

sec. IV, n.p. [front cover] For origins of this project as flowing from the November 1960 event, see again “Plywood Casts Its Eye on Retirement Housing,” 82. Finally, for additional coverage, reception, and demand, see *Builder’s Guide*, sec. IV, 2; “House of Freedom,” 286; “This House Is Packed with Ideas You Can Use” in Murray, Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 100; “Here Is Still More Evidence That Today’s Market for Retirement Housing Is Really Hot,” *House & Home* 19, no. 4 (April 1961): 177; Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 87-88, 88-89. In fact, the first reference I saw to this was from Buckley, 87-88. For additional academic discussion of what presumably was the “House of Freedom,” though identified slightly differently in another account, see Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 68-69, 130, “Illustration 7: President Eisenhower examines a model of the Freedom Home, 1961.”

330 See again “House of Freedom,” 286. On prices, see “Retirement Housing Offers Great Business Possibilities,” 151 (caption); DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Market*, sec. I, 1; Murray, Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 100 (caption); “This DFPA Retirement House Sells for \$15,950,” *House & Home* 19, no. 4 (April 1961): 180; Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 88.

331 DFPA, *House of Freedom*, n.p.. As perhaps additional evidence of how the private sector promoted—or relied on—governmental efforts, then president of the NAHB Mitnick wrote to the chairman of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging in 1959 in support of legislation of mortgage-insurance for rental housing that included for-profit sponsors that presumably was, or was what would become, Section 231. “The history of housing legislation in this country has conclusively demonstrated that a workable program using private financing and the enterprise and resourcefulness of the building industry operating in a profit-and-loss economy produces most satisfactory results,” he wrote. See Carl T. Mitnick to Pat McNamara, August 14, 1959, in Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging, *National Organizations in the Field of Aging: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate*, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 1959, app., 295. For Mitnick on rental housing, see also National Housing Center and NAHB, *Summary Report on “Housing Our Senior Citizens,”* 1, 5; “Housing for Elderly Is Needed,” *NAHB Journal of Homebuilding* 12, no. 7 (July 1958): 16; “150,000-Unit Rental Market for Elderly,” *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, June 7, 1958. Viewed the other way around, the state endorsed following a path of private efforts as well. For example, in raising awareness of policies aimed at older Americans, the federal government promoted these programs in various ways. Ashley wrote about the changes to Section 203, for instance, in the *Journal of Homebuilding* in a 1957 piece, presumably to spark interest and spur efforts in the private sector given the publication’s audience and purpose. “As a result of the Housing Act of 1956, the revisions in the FHA trade-in program and FNMA’s special assistance activities, with respect to housing for the elderly, we are now armed with an impressive arsenal of new weapons with which to take up the challenge of providing our senior citizens with the kind of housing they need,” he declared. Ashley, “Financing of Home Purchases by Our Elderly Citizens,” 43, 44 (quotation).

statement on the relatively large equity wielded by older homeowners, while also listing the breakdown of Mitnick's buyers by cash and percentages of financing.³³²

Through the reliance on and usage of the work of experts and homebuilders, ideas and practices thus circulated throughout the industry in such venues as the trade press. Furthermore, evidence exists of exchanges between government, industry, academia, and other areas, and the ways in which the private sector borrowed from them. *House & Home* in 1961 referred readers to the WHCA *Background Paper on Housing*.³³³ In 1961, the DFPA also published its *Builder's Guide to the Retirement Home Market: A Cyclopedic of Market Fact, Buyer Preferences, Design Features and Community Planning, Financing, Construction, Merchandising Ideas*, which borrowed from, built upon, and added to the discussion and boosterism already moving about the

332 For *House & Home* article, see Murray Jr., "Today's Neglected Housing Market," 94-109. For DFPA, see "This House Is Packed with Ideas You Can Use" in Murray, Jr., 100-1. For Loring and Mitnick, and broader discussion of finances, see 97. On trend of buying home with cash, see also "Is Retirement Housing Today's Best Bet for Boosting Sales and Profits?" *House & Home* 25 (April 1964): 112.

333 See Murray Jr., "Today's Neglected Housing Market," 98. Several years later, *House & Home* would further portray the financial means of members of this market in a positive light, pointing to the capital-gains tax exemption on home-sale proceeds initially granted to older Americans in 1964. For summary of the legislation, see "Three Ways The New Tax Law Should Boost Housing's Market," *House & Home* 25, no. 4 (April 1964): 9. For *House & Home* on its significance, including above quotations, see "Is Retirement Housing Today's Best Bet for Boosting Sales and Profits?," 113. For history, intent, and specific provisions of, see also Sandra Newman and James Reschovsky, *Federal Policy and the Mobility of Older Homeowners: The Effects of the One-Time Capital Gains Exclusion* (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, 1985), ixn1, 1, 4. Also, in terms of the WHCA document, it was itself the product of various collaborations. The Committee on Housing who directed the creation of the document included at least several leaders involved in housing—Carl Mitnick and the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority's Ernest Bohn—and the committee chairman expressed appreciation to the HHFA, for example, for some form of contribution to the project. See Walter C. Nelson, preface to WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, n.p.. Meanwhile, as tables and notes in the document indicate, the document relied, to name a few, on Census data, Henry Sheldon's 1958 study, and the Grand Rapids study. See, for example, WHCA, 2, table 1, "Marital Status of Men and Women Aged 45 and over in the Continental United States by Age: 1958," 3n1, 29n9. And, academic experts *themselves* relied to at least some degree on others—specifically government researchers. Henry Sheldon, identified as the "chief of the Demographic Statistics Division, of the United States Bureau of the Census," wrote the opening chapter of the 1954 *Housing the Aging* collection. See again Sheldon, "Who Are the Aged?" in *Housing the Aging*, 1-12 (quoted material 1).

homebuilding industry and in other sectors.³³⁴ Among the various publications and documents it listed as “Information Sources – Background Reading” were a recent article in *Practical Builder* and Loring’s work in *Architectural Forum*, as well as the WHCA *Background Paper on Housing*, the Donahue-edited collection from the 1952 conference at Michigan, the HHFA’s *Housing the Elderly: A Review of Significant Developments*, and the Sheldon study.³³⁵

In the process, the DFPA document conveyed the seemingly epic market conditions accompanying the unprecedented wave of aging in the modern United States. “Housing facilities for older families may well be the fastest growing volume market in the residential construction business of the 60’s,” it declared in an opening segment encapsulating many of the issues and ideas in circulation. “There are more people in this

334 Several articles also mentioned this document or what became it: “Retirement Housing Offers Great Business Possibilities,” 151; “House of Freedom,” 290; and esp. “Plywood Casts Its Eye on Retirement Housing,” 82, 83.

For Katie Otis’s excellent work also utilizing the *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, or at least a version of it, in relation to different points, see again Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 45n111, 46; Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” in *Everything Old is New Again*, 68-69.

335 See DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. VII. For quotation, see sec. VII, n.p. [front cover]. For specific lists from which the above are from, see, not necessarily in order, “Section 4. General Information,” “Section 5. Design of Retirement Housing and Development Planning,” and “Section 6. The Retirement Housing Market” in sec. VII, 9, 11, and 12, respectively. The specific pieces were the previously cited article from *Practical Builder* from February 1961 and work, though not authorship provided, by Loring—one of which is discussed and cited above—from *Architectural Forum* in December 1960 and March 1961. Although “A New Housing Market” is the only title provided, it identifies it as “2 part series” and provides the second date of March 1961. For page, see sec. VII. For actual articles, see Loring, “A New Housing Market,” 110-13; Loring, “Design for a New Housing Market: The Old,” *Architectural Forum* 114, no. 3 (March 1961): 119-21, 176, 184. Loring and articles from trade journals also included towards the beginning: DFPA, n.p..

Like some other articles and documents examined in this chapter and elsewhere in the dissertation, both appear in the following—something that has been a useful point of departure for collecting period literature, as well as a source in its own right of the print culture of and within homebuilding circles: [National Association of Home Builders?], *Housing for Our Senior Citizens: A List of Selected References with an Appendix on Nursing Homes*, “Reference List #71” (Washington, DC: National Housing Center Library, 1965), 15, 12. Included here, in turn, are such DFPA sources as the *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, as well as such sources as an edition of Buckley’s *The Retirement Handbook* (1962) and the *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book* (1961). See, in order, 3, 1. For a similar sort of document, which I have relied on at points as well, see also [National Association of Home Builders?], *Housing for Senior Citizen: A Selected List of References*, “Reference List No. L-88” (Washington, DC: National Housing Center Library, 1970).

age bracket than ever before. They have more money than ever before. They are more dissatisfied with their present housing than ever before.” And, it added, there was progress in terms of increasing access to new housing: “Financing has been difficult, but it is more favorable now than it was. And it is getting better fast.”³³⁶ The catch, however, was that while demand—and the means underlying demand to make it a reality—existed, the supply to *fulfill* the demand did not, it explained.³³⁷

Doing so, however, would take various strategic efforts. The *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market* instructed readers about how they might pursue—and ultimately sell homes to—prospective older homebuyers, in the process once again demonstrating collaboration across and within government, politics, industry, and academia. In terms of market research, it recommended, for example, the utilization of Census data—including “unpublished census reports covering exactly what you want to

336 DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, n.p.. It elaborated on these points through the document. See sec. I, 1, 2, 4, sec. VI, 1-3. Here, it discusses Section 203 and other efforts. See esp. sec. VI, 2. On financial ability, for instance, it emphasized this point in contrasting “Fact and fiction about today’s young oldsters” at one point. While the former was “They have neither the money to make a down payment nor the income to make even reasonably decent monthly payments,” the reality was quite different: “The average family has a net worth of over \$8,000. Builders report 50 to 75 per cent of their sales to older people are cash. DFPA’s survey shows almost half can make a down payment of over \$3,000 and over half can make payments of \$50 to \$80 per month.” And, it clarified that “most neither need nor want ‘hospitalized’ housing.” See sec. I, n.p. [inside front cover]. Also, it included additional discussion of financial means elsewhere in the document: “Most of today’s retirees are qualified for Social Security. Many receive payments from company or insurance pensions plans, and many more are capable and willing to continue to work on either full or part-time basis.” See DFPA, sec. I, 4. For additional evidence discussing various financial means, see also Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 97; “What You Should Know about Retirement Housing” in “The Retirement Market,” 52. And for income—and forms of—in retirement as spurring homebuilding for retirement, see discussion of “towns” specifically in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 54. And for means, including Social Security, as well as “economic status” overall in context of consumption overall, see again Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 191, 195-96, 196, 196-97, 197-98, 198, 200.

337 On this point, see DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. I, 2. Specifically, it stated: “Almost all surveys among the elderly,” it stated, “reveal the same basic fact: suitable retirement housing is not available in most communities; but if it were, the elderly would buy it” (sec. I, 2). Essentially same quotation from same or similar document also used in Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 46. And, the DFPA document elaborated shortly thereafter, about a sort of displacement in the housing market or a no-man’s land many older Americans seemingly occupied. See again sec. I, 2. For same or similar idea, see also Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 98.

know for your own locality”—and WHCA-related materials.³³⁸ Homebuilders, the *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market* further advised, could engage with older persons more directly through different old-age organizations, drumming up business at the same time by putting homebuilders in contact with prospective homebuyers. Harvesting home sales by cultivating relationships with organizations concerned with issues involving older persons was promising to the extent that the DFPA even suggested, in the case of the AARP, “Where local chapters don’t exist, you can take the initiative in getting one started,” the *Builder’s Guide* stated.³³⁹ Here, in piggybacking on a political infrastructure of the postwar decades, the DFPA helped to give shape—if not create—a market for new homes for retired Americans.³⁴⁰

338 See the section titled “Retirement Market Selling” in DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. V. For the above, see esp. 2-3 (quotation 2). For additional contact information elsewhere, towards the end, see also sec. VII, 8, for “Department of Commerce Field Offices,” and sec. VII, 1-3, for listing of what the inside cover of this section identifies as “the governors’ delegates” for the 1961 event. The advice of utilizing various Census sources applied to residential development more generally. For example, see Urban Land Institute, Community Builders’ Council, *The Community Builders Handbook*, 4th ed., 5th rev. print. (Washington, DC: Urban Land Institute, 1960), 7-10. Note: if relevant, the title page also identifies this as “THE EXECUTIVE EDITION.” For direct discussion of housing for aging persons, including retirement communities, in a later edition, see Urban Land Institute, Community Builders Council, and J. Ross McKeever, ed., 5th ed., 6th rev. print., *The Community Builders Handbook* (Washington, DC: Urban Land Institute, 1968), 250-52. Both the title and copyright pages also identify as “Anniversary Edition.” And here, in this edition, for discussion of federal efforts such as Section 203, see 250-51.

339 DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. V, 3, 8 (quotation). Citing Mitnick and another homebuilder, who had served as WHCA delegates, it stated: “Almost every builder making a success of retirement housing has tried to be active at either the national or local level” (8). The DFPA publication also provided contact information as well for the chapter heads of the AARP and NRTA. See sec. VII, 4-5 and 5-7, respectively. Additionally, identifying prospective homebuyers could take place through other, existing channels and networks. See sec. V, 7. Here, too, the DFPA discussed the significance of another method—and one evident in Sun City, Arizona: “Other builders frankly seek out leads from the families who have already bought in the project. Retirement housing where older people will be more dependent on neighbors is more responsive to word of mouth promotion than other kinds of housing. At Sun City, near Phoenix, for example, one family helped sell five more houses to friends and relatives” (7).

340 Liz Cohen’s work has discussed the relationship marketing and political activism amongst older Americans, and the evidence here suggests how such different strategies of targeting older homebuyers thus provides an example of a process in which the political shaped—or, more specifically, helped give rise to—the consumer market. Given that at least some of Cohen’s analysis, as indicated in the text, appears to focus on the 1970s and later, the case at hand of old-age politics and the homebuilding industry in the early 1960s might offer an earlier example of this trend. For Cohen here, see Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 322. For broader trend, see 308, 309-10.

Meanwhile, Mitnick and the NAHB continued their efforts. Mitnick co-chaired an event at the National Housing Center in Washington, a “Round Table on Retirement Housing” in June of 1961 (Figure 3.1).³⁴¹ Advancing similar points about the favorable demographic and financial conditions among older Americans made in NAHB circles in the 1950s, an opening section—“What You Should Know About Retirement Housing”—to a feature titled “The Retirement Market” in the July issue of the *NAHB Journal of Homebuilding* pointed out, for example, the sizes of aging populations and the financial picture of many older persons that seemingly added up to a favorably looking market. “Incomes are lower, but assets are high,” it stated. “A life time of savings and property have accumulated.” And, suggesting how such assets might be applied to new home purchase, “As high as 70% of those over 60 buy their retirement home *outright* in some projects.”³⁴² Another piece, on Mitnick, again revealed the numbers paying cash or financing their homes, among other points.³⁴³

As practitioners and experts made clear, it was not only the population of older Americans with the necessary financial means that mattered. Rather, it was the growing

341 See “Round Table Studies Retiree Market” in “The Retirement Market,” *NAHB Journal of Homebuilding* 15, no. 7 (July 1961): 69. For summary of discussion, see 69-70. For coverage of the event, see also “Retirement Houser,” *Washington Post, Times Herald*, June 17, 1961.

342 “What You Should Know About Retirement Housing” in “The Retirement Market,” *NAHB Journal of Homebuilding* 15 (July 1961): 52-53 (quotation 52). On Section 203, for instance, see 53. For entire piece, see “The Retirement Market,” 51-70. For coverage of, see “Home Builders Eye Retirees,” *Washington Post, Times Herald*, July 1, 1961. Also, for discussion of Section 203, or what presumably what was Section 203, elsewhere, see also “The Great Market Potential in Building New Homes for Our Senior Citizens,” 129; Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 92; “How to Buy an ‘R’ House,” 7-8. 343 “Mitnick Likes Big City Areas” in “The Retirement Market,” 60.



Figure 2.1. The homebuilding industry and retirement housing: “Round Table Studies Retiree Market” in “The Retirement Market,” *NAHB Journal of Homebuilding* 15, no. 7 (July 1961): 69.

numbers of younger Americans who already were advancing through the work- and family-oriented stages of their lives. This group, they argued, represented an even larger—and also more affluent—population to whom homes might be sold.

Doing so, however, would involve thinking about the market of aging Americans in ways that diverged from existing definitions. Writing in the *Handbook of Social Gerontology*, Cornell’s New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations dean John W. McConnell hypothesized, “Perhaps one explanation of industry’s failure to take up with the consumer interest of old people is that there is no such clearly defined interest.” Problematic, he continued, might have been the very framing of this market,

specifically in thresholds for determining old age imposed from above—and also divorced from reality. “Social workers, researchers, and government policy-makers have isolated people over 65 for purposes of study and assistance, but culturally the separation may be artificial,” he wrote. “Standards of living and cultural patterns do not change readily at a given age.”³⁴⁴ Calling into question “age” itself, a pair of psychologists writing in the *Journal of Marketing Research* later in the decade explored “the life cycle concept” and its analytical significance and productivity.³⁴⁵ Of particular significance here, within various “stages” was that of “The empty nest,” which was made up of “older couples with no children living with them,” as they described it.³⁴⁶

In suggesting a de-centering “65,” or a similar age threshold, and in indicating how other variables could serve analytical ends trumping that of age *per se*, both accounts might be utilized in helping to understand agendas and efforts in the homebuilding industry. Indeed, as the *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market* asserted, “The first thing to recognize is that older people start thinking about retirement long before they used to. So *don’t limit your interest just to people over 65.*”³⁴⁷

344 McConnell, “Aging and the Economy,” 516. After all, he explained, “To interest the businessman, there must be some evidence of a mass market distinct from the general market, to encourage product specialization” (516). For same or similar discussion, see that in “14-Million Americans Over 65,” 86.

345 See again Wells and Gubar, “Life Cycle Concept in Marketing Research,” 355-63 (quotations 355), as cited in Frank, et al., *Market Segmentation*, 36, again first cited in Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 318. Specifically, they discuss this approach in relation to age and how they differ. See esp. 355, 358-60, 361.

346 Wells and Gubar, “Life Cycle Concept in Marketing Research,” specifically 355 (quotations). And here, furthermore, they factored in active employment as well. For same or similar classification, see also 362, app. I, “An Overview of the Life Cycle.” Wells and Gubar also cite work by Paul C. Glick, whose work is also cited in chap. 1 of this dissertation. See Wells and Gubar, 355. For discussion of different ways of conceptualizing and ordering the life cycle by stages and sub-stages, see John B. Lansing and James M. Morgan, “Consumer Finances over the Life Cycle,” *Consumer Behavior, Volume II: The Life Cycle and Consumer Behavior*, ed. Lincoln H. Clark (Washington Square, New York: New York University Press, 1955), 36-37, first cited in Wells and Gubar, 355. For brief discussion of what perhaps was a life-cycle factor—involving one’s family—in Cross, see also Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 188.

347 In addition to the evidence presented below in the following pages, for here see DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Market*, sec. V, 7 (emphasis added). And shortly after, after citing evidence, it added: “So aim at people 45 to 50 as well as at the magic number 65” (sec. V, 7). Discussion elsewhere of consumer trends among older Americans more generally tended to rely on the “65” definition as well, as a

Discussion in industry materials pointed out the fact that *younger* populations of aging Americans were sizeable and significant—and perhaps particularly so compared to those bound by older ages. For example, as *House & Home* explained in 1963, “The ‘retirement’ market is rife with semi-retireds, would-be-retireds and ex-retireds. It consists not only of people age 60 and over—about 24 million of them—but many of the 18+ million in their 50s and some of the 23 million in their 40s (particularly military people).”³⁴⁸ *Business Week* put it more directly in a 1964 piece in suggesting that a younger pool of prospective homebuyers equaled a *larger* one. “Put some elastic into the definition of the elderly, and you immediately expand the market and its wealth,” it explained, going on to illustrate this in relation to an apparent baseline of 17 million persons in the 65-and-older grouping. “Drop down to 60 and you add another 7-million. Go to 50, and there’s another 17-million.”³⁴⁹

Compared to older Americans, factoring in *younger* populations of aging Americans certainly did, in fact, translate into more consumers. For example, by 1960, when the size of the overall population made up of older Americans had grown, continuing its positive trajectory across the twentieth century, to over 9 percent, that of

1960 piece in *Business Week* did. And although it mentioned the Arizona “Del Webb’s Sun City” as “catering to customers of 50 and over,” it did not connect the dots, so to speak, for readers here. See “How the Old Age Market Looks,” 72. Additionally, this might have reflected a shift in thinking in the industry at large from the mid-1950s to the early 1960s. After all, in his piece in 1956, Senator John Sparkman cited statistics for a “65” threshold. For example, see Sparkman, “The Growing Need for Housing the Aging,” 71 (quotation), 72. Evidence from Beauchamp below for an age or ages well below “65” later in the 1950s might indicate thus that discussion of ideas already was underway prior to the 1960s, but at the same time could be viewed as a step along the way.

348 James Gallagher, “Retirement Housing: Giant Warm-Climate Builders are Running away with a Half-Neglected Market,” *House & Home* 23, no. 4 (April 1963): 110. This was one of several “paradoxes” it discussed. See 110-11 (quotation 110). I discuss the military market shortly below.

349 See “Retirement City—Haven or Ghetto?” *Business Week*, April 11, 1964, 129, article first cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 169. Context and relationship to financial means discussed shortly below. See “Retirement City—Haven or Ghetto?,” 129. For example, as another account similarly put it: “By expanding the age range downward, the market and its wealth increase significantly.” See Becker, “All-Adult Market Grows Strong,” 66.

the demographic of aging Americans 50 years of age and older was over 23 percent—more than two and a half times that of persons 65 years and older.³⁵⁰ Put another way,

350 Figure for the 65-and-older population calculated by author by adding together the 65-69, 70-74, and 75-and-older age groups for overall population and dividing into that of the U.S. population at large based upon figures provided in the 1960 Census. For source, see U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1960*, vol. I, *Characteristics of the Population*, pt. 1, United States Summary (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), 153, table 47, “Age by Color and Sex, for the United States: 1890 to 1960.” And for key accounts, dealing in their own ways with retirement and in relation to retirement communities under the Sun City umbrella upon which I have relied, that show growth of older Americans, percentage-wise and in some cases by sheer numbers, across the twentieth century at various points—1900, 1950, and/or 1980—see again: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 165; FitzGerald, “Sun City— 1983,” 206; Schulman, *The Seventies*, 84-85, 87. Again, Findlay cites, among other sources, FitzGerald: FitzGerald, 205-6, cited in Findlay, 165. For another account, of percentages, which deals in one chapter with Sun City, Arizona, noted elsewhere, see also Calhoun, *In Search of the Old*, 3. And for a useful period account comparing the beginning and the middle of the twentieth century, see discussion and figures in Sheldon, “The Changing Demographic Profile,” 32, 33, table 2, “Population of the United States, by Age and Sex, 1950 and 1900.” And for various measurements and figures for different chronological points as relayed by Tibbitts, see also Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 301, 302.

The figure in the text for the percentage of those 50 years old and older here determined by using the simple method described above but by adding together the sub-groups of 50-54, 55-59, and 60-64, and adding to that for all sub-groups 65-69 and above. The comparison in the text between the latter and the former also calculated by author using the calculated sizes of the 50-and-older and 65-and-older populations. For source of figures upon which calculations based, see again Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1960*, table 47.

My account thus incorporates the 50-and older threshold in my discussion and analysis. While I discuss existing scholarship as it relates to this point in a lengthy note in my Introduction, my own discussion and analysis here of incorporating younger, broader age groups—particularly that of 50-years-of-age-and-older—has been shaped by and uses materials generated by the homebuilding industry and of the efforts of those such as Del Webb, as well as other period sources, specifically Sheldon and the WHCA document previously cited, both of which include break-downs of their own that go beyond the 65-years-of-age-and-older threshold. The former discusses the 45-64 age group and also includes one table broken down by 45 and older, 45-59, and 45-64, and another that also includes 45-64. For example, see Sheldon, “The Changing Demographic Profile,” 32, 33, table 2, 49, 50, table 11, “Trends in Age Structure, 1900-2000.” The latter also discusses the 45-64 group, noting that it was 36 million persons as of 1960. Table figures also include classifications of 45 and older, and also 45-64. See WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 3, n.p., table 1, “Projection of the Middle-Aged and Older Population of the United States: 1960-2000.” Here, also see p. 24, which discusses housing for persons between 45 and 64 years of age. The following evidence, furthermore, might explain the inclusion of younger ages. Sheldon discuss the ways in which “old age” could be defined: “If difficulty in obtaining employment is a symptom of economic old age, then the experience of the state employment services suggests that aging beings in the forties rather than at age 65. Likewise, the period in the family cycle in which children have grown up and left the parental home is one which might be designated as old age, but the inception of this period is variable with respect to chronological age.” See Sheldon, “The Changing Demographic Profile,” 27-29 (quotation 28); Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 7-8. For discussion by WHCA document, see again WHCA, 23-24, including unnumbered/untitled table. Additionally, Sheldon points, intentionally or not, discuss the logic of the threshold of “65” as well: “The lower limit of 65 years is sanctioned by tradition and by legislation relating to retirement, although recent social security legislation has breached this uniformity.” Another, later account describes it as “partially arbitrary and partially a recognition of factors which, over the years, have combined to make the

while those in the former thus represented roughly one in eleven Americans, the NAHB foregrounded the size of the latter in “The Retirement Market,” declaring, “NEARLY ONE OUT OF FOUR Americans—over 41 million is 50 or older.”³⁵¹

Several different factors helped to drive this “market,” according to discussion within homebuilding circles. One dealt with retirement—or what, as Florida developer George Beauchamp explained it, was an emergent form of retirement that eluded apparently arbitrary age-based benchmarks. “It is a mistake I think of retired persons only in terms of 60, 70, and 80 years of age, Dr. Beauchamp stated,” according to a document from the 1958 National Housing Center conference. “Perhaps we should stop using such terms as ‘elderly’ and aged’. [sic] and speak, instead, of ‘retired.’” Before going on to cite his experience with retired military members, he elaborated, “We are dealing with a type of living, not an age.”³⁵² Nor did one have to be retired, or even

attainment of 65 a milestone—for example, a time of retirement, Social Security benefits, Medicare coverage, income tax advantages, and reduction in transit fares and admission prices.” See Sheldon, “The Changing Demographic Profile,” 28; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Social and Economic Characteristics of the Older Population: 1978*, Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Series P-23, no. 85, prepared by Jerry T. Jennings (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), 1. And for the inclusion of younger—than 65 years of age—thresholds for different areas or issues, whatever the particular focus or aim, see also discussion of in Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 301, 302. Such accounts are useful in addressing and thinking about how homebuilders and other effectively de-centered “65” in marketing new retirement housing to aging Americans.

351 See “The Retirement Market,” 51. For statistic of this population by number of persons elsewhere, see also “What You Should Know About Retirement Housing” in “The Retirement Market,” 52. For similar evidence, see also William E. Becker, “All-Adult Market Grows Strong,” *Buildings* 63 (March 1969): 66. 352 See Beauchamp as cited in NHC and NAHB, *Summary Report on “Housing Our Senior Citizens,”* 18. That he was making a point about retirement apart from traditional practices or markers was suggested by document indicating that he apparently expressed the following: “Retirement may well begin at 38, says Dr. Beauchamp” (18). For retired military, see again Gallagher, “Retirement Housing,” 110. Secondary literature has addressed this as well; see Carl Abbott on trend of “military retirees” in Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier*, 68; Katie Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 52-53. In my discussion, here and above, I examine the military market in relation the marketing strategies involving age—specifically *younger* ages. Meanwhile, as additional evidence more broadly, the NAHB’s discussion of this “market” continued to cite the following: “More people are retiring at an earlier age.” See again “What You Should Know About Retirement Housing” in “The Retirement Market,” 52. As similar evidence on this point, *Business Week* in part explained: “This is not a wholly arbitrary rewrite of the definition. Early retirement is growing more common.” See again “Retirement City—Haven or Ghetto?,” 129. For additional evidence, also see DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. I, 1. And as *House &*

partly retired, in order to reap the benefits accompanying new housing. “I think of my market as the retired Navy commander or the businessman who has put the last child through college,” one Chicago homebuilder was quoted in a 1959 piece in *House & Home*. “Now, these people—from 55 on up—have a chance to take life a little easier and to pursue the hobbies they never had time for before.”³⁵³

A life-cycle framing of homebuilding for retirement involved a disconnect between house and household, the downsized family translating into prospective homebuyers of downsized homes. As Walter Vivrett explained in 1960, “In the family, earlier marriage, fewer children, earlier completion of childbearing and child-rearing roles, and the relatively free movement of adult children in search of economic opportunities . . . mean that many parents are left alone while still in their prime, still in the labor force, and frequently with a home of their own to live in from middle age on into later maturity as a separate generation.”³⁵⁴ Indeed, in terms of children, the

Home put it: “And the retirement market also includes far more people than you would expect in their 40s and 50s. There are a million men between 45 and 64 who could work but have nonetheless retired, Census figures show.” Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 96.

³⁵³ “Today’s Big Retirement Market Is Right on Your Own Doorstep,” *House & Home* 15, no. 4 (April 1959): 123. For overlapping evidence, see also William Loring quoted in Murray, Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 96, cited as well in DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. V, 7. ³⁵⁴ See again Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 549. For similar quotation, see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 7. For such factors, as well as that of life expectancy, which meant that older persons could live longer deeper in the twentieth century, thus allowing them to live through the child-rearing years in the first place while elongating the window of time post-children before the remaining parent’s death. See Glick, “The Life Cycle of the Family,” 3, 5, 6, 9, again also cited also and discussed in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 94; Sheldon, 94-95, 129. For discussion or evidence of changing ages at which events specifically occur, see also Glick, “The Life Cycle of the Family,” 4, table 1, “Median Age of Husband and Wife at Selected Stages of the Life Cycle of the Family, for the United States: 1950, 1940, and 1890,” cited and reproduced in Sheldon, 94, table 34, “Median Age of Husband and Wife at Selected Stages of the Life Cycle of the Family: 1950, 1940, and 1890.” See also WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 23-24, which appears to present the same figures as the above for 1950. For other statistics and figures, see also Haber & Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 23, table 1.1, “Demographic Life Cycle in America, 1650-1950.” On the life-expectancy variable, Sheldon explained, first referencing the late-nineteenth century: “In addition, the higher mortality rates of that time limited the period of survival after the children had left. In fact, on the average the death of one spouse occurred before the last child left home. Thus, in 1890 the death of husband or wife and the marriage of the last children tended, on the average, to be simultaneous events occurring in the late 50’s for men and the early 50’s for women. In

University of Michigan's Wilma Donahue stated before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and the Aging in the late 1950s, "Today, the average couple is no more than 50 years old when its parental responsibilities are completed."³⁵⁵ And Tibbitts, writing in the Sheldon study the year before, reported "that there is now coming to be an identifiable period of middle-age or transitional stage following the completion of the parental stage."³⁵⁶

Such shifting demographics and social trends could be put to private-sector ends. "Today builders can safely consider all those 50 and older as this market," the section called "What You Should Know About Retirement Housing" explained, in fact. "Couples whose children have moved away can be sold a smaller home."³⁵⁷ In its April

contrast, in 1950 both husband and wife survived jointly, on the average, for a decade or more after the marriage of the last child." Sheldon, 94-95. In fact, while most younger couples, when the husband was between 25 and 44 years old, had minor children living with them in 1952—only 20 percent, approximately, did *not*—those among *older age groups* had fewer children. Precipitous drops in the percentage of those living with children took place in the group between the ages of 45 and 54, to roughly 50 percent, and in that between the ages of 55 and 64, nearly 80 percent, and reaching an almost universal lack of children by 65 years of age and older at slightly over 96 percent. Children here are defined as "Own Children Under 18," and this did not preclude the possibility of older children or grandchildren at home, however. See Glick, "The Life Cycle of the Family," 7, including table 2, "Characteristics of Married Couples by Age of Husband, for the United States: 1952."

355 See Wilma Donahue, statement to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging, *The Aged and the Aging in the United States*, 272. See 271-72 for discussion of change over time and significance. In describing the changing "role of parent," Havighurst explained: "The role of the parent is reduced for many as early as the forties. At least by the end of the fifties most people have largely lost the active, responsible, time-consuming role of father or mother, even though still living in close relations with their adult children." Havighurst, "Flexibility and the Social Roles of the Retired," 309. For another figure also see Glick, "The Life Cycle of the Family," 6.

356 See Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 129. For discussion of this new, longer window of time, also see, for example, again 95; Glick, "The Life Cycle of the Family," 6, 9. And, through an expansion of post-children life more broadly, this represented—from the standpoint of the life expectancy of men and women individually, more specifically—an even greater number of years. This was 27 years for men and 31 years for women, according to Donahue. See again Donahue, statement to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging, *The Aged and the Aging in the United States*, 272.

357 See "What You Should Know About Retirement Housing" in "The Retirement Market," 52. Perhaps illustrating this, it also included a graphic captioned as the "Percentage of older people who still live in large homes." See 53. This presumably was from the document previously cited, FCOA, *1961 White House Conference on Aging*. "The Retirement Market" noted: "Charts from booklet prepared by the Federal Council on Aging for the White House Conference on Aging" (52). For language of "empty-nesters," presumably in reference to the lack of children in the home, see Becker, "All-Adult Market Grows

1961 issue, *House & Home* endorsed a similar strategy. “Best way to sell the retirement market is to aim at couples whose children are grown, whose health is good, and whose incomes are at a peak,” it stated—a quotation the DFPA would include in material.

Followed by an expert quotation from the HHFA’s Ashley, it continued, spelling out how homebuilders might capitalize on the dynamic at hand: “These families—many of whom are as much as 15 or more years from actual retirement—can be sold today on buying a house or renting an apartment that fits their new needs—and future needs—better than the house they bought years ago to raises their children in.”³⁵⁸

There was, furthermore, as the coverage of *House & Home* shows, the issue of money—or, more specifically, relatively *more* money. For example, it told readers in 1964, “Best sales bets are people who have not yet retired, who still work, whose many expenses like college education for children have ended, who are able to afford housing more suited to their needs than the homes they’ve lived in while their families were

Strong,” 66. And, for Clay Howard’s work on homebuilding for *younger* families, including the significance of such ideas and/or efforts, see again, for example, Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 940-41; Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 129, 131, 132, 133, 135, 135-136, 144, 145, 148, 150-151, 153-154, 157.

358 See Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 96; DFPA quoting *House & Home* in *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. V, 7. Perhaps similarly addressing space, *Business Week* continued its point about the “rewrite” of retirement: “As people marry earlier, have their families earlier, they become ‘empty nesters’ younger—and begin to think of selling the old homestead.” See “Retirement City—Haven or Ghetto?,” 129.

And key statistics and trends testified to the scope of the market at hand. For discussion of evidence of the size of present and future populations and of signs indicating the outmoding of the family home that suggested the strength of this market, see, for example, Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 96; DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. I, 1; again Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 549; Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 83-84. The invoking of Ashley, for example, thus presumably complemented the interests of the private sector, providing expert grounds on which the case for the efforts of homebuilders could be made. Additionally, seemingly suggesting how family provided a sales strategy, *House & Home* stated: “You can also locate good prospects by calling on people whose children are graduating from college or high school—these families may be willing to move to a smaller house or apartment.” See again Murray, Jr., 98.

growing.”³⁵⁹ But even then, homeownership had other costs, spurring strategic positioning on the part of the homebuilding industry and of prospective homebuyers.

The Price of Retirement

The mere existence of an expanding supply of housing did not fully answer all questions. For older Americans, the search for retirement housing—in addition to building equity, securing financing, or taking other steps—involved accounting for the different costs associated not simply with owning a home but actually residing in it. In other words, even if supply caught up with demand, the latter would involve more than simply raising the funds to pay for it. And just as they did for other pieces of the housing picture, experts entertained a variety of points and advanced different strategies for successfully navigating the evolving residential landscape for retired Americans. In the process, such counsel extended to residential developers as well.

Variables in the equation of housing affordability involved outlays tied both directly and indirectly to housing. “In many desirable locations the cost of a home, taxes, and other living expenses may be too great a strain on your retirement,” Buckley wrote in

359 “Is Retirement Housing Today’s Best Bet for Boosting Sales and Profits?” 112. The DFPA, for example, perhaps suggested this as well: “As many as 50% of the millions of people 65 or older, and *an even higher percentage of people who are approaching retirement age*, can afford good new housing.” DFPA, *The Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. I, 4 (emphasis added). On this linkage, see again “Retirement City—Haven or Ghetto?,” 129; Becker, “All-Adult Market Grows Strong,” 66. Cohen also addresses aging and affluence in discussing life-cycle analysis and how the apparent affluence of older persons was used and promoted, though this discussion does not indicate or clarify the exact age boundaries or threshold of this market. See Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 318, esp. 322. And, the HHFA explained in relation to discussing “Middle Age” that “at this point in the family cycle, the couple is probably in its best economic position to make a housing shift or to adapt its present quarters to meet later requirements.” HHFA, *Housing the Elderly*, 9. For figures and characteristics within the life cycle by income and also homeownership, see Wells and Gubar, “Life Cycle Concept in Marketing Research,” 355, 355-56, 358, esp. 359, table 1, “Comparison of Age and Life Cycle Data from *Michigan Survey of Consumer Finances*,” 362, app. I.

1953 for those interested in seeking out homes in retirement destinations. “The problem,” he wrote, “is to find the best locations within the means of your budget.”³⁶⁰ In terms of taxes, in the 1962 edition of *The Retirement Handbook*, for example, Buckley included a section of one chapter specifically dealing with taxes—“Preferential Tax Advantages for Older People”—sketching out how tax policy at different levels featured policies favoring older taxpayers.³⁶¹ In terms of taxes related to *housing*, he told readers, “The fact that many older persons, including some with very low incomes, are burdened with heavy real estate and property taxes on large outmoded houses in which they live has given rise to suggestions for special real estate tax relief for retired homeowners.”³⁶² Early efforts, in fact, already were underway.³⁶³

360 Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1953), 226-27. For additional discussion of various “costs,” see also Older and Retired Workers Department, UAW, *Family, Friends and Living Arrangements*, 20, 23-24. For Katie Otis’s excellent discussion of similar materials in her work on Florida, see also Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 53-57. Homebuilders themselves could use such points to market their homes. *House & Home* instructed readers in 1961 to do the following: “Put more emphasis on lower living costs if you sell in low-living-cost areas.” Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 98. Additionally, Thomas Collins posed questions about housing to readers of *The Golden Years*: “What are the annual heating costs in living quarters the size you will need? What is the cost of electricity? How much is a phone? Any friendly stranger will tell you.” Collins, *The Golden Years*, 43.

361 See Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 78-79 (quotation 78). For discussion of tax policy and older Americans, see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 20-21. For Otis on discussion of taxes, see Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 55.

362 Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 79. For Otis on discussion of property taxes here, see again Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 55. On such taxes, see also Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 6; Dodge, “Purchasing Habits and Market Potentialities of the Older Consumer,” 146; WHCA, *Background Paper on Income Maintenance*, 21.

363 For such efforts and subsequent growth, discussed and cited later as well, see, for example, Steven David Gold, *Property Tax Relief* (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1979), 56, 82; Yung-Ping Chen, “Property-Tax Concessions to the Aged” in *Property Taxation, USA; Proceedings of a Symposium Sponsored by the Committee on Taxation, Resources and Economic Development (TRED) at the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, 1965*, ed. Richard W. Lindholm (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 225, 234-35, app. “Summary of Existing Laws Granting Property-Tax Concessions to the Aged”; Yung-Ping Chen, “Preferential Treatment of the Aged in Income and Property Taxation,” *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 25, no. 1 (January 1966): 28, 35-37, table VI, “Property Tax Concessions to the Aged (1965)”; John H. Bowman, “Residential Property Tax Relief Measures: A Review and Assessment” in *Erosion of the Property Tax Base: Trends, Causes, and Consequences*, ed. Nancy Y. Augustine, Michael E. Bell, David Brunori, and Joan M. Youngman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2009), 85. For history of earlier programs in the 1930s and later, including “so-called veterans’ homestead-tax exemption,” see Gold, 82; Bernard F. Slinger, “Exemption of Veterans’ Homesteads” in *Property Taxation, USA*, ed. Lindholm, 213-23; Bowman, 82-83, 85; Glenn W.

While some states passed tax policies from above, older persons could pursue lower taxes from below.³⁶⁴ Advice books and articles offered a kind of game plan of political activism. One strategy was participating in the legislative process via existing methods and channels, perhaps illustrating what Robert Havighurst described as a retirement scenario—or at least one focused on self-interest—in which “Older people can easily devote more time and energy to the role of citizen than they did when younger.”³⁶⁵ As Buckley instructed readers on the topic of taxes, “Watch the newspaper for items on bills and public hearings on possible legislation to reduce taxes for older persons, at state and local levels. Attend hearings, write to state representatives or city councilmen, voice your support of such legislation. Respond to preferential benefits for the aged with the affirmative ballot when the question comes up for voting.”³⁶⁶

Applying more directly to those seeking out new housing or going elsewhere in retirement, other strategies dealt in particular with taxes for schools and other things—and under particular conditions. “Avoid towns where large areas of unimproved land may later increase local taxes heavily for new schools, roads, sidewalks, sewers, parks, and other costly improvements,” the author of *How to Retire—And Enjoy It*, published in

Fisher, *The Worst Tax? A History of the Property Tax in America* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1996), 193.

364 For evidence suggesting the extent to which this was an issue, see “Mitnick Likes Big City Areas” in “The Retirement Market,” 59; “Builder’s Strategy Chart: A Digest of Survey Conclusions” in Housing Industry Promotional Operation, *Program Guide: What HI-PO Is/What It Means/Strategy/Research Report/Industry Theme/Consumer Messages/Putting HI-PO to Work/*, n.p., supplement, *NAHB Journal of Homebuilding* 15, no. 7 (July 1961).

365 Havighurst, “Flexibility and the Social Roles of the Retired,” 310. Evidence seemingly similar to that from Buckley discussed immediately below, he continued: “They have time to read, to attend meetings, to work on committees, and in the ripeness of their experience they can often contribute a sounder judgment than was theirs when younger” (310). For perhaps evidence, see also Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 306-7.

366 Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 78-79. As similar evidence of strategic efforts, another account declared, for instance: “Healthy and active taxpayers’ associations with good attendance and an active interest in budget hearings can help to keep taxes down.” See Giles, *How to Retire—And Enjoy It*, 91.

the late 1940s, told readers.³⁶⁷ The author of a 1952 piece in *House Beautiful* advised, for instance, of “a location where taxes are low to start with and one which won’t develop too fast, attracting young renters with growing children. For that, in turn, would mean new schools, water and sewerage systems, assessments and increased real estate taxes.”³⁶⁸ And a 1956 article on retiring to Arizona in *Retirement Planning News* laid out tax-minimization steps on two fronts: “To cut property taxes, pick a school district that doesn’t have growing pains and stay outside the city limits. That way you pay lower school taxes and no city taxes.”³⁶⁹

The homebuilding industry, meanwhile, had positions of its own on taxes. As the industry encouraged its members to consider, successfully managing and spinning the issue of schools, in particular, ultimately could generate political leverage in easing the way for retirement development. As Liz Cohen explains of trends in New Jersey, suburbs employed various zoning practices—what she identifies in her discussion as a privileging of detached single-family housing and the stipulating of both the sizes of homes and the lots upon which they were built—in order to serve the interests of homeowners. “The most prevalent kind of postwar zoning became ‘upzoning,’ or ‘large lot zoning,’ a strategy of requiring substantial plots for home construction to preserve high property values but also to cap a municipality’s population and thereby control the

367 See again Giles, *How to Retire—And Enjoy It*, 91. For additional discussion of taxes, see also Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 79; Collins, *The Golden Years*, 43.

368 Harvey H. Smith, “The Economics of the Retirement House,” *House Beautiful* 94 (July 1952): 50, 113 (quotation). Explaining the context at play here, the author wrote: “For most of us, it will be next to impossible to amass during peak earning years the amount of capital necessary for a retirement income large enough to live on *without curtailing expenses*. If your personal earnings are your main source of income during your peak years, once they are reduced you will almost certainly have to reduce your overhead. That’s where the retirement house comes in” (50).

369 “Arizona: Popular Destination for Retirement,” *Retirement Planning News* 1, no. 2 (May 1956): 5. Journal again first cited in Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 233. Such concerns would, in fact, would dominate politics in Sun City, Arizona, as Parts II and III discuss.

demand and cost of local services.” The thinking, she continues, was to seek a more ideal balance that growth otherwise threatened to upset: “If one house was built on a large lot instead of three or four on smaller ones, fewer children would enroll in school, fewer residents would need police and fire protection, and fewer cars would wear down local roads.”³⁷⁰ Indeed, in terms of younger families and the corresponding impact on schools from the standpoint of taxes, *House & Home* relayed the story of one homebuilder’s posturing around initial plans that “raised a scream of protest,” as he was quoted. “Everybody started worrying about swarms of kids and overcrowded schools.”³⁷¹

Such practices had implications for the housing market for older Americans, according to various housing observers and supporters. The ideal of smaller, more affordable, or otherwise age-appropriate retirement housing championed by experts failed to materialize, according to Cornell’s Alexander Kira at the level of the existing local landscape. “Zoning discriminates against the aged,” the 1961 piece in *House & Home* quoted him. “Our entire postwar housing boom has been child-centered, and so has our

370 Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 205-6, 231 (quotation), 236-37.

371 See “New York builder” quoted in Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 99. For broader point, see again 99. Although not specifying if in relation to smaller homes, apartments, or other housing, and although not addressing schools directly, useful in illustrating broader dynamic at play is a meeting at the New Jersey conference in 1964, which explained: “Communities are afraid to permit the construction of small dwelling units at high densities because they believe this will permit occupancy by low income families with many children. It is argued that such occupancy will lead to exorbitant municipal costs and/or a lowering of standards of municipal services.” See “Workshop on Planning and Zoning Standards” in *Local Planning for Housing the Elderly*, 35. For those involved in the event, see again 35. And for discussion in relation to apartments specifically, including debunking of and offering of strategies for dealing with, see Richard F. Babcock and Fred P. Bosselman, “Suburban Zoning and the Apartment Boom,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* (1963), cited in “Zoning: 20 Tactics to Persuade Communities to Accept Apartments,” appearing under “New Opportunities in Rental Housing: 2,” *House & Home* 25, no. 5 (May 1964): 101; “Zoning,” 98, 100. For additional evidence on making the case for apartment development in terms of various aspects involving schools, for example, see Lee A. Syracuse, *How to Get Apartment Zoning: A Guide to Argument Presentation At the Public Hearing*, no. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Home Building Press, 1969), 11, 11A-14A, 23. The author is identified on the title page as the Director of the Land Use and Development Department of the NAHB, and the publisher is identified as “An Affiliate of the Journal of Homebuilding” of the NAHB on the inside front cover.

community planning. Subdivision regulations that provide for minimum lots, minimum house sizes and prices—that ban apartment houses and prevent remodeling large old houses into smaller apartments—have prevented builders from building for retired people.”³⁷²

It also operated on assumptions—some of which seemingly were associated specifically with future retired or aging residents—about how retirement development might undermine the financial health and functioning of local communities. “You may be headed for a zoning fight if you decide to enter the retirement market in your town,” an inset story in a 1964 piece in *American Builder* advised readers.³⁷³ As one market-research expert acknowledged in a piece published in *Buildings* in the late 1960s, “Charges will be made that hospitals will become over-crowded. Some will say public transportation problems will be created. Others label retirees as big objectors to school budgets and expansion. And some may object to the ‘old image’ that may come to a township.”³⁷⁴

372 Alexander Kira quoted in Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 98. For additional discussion of lot sizes zoning out smaller homes, see also “Who Will Build for the Nation’s Aged?,” 136 (caption). For discussion of “preserving property values,” see also “Workshop on Planning and Zoning Standards” in *Local Planning for Housing the Elderly*, 35. For discussion of zoning as undercutting “conversion” approach, see also “Report of Housing the Aging Committee,” 2; Edmond H. Hoben, “Planning Considerations in Urban Communities” in *Housing the Aging*, ed. Donahue, 42 (quotation). There was evidence, after all, of how the existing landscape failed to accommodate social changes more broadly, according to one account: “The tremendous jump in the number of the elderly and of young married couples, the dispersal of industry and jobs to the suburbs, the increased congestion of transportation in the central core, have all created a demand for housing which does not fit into the traditional suburban mold.” See Babcock and Bosselman, “Suburban Zoning and the Apartment Boom,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 111, no. 8 (June 1963): 1079. Again, piece first cited in “Zoning,” 101.

373 “Market Quirk: You May Have to Battle the Zoning Board” in Arthur Pine, “Senior Citizens: How Much Housing Will They Buy?,” “Construction Report No. 7,” *American Builder* 86, no. 9 (September 1964): 86.

374 Becker, “All-Adult Market Grows Strong,” 67. Overall, however, he continued: “Our experience with many communities in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Florida and other sections of the country shows the benefits derived outweigh the disadvantages” (67). For evidence of similar opposition, see story of Paul B. West recounted and West himself cited in “Market Quirk” 86. Perhaps referring to such issues, Tibbitts noted the following involving relocating in retirement: “Migration to warm states is creating housing as

At the same time, zoning could help development. As industry publications suggested, homebuilders could smooth out any political turbulence they potentially encountered with the proper strategies, making retirement housing more palatable by framing such development as an asset rather than a liability. Given fears about the implications for schools accompanying development more generally, one strategy was to address the somewhat distinctive nature of retirement development, highlighting the particular ways in which the demographics at hand configured—or reconfigured—the relationship between taxes and services.³⁷⁵ “Where zoning of land may be a consideration, it should be remembered that elderly people provide tax and school benefits to the community since they rarely house school-age children,” *Practical Builder* pointed out in 1961.³⁷⁶ “People who buy or rent retirement apartments are not necessarily people who have stopped working,” *House & Home*, also in 1961, explained. “But they are people whose children have grown up and moved away. So new retirement apartments (and new retirement houses, for that matter) raise a community’s tax revenue without raising its school bills.” Inherent here, it continued, was a sort of political

well as other problems for some states. While it appears that most persons will retire in their own communities, enough will migrate to create special situations in Arizona, California, Florida, and perhaps elsewhere.” See Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 308. For discussion of local impact, or possible impact, of aging persons, see also Gertman and Orbach, “Health Services in the Retirement Village,” 86, 87, 88. Yet for evidence suggesting otherwise, along with elaborative discussion, see 88-89. For experts conveying concerns about same or similar issues to aging persons more directly, see, for example, Gertman and Alpert, *Wake Up Younger!* 190, 192; Older and Retired Workers Department, UAW, *Family, Friends and Living Arrangements*, 20, 24-25; Collins, *The Golden Years*, 42. And for evidence of resistance to retirement housing—public housing—on different grounds, including old age itself, see Otis’s work on the Miami, Florida, area, see Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 103-6, 108. And on efforts taken in Miami Beach, further see 105, 106-8. And for later resistance to retirees, also see 126-27. For resistance elsewhere, see Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 59. And for evidence from Irby’s work, see Irby, “Taking out the Trailer Trash,” 197-98.

³⁷⁵ In later chapters I discuss the political economy of retirement more broadly.

³⁷⁶ “The Great Market Potential in Building New Homes for Our Senior Citizens,” 129. For mention of this relationship elsewhere, see also Joseph Douglas Weiss, “Basic Considerations in Physical Planning of Housing for Older People” in NCOA, *Building for Older People*, 5U.

leverage: “That fact can be a telling point with planning and zoning boards who traditionally oppose apartment construction because the fear it will create a need for new schools.”³⁷⁷

And retirement housing helped to create a favorable economic climate for local communities more broadly. *Practical Builder* recommended at the end of its piece from 1961 that those involved “*emphasize senior citizen housing as a new community ‘industry’.*” Laying out a strategy that included but also extended beyond schools, it continued, explaining, “Residential communities all over the country are striving to improve their tax status by bringing in industrial plants, research and laboratory centers and similar enterprises. Retirement housing has similar community advantages: elderly people do not contribute to school problems; their incomes are sufficient so they add no burden to welfare or charitable agencies; they create no additional policing headaches.”³⁷⁸ As the case of Sun City, Arizona, would demonstrate, however, dreams

377 “Retirement Apartments,” *House & Home* 20, no. 1 (July 1961): 133. Illustrating this idea, as this coverage relayed it immediately following the quoted material above, was the case of one California retirement development. For this, see Dan Grady as cited in “Retirement Apartments,” 133. For additional evidence, see also, for example, Becker, “All-Adult Market Grows Strong,” 66-67. And for evidence of this dynamic working in one case, see “North: Garden Project for Active Oldsters” in “Oldsters,” 87. Several months earlier, *House & Home* in 1961 asserted that resistance actively undermined a profitable arrangement, a one-way street down which tax dollars of retired homeowners otherwise would have flowed. “Zoning in suburban towns—usually designed to keep the school population down – often boomerangs against the zoners. Reason: It bars retirees who pay school taxes without adding to school costs.” See again Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 99. And as one account, based on that of group at the 1960 conference sponsored by NCOA, suggested how the disconnect hinging on demographics might have rationalized support for what presumably would have been public policy favorable to older persons: “Tax subsidy to the aging is not necessarily subsidy because they do not have children and school costs.” For quotation, and context, see “Workshop Proceedings on Producing Housing for the Elderly” in NCOA, *Building for Older People*, 4X. For mention of “school taxes on older persons,” see also 5X. I return to these issues in Part II and III. A similar logic seemingly was at play in the account of Held and Lindloff: “A possible way of lowering single family home costs to elderly persons might well be to institute a program similar to the veterans’ exemptions on taxes in many areas. Under such a program persons over 65 years of age would, upon application to the local tax authority, be given an exemption of a portion of their assessed property taxes. *Such action would seem justifiable, inasmuch as school taxes generally represent 50% or more of property tax, and elderly persons receive no benefit from them.*” See Held and Lindloff, “Financing Housing for the Elderly,” 222.

378 “The Great Market Potential in Building New Homes for Our Senior Citizens,” 131. For similar evidence, see also journal editor James M. Lange cited in “Retirement Housing Offers Great Business

of economic development predicated on a strategy of growth-by-retirement could turn into more unfortunate affairs of economic entanglement.³⁷⁹

Shelter, Space, and Old Age

Discussion among experts in the postwar decades addressed housing on yet other levels. As *How to Provide Housing Which the Elderly Can Afford* asserted, “The need for the aged for better housing accommodations is not simply an economic need, but is emotional, physical, and psychological in character.”³⁸⁰ Citing President Kennedy’s 1961 “Special Message to the Congress on Housing and Community Development,” one HHFA account in the early 1960s took a perhaps similar framing: “The special housing needs of the elderly come only partially from low incomes. Many have physical infirmities which limit their activities; many need access to special community services; many need special equipment in their quarters to make their home life safer and more

Possibilities,” 159. And as New Jersey developer Robert Schmertz put it: “Any local municipality with tax problems should welcome retirement communities,” an article in *American Builder* in the late 1960s quoted him. See Schmertz quoted in “This Man Has \$18,000 Cash, and He’s Looking for a Place to Live—Sell Him Something,” 53. For context of economic-development strategies in suburban context, for instance, see Self’s discussion, including the case of San Leandro, for example, in his previously cited study of the Oakland area: Self, *American Babylon*, 102-3, 107-8, 109-10, 125-127, 318, 319; Self, “Prelude to the Tax Revolt,” 149, 150-151, 154. Margaret O’Mara provides important historical context in her work explaining the role of tax politics in an evolving metropolitan landscape: “At the local level, the growing disparity between high urban tax rates and lower suburban ones—differences that intensified as more and more employers moved outside city limits—created an additional lure. And suburbs themselves welcomed the new industries because of the tax revenue they could bring. For suburban governments, an industrial park brought in more taxes than a residential subdivision, and these taxes could pay for enhanced local amenities, particularly public schools. Tax structures prompted an economy-boosting surge in suburban construction and turned industrial parks into win-win propositions for both suburb and business.” See O’Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, 64. For history and aspects of such “facilities” specifically, see also 63-65 (quotation 63). Meanwhile, the piece in *Practical Builder* identified another benefit, in the role they played as consumers via purchasing power, as it continued. See again “The Great Market Potential in Building New Homes for Our Senior Citizens,” 131. For evidence of same or similar point, see case of New Jersey development cited in “Market Quirk,” 86. For saving money with what presumably were local financial institutions, see the case of Leisure Village in New Jersey cited “This Man Has \$18,000 Cash, and He’s Looking for a Place to Live—Sell Him Something,” 53. Such points were articulated by retirement-community interests within a broader logic shaping politics in the case of Sun City, Arizona, discussed later.

379 I return to this overall theme in Chapter 5 and in Part III.

380 New York State Division of Housing, *How to Provide Housing Which the Elderly Can Afford*, 4.

comfortable; nearly all need small units because the elderly household consists predominately of couples and single individuals.”³⁸¹

As the last item, or last two items, identified in particular suggest, the built environment represented one level on which space could shape aging. In both theory and practice, experts suggested how housing could be rebuilt—literally—in ways more actively aware of old age, and throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, academics, architects, and others promoted various strategies and steps to undo this disconnect.³⁸² But the imagining and building of this environment was largely its *reimagining* and *rebuilding*—of residential space otherwise at odds with aging.³⁸³ Just as various norms and practices had marginalized aging Americans, so, too, had dominant housing practices—suggested, for instance, by Vivrett’s writing of “society’s failure to anticipate the evolving situations and needs of the aging individual in relation to the home and community.”³⁸⁴ The gap between existing and ideal environments, and why and how such a disconnect existed in the first place, thus pointed to another necessary arena of “adjustment” originating from without.³⁸⁵

381 See Kennedy cited in McFarland, “Federal Aids for Housing the Elderly,” 1f. For Kennedy directly on this, see Kennedy, “Special Message to the Congress on Housing and Community Development,” 165. However, for another perspective on this, see Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 328; Rosow, *Social Integration of the Aged*, 5. Also, for evidence from an investigation the previous decade perhaps illustrating some of these points, see also Hunter and Maurice, *Older People Tell Their Story*, 83.

382 My work in this chapter and in the following one, in relation to Sun City, Arizona, is not the first historical study to discuss such retirement housing and related efforts. For existing scholarship, see the accounts I cite at the beginning of the next section in relation to the application of such ideas, particularly in relation to the homebuilding industry.

383 See again discussion in chap. 1 on tensions between the space and nature of the home itself and the physical abilities stemming from aging, as well as sources cited in pages below concerning the broader project of improvement.

384 Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 585. Here, Vivrett suggested that this involved generational favoritism as well.

385 For “improved housing design” as one area of “adjustment,” see again Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 106. Pollak’s account, too, might have been referring to the built environment of the home as well in citing “forms of special housing for the aged,” for instance. See again Pollak, *Social Adjustment in Old Age*, 41. For another account, that of Woodbury, addressing housing in part in terms of the housing itself,

Offering a useful analytical framework for understanding the power dynamics inherent in offering a new and improved retirement for aging Americans, historian Edward Berkowitz explains that, in a “disability-rights movement” underway by the 1970s, “The rights strategy shifted the burden of adjustment from people with disability to society itself. In this distinctively seventies view, the deficits of people with disabilities mattered less than did the defects in the environment.” And suggesting not only how such gaps came about but also stating more directly that proactive steps could be taken in closing them, he continued: “Contrary to the postwar wisdom, people with disabilities did not need to be changed or simply maintained. Instead, the environment that surrounded them needed to be altered in order to accommodate them.”³⁸⁶

On the old-age front, and perhaps similarly, discussion involving housing for older Americans sought to reconcile aging and space, exculpating older occupants while assigning blame to a residential built “environment,” suggested by the language in use. HHFA Administrator Albert M. Cole stated at one point, “Under provisions of the Housing Act of 1956, we have embarked upon a program to aid eligible older individuals and families in obtaining dwelling places *better adapted to their needs*.”³⁸⁷ And Norman

see Woodbury, “Current Housing Developments for Older People,” 75-76. And for evidence suggesting that this involved a top-down path of change, see 77. My analysis in this section, and the following, also shaped by recent work on disability history. For example, see Berkowitz, *Something Happened*, 154. I cite this immediately below as well. Also, as evidence of with efforts on another level, Donahue declared: “The present poor status of the housing of old people and the extent of the need for better housing in this group are largely the knowledge of specialized groups such as welfare workers and government officials dealing with the elderly. Although the physical features needed in housing especially designed for old people have been defined by a few research groups, this information is not generally known by builders and planners of housing developments.” See again Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 33.

³⁸⁶ Berkowitz, *Something Happened*, 153 (first quotation), 154 (second quotation). For context, see 153-54.

³⁸⁷ See again Cole quoted in HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, n.p. [inside front cover] (emphasis added). Donahue and Ashley in a collaborative piece reported that “healthful housing for older people, as for those of any other age, is dependent largely upon design features which minimize

Mason, HHFA Administrator by 1960, located housing hindrances and placed the burden of transformation elsewhere. “The slippery floors, poorly lighted staircases, the inaccessible storage spaces that seem so inconsequential when they are in their 40’s and even 50’s and sometimes 60’s become serious problems when they reach the 70’s and 80’s,” he said. “So one of our first priorities must be *to adjust these defects*.”³⁸⁸ And doing so, he continued, would serve what seemingly was, in this way, again emphasized in the housing equation: “By thus adding to our inventory we can lengthen the number of years during which our elderly citizens can maintain themselves in their own homes and preserve their independence.”³⁸⁹

accident hazards, permit easy care of the household, and provide proper size and space arrangements.” For quotation and context of relevant literature, see Donahue and Ashley, “Housing and the Social Health of Older People in the United States,” 143. For other concerns, see also 142.

388 For quotation, see Norman P. Mason, “Housing the Elderly -- A Look Ahead to the Next Decade” in NCOA, *Building for Older People*, 3A (emphasis added). For context in which this language appears, since this point does not appear to be the focus of his discussion, although useful for my purposes here in attempting to show how evidence suggests this, see 2A-3A. I also cite this discussion at a later point in this chapter. Meanwhile, as similar evidence, Vivrett mentioned “the manipulation of the environment” at one point. See Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 590. Also suggesting the dynamic at work here, of efforts revolving around older occupants, was discussion by one contributor to *Planning the Older Years* (1950) of efforts “to *design facilities for subsidizing and reducing the adverse effects of the physical handicaps of age*, such as lameness, deafness, failing eyesight, tremors, and general debility.” See Randall, “Living Arrangements to Meet the Needs of Older People,” 40 (emphasis added). For additional discussion, see 40-41.

389 For quotation, see again Mason, “Housing the Elderly,” 3A. Indeed, as another HHFA official explained later in the 1960s: “It is now well established that housing for older people can be specially designed to compensate for many of the declines which occur with age and thereby sustain *independent living* as long as possible. Housing for the elderly financed through the HHFA programs is, therefore, planned to *maximize opportunities for independence and self-reliance*.” Spector, “Housing for Senior Citizens,” 35-36 (all emphasis added). Although this point, in light of what follows, appears to apply more generally, he does discuss in relation to “safety and other features,” which I assume—in light of the expert discussion I examine below—involves the built environment. And for discussion of “loss of independence” perhaps relevant here, see Kira, Cederstrom, and Tucker, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 6. That this was defined against housing that otherwise would have been undermining is suggested by “independent rather than institutional living” in Spector’s account, for example, even if in referring to “environment” was doing so at a more general level rather than in relation to the built environment more specifically. See Spector, 30. And for additional evidence, of changing thinking, although speaking—or explicitly so—of “independence,” see Edna Nicholson, “THEOREM 2: Ambulant Old People Belong in Their Own Homes” in “New Programs, New Buildings for the Aged,” *Architectural Record* 116 (September 1954): 186. For context of this context, see also top of p. 186. For yet additional evidence, whether involving such housing as above or not, in her account, Wilma Donahue wrote shortly after her

Retirement, rebuilt, involved the downsizing, flattening, streamlining, and outfitting of space within the home. “Dwelling units,” Vivrett put it, “would be generally small for two very practical reasons: with few exceptions, income is limited, and energy reserves tend to be similarly small.”³⁹⁰ From the standpoint of “different floor levels of family living,” as one expert described it, the Chicago architect stated that “The living arrangements should be on *one floor* with no steps or ramps.”³⁹¹ Assuming that this was

previously cited quotation dealing with “independence”: “This independence is a strong characteristic which is not forfeited until frailty or illness necessitates the security of sheltered care.” See again Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 35-36 [36], first cited in Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 553; Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 36 (quotation). Earlier in her piece, she also discusses and cites one “survey” dealing with “an old age home or other type of congregate arrangements,” in her words. See work discussed and cited in Donahue, 28. Specifically, this study, which I utilize and cite elsewhere in my project, is the following: Hunter and Maurice, *Older People Tell Their Story*, cited in Donahue, 28. I have provided the rest of the citation information elsewhere, although Donahue’s abbreviates some publication information, “Div. Gerontol., Instit. Human Adjustment, Univ. Mich.” (28n10). For discussion of evidence of involving “nursing home,” whether the same as Spector or Donahue, for instance, or not, see also that in Beyer, *Housing and Society*, 429-430, esp. 430 (quotation). And in his overview, for Vivrett discussing and citing evidence, for example, from work dealing with “preferences in living arrangements” involving, in his words, “a nursing home or boarding home,” see discussion of in Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 554-554 (quotations 553). In terms of specific reasons, Vivrett explains in continuing that, as he writes a few lines later, some “vigorously objected to the idea of having rules imposed upon them.” And, he added: “A few had been in nursing homes for brief periods and felt that the rigidity of the rules would be too hard for them to take again.” For quotations and context of size of group overall and presumably here, see work discussed and cited in Vivrett, 553, 553-554 (quotation 554). Related or not in terms of housing and reason and/or effect, for Mason writing of “regimentation,” see also Mason, 4A. And for his broader discussion here of “the institutional aspects of housing the elderly,” see 2A, 3A-4A (quotation 3A). Finally, for my discussion of the overall emphasis on and role of “independence” in housing for older Americans, see again that where relevant in Chapter 1, including secondary accounts offering frameworks—whether applicable here or in other ways: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 161, 208; Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 20. Overall, my discussion of this idea, here and earlier, certainly could be explored in greater detail and depth in future research.

390 For quotation, see Walter K. Vivrett, “Designing a Retirement Village” in *Retirement Villages*, ed. Burgess, 18. For similar discussion, Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 593; Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 20. For discussion in relation to kitchen, for instance, see also Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, 34, 36; Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 593. For mention of “compactness,” see also Beyer, *Housing*, 173. For additional discussion of size issues, see also Woodbury, “Current Housing Developments for Older People,” 75; Loewenberg, “Designing Homes for the Aging,” 57. There were, however, limits: Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 593; Vivrett, “Designing a Retirement Village,” 18-19; Woodbury, 75.

391 Randall, “Living Arrangements to Meet the Needs of Older People,” 41-42 (first quotation 41); Loewenberg, “Designing Homes for the Aging,” 56 (second quotation, emphasis added). And for additional evidence here, see also, for example, Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 594; Vivrett, “Designing a Retirement Village,” 19; Beyer, *Housing*, 173; Woodbury, “Current Housing Developments for Older People,” 76. The latter part of the quotation from the latter source

a way of controlling the number of such “levels,” the study by Kira and co-authors stated of how specific approaches might serve to pre-empt aging-related risks via particular treatments of the built environment, “Stairs are particularly bothersome since the ascent is extremely energy-consuming and hard on an older person’s heart, while the descent is dangerous from the viewpoint of balance and liability to falls.”³⁹² Within the home, thinking called, for instance, for “all electric outlets 18 inches to 24 inches above floor,” according to one architect, while specific spaces could include specific items; in terms of the bathroom, the Kira study also reported, among the benefits of an emergent approach to bathing was that “A shower can also be provided with a seat which makes its use quite safe.”³⁹³

initially cited presumably refers housing on the outside and access to it since housing on “one floor” by definition would not have an elevation change *internally*. For discussion such concerns here, see Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 594; Vivrett, “Designing a Retirement Village,” 19; Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 64.

Another, broader benefit associated with stairs might have involved “independence” for older occupants: “The need to climb stairs will impede the mobility of some older persons and may force them to become homebound, or necessitate their moving to a lower apartment. Some may even be precipitated unnecessarily into costly institutional care. This would defeat the desirable purpose of providing suitable housing and services to help older adults remain in their own quarters to live out their lives or at least to continue for as long as possible to maintain their own homes, if they wished to.” For quotation here, see “Summary of Three Housing Clinics on Environmental Planning,” 4k-5k.

392 Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 57-58 (quotation). This linkage seems to be less explicit, relatively speaking, here than in other accounts. For Kira study, see again Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, 57-58. In terms of implications for well-being, see also, for instance, Havighurst and Albrecht, *Older People*, 28-29; “Summary of Three Housing Clinics on Environmental Planning,” 5k. For other emphases, see also Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 594; Vivrett, “Designing a Retirement Village,” 19; “Summary of Three Housing Clinics on Environmental Planning,” 4k. For evidence involving stairs from the study of Grand Rapids, see Hunter and Maurice, *Older People Tell Their Story*, 36-37. At the same time, one account actually suggested how housing with stairs could have *positive* effects: “It should be pointed out that modern medicine stresses the importance of moderate exercise not only for the aging who are well, but also (and even particularly) for those who suffer from mild cardiac, conditions, arthritis and muscular disorders. Thus, there is no blanket indictment against two-story homes for the aging. They should not be so protect from physical activity that wasting of limbs and muscles sets in prematurely.” See “Workshop Proceedings on Physical Planning for Older People,” 4W. For discussion from yet another standpoint—the view “that one story units increased the distance from the home to the stores—in relation to what presumably was multi-family housing, see that in “Summary of Three Housing Clinics on Environmental Planning,” 4k.

393 See Weiss, “Basic Considerations in Physical Planning of Housing for Older People,” 14U (first quotation); Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 29-30 (second quotation 29).

In actually implementing these ideas, aging Americans would need nudging to process the growing gap between ability and environment many would encounter. It would involve efforts similar to building home equity or, more broadly, a shift in mindset

Perhaps explaining the significance of such efforts promoted by the former, and assuming that “electric outlets” and “convenience outlets” were the same for purposes here, the Kira study stated: “In order to avoid unnecessary stooping and bending which are apt to bring on dizziness, all convenience outlets should be located at waist height.” See Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, 53. And assuming another linkage, involving “dizziness,” it stated: “Vertigo is another important cause of falls” (16). For this study addressing, seemingly overall, “the proper location of electrical outlets and switches,” and discussion of, whether related to the above or not, see 17, 26, 52-53, 71 (quotation). For additional discussion on outlets, see also Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 586-87. And, for additional discussion of and issues involving bathrooms, see, for example, Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, 26-33; Vivrett, 586, 593-94; Loewenberg, “Designing Homes for the Aging,” 57; Woodbury, “Current Housing Developments for Older People,” 76. On idea of what presumably dealt with “independence” again, Vivrett wrote: “The requirements for the bath-toilet room are among the most important if the living unit is to continue to serve as an independent one.” See Vivrett, 593. This paragraph is not a comprehensive discussion or exhaustive analysis of all such issues with the home. Additional discussion can be found in the above and other sources.

Other voices and interests discussed and disseminated various points. For Buckley, see, for example, Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 90-91. For the HHFA’s E. Everett Ashley, see Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 3-5. For the FHA in Section 203, for instance, see FHA communication and/or position as discussed and quoted in HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 6-7, esp. 7. For public housing, specifically “low-rent housing *designed specifically for elderly families*,” see PHA, *95,000*, 3 (quotation, emphasis added), plus examples from Somerville, Massachusetts, and Toledo, Ohio, in PHA, 11 and 13, respectively; Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 10-11; HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 13; Spector, “Housing for Senior Citizens,” 37. And for description of this, including change as of early 1960s, see again HHFA, “Federal Programs for Senior Citizen Housing,” [3?]. For scholarly coverage, see again Golant, *Housing America’s Elderly*, 123. Perhaps relevant here, *Time* also stated: “In 1956 Congress passed a law making public housing funds available to housing projects for the elderly.” See again “The Family,” 50. And for earlier efforts of relevance here, see again discussion in Donahue, “Programs in Action,” 260; Bohn, “Current Types of Housing and Living Arrangements,” 1F.

Furthermore, suggesting the extent to which such ideas had political traction, the WHCA addressed housing in terms of what seemingly was the built environment of the home as well—something that one section framed, among other aspects of the housing equation, within a broader listing of “Rights of Senior Citizens” as “The right to obtain decent housing suited to needs of later years.” See “SENIOR CITIZEN’S CHARTER” under “POLICY STATEMENT” in “Section 1. Population Trends: Social and Economic Implications” in White House Conference on Aging, *The Nation and Its Older People: Report of the White House Conference on Aging, January 9-12, 1961* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Special Staff on Aging, 1961), 118. And for discussion of this in relation to “independence,” see also “The Rights of Senior Citizens” under “RECOMMENDATIONS,” in WHCA, 121-22 (quotation 121). For discussion elsewhere, dealing with “the special physical needs of the aged,” see under “POLICY STATEMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS” in “Section 8. Housing” in WHCA, 181. Another feature growing out of the 1956 legislation was this, presumably, dealing again with access: “Furthermore, local public housing authorities are authorized to give a *first preference* to admission of the elderly to any low-rent public housing units suitable to their needs.” See again HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 13 (emphasis added). And for “accommodations designed specifically for older families,” see also 13.

embracing life post-employment. Vivrett wrote that “as we deal with the needs of middle-aged and older people, it is increasingly necessary that we acknowledge the dynamic, changing nature beginning with the time the children leave home, through the approach of retirement, and the onset of illness or physical disabilities. We can do much in education by planning in middle age for the years of later maturity.”³⁹⁴ As one HHFA representative suggested in the early 1960s, “It might be fun in pre-counseling sessions to stimulate participants to examine physical features in their current living arrangements and envision those additional features which they feel might be needed in later life.”³⁹⁵ However, undercutting the realization of such ideas and practices was apparent opposition on the part of aging Americans uncomfortable with their own cycling into older ages, illustrated by one architect who spoke of “the fact that the buyers not consider themselves old” in his discussing single-family homes for retirement.³⁹⁶

Experts explained how translating theory into practice would depend on the ability to allow for the coexistence, however unstable or tension-filled, of different agendas. Addressing public housing in the mid-1960s, another architect wrote of “a delicate and sensitive balance between providing for future demands of wheel-chair disabilities and avoid the present-day stigma of being constantly reminded that one is

394 Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 590. Given the context here, this presumably applied at least in part to the home itself. For broader discussion, see 585-90.

395 Hatcher, “Housing in Pre-Retirement Counseling,” 5D-6D (quotation 5D).

396 Weiss, “Basic Considerations in Physical Planning of Housing for Older People,” 10U. For similar evidence, see also 1U. He also mentions such specific efforts and how they were perceived. For this, see again 10U. As Jacobs wrote in her account, citing Donahue: “But special design can be carried too far. A chief fault with much housing specifically designed for the elderly, reports Dr. Wilma Donahue of the University of Michigan, a leading authority on gerontology, is that it overemphasizes the protective devices. Nobody is cheered by being constantly reminded of age and disability, and architects who go ramp-and-rail happy are doing the elderly no service.” See Jacobs, “Housing for the Independent Aged,” 187.

growing older.”³⁹⁷ Suggesting how a selective built environment might have been achieved, yet another architect and M.I.T. professor insisted that such “worthwhile safety features have to be provided subtly, kindly and without too much fanfare.”³⁹⁸ The answer to this overall dilemma was, for Wilma Donahue, the adoption of a timing-based strategy of sorts. “The author is inclined to agree that an array of handrails and grab bars in the bathroom and along halls are not things of added beauty,” she acknowledged at one point. “It seems desirable, however, for some provisions to be made in the plans of the house which will make it possible to add these features at a later date should the necessity arise.”³⁹⁹

“Special Housing” for Sale

As the homebuilding industry marketed homes to aging Americans, both through the efforts of various homebuilders and in industry-wide publications, they rebuilt—reimagining in the process—the homes they sold to aging Americans.⁴⁰⁰ Suggesting how

397 George E. Kassabaum, “The Buildings We Build” in National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, *Management of Public Housing for the Elderly: Background Readings* (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, 1965), 47.

398 See William Hoskins Brown, “Economic, Social and Physical Requirements of Older People in Housing and Living Arrangements” in *Building for Older People*, 6b.

399 For quotation and discussion context, see Donahue, “Programs in Action,” 271. And as Weiss wrote: “The erection of safety devices like too many or conspicuous grab bars in bathrooms is sometimes resented, but provisions should be made for blocking for future grab bar fastenings.” Weiss “Basic Considerations in Physical Planning of Housing for Older People,” 10U. For discussion of such “grab bars” more generally, see, for example, Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 28, 31-32; Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 586; Loewenberg, “Designing Homes for the Aging,” 57.

400 While the previous section examined the home at the level of broader discussion by academics and architects, and the thinking undergirding their prescriptions for allowing for aging in the built environment of the home, this section explores such ideas and efforts in an applied context, particularly in relation to homebuilding for retirement. For accounts already addressing different ways, mechanical and/or otherwise, in which this took place, first see, in relation to Sun City, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 201. And Otis discusses this in relation to retirement homes and other retirement housing, particularly public housing, too: Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 66-67, 68, 70, 96, 100, 110. Furthermore, Otis and other accounts discuss an additional dimension of the home, of homebuilders’ awareness of and preoccupation

at least one homebuilder seems to have embraced the environmentally based ideology undergirding the project of rebuilding retirement, George Beauchamp in the early 1960s spoke of the need “to persuade people to adapt their homes *to fit their needs instead of compressing themselves to adapt to houses no longer suited to them.*”⁴⁰¹ And paralleling the overall project of promoting retirement-specific housing, *American Builder*—in citing Donahue—explained, “One way this might be accomplished would be for enterprising home builders to offer this over-65 market, through advertisements, new homes which have many obvious advantages not found in the older house.”⁴⁰²

There was the issue of size, as aging homebuyers apparently sought smaller homes. “The desire to ‘cut down on space’ is the cry of the oldster,” one homebuilder reported in the 1950s.⁴⁰³ This was evident, for instance, in terms of the number of

with possible alienation resulting from aging-based efforts: Otis on DFPA material in Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 45, assuming this deals with such steps, but esp. 45n111; discussion of Leisure City, Florida, in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 55; Calhoun on Carl Mitnick in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 193. Further still, evidence presented by Otis and also Calhoun addresses the issue of the management of aging—that, as Calhoun writes, of “the inclusion of features that *unobtrusively* took account of aging’s toll on physical capacity.” See Otis on DFPA in Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 45n111; whether involving homebuilding for retirement or not, position of Rufus Nims, apparently, cited in Calhoun, 193, and 192-93 more broadly for context of discussion. I aim in this section—and in the following chapter as well—to add to this by exploring different strategies through which this was carried out. For Otis, see discussion of evidence, as well as additional evidence cited, in Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 45n111. For point in text, whether referring to other aspects of the home or to this issue more specifically, see also 45. For more recent discussion in Andrew Blechman’s account of different aging-related aspects of the home, see also Blechman, *Leisureville*, 194.

401 George E. Beauchamp, “Trailer Courts and Retirement Towns” in NCOA, *Building for Older People*, 6G (emphasis added). And for Beauchamp’s project in Florida, Orange Gardens, see HHFA, *Housing for the Elderly*, 25-26; Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 569-70. For more on Beauchamp’s efforts, including biographical information on Beauchamp and the background of Orange Gardens, see George E. Beauchamp, “Use of Private Capital—A Case Study” in *Retirement Villages*, Burgess, ed., 121-22, 123, 124; “Orange Gardens: Kissimmee, Florida” in “What Florida Builders Have Learned,” *Correlator* 10, no. 3 (March 1956): 87. And while I return to this below, for Clay Howard’s excellent work on the built environment of the home in relation to another demographic, see, for example, Howard, “Building a ‘Family Friendly’ Metropolis,” 941; Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 143-144, 150-151, 157, 159-160, 160-165.

402 “The Over-65 Have Housing Problems,” 59. Pertaining to the point at hand, it continued here, listing specific steps involving the built environment.

403 Peacock, “Detached Dwellings,” 65-66 (quotation 66). While this account discusses home size from several different standpoints, it does not appear to address the number of bedrooms *specifically*, which I discuss below, though in citing “rooms” that of bedrooms might fall under this. For those it does address,

bedrooms, particularly when viewed in relation to the average size of American homes.⁴⁰⁴ Reporting on developments in Florida, the NAHB's *Correlator* in 1956 stated, "The average retirement house has two bedrooms, one bath, generous storage space, and sells for well under \$10,000."⁴⁰⁵ The DFPA's own efforts in the early 1960s revealed that a clear majority—78 percent—of those responding to a "questionnaire" on the "House of Freedom" supported the inclusion of two bedrooms.⁴⁰⁶

Peacock wrote: "We have found it to be true that older people want fewer rooms than the growing family. The square foot area of a home for the aged is less than the area of a home for the average family. The size of the lot the older individual desires is less than that wanted by younger families" (65-66). For example of discussion of lot size, see also Murray, Jr., "Today's Neglected Retirement Market," 96.

404 For example, among homes with FHA backing, the majority—roughly two-thirds—by 1954 had three bedrooms. See data discussed and provided in Beyer, *Housing*, 51, including table 6, "Number of Bedrooms in 1-Family New Homes Securing FHA Mortgages Insured Under Section 203, 1951 to 1954." As additional evidence for this context, of "split-level, three- and four-bedroom houses," see Vivrett, "Housing and Community Settings for Older People," 568-69 (quotation 569).

No less importantly, Clay Howard's work offers historical scholarship on such issues. For discussion of evidence from homebuilding for *younger* families for which my work might be seen as offering a perspective and account of a counterpart demographic and trend, at the other end of the life-cycle spectrum—and perhaps dealing with bedrooms, the number of which might have provided a counterpoint to downsizing in retirement—see also Howard, "Building a 'Family Friendly' Metropolis," 941. For Howard's work elsewhere dealing with such issues—on the built environment of the home in relation to *younger* families and, in particular, that of the number of bedrooms, see Howard, "The Closet and the Cul de Sac," 143-144, 150-151, 157, 159-160, 160-165. For example, in terms of bedrooms specifically and trend, he provides and quotes evidence from *House & Home*. See "Four Bedrooms Solve Space Squeeze," *House and Home* (June 1954) as discussed and quoted/cited in Howard, "The Closet and the Cul de Sac," 161. Some of the above pages I cite here might involve discussion by other experts or practitioners above and below, although for sake of brevity I have included here. Also, for discussion of underlying issues or particularities perhaps of younger demographics here, see again, for example, 132, 143-144, 150-151, 151, 155-156.

405 "What Florida Builders Have Learned," 77. On reasoning behind, see again 77. For case of Leisure City in Florida for number of and why, see "Leisure City: Homestead, Florida" in "What Florida Builders Have Learned," 81. For example of two bedrooms, see also, for instance, "He Builds What Retirees Want" in "The Retirement Market," 54; also DFPA conference as reported in "Retirement Housing Offers Great Business Possibilities," 157. For advice literature on size of home—"a smaller house on a smaller lot"—see Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 84. For discussion of the number of bedrooms elsewhere, an HHFA official in 1958 stated: "It will be small in size with no more than two bedrooms." See "Text of Remarks by M. Carter McFarland" in NHC and NAHB, *Summary Report on 'Housing Our Senior Citizens,'* 4. However, some homebuilders did, of course, sell larger—three-bedroom—homes as well. For example, see cases mentioned in HHFA, *Housing the Elderly*, 25, 26. And while this account mentions Mitnick as only selling two-bedroom homes, he did offer three-bedroom ones, according to other accounts. See, in order, HHFA, 26; but also "Mitnick Likes Big City Areas" in "The Retirement Market," 60; "New Jersey Beach Draws Many Oldsters: North Cape May, N.J.," *NAHB Correlator* 10, no. 3 (March 1956): 75.

⁴⁰⁶ See DFPA, *Builder's Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. II, 2, unnumbered table, "DFPA's Survey Results," sec. IV, n.p. [inside front cover] (quotation). For recounting of DFPA evidence, see also

Industry materials addressed additional aspects. In its coverage of the subject in 1961, *Practical Builder* in one piece included a list itemizing a given “Feature” paired with its “Advantage.” That of “Principal rooms on one level” meant “no exertion, for instance, and that of “Electric outlets 18 in. or more above floor” meant “no stooping,” while yet another—“Bathroom grab rails” meant “no slipping.”⁴⁰⁷ The “House of Freedom” itself was “compact” and included such steps as well.⁴⁰⁸ Meanwhile, the *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Market* openly utilized to a significant extent the Kira study, published several years earlier, further suggesting how the homebuilding industry embraced and promoted ideas and practices circulating amongst academic experts and others.⁴⁰⁹

And yet not all housing built for retired Americans in the 1950s necessarily harnessed the built environment to address aging. In the introduction to a conference-derived collection in the early 1960s on the rise of “retirement villages,” Irving Webber, a former University of Florida sociologist, and Carter Osterbind, a University of Florida

Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 86. For both “smaller house and “smaller site,” see also DFPA, sec. I, 2. For the DFPA’s “House of Freedom” as featuring two bedrooms, see, for example, see DFPA, *House of Freedom*, n.p., graphic, “16 Special Features Recommended by House of Freedom Advisory Committee”; DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. IV, 1.

407 “The Great Market Potential in Building New Homes for Our Senior Citizens,” 130. For evidence from other journals, see also “Oldsters: Housing’s Youngest Market,” 84; “What You Should Know About Retirement Housing” and “Research Eliminates Guesswork: He Builds What Retirees Want” in “The Retirement Market,” 52-53 and 54, respectively; and Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 98.

408 See DFPA, *House of Freedom*, n.p., including graphic, “16 Special Features Recommended by House of Freedom Advisory Committee.” Others included space for a “Hobby-workshop area in garage” (n.p.). For discussion of allowing for various things, see also Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 594; also Gertman and Alpert, *Wake Up Younger!* 186, 232; Giles, *How to Retire—And Enjoy It*, 92. And again, in terms of housing for younger persons, see discussion in Clay Howard’s work taking an approach of home design and particular occupants, whether addressing these sorts of aspects or other ones: Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 941.

409 For example, on the cover of section VII of the document, which provided “Information Sources – Background Reading,” it stated: “In preparing the material on what buyers want, the association drew heavily on Professor Alexander Kira’s HOUSING REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AGED—A STUDY OF DESIGN CRITERIA published by the Housing Research Center at Cornell University.” See DFPA, *The Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Market*, sec. VII, n.p. [front cover].

economist made this point in addressing the subset of “real-estate developments” in Florida: “In most instances the special design features which receive much attention in discussions of housing for the aging are conspicuous by their absence.”⁴¹⁰ As one aging advocate and critic similarly stated earlier, in 1956, in *Architectural Record*, “*With some exceptions, the houses are planned with the needs of older persons in mind only in relation to size of family and retirement income.*”⁴¹¹

There were various factors behind this trend. Continuing in their discussion, Webber and Osterbind speculated about the reasons behind this, citing what it characterized as a “lack of information on the part of builders,” among other factors.⁴¹² Whether this involved a lack of knowledge of such market factors as the demographics of aging persons in contemporary America or a lack of well-founded knowledge, the DFPA for its part addressed the latter in its *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*. Distinguishing between “Fact and fiction about today’s young oldsters” on a series of points, it refuted that “Housing for older people is a highly specialized field, and it is so complicated to build that it would never be suitable for anyone else.” The reality, it stated, was rather that “Retired people want a simple sensible house with safety and

410 Here, see Ernest W. Burgess, preface to *Retirement Villages*, ed. Burgess, iii (first quotation), iv; Irving L. Webber and Carter C. Osterbind, “Types of Retirement Villages” in *Retirement Villages*, ed. Burgess, 5 (second quotation), 6 (third quotation), piece, and possibly collection, first cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 1; Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 172. For additional definition and characteristics of such “retirement villages,” see Webber and Osterbind, 3-10; panel discussion “Definition of Retirement Village” in Ernest W. Burgess, “Unresolved Issues in Retirement Village Planning” in *Retirement Villages*, ed. Burgess, 143-45. For additional definition and discussion of “The Retirement Village” elsewhere, see also Mathiasen, “Some Current Attempts at Better Buildings for the Aging,” 198. For a broader “typology of retirement communities” in the 1980s, see Michael E. Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities*, 2-19, esp. 7 (quotation), 10, 12-16, first cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 160. For another early citation, see also Hunt, et al., initially cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 20. And for Findlay overviewing the pages above, among others in Hunt, see Hunt, 12-16, 253, 255, discussed and cited in Findlay, 168. For rise of trend, of “towns designed for the older citizen,” see Sturgeon, 54.

411 Mathiasen, “Some Current Attempts at Better Buildings for the Aging,” 198. She spoke of such communities as “real estate developments” as well: Mathiasen quoted in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 56.

412 Webber and Osterbind, “Types of Retirement Villages,” 6.

maintenance features that make sense in any house.” In fact, it added, there was broader appeal here: “The typical ‘retirement house’ would be almost as suitable for young married couples.”⁴¹³

That retirement housing might not have been so different after all mirrored a theme advanced in a broader, perhaps overlapping debate about whether or not distinctiveness was actually warranted.⁴¹⁴ One perspective argued—as one architect did—that “all the so-called special facilities within dwellings for the aged are equally desirable for any good housing, without classification into housing for infancy, childhood, adolescence, maturity, and senescence.”⁴¹⁵ A number of experts took an

413 DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. I, n.p. [inside front cover]. Ashley similarly stated: “I have heard of some developers who have shied away from housing for aging persons because they felt that it would involve special design problems. Actually, however, many of the features which are desirable for aging persons are equally suitable for younger families with small children—for example, space all on one floor, no stairs to climb, absence of drafts, automatic heat, nonslip floors, and many more items of this nature. Hence, in actual practice, housing designed for the aging can provide desirable facilities for families in all age groups.” Ashley, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 19. For Tibbitts on “special design” and complications, see again Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems,” 308. While these accounts certainly addresses the issue of usability by other, future parties, it is possible that they involved other issues as well. For example, elsewhere in the *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, the DFPA told readers that “you can satisfy roughly 80 per cent of the financially able buyers with the kind of housing suitable to most builders’ operations.” And shortly after, it stated: “Architecturally and structurally, single-family retirement houses such as the ‘House of Freedom’ . . . tend to parallel those you are already building.” See DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. II, 2. Such points thus might have reflected logistical concerns on the part of homebuilders. And though they might have been treating this as a separate factor, in itemizing it among others, another issue suggested by Webber and Osterbind that of “hesitation to increase construction costs” in their discussion: Webber and Osterbind, “Types of Retirement Villages,” 6.

414 For overview of different ideas, see Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 71-73; Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 592-93. The Kira study included not only design but also issues involving location, discussed later this chapter. And the Vivrett overview also includes mention of debate in relation to age segregation, discussed below as well. For other account dealing with same or related ideas, also see WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 18; Spector, “Housing for Senior Citizens,” 30-31.

415 Churchill, “Some Random Thoughts on Housing for the Aged,” 39, again first cited in Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 592. The “One-floor layout, for example, offered the following: “This is desirable at any age – for the creeper, the housewife, the sick, and cardiac.” For relevant discussion and quotation, see 39-40 (quotation 39). In fact, whether addressing the same point and based on the same reason or not, Kenneth Jackson explains in writing on postwar suburbia that that one benefit associated with what one period account—assuming they were speaking of the same thing—identified as “‘ranch house’ building,” though as a way of addressing aging was: “Mothers with small children did not have to contend with stairs.” See Randall, “Living Arrangements to Meet the Needs of

opposing position, hinging on the idea of the particular predicament of older persons. The Kira study warned that “the price paid for the disregard of ‘requirements’ is not merely inconvenience but, rather, possible danger to life and limb.”⁴¹⁶ George Beauchamp argued that “the difference is in the degree of need; what is convenient to a person of thirty may be a vital matter of safety to a person of 75.” Illustrating this, he added: “Ease of cleaning may mean to a young woman an hour saved for bridge; for her mother it means the difference between being able to maintain an individual and independent home and becoming increasingly dependent on others.”⁴¹⁷

But for homebuilders, overlap could mean opportunity. “Since the need for a smaller space is characteristic of very young as well as older families, there is a much

Older People,” 41 (first quotation); Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 240 (second quotation). And for the broader context of and argument underlying his critique, see also 37-38, 49. For a similar perspective, drawing in part on Churchill, see also Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 328; Rosow, *Social Integration of the Aged*, 5-6. And here, evidence very well might suggest that discussion of overlap in housing across age groups from the standpoint of “design” also connected to apparent concerns over aging-specific housing: “In implementing its new authority, the Public Housing Administration has sent circulars, both to its Regional Offices and to all local housing authorities, pointing out that public low-rent housing to be suitable for elderly families *need not differ too substantially in design from the normal type of low-rent public housing since the housing needs of elderly families do not differ greatly from those of younger families*. Because of the general low-income housing needs to be served by low-rent public-housing projects, and because of the difficulty of forecasting for long periods of time the relative quantitative needs for housing for the elderly and other families, PHA believes it *desirable to plan housing for the elderly so that it can also be used by other families without undue waste of special facilities*.” See again HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 13 (all italics added). Calhoun also uses similar language—of “age-specific”: Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 211, for example. On generational position of opposition here, see also discussion in WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 18. For Calhoun on other points by Churchill, see Churchill cited and quoted in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 203-4.

416 See Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 9 (quotation), 14, 60, 71-73. HHFA administrator Albert M. Cole, who similarly wrote: “There are design features in some of today’s homes that younger householders take for granted, or find only irritating, but which may be hazardous for older people.” See Cole, “What the Aged Need in Their Homes.” For other accounts distancing aging persons, versus population at large or other age groups, see, for example, Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 592-93; Loewenberg, “Designing Homes for the Aging,” 55 (quotation), 56; WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 18; Spector, “Housing for Senior Citizens,” 30-31.

417 Beauchamp, “Use of Private Capital,” 120. Elsewhere, however, he appears to have used the argument advanced or logic used by Churchill about improvements as cutting across age. See George Beauchamp cited/quoted in “You Can Build One-Family Houses Everywhere” in Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 104.

larger potential market for the small house than is currently realized,” one account suggested. “Also, since many of the architectural features essential to the health and safety of older people are also convenient for younger people, the same type of housing may be suitable for both and elderly families.”⁴¹⁸ Suggesting how the apparent transcendence of age in retirement housing seemingly provided a heightened degree of flexibility to homebuilders, perhaps to allow them to cast a wider net in fishing for prospective homebuyers or to serve other purposes, several Phoenix-area homebuilders did in the late 1950s advertise to multiple markets simultaneously. Even as John F. Long specifically promoted one model to different demographics: “NEWLY-WEDS, anxious for a modern, bright home of their own, with room for growth . . . ,” “SMALL FAMILIES, longing for the spaciousness and many other advantages of suburban living for their children . . . ,” and “RETIRED COUPLES, looking for an easy-to-maintain, moderately-priced home in a warm, friendly community.”⁴¹⁹ Hallcraft Homes similarly played to couples at different stages of the life cycle: “A wonderful world of good living awaits you whether you’re Young Honeymooners on the threshold of married life or Second Honeymooners anticipating the pleasures of retirement here in Arizona’s inviting Valley of the Sun.”⁴²⁰

418 See Mathiasen, “Some Current Attempts at Better Buildings for the Aging,” 196.

419 “YOU Can Own a 3-Bedroom, 1 1/2 –Bath Home For As Little As \$80 A MONTH,” advertisement for “John F. Long’s international home show” for “The Shannon,” *Arizona Republic*, September 27, 1959. On Long, see VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 197; Philip VanderMeer, “John F. Long,” in VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 94-95.

420 “Now! BIG TWO BEDROOM HOMES FROM HALLCRAFT DEDICATED TO THE HAPPINESS OF 1ST AND 2ND HONEYMOONERS,” advertisement for Hallcraft Homes, “Sun Living” section, *Arizona Republic*, December 27, 1959, sec. 5, 13. For background on John C. Hall, presumably of Hallcraft, see VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 194, 196. For context of postwar homebuilding in Phoenix, see—for example—193-94, 196-98. This is not to say, however, that old-age distinctiveness did not matter to the homebuilding industry in at least some industry material; it did matter, common ground aside. *Practical Builder* in 1961 stated, “By and large, the house for the senior citizen is somewhat similar in concept to that with appeal to newlyweds. Generally, it is modest in size and

Another possibility identified by Webber and Osterbind dealt with anxiety over—or opposition to—connections between the built environment of the home and old age.⁴²¹ And such concerns fit within a broader context of aging-related anxieties—anxieties for which those seeking to sell to older Americans would have to account. Historian Gary Cross explains that “until the 1960s, marketing specialists were wary of elder consumers, fearful of insulting them by calling them aged.”⁴²² And in the early 1960s, Robert Dodge wrote, “Considering the premium which our society has put on youth, the older person may not wish to be identified as ‘old.’”⁴²³ At the same time, as Calhoun seemingly suggests in his excellent discussion and analysis, the ultimate approach blended the keeping of aging at arm’s length while also addressing old age, “exploiting one market without alienating another,” as he puts it—or, as Dodge himself wrote, perhaps making the same or a similar point, “recognizing the need but not emphasizing the differentiation.”⁴²⁴

layout, but, for senior citizens, it has *certain omissions and additions*.” “The Great Market Potential in Building New Homes for Our Senior Citizens,” 130 (emphasis added).

421 See again Webber and Osterbind, “Types of Retirement Villages,” 6. More specifically, they wrote that this was “the conviction which was expressed by at least one developer—that *older people do not want to be reminded of their changing physical condition*—is not known. See again 6 (emphasis added.) Here, they also cite a source from “What Florida Builders Have Learned,” though specific page not provided. For Beauchamp on aging and agenda of homebuilders, see also Beauchamp, “Trailer Courts and Retirement Towns,” 5G. For Beauchamp on cost of housing as not excessive, see also Beauchamp, “Use of Private Capital,” 123. For similar language and perhaps idea in Blechman’s account, see “Bill” quoted in Blechman, *Leisureville*, 194 (quotation), 195.

422 See Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 187. Richard Calhoun offers a useful account on the background here: “As the recognition grew that older people constituted a consumer group worthy of exploitation, marketers began seriously to consider methods in which they might best be approached. At the outset, two schools of thought debated this issue. One suggested that over sixty-fives would respond best to frank appeals on their age, while the other counseled that the subject of age be studiously avoided.” Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 192. For discussion giving examples, see also 192-93. And for background of to this point, also see 190-92.

423 Dodge, “Purchasing Habits and Market Potentialities of the Older Consumer,” 146-47 (quotation 147), 155-56. For additional evidence from the period, see also, for example, “How the Old Age Market Looks,” 72.

424 First, for Calhoun, see the following. For this idea, in context of what appears to have been evolving methods here, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 193-195. More specifically, for first quotation, see 193. And for second quotation, see 195). For a specific illustration of this, see 195. And key to this was

Within such a framework, anti-aging approaches in homebuilding for retirement were evident—but also potentially dealt with. “Most builders have found that including special safety devices in their retirement homes is unnecessary and sometimes even detrimental to sales,” the NAHB’s *Correlator* reported in 1956 on efforts in Florida.⁴²⁵ This did not, however, preclude aging-focused efforts aimed, however indirect. “There was solid agreement that retired buyers reject an approach keyed to their infirmities but there also was agreement that certain convenience features are necessary in a home built for this market,” *Practical Builder* reported on the DFPA conference.⁴²⁶ “Special features that make living safe and easy must be included,” other coverage put it. “But this brings up a thorny problem. Elderly people don’t like to have their frailties underscored by ‘features’ that scream, ‘you are old.’”⁴²⁷

The answer was that homebuilders might skirt the issue of aging, shielding homebuyers from explicit treatments of old age. The trick, more specifically, would be promoting aging while simultaneously distancing housing—at least from superficial or aesthetic standpoints—from it. “They do want a maximum of safety in terms of potential household accidents,” the *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Market* told readers of prospective retired residents. “But they don’t want to be reminded of the last stages of

“segmentation,” a context previously cited. For this, see again 194. And for discussion cited above about the dynamics of old age, including an example in relation to housing that also seems to illustrate, and that I cite again below, see 192-93. Second, for Dodge quotation, see Dodge, “Purchasing Habits and Market Potentialities of the Older Consumer,” 147. The full quotation here is as follows: “Appeals to the older consumer . . . must therefore be very tactful, *recognizing the need but not emphasizing the differentiation.*” (147) (emphasis added).

425 “What Florida Builders Have Learned,” 78.

426 “Retirement Housing Offers Great Business Possibilities,” 157.

427 “Plywood Casts Its Eye on Retirement Housing,” 83. For Beauchamp on what seemingly was a broader anti-aging impulse, along with its implications, see Beauchamp, “Trailer Courts and Retirement Towns,” 4G.

old age by an institutional atmosphere and over-emphasis on safety gadgets.”⁴²⁸

Elsewhere, it advised readers, “Old people need special features, but don’t rub it in. They want to feel young.”⁴²⁹ Illustrating how the upsides might be gained without being

obvious, *Practical Builder* noted, in discussing the experience of one Florida

homebuilder, that “Such features must be present discreetly.”⁴³⁰ As Beauchamp himself

suggested on eluding detection via a strategically built environment, “Properly designed

homes can make such independent living possible and if they are properly designed, will

do so without being noticeably different from any other home in any other

community.”⁴³¹

428 DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. II, 3.

429 DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. V, 1. Similarly, in the same section of the document it also listed the following along with a “check list of do’s and don’ts for merchandising in this market” based on one Florida homebuilder’s experience: “DON’T . inject negative thoughts or emphasize ‘elderly’ or ‘aging.’” See sec. V, n.p. [inside front cover]. Cole told of the following, for example: “A major builder of small homes for retired persons in Florida...found to his surprise that the advertised safety features of his houses tended to reduce his sales—the elderly apparently did not want to be reminded of their infirmities with sales campaigns that emphasized grab rails, ramps, wheelchair-maneuvering space and the like.” Cole, “What the Aged Need in Their Homes.” For additional evidence, see also discussion in Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Home Market,” 98; Beauchamp cited in NHC and NAHB, *Summary Report on ‘Housing Our Senior Citizens,’* 31; Calhoun on Mitnick on aging in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 193. And as additional evidence suggesting how homebuilders were to target aging homebuyers but within the broader framework of homebuilding, the DFPA also stated: “You can sell retirement housing the same as you sell homes to younger people. The advertising, publicity, brochures, model home and sales organization are the same. But it pays to emphasize some aspects and to play down others.” See again DFPA, sec. V, 1. In her work, Otis also cites this, along with a range of pages, from this section of the DFPA document: DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec V, 1-4, as cited in Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 45n111. For evidence elsewhere from the period, see also “Retirement City—Haven or Ghetto?” 130.

430 See discussion of Joseph Rosati in “Retirement Housing Offers Great Business Possibilities,” 155. For similar evidence, see also, for example, discussion of Orange Gardens, where “these safety features are often *soft peddled*,” see “Orange Gardens” in “What Florida Builders Have Learned,” 87-88 (quotation 88, emphasis here added). For discussion of what perhaps was this position, see again Calhoun, where he discusses the position of “the *inclusion* of features that *unobtrusively took account* of aging’s toll on physical capacity.” See again Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 193 (emphasis added). And for additional evidence, see also “Retirement City—Haven or Ghetto?” 130.

431 Beauchamp, “Trailer Courts and Retirement Towns,” 5G. He recounted the following story, seemingly as evidence of this: “In Orange Gardens, for example, we designed a home for a paraplegic woman so they she was able to keep house from her wheelchair and lead an otherwise normal life. After family necessities took her out of state, the home changed hands a couple of times and I was delighted to discover that its latest owners, after living in the home for several months, had never become aware that the house was

The silencing of aging also could take place through the implementation of a strategy of casting new and improved housing as backed by broader appeal and application—and not specific to aging. “Install such safety factors as bathtub strips in homes for the elderly, but do not stress them as being ‘special’ for older people,” Beauchamp suggested back in 1958, perhaps illustrating the strategy of addressing old age by *not* addressing old age discussed in Calhoun. “Sell them as living features. Safety features are good for any age.”⁴³² With the intention of smoothing out the rough edges of aging, if not eradicating any hint of it whatsoever, the DFPA offered similar tact, writing, “Bill the special features in your homes as conveniences, not aids to the aged or handicapped.”⁴³³ Here, the presentation of housing diverged from its roots in expert discussion about the primacy of aging, inverting the relationship identified by both the

designed for anything other than customary use. Some of the features were a little different, but nothing looked unnatural to them” (5G).

432 NHC and NAHB, *Summary Report on “Housing Our Senior Citizens,”* 19. Mitnick took a similar position: “Some builders—and we are among them—refer to such advantages as ‘living,’ rather than ‘safety’ features.” See Mitnick, “North Cape May” in “Retirement Towns,” 333. Mitnick apparently bypassed some of the ideas suggested by experts, though he did indicate in the above piece that his homes nonetheless addressed aging. See Mitnick, 333; “Mitnick Likes Big City Areas,” 59.

433 DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. V, 4. For similar evidence, see also sec. V, n.p. [inside front cover]. And for Otis’s account again, see DFPA as cited in Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 45n111. Additional evidence further illustrates the rhetorical function of “convenience.” Beauchamp elsewhere, for example, explained that a “sensitiveness to equating retirement with age has compelled us to underplay the safety features in advertising, to stress instead the comforts, conveniences, and flexibility of the homes.” In the case of Leisure City in Florida, according to the developer: “He does not want obvious safety devices to remind him of advancing age, but will accept those which can be justified for *increased convenience even to younger persons.*” See Beauchamp, “Use of Private Capital—A Case Study,” 124 (first quotation); “Leisure City” in “What Florida Builders Have Learned,” 81 (second quotation, emphasis added). For almost identical quotation on “convenience” in Leisure City in the latter, also see William T. Arnett, “Designs of Florida Retirement Villages” in *Retirement Villages*, ed. Burgess, 51, passage or broader piece initially cited in Sturgeon, 54-55. However, my analysis tries to go one step further, looking at the rhetorical function of “convenience,” for instance. For another account discussing “convenience,” though not necessarily making this exact point, see also Peacock, “Detached Dwellings,” 66. For emphasis on “flexibility of plan,” see also “Orange Gardens” also in “What Florida Builders Have Learned,” 87-88 (quotation 88). For discussion elsewhere perhaps suggesting this, see again Weiss, “Basic Considerations in Physical Planning of Housing for Older People,” 10U. Finally, for similar evidence from Blechman, see again idea and points discussed by “Bill,” quoted in Blechman, *Leisureville*, 194-95.

Kira study and Beauchamp—between the “convenient” and “safety.”⁴³⁴ Here, the former now served as a proxy for the latter, perhaps offering prospective homebuyers a sort of psychological buffer from old age in foregrounding more general, less aging-specific concerns about an enhanced quality of life—and thus washing away any explicit, uncomfortable associations with underlying issues involving physical ability or capacity that retirement housing now sought to confront.

But tensions transcended matters of consumer psychology. Rather, it had the potential for long-term consequences. Frozen in time while the bodies of aging occupants were *not*, the built environment of retirement or old age had its limitations. Indeed, experts pointed to the fact of changes developing *within* the broader window of aging. This was true of relationship between housing and the life cycle more broadly. “Actually the housing requirements of any family or individual are extremely dynamic, changing slowly sometimes almost imperceptibly over time,” the HHFA stated. “Housing arrangements that are adequate for a single young man starting on his business career generally will be completely unsuited to the same man when married and the father of four children. Similarly what is ideal for the recently retired couple at age 65 can be completely unsuited to the frail remaining partner of that marriage at age 81.”⁴³⁵ Further along in the life cycle thus was additional subdivision. “The period of later maturity extends over twenty or thirty years and during this time the needs and the desires of the aging person change even more than during an equivalent period of earlier adult life,” Donahue stated. “The healthy, able-bodied, active individual may change

434 Words quoted from previously cited Beauchamp quotation earlier in this section.

435 HHFA, *Housing the Elderly*, 8. Here, this document was de-centering “65” as well. For this, see again 8.

during this time to one who is frail or chronically ill and in need of sheltered care and nursing services.”⁴³⁶

Yet the answer to the question of aging embodied in private, single-family housing overall fell short, some experts argued, and even might have exacerbated the housing dilemmas facing aging Americans. As one account pointed out in critiquing the “retirement town” route of housing older Americans, “Most of these houses are purchased new during the early years of retirement when a couple is in fairly good health, able to maintain house and grounds, have a car in good repair, and a retirement income sufficient to provide for necessities. Ten years later the situation may be quite different.”⁴³⁷ In fact, the United States Savings and Loan League executive had raised the issue of what appears to have been the physical capacity of older homeowners. “We must recognize also that home ownership undertaken at older age, even when the family had adequate income, is not always feasible or necessarily desirable,” he cautioned in the 1954 collection from the Michigan conference, homeownership, identifying in the process additional complications following from this tensions. “A house does require

436 For example, see Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 23. Another account similarly suggested: “What is perhaps further needed is sharper focus on the probably cycle of changing housing needs over differing phases of maturity. It may well be that suitable housing for early retirement years may be less so for the middle late years, and even completely untenable for the ‘latest’ late years. In a practical sense, this may pose need for two- or three-step housing planning as contrasted to a single initial decision.” See Hatcher, “Housing in Pre-Retirement Counseling,” 3D. Perhaps taking as broader framing here, based on the different “phases” it identified, the HHFA document from above stated: “There is growing consensus that housing for the aging persons looked at across the entire spectrum from middle age through late old age actually requires a variety of types of housing and living arrangements which run the gamut from the more effective utilization of existing housing to nursing homes.” First, for definitions of “phases,” see HHFA, *Housing the Elderly*, 9-11 (quotation 9). For above quotation, see 13. And for “Middle Age” and “Late Old Age” specifically, see 9 (first quotation), 10 (second quotation). On “different states of aging,” whether at the collective or individual levels, see discussion and context in Mason, “Housing the Elderly -- A Look Ahead to the Next Decade,” 2A-3A.

437 Mathiasen, “Some Current Attempts at Better Buildings for the Aging,” 198. Sturgeon, too, discusses Mathiasen on these points: Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 56, 57 (footnote). For additional discussion about long-term concern, see also discussion of Richard Ratliff and William Arnett from panel discussion of “Finances” in Burgess, “Unresolved Issues in Retirement Village Planning,” 150.

care and maintenance, much of which can be done by the owner himself. If the health and strength of the owner is such that he cannot do the work around the place himself, he must hire others to do it, and that type of labor is scarce and expensive.”⁴³⁸ And *How to Provide Housing Which the Elderly Can Afford* addressed limits to Section 203 specifically, including the disconnect of housing and aging in which “the elderly owners must assume all maintenance and management, even though their capacity for that may be failing.”⁴³⁹ Homes for retirement thus might have run the risk of becoming liabilities all over again, re-introducing same or similar hindrances from which the aging American household sought, literally and figuratively, shelter.

Nor was the answering of the question of retirement housing within the framework of homeownership a project simply imposed from above. Aging Americans, rather, had agency in the process, contributing to the creation of conditions for yet another disconnected stage of housing and the life cycle in desiring—as many apparently did—single-family housing. The DFPA, through its own research efforts, found that “62 per cent wanted a home of their own.”⁴⁴⁰ It might have been attributable to qualitative

438 Strunk, “Financing Homes for Owner Occupancy,” 165-66 (quotation 165). As additional evidence, see also Strunk as cited in coverage of his appearance at the 1952 conference at Michigan, “Older Persons Find It Difficult To Get Loans for Home Purchases.” For additional discussion calling into question homeownership, see also Gertman and Alpert, *Wake Up Younger!* 184-85.

439 New York State Division of Housing, *How to Provide Housing Which the Elderly Can Afford*, 27. For nearly identical material and quotation, see also Richard W. Hill, Jr., “Position Paper Basic Considerations on Producing Housing for Older People” in NCOA, *Building for Older People*, 7V. At the same time, a relationship between aging bodies and aging homes might have had implications for homeownership as an asset. One housing scholar seemingly suggested this, among other points, in writing: “It might be presumed, for example, that persons or families owning their own homes have no problem. The large percentage of dilapidated dwellings, however, indicates that this is not necessarily the case. Many of the houses which these people occupy are too large for their physical capabilities, and others require more maintenance than can be afforded. This leads to deterioration and obsolescence which lowers the possible resale value of the house.” See Beyer, *Housing*, 56. For additional evidence addressing aging homes and financial implications, though not explicitly mentioning or explaining the factor of aging, see also Federal Council on Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 70; Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 3.

440 DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. II, 2. For actual results from this, see “Housing Preference Survey” in “The Retirement Market,” 66. Survey results included in Buckley, *The*

distinctions in housing. “Our surveys and observations reveal a predominant interest in housing in which the individual has a separate identity as a house-holder,” Vivrett wrote in a larger collection titled *Retirement Villages* and edited by Ernest Burgess.⁴⁴¹

Whether helping to illuminate the reason underlying such a position or not, both Vivrett—writing elsewhere—and William Loring referenced the factor of “status” hitched to housing, specifically in relation to *outmoded* housing. Relaying findings from the Boston area, Loring wrote in the *Architectural Record* in the early 1960s, “In the Wellesley study, a preponderance of the elderly home owners indicated a reluctance to move, even though they admitted that their houses were too large or poorly located. Further questioning showed this reluctance to be clearly associated with the fact that to them and their friends their present property was a symbol of status achieved during the working years.”⁴⁴² As these accounts, and those of Loring in particular, suggest, if homeownership was tied to class in the minds of aging Americans, then class and age perhaps were not so easily separated. Indeed, as the case of Sun City, Arizona, would demonstrate, the former could push back against—and maybe even trump in some

Retirement Handbook (1962), 86. The balance of housing types supported by respondents indicated in all of the above. All, then, did not seek such housing. And more broadly, the DFPA cite Kira, who pointed to a diversity of housing: See Kira quoted in, along with discussion in, DFPA, sec. II, 1. For additional evidence, one investigation found, according to the *Journal of Housing*: “More than 76 per cent of approximately 6000 persons who said they expect to retire within the next ten years indicated that they want a separate house in preference to a double house or an apartment.” See Investors Diversified Services, Inc. “survey” as discussed and cited in “Most Retiring Families Want Separate House, Survey Shows,” April 1953, in NAHRO, *Toward Good Housing*, 22. For evidence suggesting otherwise, however, see HHFA investigation as discussed in Cole, “What the Aged Need in Their Homes.”

441 Vivrett, “Designing a Retirement Village,” 20.

442 Loring, “A New Housing Market,” 111, 113 (quotation). Calhoun, too, discusses Loring on this—and other points—in his study, writing, for instance: “Apparently, moving out of the house represented the passing of one more status symbol.” See Loring, 110-13, discussed and cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 201-2 (quotation 202). For brief description of study, see also 112-13. For similar point and discussion, see William C. Loring, Jr., “Designing the Architectural Features” in *Retirement Villages*, ed. Burgess, 40-41. And for Vivrett referencing that “a personal status value is implied in owning a home that is more than big enough to meet one’s basic needs,” see also Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 590. For additional evidence, see discussion and “status” quoted in “Retirement City—Haven or Ghetto?” 130.

contexts—the latter, the line between the political culture of homeownership and the political culture of retirement and retirement communities never appearing entirely clear.

Location, Location, Location

As one Purdue sociologist put it, “The house as a physical setting must perform its function in some place, setting, location, or site.”⁴⁴³ Whereas space operated on one level at that of the home itself, here it functioned as a medium shaping relationships between housing and its respective neighborhood, community, and broader metropolitan area.⁴⁴⁴ As the balance of this chapter explores, such relationships—spatially defined—involved the ability of retirement-housing residents to draw on what one account described as various “social resources” in older ages.⁴⁴⁵ Developing an effective residential approach for retirement thus would have to harness the power of space, pairing housing with or otherwise locating it in accordance to other places and peoples.

The well-being of older Americans depended on housing and its broader urban environment. Expert emphasis was on “*close proximity to community facilities and services*,” in the words of Donahue and Ashley.⁴⁴⁶ The former involved the ability

443 Leonard Z. Breen, “Housing for the Aging: Some Social and Psychological Considerations” in *Housing the Aging*, ed. Grier, 235.

444 For examples of useful expert frameworks here on the relationships between housing and such surroundings in different ways, see the following: Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 60-70, esp. 60 for broader point here; Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 585, 587, 588-89, 590, 591, 595-601; Ashley, “Housing Our Older Citizens,” 52; Breen, “Housing for the Aging,” 235; Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 327-40. And although Rosow argues that “the physical setting is merely a stage upon which the normal social forces which affect individual integration, family life, generational relationships, and community structure play themselves out,” space nonetheless seemingly was central not in terms of the home itself but in terms of drawing together or distancing aging persons from others and each other. For quotation and context of discussion, see Rosow, 328-29 (quotation 328). Views of and debates over generational social relations by age discussed at later points in this chapter and project overall.

445 For quotation, see Randall, “Living Arrangements to Meet the Needs of Older People,” 38.

446 For quotation, see Donahue and Ashley, “Housing and the Social Health of Older People in the United States,” 144 (all emphasis added). Context of larger quotation and broader point discussed and cited

actually to *use* such “facilities and services,” and reference to spatial relationships—descriptive language of “near” and “close at hand”—suggested how aging-specific concerns centering on mobility surfaced here.⁴⁴⁷ In the case of the latter, retirement distinctiveness was further suggested by the amenities themselves. Here, the residential landscape of retirement was both similar and different from others. Although the Kira study noted that one feature of retirement housing was that it was to involve “the normal range of essential community facilities such as clinics, libraries, parks, churches, etc.,” other amenities might have been particular to older ages, if not in terms of type, in terms of the extent or nature of use by aging persons.⁴⁴⁸

In tapping the recreational equity represented in retirement, space and place mattered as amenities had the capacity to further the retirement experience. As Buckley

towards beginning of following section. But for benefits of here, see also 144. For various amenities and benefits as discussed elsewhere, see, for example, Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 62-64, 65; Spector, “Housing for Senior Citizens,” 36. For other mentions of such amenities, see also “Workshop Proceedings on Physical Planning for Older People,” 2W; Woodbury, “Current Housing Developments for Older People,” 74; Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 91; Hatcher, “Housing in Pre-Retirement Counseling,” 7D.

447 For second and third quotations, see Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 5 (second quotation); Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 65. And both of these accounts appear to deal with mobility in their own way, especially the Ashley account, which I cite in the previous chapter. And for elaboration of point involving mobility in the Kira study, see also Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, 13-14. Another account might have been making a similar point—perhaps based on the heightened reliance on medical care among aging persons. For this, which I also cite below, along with other relevant sources, see also “Workshop Proceedings on Physical Planning for Older People,” 2W. For another example, though not necessarily making direct case to aging, see again Donahue and Ashley, “Housing and the Social Health of Older People in the United States,” 144. For other examples, see, for instance, Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 35-36; Ashley, 6; Weiss, “Basic Considerations in Physical Planning of Housing for Older People,” 3U, 5U; Woodbury, “Current Housing Developments for Older People,” 74. For discussion of land use and undercutting effect on housing for older Americans, here in distancing aging persons from needed amenities, see, for example, Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 584; Lewis Mumford, “For Older People—Not Segregation but Integration,” *Architectural Record* 119 (May 1956): 193, piece initially cited in Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 169; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 54.

448 For quotation, see Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 62. For example, as the section on housing of the WHCA stated, for instance: “The aging have special needs as to both their housing and their total environment. Integral parts of this problem are the planning and developing of facilities for the aged, such as transportation, shopping, medical and hospital facilities, utilities, churches, cultural outlets, and congenial neighbors.” WHCA, *The Nation and Its Older People*, 182. Later in this section, I discuss the examples of recreation and medical care as spaces complementing housing and aging.

noted in 1953 and subsequently, “Many local communities have, or are making provisions for, community facilities for the recreation and cultural needs of older people. These facilities provide for a wide range of activities, such as shuffleboard, horseshoe pitching, card and checker games, hobby workshops, sports, amateur dramatics, concerns, picnics—in fact almost any kind of recreational activity.”⁴⁴⁹ And perhaps suggesting how such spaces served the ends of retirement, illuminating its particularities in the process, one workshop as part of a 1960 conference sponsored by NCOA reasoned, “Elderly persons need opportunities to pursue the hobbies and recreational and cultural interests that they have cultivated over the years and to discover new sources of pleasure

449 Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1953), 91. For 1962 edition, see Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 118. For discussion of “Golden Age Clubs,” more specifically, see William Graebner, “The Golden Age Clubs,” *Social Service Review* 57, no. 3 (September 1983): 416-28, esp. 421, 424. As one period account explained it: “Run by the oldsters themselves, the clubs offer sociability, recreation, a chance to learn useful crafts and develop hobbies.” See Louis B. Seltzer, “My Town Likes Older People,” *Lifetime Living* 1, no. 2 (July 1952): 32. Journal here first cited in Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 227. For additional discussion, see also Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 175; Robert H. Felix, “Mental Health in an Aging Population” in *Growing in the Older Years*, ed. Donahue and Tibbitts, 36-37; Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 307, here quoted in Arnold M. Rose, “The Impact of Aging on Voluntary Associations” in *Handbook of Social Gerontology*, ed. Tibbitts, ed., 681-82. Additionally, Graebner addresses, if not focuses on, the political context and nature of such activities, explaining that their “purposes” included “to serve as a substitute for the direct democracy of the Townsend movement, counter general political radicalism, prevent the development of an age-based politics, and encourage responsible habits of political participation,” among others. See Graebner, 416-24, specifically 416-17, 417-18, 418-21, 421-22, 422-24. On Townsend and historical political significance, see Rose, “Organizations for the Elderly,” 137-38. And for mid-century “anxieties” over political significance at hand of older Americans, see Donahue and Tibbitts, preface to *Politics of Age*, ix-x (quotation x). Additionally, although not necessarily intending or framing discussion in relation to “adjustment”—per earlier discussion in this chapter and in my Chapter 1—via public or other policy or practices, Buckley’s quotation involving efforts surrounding infrastructure for recreation for older Americans might be understood and viewed in this way, in light of the existence of efforts undertaken or unfolding such as those of “making provisions,” as he puts it. See again Buckley (1953), 91. And for language from later edition, see again Buckley (1962), 118. And if not, then other accounts do appear to do so on such efforts at the level of amenities. For example, see again material from Tibbitts quoted in previous chapter: Tibbitts, “National Aspects of an Aging Population,” 5, 5-6. For “facilities” specifically, see 6. And for “facilities” within this framework in his other work, see again Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 303. For another mention in this framework, see again, Federal Council on the Aging, *1961 White House Conference on Aging Chart Book*, 78. And for yet another account perhaps suggesting this in relation to “recreation,” see also Havighurst and Albrecht, *Older People*, 141-142 (quotation 141), esp. 142.

and gratification.” It depended on linking up with housing, it added: “A site should be chosen where recreational and community centers are available.”⁴⁵⁰

Homebuilders, too, recognized the role of amenities of different kinds and promoted their pairing with the residential. This received attention at least as early as 1953, when the NAHB’s Housing the Aging Committee stated in its report to the organization’s Board of Directors that “in planning for the aging, shopping facilities, transportation, churches, etc. should be very close.”⁴⁵¹ By the early 1960s, the DFPA’s version of retirement housing emphasized such points as well. The *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market* made the case for factoring “facilities” into the housing equation, specifically affirming, “Close proximity to commercial facilities is essential -- markets, cleaners, laundries, shoe repair shops, drug stores, etc.”⁴⁵²

Developers, furthermore, could combine housing and amenities at the level of residential projects—including what one architect pointed to as “self-contained large

450 “Workshop Proceedings on Physical Planning for Older People,” 2W. For discussion of various amenities in context of going elsewhere in retirement, see, for example, Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 245; Older and Retired Workers Department, UAW, *Family, Friends and Living Arrangements*, 20, 23.

451 For quotation, and its context in relation to zoning, see “Report of Housing the Aging Committee,” 2. On transportation and retail, see also Peacock, “Detached Dwellings,” 68.

452 DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. III, 3. For DFPA here on other amenities, see also 3, 4, sec. V, 5. For DFPA apparently drawing again on the Kira study here and other points, see in particular Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 60, 62, 63-64, 64-66, 66-67; DFPA, sec. III, 1-2, 2-3. For additional evidence from industry publications, see, for example, “Retirement Housing Offers Great Business Possibilities,” 157; “The Great Market Potential in Building New Homes for Our Senior Citizens,” 130; “What You Should Know About Retirement Housing” in “The Retirement Market,” 52; Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 96, 98; “Get Empty-Nester Concept Right” in “All-Adult Market Grows Strong,” 67. For DFPA’s own research, see DFPA, sec. III, 4-5; “Housing Preference Survey” in “The Retirement Market,” 66. For Howard’s work again, dealing here with various “facilities” as dictated by the homebuilding industry, as well as the FHA, see Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis, 939, 941 (quotation). I return this in Part II, in my Chapter 4, in order to help identify and emphasize the way or ways in which retirement housing departed from other contemporaneous practices. In the meantime, for Howard on this elsewhere, see also 133, 156, 157-158, 158, 166-168, 174-176.

developments.”⁴⁵³ Such was the case with some “retirement villages” and those that were “real-estate developments,” in particular, which could feature amenities of their own.⁴⁵⁴ Residential retirement developments, then, could offer outlets for the very problems characteristic of and plaguing retirement more broadly.⁴⁵⁵ One was facilitating the pursuit of recreational endeavors. “Ample public facilities are needed in a community designed for retired persons,” Beauchamp stated at one point. “Because of the large amount of leisure time, cultural, recreational, and educational facilities are extremely important.”⁴⁵⁶ In studies on retirement developments in Florida in the 1950s, one researcher noted among the observations of one “trailer park” that it included

453 Weiss, “Basic Considerations in Physical Planning of Housing for Older People,” 3U, 5U-6U (quotation 5U).

454 For amenities in “retirement villages” more generally, see Ernest W. Burgess, preface to *Retirement Villages*, ed. Burgess, iv; Webber and Osterbind, “Types of Retirement Villages,” 4; Vivrett, “Designing a Retirement Village,” 22-24. For such resources at “the ultimate” level of development, and additional discussion, see again Hunt, *Retirement Communities*, 12-16, 253, 255, cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 168 (quotation). And, for facilities in “real-estate developments,” see Webber and Osterbind, “Types of Retirement Villages,” 6; also Mathiasen, “Some Current Attempts at Better Buildings for the Aging,” 198. Here, the limits of Section 203 were further exposed. As the document put out by New York State stated: “This program, however, offers no way to provide any community facilities, beyond those provided in any residential development.” See again New York State Division of Housing, *How to Provide Housing Which the Elderly Can Afford*, 27. What this was referring to, in terms of both those lacking and those in dominant practices, does not appear to be specified here. Thus, this approach addressed housing—but seemingly in isolation. Although my focus here is on single-family homes, for various amenities addressed in Section 207, for example, see FHA quoted in HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 9, 12. For additional discussion more generally, in which as one account put it of some amenities “such facilities should be built into the housing,” see New York State Division of Housing, *How to Provide Housing Which the Elderly Can Afford*, 5; “Workshop Proceedings on Physical Planning for Older People,” 2W (quotation, emphasis added). For examples in case of public housing, see PHA, *95,000 Senior Citizens*, 4-5, 14, 15; Bohn, “Current Types of Housing and Living Arrangements,” 2F-3F. For mention perhaps of relevance here, of “services,” see HHFA and Ashley, *Older People and Their Housing Needs*, 14. And for *external* amenities, see, for example, New York State Division of Housing, 5; examples in PHA, 7, 11, 12-13. And again for earlier efforts here, see again Donahue, “Programs in Action,” 260-61. And for Otis addressing facilities in relation to one important public-housing project, see Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 100, 101.

455 And this was point on which the DFPA apparently diverged from thinking overviewed in the Kira study. Specifically, see DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. III, 2; but also Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 63-64.

456 See Beauchamp in NHC and NAHB, *Summary Report on “Housing Our Senior Citizens,”* 18. For discussion of utilizing existing amenities, see DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. III, 4. And for similar point as made by Bohn in case of public housing, see again Bohn, “Current Types of Housing and Living Arrangements,” 2F.

shuffleboard and other offerings for residents, while the author of another study, suggesting the place of space in merging housing and amenities, wrote, “Mobile-home communities bring these activities to their doorstep—free of charge.”⁴⁵⁷

Just important to the viability of retirement housing, however, was the carefully managed presence of certain amenities. “Accessibility to medical and health services is a

457 For first study, see G.C. Hoyt, “The Life of the Retired in a Trailer Park,” *American Journal of Sociology* 59, no. 4 (January 1954): 362 (first quotation), 363-65, 366. For other scholarship utilizing Hoyt’s article, see, for example, Hoyt cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 48-49, 49; what presumably was Hoyt as cited in Otis “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 82. For second study, see Michelson, “The New Leisure Class,” 375-77 (quotation 375). For context, of diversity, here and elsewhere in study referenced in this quotation, see also, for example, 371, 374, 375, 376, table 1, “Different Kinds of Activities Carried on in Mobile-Home Communities.” For differences with aforementioned study, see 371, 372. But, as evidence presumably of a commonality of relevance here in terms of the significance of space, Michelson wrote: “Both parks have much planned recreation and leisure activities—far more so than is customarily found in alternative living arrangements.” See Michelson, 372. Both of these developments were mentioned in the Burgess-edited collection: Hoyt, 362; Michelson, 371; Webber and Osterbind, “Types of Retirement Villages,” 8; Vivrett, “Designing a Retirement Villages,” 16; Dorothy Coons and Helen K. Maurice, “Activity Programming” in *Retirement Villages*, ed. Burgess, 58. For additional discussion of the Bradenton development, also see Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 51-52. For amenities as lacking, however, see discussion of work in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 54-55. Additionally, in terms of ideas discussed in previous chapter in particular, both Hoyt and Michelson also discussed issue of “adjustment” as well: Hoyt, 370; Michelson, 375. And Donahue and her colleagues noted in 1960 that “fun and enjoyment of leisure are being increasingly accepted among the ranks of social virtues in our culture not only for children but also for the aged. The retirement states of California, Arizona, and Florida have institutionalized these new social virtues in playgrounds for the elderly, in retirement communities, and in the subtle establishment of an atmosphere of respectability for leisure which represents a strange contrast to our Puritan heritage.” Donahue, Orbach, and Pollak, “Retirement,” 377-78 (quotation 377). In discussing “role flexibility,” Havighurst mentioned “moving to a warmer climate upon retirement.” See again Havighurst, “Flexibility and the Social Roles of the Retired,” 311.

Perhaps reflecting a larger idea at play here, *House & Home* quoted from the WHCA *Background Paper on Housing*, which spoke of “the need for ways to occupy one’s time and for the *optimal environment*,” suggesting how the new look of old age could play out, in part, in particular spaces or places. Quoted in Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 97. For actual quotation, see WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 7. And for original quotation and context upon which the WHCA version was based, see Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 550. Although these accounts do not define “environment” here, Vivrett’s mention of a beneficial “physical and social environment” attained through retirement migration might offer clarification. So might his discussion of the role of “the physical environment of the home and the community” in retirement. See Vivrett, 556-57 (first quotation 557), 589-90 (second quotation). And by the early 1960s, if not earlier, housing developers were linking the fulfillment of such needs to and physically anchoring them in facilities for retirement recreation—something that, as the following chapter explores in greater depth, was evident in the case of Sun City, Arizona, where an emphasis on amenities and a particular vision of how one’s years in retirement were to be used constituted a major strain of Del Webb’s concept behind and marketing of the Sun City brand. For example, see “You Can Even Create a Retirement Town” in Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 108.

‘must’ in choosing a housing site for the elderly,” the account from the NCOA conference made the case for such amenities. “Hospital and clinic facilities should be located near enough so that people feel reassured about having medical care when they need it.”⁴⁵⁸ Others, however, emphasized the importance of balancing existence and explicitness. As Vivrett explained in the *Retirement Villages* collection, “While health service facilities should be easily accessible, they must not intrude, if the retirement village is to be a place for living and not for sickness or death.”⁴⁵⁹ Speaking in more specific spatial terms, Wilma Donahue similarly stated in one panel discussion included in the collection, “The site plan for a retirement village should not place a hospital in its center because it is a symbol of sickness and death. The focal point of the site design should represent vital activities and social life.”⁴⁶⁰ Concern stemmed, at least in part,

458 See “Workshop Proceedings on Physical Planning for Older People,” 2W. For evidence of same or similar idea see also, for example, Weiss, “Basic Considerations in Physical Planning of Housing for Older People,” 4U; Donahue and Ashley, “Housing and the Social Health of Older Persons in the United States,” 143; Kassabaum, “The Buildings We Build,” 50. For discussion offering another perspective, see also Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 599.

459 Vivrett, “Designing a Retirement Village,” 24.

460 See Donahue’s in “Location and Design” panel in Burgess, “Unresolved Issues in Retirement Village Planning,” 146. For evidence from another contributor to the collection making a prescription involving medical amenities and the role of space in providing a buffer of sorts for the community, see also Hastings, “Issues in Retirement Village Design,” 32. Others, however, also raised the issue of feasibility for what Vivrett identified as a “full range of medical health facilities normally found in an urban center” and what another called “a good acute hospital or one for the chronologically ill, or for those requiring prolonged nursing care”: Vivrett, “Designing a Retirement Village,” 24 (first quotation); comments of Samuel Gertman in “Location and Design” in Burgess, “Unresolved Issues in Retirement Village Planning,” 146 (second quotation). Beauchamp also mentioned variable of “prohibitive expense” for such amenities. For Beauchamp critiquing development practices in housing and amenities more broadly, see also Beauchamp, “Use of Private Capital, 119-20; Beauchamp, “Trailer Courts and Retirement Towns,” 3G-4G; also Beauchamp’s response to Vivrett in “Location and Design” in Burgess, “Unresolved Issues in Retirement Village Planning,” 145. And finally, for a potential parallel with another critique of Section 203, although not specifically mentioning facilities and services—rather that “this approach may require sites which are a considerable distances from the heart of the city, thus tending to isolate the elderly owners”—see also New York State Division of Housing, *Providing Housing Which the Elderly Can Afford*, 27. For another account addressing the role of homebuilders specifically, see Gertman and Orbach, “Health Services in the Retirement Village” in *Retirement Villages*, ed. Burgess, 86. Otis, too, cites this account in her study. For this, as well as broader relevant discussion about the disconnect between housing and aging over time, see Gertman and Orbach, also cited in Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 113; discussion in Otis, 113. For this more generally, though not apparently addressing medical, see also Webber and Osterbind, “Types of

from potential causality involving the variable of space. “What is the effect upon physically and mentally able old people of living in close proximity with the sick, disturbed, and senile?” Donahue and Ashley asked in addressing several issues. “Is there an optimum proportion between the able and the sick which can be tolerated without adverse effects upon the adjustment of the well?”⁴⁶¹

Expert thought addressed the managing of retirement housing and amenities on other fronts as well. On one level, the demand—or lack of demand—for certain amenities, to begin with, underscored a distinctiveness of retirement at play. In profiling developments in Florida in 1956, the NAHB’s *Correlator* explained in one instance that “where the younger family is interested in schools and transportation, the retiree puts the emphasis on churches, community centers and recreational facilities.”⁴⁶² And, another level, maintaining a degree of distance between certain spaces utilized by both aging and

Retirement Villages,” 6-7. For critical view of developers elsewhere, see also Mathiasen, “Some Current Attempts at Better Buildings for the Aging,” 198.

⁴⁶¹ For quotation and relevant discussion, see Donahue and Ashley, “Housing and the Social Health of Older Persons in the United States,” 143. Vivrett, citing Donahue and Ashley, is perhaps referring to their discussion here: Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older People,” 599. And the quotation above continued, suggesting how it also might have been a two-way street as well. For this, see again Donahue and Ashley, 143. For discussion attributing “sickness and death” to space, see discussion of evidence from European thought as discussed in Donahue and Ashley, 143n15; Wilma Donahue, “European Experience in Operation and Services” in *Retirement Villages*, ed. Burgess, 92-93, 94 (quotation). Donahue’s account first cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 169. While this evidence is from discussion of “old people’s villages or retirement towns of Europe,” this includes discussion of “proximate house,” though same explanation of causality seemingly not included, at least in pages cited here. See 92 (first quotation), 98-99 (second quotation 98). For Donahue clarifying the comparative values across cases, see also 104. For accounts arguing against such linkages, however, see, for example, Will Justiss rebutting Donahue in “Operation and Services” in Burgess, “Unresolved Issues in Retirement Village Planning,” 148. Additionally, one architect also argued otherwise: “For the well, a mixed environment gives a chance to be of real help to a friend in time of need. To the sick, it brings the comfort of familiar faces and breaks the loneliness of different surroundings and new people. The thought of sickness or even death will never be eliminated by isolating each degree of healthiness.” Kassabaum, “The Buildings We Build,” 50.

⁴⁶² “What Florida Builders Have Learned,” 77. I return to this point about schools as amenities and how the retirement development in the mold of Sun City, Arizona, diverged from suburban residential development later.

non-aging persons was a point identified by the Kira study; such rubbing of shoulders otherwise threatened to imperil well-being or generate less-than-desirable conditions. “In most instances, the site should not be immediately adjacent to a school building with its hordes of active, noisy children,” the study stated. “Playing fields and other active recreation areas used by teen-agers or adults can be similarly dangerous and annoying to the aged.”⁴⁶³ Seemingly echoing this point, the DFPA advised that “It is preferable to locate the site at least a little distance from schools or playgrounds where there is noise and confusion.”⁴⁶⁴ The success of the residential landscape, it seems, depended on it.

Aging and “Integration”

Space shaped—and was shaped by—the relationships between both aging Americans and amenities, and aging persons and persons of younger ages. Expert discourse tended to favor a framework privileging a broader ideal of “integration” in discussing such relationships.⁴⁶⁵ While amenities presumably had their own respective

463 Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 65-66 (quotation), 73. For relationship between aging and associations with children seemingly more generally, see also 67-68. For discussion of “children,” see also Weiss, “Basic Considerations in Physical Planning of Housing for Older People,” 4U.

464 DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. III, 3.

465 First, for excellent historical overviews of disapproval of age segregation shaping my background and discussion, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 169-70; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 111-12, 113, 116-17, 201; Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 72. And for another useful account, by Frances FitzGerald, on critical view of such developments overall, see also FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 212. Second, for period evidence, for an account outlining such thinking discussed in the text, including for the quotation, see Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 62-64, esp. 62, 66-67 (quotation 66). Although early focus in the following appears to be on “community facilities and services,” the inclusion of other considerations—or types of engagement with one’s surroundings— suggests that this might present a similar framing: Donahue and Ashley, “Housing and the Social Health of Older people in the United States,” 144. The same might be said of another account, one solely by Donahue, in which she cites two or three different levels on which this could play out, and also that of Woodbury, though perhaps not stated as directly: Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 35-36; Woodbury, “Current Housing Developments for Older People,” 74. Donahue used the language of “segregate” in another account: Wilma Donahue, “A Mid-Century Forecast for the Aging” in *Growing in the Older Years*, ed. Donahue and Tibbitts, 194. For two other important accounts outlining frameworks

functional value, they also represented a means of engagement more generally.⁴⁶⁶

Indeed, as Ashley in a presentation stated after pointing to a position outlined by President Kennedy, “Senior centers as we visualize them should be a source of continued contact between the community as a whole and its senior citizens.”⁴⁶⁷ At the same time, in the case of residential developments featuring different amenities internally, it ran the risk of going too far. As Donahue and Ashley also asked, “A related question is that of the effect upon integration with the community when the housing project or communal home provides practically all the services needed - health, shopping, church, library,

dealing more specifically with engagement *socially* between aging persons and others, used below in this section, see Grier, “Part I,” 48-49; Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 329, 330-37. Furthermore, Rosow here provides a framework perhaps more nuanced than those in the Kira study or Grier, identifying what ultimately appears to have been a range featuring “normal or integrated” at one end, to “segregated,” and to “isolated” at the other. See again 329 (quotations), 330-37. For another important account here laying out a range, see again discussion in Findlay: Hunt, *Retirement Communities*, 12-16, 253, 255, cited in Findlay, 168.

Meanwhile, for “isolation” in WHCA material, see, for example, WHCA, *The Nation and Its Older People*, 181. This is from “Policy Statement and Recommendations” in “Section 8. Housing” in the document. For discussion of “facilities,” see 182. Cited and discussed later below, Beauchamp uses language of “integrated” and “isolation” as well: Beauchamp, “Trailer Courts and Retirement Towns,” 3G (first quotation), 5G (second quotation). For discussion similar to Beauchamp here, including use of language, see also critique of Section 203: New York State Division of Housing, *How to Provide Housing Which the Elderly Can Afford*, 27. For additional evidence, of “isolating,” see also comments of Beauchamp in “Location and Design” in Burgess, “Unresolved Issues in Retirement Village Planning,” 145.

466 For Donahue, for instance, discussing in relation to “community services,” see Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 35-36 (quotation 36). For other accounts discussing amenities in context of this framing, see also Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 62; Donahue and Ashley, “Housing and the Social Health of Older People in the United States,” 144. For additional evidence perhaps reflecting this, see again Woodbury, “Current Housing Developments for Older People,” 74. For evidence from more general context, see Older and Retired Workers Department, UAW, *Family, Friends and Living Arrangements*, 20, 21, 22.

467 For example, see Ashley, “Better Living through Better Housing for Senior Citizens,” 3-5 (quotation 4). For elaboration here on this point, see again 4. And for addressing of benefits, see also 5. Although Ashley does not employ the exact language of others as discussed above, the context as well as that of “contact” does suggest this. Again, see 3, 4 (quotation). For additional discussion of “contact,” see also WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 14-15 (quotation 15). Otis in her account also writes of “community participation” in discussing the previously cited case of public housing: Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 101. For seemingly similar evidence, of discussion of “keeping the elderly in touch with life” and the accompanying benefits, see HHFA, *Housing the Elderly*, 14 (quotation), 16. And here, Otis, too, discusses seemingly similar evidence in relation to housing. See local housing official Haley Sofge cited in Otis, 100-101. And for other period evidence using same language, and perhaps providing context here if referring to the same thing, see also *Housing the Elderly* (San Antonio: San Antonio Housing Authority, 1957), 13, quoted in Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 64.

social, and educational? The trend toward the development of retirement villages in very large housing tracts including all community services makes this an especially important current problem for investigation.”⁴⁶⁸

There was, furthermore, the issue of the *social* relationships of aging Americans, in which engagement took place on different levels. One involved an emphasis on continuity of one’s particular network, illustrated by the overall view, according to Donahue, that “they want housing of an appropriate type situated in close proximity to community services, *to members of their families, and to the homes of their friends.*”⁴⁶⁹ And as an illustration of how the homebuilding industry relayed it, the DFPA relied on its “Fact and fiction” framework here as well, calling into question the predominance of retirement—and presumably inter-regional—migrations. Debunking the notion that “If they move at all, they want to go to Florida, Arizona or California,” it stated: “Some do. But most don’t. Four out of five older families say they want to live in or near the communities they now live in.”⁴⁷⁰ Reporting on Carl Mitnick’s efforts in New Jersey, the

468 Donahue and Ashley, “Housing and the Social Health of Older people in the United States,” 144.

469 For Donahue and quotation, see again Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 35-36 (all emphasis added). For network, also see, though not necessarily framed as above, New York State Division of Housing, *How to Provide Housing Which the Elderly Can Afford*, 5; Ashley, “A Happy Home for the Later Years,” 6; Weiss, “Basic Considerations in Physical Planning of Housing for Older People,” 4U. For discussion of in relation to public housing, see also Vale, *From the Puritans to the Projects*, 286. For discussion in relation to “pre-retirement planning of housing,” see also Hatcher, “Housing in Pre-Retirement Counseling,” 7D. And for emphasis on the local, whether in parallel or more generally, see Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 62-63; again Weiss, “Basic Considerations in Physical Planning of Housing for Older People,” 4U; also Woodbury, “Current Housing Developments for Older People,” 74; “Summary of Three Housing Clinics on Environmental Planning,” 2k. Donahue, too, might have been making this point as well in one context: Donahue, “A Mid-Century Forecast for the Aging,” 194. And Woodbury, in the references to “local community ties and associations,” might also be addressing network matters. Meanwhile, for perhaps broader referencing of the local, see again Vale, 286. And here, the relevant discussion in this note takes place in relation to Vale making the previously discussed and cited point about the politics of public housing for aging Americans. And for additional evidence addressing both, see WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 14.

470 DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. I, n.p. [inside front cover]. For further evidence, see also sec. I, 3. Here, there is significant similarity with coverage in *House & Home*, including

NAHB Correlator in the mid-1950s explained, “Most retirees living in the community have come from Philadelphia and northern New Jersey. They are within a few hours’ drive of family and friends, which has been one of the big attractions.”⁴⁷¹ According to industry insiders, a relatively local market thus might have meant more business—if not in terms of the sheer number of prospective homebuyers, then one into which homebuilders might more easily enter. As *American Builder* quoted Norman Mason, HHFA Administrator, in 1960, “I think that this is where the builder has so far overlooked the tremendous opportunity . . . he’s failed to realize that this is truly a market in his own back yard.”⁴⁷²

a referencing of the case of one specific homebuilder, whom I cite later in this dissertation as well: Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 96. Coverage in *Practical Builder* also addressed the point of “moving to tropical climates.” See “The Great Market Potential in Building New Homes for Our Senior Citizens,” 128. At the same time, continuity at this broader level did not necessarily mean continuity at the level of housing itself. As other coverage in the same journal stated on the DFPA’s late-1960 event: “Only about 10 per cent of retired families are considering a move away from present communities but as many as 66 per cent would move to a different dwelling.” See “Retirement Housing Offers Great Business Possibilities,” 153. For other accounts addressing such migrations and emphasizing continuity, see also “Text of Remarks by M. Carter McFarland” in *Summary Report on “Housing Our Senior Citizens,”* 3; “Summary of Three Housing Clinics on Environmental Planning,” 2k. For continuity more generally, though acknowledging that “some tendency of the warm States on the rim of the country to attract older persons,” see WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 20-21 (quotation 20).

471 “New Jersey Beach Draws Many Oldsters,” 75. For similar evidence, see also Mitnick quoted in “Mitnick Likes Big City Areas,” 59. And as Mitnick explained elsewhere, according to the report of the 1958 NHC event: “Most older people do not want to tear up roots and leave their home communities. They want to stay near their sons and daughters; be within commuting distance for family get-togethers.” See NHC and NAHB, *Summary Report on “Housing Our Senior Citizens,”* 31. For this point, as well as additional evidence, see Mitnick “North Cape May” in “Retirement Towns,” 333. For additional evidence elsewhere, see also “Oldsters,” 83; case discussed in “Retired Want to Live with Younger Families,” 103; Bob Schmertz quoted, on reasons, in Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 96; Schmertz also quoted in DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. I, 3.

472 Norman Mason quoted in “Oldsters,” 83. *American Builder* from this issue, and presumably from this piece, also quoted in DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. I, n.p. [front cover]. A similar quotation from this issue of the journal, if not same piece, in Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 46. For additional evidence in industry materials, see also Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 96; “You Can Build One-Family Houses Everywhere,” 104; DFPA, sec. I, 2-3. Here, it stated: “Publicity given specialized resort area retirement communities has tended to obscure the fact that the majority of retired -- and about-to-retire -- families want to stay in or near their own communities. There is an important market for resort area retirement projects, but it is a specialized sub-section of the *larger market for local housing*” (sec. I, 3, emphasis added).

On another level, there was the specific question of relations with others—relations that, in particular, were cross-generational in nature and from which retirement developments in the mold of Sun City, Arizona, ultimately most dramatically would diverge.⁴⁷³ “The traditional position of many of those who work with the old has been to view segregation by age as undesirable,” one account in the early 1960s explained. “Their general belief has been that the intermingling of old and young is to be encouraged, and that any practice which promotes or permits segregation is to be deplored.”⁴⁷⁴ As Irving Rosow explained it, identifying a causal, presumably spatially grounded relationship at work, “They assume that different age groups in normal neighborhoods will develop social intercourse and mutual support. More formally stated, they believe that residential integration will maximize social integration.”⁴⁷⁵ And in

473 First, see again, for example, scholarly accounts providing overviews, which seem to address these ideas at the broader level previously discussed and cited at the top of this section but which also seems applicable to the level of actual interaction and engagement of peoples. For example, specifically see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 111, 113, 116-17, 201; FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 212. Below, I note that Findlay addresses this point here in drawing, at least in part, from the work of Irving Rosow. And second, the Kira study seems to address this on the levels of both “neighborhood” and “site,” suggested less directly in terms of the former but more so in terms of that of the latter in writing of the issue of “the degree of immediate integration which is to be achieved between the various age groups.” See Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 62 (first quotation), 66-67 (second quotation 66), 67-68 (third quotation 67). For two other important accounts, further cited and addressed in greater depth below, see again Grier, “Part I,” 48; Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 329, 330-37.

474 See again Grier, “Part I,” 48.

475 Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 329. Here, Rosow parenthetically cites the previously cited piece by Lewis Mumford, though no page number provided. For Mumford, see again Mumford, “For Older People,” which on this broader point about segregation is cited in Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 169; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 54. For Mumford more directly on this point, see Mumford, 192-94. For Otis citing Mumford’s work as well, see Mumford, 192, quoted in Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 72. Mumford similarly quoted in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 113. And for Findlay citing, among other sources, other of Rosow’s work, see Rosow, *Social Integration of the Aged*, 78, 324, as cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170. Additionally, this overall position was deeply entrenched and had reasons behind it. Although ultimately going on to critique this thinking as divorced from reality, discussed in greater depth in a later chapter in this dissertation, Rosow explained: “Gerontologists have firm ideological convictions about the relative merits of normal, segregated, and isolated neighborhoods. They dislike segregated and isolated patterns because these seem undemocratic, invidious, and demoralizing.” See Rosow as quoted, in part, in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old Age*, 201; for complete quotation above, Rosow, 329. For the specific piece that Calhoun cites by Rosow by

doing so, such perspectives literally were normative. Voicing concerns about retirement villages, specifically, one architect called attention to the ostensibly simple fact that “they would segregate the elderly instead of permitting all groups to mix in a normal, natural manner.”⁴⁷⁶ And several years later, a piece in the *Saturday Evening Post* subtitled “The Truth about Retirement Housing” quoted one aging authority who asserted, “What we’re doing in these segregated retirement villages is building completely abnormal communities.”⁴⁷⁷

The reasoning against segregated housing included old age itself. Perhaps similar to ambivalence surrounding explicit associations with aging, another account stated, “They do not wish to live in housing labeled for the elderly.”⁴⁷⁸ And Wilma Donahue cited the factor of “forced association with only his peers or other older people,” among

same title, see Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” *Gerontologist* 1 (1960): 85-91. For a similar account of “ideological,” see also Grier, “Part I,” 48. Furthermore, the Grier account continued, it was so entrenched that he conveyed: “The writer of this overview has sat in on more than one discussion in which the very use of the word ‘segregation’ in the context of the elderly was vigorously decried, on the ground that through population usage it had assumed such limited and emotionally-charged meaning that it merely obscured matters.” See again Grier, 48-49. For similar evidence, see also Donahue, “Where and How Older People Wish to Live,” 33-34. Additional research of this position might consider the context of postwar politics, such as if and how this related to the growing civil rights movement. For another useful overview of thinking—and a source to which I return later in this project as well—see Gordon L. Bultena and Vivian Wood, “The American Retirement Community: Bane or Blessing?” *Journal of Gerontology* 24, no 2. (1969): 209, 209-210, point and account more broadly first cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170. Article by same name but published elsewhere also first cited in work of Sturgeon: Wood and Bultena, “American Retirement Community” in *Social Problems of the Aging: Readings*, ed. Mildred M. Seltzer, Sherry L. Corbett, and Robert C. Ashley (Belmont, California: Wordsworth Publishing Company, 1978), 66-73, also first cited in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 15-16, 154. The citation on p. 154 does not have page numbers indicated: Sturgeon, 158n3.

⁴⁷⁶ Hastings, “Issues in Retirement Village Design,” 35. For Donahue, cited in another note below, making same or similar point roughly a decade earlier, see also Donahue, “A Mid-Century Forecast for the Aging,” 194. For Donahue and Ashley voicing concerns of their own, see also Donahue and Ashley, “Housing and the Social Health of Older People in the United States,” 144.

⁴⁷⁷ Harold Baker quoted, identified as “Revered,” in Bill Davidson, “Thistles in Paradise: The Truth about Retirement Housing,” *Saturday Evening Post*, January 16, 1965, 24. For identifying information on Baker, see 23. The overall emphasis on integration, however, did not mean that there was complete consensus, evidenced by one HHFA official who indicated that “There is much argument on this point.” And yet, he reaffirmed the above: “But, in general, I believe the elderly are happier when they are among families of other age groups.” See again “Text of Remarks by M. Carter McFarland” in *Summary Report on “Housing Our Senior Citizens,”* 3. Again, the following chapter will discuss changing thinking on this subject.

⁴⁷⁸ “Summary of Three Housing Clinics on Environmental Planning,” 2k.

others.⁴⁷⁹ According to some accounts, age segregation—at least in certain situations—could have serious consequences. “Many psychiatrists have told us that living in an atmosphere of frequent death and illness of their peers can be a depressive factor,” a popular piece in the 1960s quoted an official of California’s Governor’s Committee on Aging.⁴⁸⁰ Whether or not suggesting if and how mind and body were connected, another piece on retirement developments for a popular audience quoted an expert from the University of Southern California, who pointed to an even more extreme outcome, saying that it “may ease the journey to the grave, but it also encourages it.”⁴⁸¹ Instead, as architect Henry Churchill suggested, integrated housing could bring about more favorable outcomes, and it could do so through “friendliness with the young,” among other means.⁴⁸² And, suggesting gains of integration flowed in both directions, one social-work administrator and expert explained, “Old people do not like to be limited in their contacts entirely to other old people, usually enjoy some contacts with children, and *have*

479 For quotation and context of discussion, see Donahue, “A Mid-Century Forecast for the Aging,” 194. For other evidence dealing with age segregation, see also Patricia Rabinovitz, “Living Arrangements for Older People” in *Living through the Older Years*, ed. Tibbitts, 138. For yet additional evidence possibly on this point, in industry circles, also see Frank Mackle, Jr., as quoted in “Retirement City—Haven of Ghetto,” 129.

480 See William Beechel quoted in Davidson, “Thistles in Paradise,” 24. This, for example, is listed in National Housing Center Library, *Housing for Senior Citizens*, 8. Although it is not clear if it is referring to age-segregated housing *per se*, if so then the account of one architect makes a perhaps similar linkage in also pointing out that “some would actually be harmed emotionally if surrounded only by ‘old’ people.” And going on, it quotes Cicero. See Weiss, “Basic Considerations in Physically Planning of Housing for Older People,” 2U. Also, this might have been what Rosow was referring to when he spoke of such housing as “demoralizing.” See again Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 329.

481 Paul Starr quoted in “Widening World of Retirement Towns,” *Life*, November 8, 1963, 102. Also no author provided, though it does indicate that “Photographed for LIFE by BILL RAY.” Another piece in the 1960s also quoted this expert, who stated: “It is not good psychologically or psychologically”: Paul Starr quoted in Robert L. Siegel, “The Pros and Cons of Retirement Cities,” *House Beautiful* 106 (October 1964): 248. This also might be implied in Donahue, “European Experience in Operation and Services,” 103.

482 For quotation, and its context, see Churchill, “Some Random Thoughts on Housing for the Aged,” 47. These benefits, more specifically, were those of “well-being and psychological health” (47).

something positive to offer younger people through the accumulated wisdom of their years.”⁴⁸³

These ideas took shape in projects both public and private developed in the 1950s and 1960s. In its principles and practices involving housing for older Americans, the Public Housing Administration (PHA) promoted inclusion along generational lines. “A few projects are wholly for the use of elderly families,” a 1960 PHA document asserted in surveying the state of the field, “but normally they are part of a larger development.”⁴⁸⁴ For instance, a new phase—an “extension”—to Cleveland’s existing Cedar Apartments sought to achieve an ideal of cross-generational community via a specific, deliberate means within the new, single building primarily for older occupants.⁴⁸⁵ Quoted by the CMHA’s Ernest Bohn in testimony to the Senate Special

483 Rabinovitz, “Living Arrangements for Older People,” 138 (emphasis added). For additional discussion of benefits, see also Mumford, “For Older People,” 193-94. In Part II, I discuss an issue, another side of the question of age segregation, that the Rabinovitz account might have been broaching as well as the Kira study—that of some degree of interaction amongst older persons. See again Rabinovitz, 138; Kira, Cederstrom, and Tucker, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 62. In fact, discussing this in relation to retiring elsewhere, Buckley wrote: “Moving to a different area brings a freshness into the lives of many retired people. In many regions of the country there are colonies of older folks, all with the same aspirations and desires. Here retired persons find substitutes for older neighborhoods, for old friends who have moved away or passed away, for former family relationships.” Buckley, *The Retirement Handbook* (1962), 233. For same or similar material from earlier version, see also Buckley (1953), 203-4. Though not addressing “friends” as above, see also discussion by Otto Pollak, who wrote of “the frequent limitations of social contacts to persons of one’s occupational environment and the fact that such contacts tend to decrease or to become painful after retirement.” And, he continued: “This isolation which results from the structure of familial and economic institutions is perhaps most distinctively illustrated by the relatively frequent instances of migration to Florida and California by elderly people in the American middle and upper-middle classes.” See Pollak, *Social Adjustment in Old Age*, 151.

484 PHA, *95,000 Senior Citizens*, 3. And, it clarified in a footnote: “Public housing respects and makes provision for the aged’s privacy, but believes setting them apart from the community is no real service” (3n2).

485 For background, thinking behind, and configuration of here, see, for example, Jacobs, “Housing for the Independent Aged,” 87 (top caption), 88, 90; Leona Bevis and Lucia J. Bing, *Senior Housing Golden Age Center Program*, no. 14 of *Patterns for Progress in Aging* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Special Staff on Aging, 1961), iv, 1 (quotation), 2, 3, 4; Bohn, “Current Types of Housing and Living Arrangements,” 1F, 2F; discussion in Ernest J. Bohn, statement in Senate Special Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, *Housing Problems of the Elderly*, 26. Here, in this last account, Bohn went on to back up his apparent, broader point on integration across generations, citing *Life* magazine coverage that in part discussed events in Cleveland—and that depicted

Committee on Aging's Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, coverage in *Life* magazine in the late 1950s explained, "To keep the aged in the thick of things, 4 of the 12 apartments on each floor are occupied by young couples with children under 5."⁴⁸⁶

Publications within the homebuilding industry promoted same or similar perspectives. "Do retirees want to live by themselves?" the *NAHB Journal of Homebuilding* asked in "What You Should Know About Retirement Housing" in 1961. "Usually no. Some warm-weather communities are entirely for people over 50 and are successful, but otherwise *retirees want to live with or near other age groups*."⁴⁸⁷ Already

children living amongst older persons in a positive light: untitled material, *Life*, July 20, 1959, cited/quoted in Bohn, statement in Senate Special Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, 26. For piece directly, see "New Ways to Full Lives: Imaginative but Sensible Solutions Keep the Aged Useful and Self-Sufficient" appearing under "Old Age: Part II," *Life*, July 20, 1959, 87-95, specifically "Life-Filled, Low-Priced Housing," 90-91, for coverage of Cleveland. Although no authorship for text apparently provided, it does indicate on p. 87 "Photographed for LIFE by CARL MYDANS." Importantly, Bohn also had mentioned *Life* coverage in his contribution in NCOA, *Building for Older People*: see untitled, undated coverage discussed in Bohn, "Current Types of Housing and Living Arrangements," 2F. Perhaps celebrating this theme as well, see also PHA, *95,000 Senior Citizens*, 5 (photo caption). And for Bohn making his broader point, whether in relation to Cedar Apartments, including whether referring to Cedar Apartments specifically or in light of citing other developments, Cleveland efforts more broadly, see again Bohn, statement in Senate Special Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, 26. Finally, for additional history on Cleveland, which Bohn pointed out: "This public housing facility for the low-income aged was developed years before the 1956 amendment to the public housing law which was intended to encourage and provide additional assistance in carrying on such a program." See again Bohn, statement in Senate Special Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, 25. And on this point, though not identified as such, see also Bohn, "Current Types of Housing and Living Arrangements," 1F. Bohn also described Cedar Apartments as "the first public housing development in the country." See Bohn, "Current Types of Housing and Living Arrangements," 2F. On Bohn and public-housing efforts in Cleveland, also see Daniel R. Kerr, *Derelict Paradise: Homelessness and Urban Development in Cleveland, Ohio* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011); William D. Jenkins, "Before Downtown: Cleveland, Ohio, and Urban Renewal, 1949-1958," *Journal of Urban History* 27, no. 4 (May 2001): 471-96.

486 See again untitled material, *Life*, July 20, 1959, quoted in Bohn, statement in Senate Special Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, 26. For a similar account detailing this, see also Jacobs, "Housing for the Independent Aged," 190.

487 "What You Should Know About Retirement Housing" in "The Retirement Market," 52 (emphasis added). While this perspective thus was held by homebuilders, as this journal's promotion of this point, as well as the subsequent evidence, suggests, it was shared—if not driven—by older homebuyers or residents. The *Correlator* quoted Bernard Krinsky on this point. "They wanted to be among the younger folks and they liked to have kids around," he recounted of an ultimately failed initial attempt to offer a presumably segregated—to whatever extent—housing within a larger development. "They didn't want to be set apart as a class. I quickly changed my plans and began integrating the retirement housing with the other." See experience of Krinsky discussed and Krinsky himself quoted in "Retired Want to Live with Younger Families," 103. For a seemingly similar trend encountered by one Arizona homebuilder, see experience of Ralph Staggs cited in "Arizona is Mecca for Retirees" in "The Retirement Market," 56. For airing of this

underway, Leisure City in Florida promoted age-integrated housing backed by the idea of “balance” across age groups and the benefits it bestowed. “It is the policy of the developing company to encourage as many young folks to settle in its as older couples,” *Leisure City News* explained in 1953. “This creates an ideal population balance and makes for fuller living for young and old.”⁴⁸⁸ For his part, George Beauchamp spoke out against age-segregated housing as well. “No age or life should be lived surrounded only by those who are at the same stage of the progress as one is himself,” he asserted. “We need constantly to be reminded that life is an ongoing process, that there are those both older and younger than we and that each age has its functions, its responsibilities and its joys and its limitations.”⁴⁸⁹

Shaping such principles and practices, additionally, were questions of dollars and cents. Perhaps suggesting how age-integrated housing could work to increase the pool of prospective homebuyers from the standpoint of homebuilders, one account noted on the

point overall in *Business Week* in the mid-1950s, see “14-Million Americans Over 65,” 87. And for the DFPA and its own findings, see “survey” results recounted in DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. III, 2. For results, see also “Housing Preference Survey” in “The Retirement Market,” 66.

488 “Retirement Not a Necessity,” *Leisure City News*, Winter 1953, copy in folder: “National Assoc. of Home Builders, January 17,” box 2, Donahue Papers.

489 Beauchamp, “Trailer Courts and Retirement Towns,” 5G. For more specific discussion in relation to Orange Gardens, see also 6G; Beauchamp comments as relayed by and in NHC and NAHB, *Summary Report on “Housing Our Senior Citizens,”* 18. Beauchamp was making this overall point in relation to what he called “chronological isolation - everybody retired together.” See Beauchamp, 5G. And for discussion of broader understanding and framing—“Orange Gardens is entirely inside the city limits and is thoroughly integrated with the town as a whole - socially, culturally, economically and politically”—see Beauchamp, 3G (quotation), 5G. For additional evidence, see also comments of Beauchamp in “Operation and Services” in Burgess, “Unresolved Issues in Retirement Village Planning,” 147; again Beauchamp in NHC and NAHB, 18. He also discussed this question in relation overarching concerns: “The retirement village that is not segregated by age levels, I believe, gives the best results in relation to the happiness and adjustment of older people.” See comments of Beauchamp in “Definition of Retirement Village” in Burgess, “Unresolved Issues in Retirement Village Planning,” 143. By the early 1960s, Sun City, Arizona, and similar developments were underway, although the evidence at hand demonstrates how such thinking was alive and well. In fact, “The Retirement Market” included coverage of Sun City, which it described as “solely for retirees,” as well as several others which were age-segregated: “Arizona is Mecca for Retirees,” 56-57 (quotation 57); “It’s 50 Plus at Palm City,” 55; “Stock Plan Beckons ‘Over-55 Only,’” 61, all in “The Retirement Market.” This, then, was the context in which Sun City would clash with existing principles and practices, explored later in this dissertation.

subject that “Mitnick has found that retired people and young families mix well together (creating a secondary, younger market).”⁴⁹⁰ This did not mean that homebuilders actively recruited such “families” to their residential developers—something that was the case in Florida. “While several Florida builders have directed their advertising programs exclusively at the retirement market, not one has found his sales being made exclusively to retirees,” the *Correlator* reported in 1956. “The number of young people buying in a retirement community ranges between 20 and 40 percent. Most Florida builders in the retirement field have found this an aid to sales.”⁴⁹¹ Whether the position expressed by experts in the 1950s or 1960s was shaped by ideological or business concerns, emergent thinking and practices already underway in the late 1950s offered another vision between age and space in the making of a new residential landscape for retirement.

Conclusion

In the middle of the twentieth century, a wide range of observers and practitioners called attention to a housing crisis facing older Americans and offered ways of dealing with this crisis in their own respective ways. Academic experts such as the University of Michigan’s Wilma Donahue, government bureaucrats such as the HHFA’s E. Everett Ashley, and homebuilders such as George Beauchamp and Carl Mitnick—all promoted

490 “Mitnick Likes Big City Areas” in “The Retirement Market,” 59.

491 “What Florida Builders Have Learned,” 78. Another explanation behind this might have been a reduction of financial exposure in the face of less-than-favorable markets. This at least was a factor in the use—or *lack* of use—of age restrictions, which I discuss at a later point.

ideas about and practices toward housing for older and retired Americans. Whether public or private, single- or multi-family, the residential landscape offered the possibility of closing the ostensible gaps characterizing housing for aging Americans.

In particular, the NAHB and other members and participants in homebuilding operated on assumptions and practices linking age and space in fundamental ways—between retirement, housing, the built environment, and urban space. In the process, retirement developments represented vehicles for addressing old-age issues. Meanwhile, in 1959 an Arizona-based contractor and developer, and a California-based agricultural interest and large Phoenix-area landholder had struck a deal for thousands of acres of cotton fields on the metropolitan periphery of the growing city of Phoenix. And, in teaming up to develop the land, they ultimately elaborated on and modified homebuilding practices in the process, a modern, innovative retirement community was taking shape beneath the Arizona sun.

Chapter 3

Developing “An Active New Way of Life”

In the early 1960s, the Del E. Webb Development Company (DEVCO) of Phoenix, Arizona, put out a short film titled *The Beginning*. In depicting the rise, fall, and revival of the person confronting the troubling realities of retirement, front and center was protagonist Ben Huggins. “I felt great,” the businessman declares in the wake of his retirement. “With my retirement plan and the few dollars I’d saved, I didn’t have a thing to worry about.” Huggins, however, soon finds himself personally and socially adrift in the rough and uncharted waters of American retirement. Mr. and Mrs. Huggins eventually trek to Arizona, where they go see friends in Sun City. And, the balance of the film showing a reversal of their discontent, the community calming retirement restlessness, golf, good times, and companionship awaken the couple to hope for life in retirement beyond careers and kids.⁴⁹²

492 See the following for sources dealing with this film. For film itself, including quotations above, see Del E. Webb Development Company (DEVCO), *The Beginning*, produced by Canyon Films of Arizona and supervised the Garland Agency, Inc. for the Del E. Webb Corporation ([n.p.]: Canyon Films of Arizona, n.d.), VHS and DVD copies, SCHAS, first cited—although viewed and copy obtained separately—in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 177. For a secondary account both providing background on the film and discussing its narrative of events and overall trajectory, see Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 91-92. For another secondary account citing and utilizing the film—Findlay presumably uses this to address its thematic significance, given the context in which its cited while also noting background information—see Findlay, 177, 350n64. Both Sturgeon and Findlay cite a newspaper article that—although untitled—presumably was this, given its date and coverage: See *Arizona Republic*, August 15, 1965, cited in Findlay, 350n64; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 92 [91-92?]. For article directly, see the following, which presumably is the same copy Findlay utilized based on its location: “Motion Picture Dramatizes Retirement Colony,” *Arizona Republic*, August 15, 1965, “Arizona-Cities and Towns-Sun City,” clipping files (CF), Phoenix Public Library (Burton Barr Central Library, Arizona Room) (PPL), Phoenix, Arizona. Again, the untitled but same dated article, which presumably was this, first cited in Findlay, 350n64; also Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 92 [91-92?]. Note: I was first made aware of and directed to relevant clipping files in the Arizona Room at the Phoenix Public Library from Findlay’s work on Sun City, Arizona. For example, see Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 305. Also, in terms of citation style, I follow Findlay’s abbreviation of the PPL. I also identify these files as “clipping files (CF),” a borrowing from and modification of both Findlay’s citation style here and in his notes for the chapter itself, previously cited, and the files as described by the PPL itself, as “Arizona Republic newspaper clipping files (mid 1960s - 1989).” For PPL description here, see <https://www.phoenixpubliclibrary.org/Locations/BurtonBarr/Pages/Arizona-Room.aspx> (last accessed August 25, 2015). Also note: When I do not have the exact folder title from this collection (CF, PPL), I

This chapter explores the building of Sun City, both as a physical place and as idea shaping the experience of retirement. In tracing the history of the Del Webb Corporation and its efforts in real-estate development in the mid-twentieth century, it ultimately helps to illuminate the industry framework in which Webb evolved and operated—and eventually undertook what became Sun City, Arizona. Furthermore, it explores and explains the creation and implementation of the key ideas undergirding the Sun City project—and ultimately essential to the particular brand of mid-century retirement DEVCO developed.

The Road to Sun City

The history of Sun City begins with the history of the Del E. Webb Corporation. And, as *Fortune* explained in 1965, the history of the Del E. Webb Corporation began with the history of its founder. “The Webb Corp. is naturally identified with Del E. Webb himself, the ex-minor league baseball player, ex-carpenter, and ex-owner of 50 percent of the New York Yankees,” the magazine explained. “Six feet four, deceptively slow-spoken, and thoroughly western, Webb at sixty-five, is still a masterful salesman and creator of profitable deals. He owns over 40 percent of the Webb stock, and is probably

simply provide the location information as marked on the clippings themselves, from which enough information should exist to navigate and locate as needed within this collection.

Meanwhile, in terms of Sturgeon again, she not only cites the above *Arizona Republic* account but also an interview she conducted with DEVCO’s Jerry Svendsen, which I utilize at different points: Jerry Svendsen, interview by Melanie Sturgeon, February 21, 1992, SCAHS, cited in Sturgeon, 92 [91-92?]. For Svendsen as reviewed and utilized directly by author, particularly useful in its discussion of the film’s narrative arc, see Jerry Svendsen, interview by Melanie Sturgeon, February 21, 1992, C221, partial transcription by author of cassette tape, SCAHS. Material here involving film likely first referenced to in “Synopsis” in description of Jerry Svendsen, interview, February 21, 1992, C-221, 2, in SCAHS, “Oral History Project,” bk. 2, SCAHS. Finally, for background on film, also see John W. Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 1, 9.

worth some \$50 million.”⁴⁹³ A piece accompanying the 1961 coverage on retirement and Sun City in *Time* described Webb as leading a hectic, colorful business life. It detailed, among other points, “He has three fulltime hotel suites—in the Beverly Hilton (which he built), the Mountain Shadows Resort in Phoenix (which he also built), and Manhattan’s Waldorf Astoria (which was built in 1930-31 when he wasn’t looking).”⁴⁹⁴ His career as a contractor took root in Phoenix.⁴⁹⁵ “Driven and highly organized,” Phoenix historian Philip VanderMeer writes, “Webb succeeded by ‘following the money,’ and this meant government contracts.”⁴⁹⁶ And as another historian of Phoenix has written, “Webb personally was involved in a number of profitable New Deal promotions, erecting everything from private homes and business to public schools and hospitals; he also was a good Democrat, a friend and supporter of President Roosevelt

493 Tom Alexander, “What Del Webb Is up to in Nevada,” *Fortune*, May 1965, 132, account first cited, for example, in Sally Denton and Roger Morris, *The Money and the Power: The Making of Las Vegas and Its Hold on America* (2001; New York: Vintage Books, 2002), 234. Copy, a reprint, also available at the SCAHS, in “FORTUNE MAY 1965” folder, in “MAGAZINES” file-cabinet drawer, SCAHS. Note: there were a number of file cabinets at the SCAHS, and I have attempted to provide the title of the drawer from which material comes. Webb had taken the company public in 1960 and changed its name from the Del E. Webb Construction Company. See Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 67-68. On Webb and Yankees, see also Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 74; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 31; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 38, 42-48.

494 “Man on the Cover: Del Webb,” *Time*, August 3, 1962, 49, copy viewed again in Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 1, app. 6, SCAHS. On Webb’s business and travel, see also Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee, 1960-1985*, 10.

495 And Findlay puts it that “his firm grew up with the city of Phoenix.” See Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 171. For excellent and important accounts providing biographical information on Del Webb and background on his early work, see, for example: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 171; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 74; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 1, 4-5, 7-8, 8, 9, 11-15, 17, 20-24, 25; Alexander, “What Del Webb Is up to in Nevada,” 132; “Man on the Cover,” 49; “Webb Company Observes Silver Anniversary of Humble Start in Construction Industry,” *The Webb Spinner* 7, no. 8 (July 1953): 1, 3; Sederberg and Lawrence, “Del Webb, the Bashful Barnum”; Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: The History of a Southwestern Metropolis* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1989), 107; VanderMeer, “Del E. Webb,” 66; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 102; Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 153-54; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 55-56.

496 VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 102. “At almost every turn, it seems,” Marc Freedman’s continues in his discussion, “Webb benefited from—and manipulated—public policies.” Freedman, *Prime Time*, 63. For discussion elsewhere of “an organizational mania,” to which VanderMeer’s account might be referring or perhaps paralleling, see A.D. Hopkins, “Del E. Webb,” in *The First 100: Portraits of the Men and Women Who Shaped Las Vegas*, ed. A.D. Hopkins and K.J. Evans (Las Vegas: Huntington Press, 1999), 129 (quotation). For additional evidence on management style and methods, see also, for example, Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 32; “Man on the Cover,” 49.

and his policies throughout the period.”⁴⁹⁷ As *Fortune* suggested, contacts enriched him with a sort of professional capital: “His intimacy with such figures as Howard Hughes, Conrad Hilton, Colonel Henry Crown, and Henry Ford II—not to mention Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower—have helped to make his company a contender for important building contracts; his record of on-time, on-dollars building completions has also helped considerably.”⁴⁹⁸

Webb had undertaken a number of projects during World War II, and in the postwar years, it engaged in additional defense-related undertakings, along with other government and also non-government jobs.⁴⁹⁹ Describing the company’s relationship to

497 Luckingham, *Phoenix*, 107. On Webb and Roosevelt, also see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 11.

498 Alexander, “What Del Webb Is up to in Nevada,” 132. As one Webb chronicler puts it on Webb’s relationships with political figures: “He had their ear and was not reluctant to use his access when needed to advance the prospects of his developments.” Freedman, *Prime Time*, 63. On Webb’s politics, according to Bob Goldwater, see

Robert W. Goldwater, interview by Karin Ullman, July 27, 1976, transcript, 48-49, 50-51, 51-52, but also 53, Phoenix History Project, now, according to finding aid, in folder 8, box 10, AHS-Tempe Oral History Collection, PP-OH1, Arizona Historical Society-Tempe (AHST), Tempe, Arizona, http://www.arizonahistoricalsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/library_AHF-Oral-Histories.pdf (accessed January 22, 2015). Another account in the late 1960s similarly notes that “he’s contributed to both sides.” See Sederberg and Lawrence, “Del Webb, the Bashful Barnum.” As one account, for instance, addressed Webb’s politics: “Although a Democrat by registration, it was rumored that he often voted Republican.” Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 10. And as Webb himself put it at one point, for example: “I’m a lifelong Democrat—you can say a slightly conservative Democrat—but I can’t vote for a bad Democrat over a good Republican.[”] See Del Webb quoted in Sederberg and Lawrence, “Del Webb, the Bashful Barnum.” On Webb in the 1972 U.S. presidential election, when he joined “Democrat for Nixon” in 1972, see Charles Rayburn, “Webb Declares His Full Support of Nixon Drive,” *Phoenix Gazette*, August 30, 1972, “Ariz. - Biog. - Webb, Del E.,” CF, PPL; “Del Webb Joins Dems for Nixon,” *Arizona Republic*, August 31, 1972, “Ariz. - Biog. - Webb, Del E.,” CF, PPL. And in terms of his co-ownership of the Yankees, it yielded potential benefits in such forms, *Time* stated, “as a developer of new business via free passes, casual meetings in the ballpark, and just plain publicity.” See “Man on the Cover,” 49. Partner James G. Boswell II, of the J.G. Boswell Corporation, later explained that “Webb frankly used the Yankees to wine and dine the Washington would-be’s and various sundry people and Del just – he had a knack that way, because he was the old country boy and they all fell for it.” James Boswell, interview by Jane Freeman, Glenn Sanberg, and Louise and John Byrne, December 12, 1983, C199, transcript, 6, SCAHS, “Oral History Project,” bk. 1, SCAHS. For history of Webb and his relationship with the Yankees, see, for example, Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 154; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 57. For another account on Webb, contacts, and the Yankees, though not linking to any such objectives, see also Arax and Wartzman, *The King of California*, 304.

499 First, on World War II activities, see VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 102-3; VanderMeer, “Del E. Webb,” 66; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 25-30, 33-35; “Man on the Cover,” 49; Alexander, “What Del Webb Is up to in Nevada,” 132; Findlay, “Sun City,

gambling-related ventures, which began with Las Vegas's Flamingo Hotel—owned in part by “Bugsy” Siegel—in the mid-1940s, historian David Schwartz had written, “The Del E. Webb Corporation incrementally increased its involvement in the industry over two decades, emerging as a major force in the casino world.”⁵⁰⁰ And in the residential arena, Sun City scholar Melanie Sturgeon has suggested that Webb built up to Sun City, undertaking various projects around mid-century—they included Pueblo Gardens in Tucson, “the greatest housing project in Arizona history and the largest such development ever attempted between Dallas and Los Angeles,” according to *The Webb*

Arizona,” 171; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 17; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 74; Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 154; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 56. On Webb’s efforts in VanderMeer’s excellent account, see Ted O’Malley quoted in VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 102. Second, on postwar government work, see Alexander, “What Del Webb Is up to in Nevada,” 132; Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 171; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 56. On postwar government projects, see also Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 37, 48, 55, 92, 94-95. This account also writes of Webb: “Webb had carefully nurtured his reputation as a builder for the government; he was frequently able to acquire government contracts without the formality of bidding.” Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 92. Elsewhere, the account also writes of “the government as one of his best customers.” See 48. Calhoun points out Webb and “governmental contract work,” for example, as well, though chronology not provided: Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 206. For various non-government projects undertaken, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 171; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 74; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 57, 58; Blechman, 31.

500 First, for quotation, see David G. Schwartz, *Suburban Xanadu: The Casino Resort on the Las Vegas Strip and Beyond* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 105. Second, for this relationship over time, see the following. For relationship beginning with the Flamingo, to which Schwartz presumably is referring—along with other developments—in light of the context of what follows the above quotation, here first see again Schwartz, 105. For important accounts on Webb and the Flamingo Hotel and Siegel, also see, for example, Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 74, 108n2; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 9, 17; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 105, 111-13; Arelo Sederberg and John F. Lawrence, “Del Webb, the Bashful Barnum,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 14, 1969; Sally Denton and Roger Morris, *The Money and the Power: The Making of Las Vegas and Its Hold on America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2002), 53, 105; Hopkins, “Del E. Webb,” 129; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 31; Schwartz, 52; Arax and Wartzman, *The King of California*, 303-304. On Webb and work in the 1950s, see, for example, Hopkins, 129; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 114; Schwartz, 105. And for Webb by the 1960s and also broader context, see Alexander, “What Del Webb Is up to in Nevada,” 185-86; Hopkins, 129-30; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 114-17, 118, 119, 121; Denton and Morris, *The Money and the Power*, 233-34; Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 154; Schwartz, 105-106. And in terms of size, according to one account, in fact: “In 1978 the company was the largest gaming employer in Nevada, with some 7,000 workers.” See Hopkins, 130 (quotation). On size of Webb at points in the 1960s and the early 1970s, respectively, see also Rothman, 156; U.S. Senator Harry M. Reid in *Congressional Record*, September 24, 1990, in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 134. For description as “a leading gaming company,” also see Schwartz, 106. For projects elsewhere as of the 1970s, see, for example, Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 123-125. And for projects, though dates not specified, also see Schwartz, 106. Note: I return to Webb and casinos in the 1970s in New Jersey, in particular, later in this dissertation. On role of casinos, see Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 113.

Spinner, Webb's company newsletter, in 1948—such that “by 1959, they had the experience necessary for construction and management of entire communities.”⁵⁰¹

Beyond such “experience,” presumably paving the way for Sun City, too, was the fact that Webb also ventured into real-estate development.⁵⁰² “In the early 1950's, the Company embarked on an extensive diversification program,” Webb's initial annual corporate report for 1960 explained of its strategic branching out. “In order to capitalize

501 First, for Sturgeon, see “It's a Paradise Town,” 74-76 (first quotation 76). In other words, she puts it: “The idea of a planned community was not new to Webb” (74). For another account, see Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 34, 35, 59-60; Roy Drachman quoted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 56. For another account perhaps suggesting, or gesturing in the direction of, this point from the standpoint of “the housing market,” including citing one of the examples below—in San Manuel—see Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 17 (quotation), 19. And for another account making a perhaps similar point in relation other Webb efforts, discussed in my Chapter 4, too, Blechman writes: “Webb had also built internment camps for more than 25,000 Japanese detainees; which gave him experience in designing and implementing planned communities.” See Blechman, *Leisureville*, 31. Second, for Pueblo Gardens specifically, see again Sturgeon, “It's a Paradise Town,” 75; Drachman quoted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 56; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 59; “Tucson to Get Huge Housing Development,” *The Webb Spinner* 2, no. 4 (March 1948): 1 (second quotation), 4. For other accounts on this development, see also Roy Drachman, quoted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 56; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 59; John Meeker, interview by Melanie Sturgeon, March 6, 1996, C246, transcript, 2, SCAHS, “Oral History Project,” bk. 2, SCAHS; also “Site Being Cleared for 3,000 Homes at Tucson: Builders Plan to Erect Model Dwellings First,” *The Webb Spinner* 2, no. 5 (April 1948): 4; “Seven Hundred Living Units Mushroom in Desert from Tucson Project,” *The Webb Spinner* 3, no. 3 (February 1949): 6 (caption); “Tucson Developer Holds Costs Down,” *New York Times*, September 5, 1948, R1. This last article, from the *New York Times*, opens with a quotation similar to that in “Tucson to Get Huge Housing Development,” 1. And among other media exposure, Pueblo Gardens was covered in 1949 in the NAHB's *Correlator*: “National Magazines Feature Tucson Housing: Webb Gains Renown for Economy Housing,” *The Webb Spinner* 3, no. 4 (March 1949): 1. Note: All issues of *The Webb Spinner* here—and elsewhere—viewed, unless noted otherwise, at and/or through the SCAHS. On Webb-built projects, also see John W. Meeker, “Overview” in John W. Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 1, 1. On San Manuel specifically, also see; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 17, 19; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 59-60; Meeker, interview, 2. For Webb's L.C. Jacobson on this development directly as seemingly relevant here, see Jacobson in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 8-9. Although Meeker does not identify it by name, the other project in Tucson to which Meeker might have been referring was Sunland Gardens, given the timeframe and geography identified in Meeker and evident in the following. On Sunland Gardens, see “\$5,000,000 Housing Job Is Started at Tucson,” *The Webb Spinner* 6, no. 6 (May 1952): 1, 5; “Sunland Housing Gardens Project Is Taking Shape,” *The Webb Spinner* 6, no. 7 (June 1952): 1; “First Homes Ready at Sunland Gardens,” *The Webb Spinner* 6, no. 9 (August 1952): 1-2.

502 Sturgeon also addresses what the accounts I discuss and/or cite below explain in relation to “diversifying,” though she does so in terms of “large-scale community development,” while I use the below in an attempt to highlight the bigger picture about the background of Webb—as the *broader* context in which Sun City and the projects out of which it grew originated. For Sturgeon here, see again Sturgeon, “It's a Paradise Town,” 74.

on the values generated by normal construction and development activity, and mindful of the cyclical nature of the construction industry, the Company entered the development field to build for its own account.”⁵⁰³ While the *Spinner* would identify it in December of 1952 as “the Del E. Webb Development Co.,” earlier, in October, the newsletter reported: “Creation of a separate department of the Del E. Webb Construction Co. of Phoenix and Los Angeles devoted to planning and building of housing and business and commercial developments such as shopping centers has been announced by L.C. Jacobson, executive vice-president and general manager.”⁵⁰⁴

503 For quotation, see Del E. Webb Corporation, *First Annual Report: For the Year 1960* (Phoenix, Arizona: 1961), 7. *Fortune* would describe and explain this as “the company started moving more and more into land development, seeking firmer control over its destiny—and a larger share of the proceeds—than could be provided by the up-and-down business of third-party contracting.” Alexander, “What Del Webb Is up to in Nevada,” 132. On Webb’s move, also see Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 37-38, 91. And Sturgeon, again identifies this as specifically pertaining to the following: “The company also turned to large-scale community development projects as a way of diversifying.” See again Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 74. In fact, by the early 1960s, when the first Sun City retirement project was well underway, Webb was engaged in a variety of projects. For example, see L.C. Jacobson, “The Corporation – Its Northwest Phoenix Properties Program and Present Development,” in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, app. B, 72-73. As additional evidence of then-present state and scope of activities, also see, for example, description of Webb Corporation, also one of its sponsors, in Western Management Consultants, *The Economy of Maricopa County, 1965 to 1980: A Study for the Guidance of Public and Private Planning* (Phoenix, 1965), 327. Thank you to Elizabeth Tandy Shermer for directing me to this study. And, although the exact years are not specified, the 1960 corporate report explained of the “diversification program” that presumably began in the 1950s: “New divisions and departments were created to handle the analysis, planning, financing and management of these projects. A housing department, shopping center, office building and motor hotel departments were formed as part of the Land Development Division.” Webb Corporation, *First Annual Report*, 7. Thank you to Judith Nixon at Purdue for helping me locate copies of Webb’s reports.

504 For important accounts from Meeker on the history of DEVCO here and for above quotations, see, in order, Meeker, “Overview,” 1; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 6; “Development Company to Build Homes and Shopping Districts,” *The Webb Spinner* 7, no. 1 (December 1952): 16 (first quotation); “Webb Co. Forms Development and Housing Dept.,” *The Webb Spinner* 6, no. 11 (October 1952): 1 (second quotation). Although several accounts have linked the rise of DEVCO to the rise of Sun City and the partnership behind it, evidence here instead thus points to its origins in the early 1950s. For such accounts, see, for example, Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 2; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 22; Peter Wiley and Robert Gottlieb, *Empires in the Sun: The Rise of the New American West* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1982), 184; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 76. Suggesting or clarifying that such efforts did not mark a break in a new direction, Webb’s Jacobson seemingly treated the rise of Webb’s development efforts as a logical progression of sorts. See Jacobson cited, as well as context, in “Webb Co. Forms Development and Housing Dept.,” 1. Additionally, while accounts providing

Sun City ultimately grew out of Webb dealings in the late 1950s, directly or indirectly.⁵⁰⁵

“The squib in the paper said that Mr. Jacobson was interested in a large piece of property and so as I say I stopped by, and walked in and I was announced and he happened to be available and I said would you like to – I see in the paper where you would like to buy a piece of property,” Webb’s eventual Sun City partner, the J.G. Boswell Corporation’s James G. Boswell II, recalled of meeting with L.C. Jacobson in Phoenix in 1959—a move on Boswell’s part apparently spurred by another, recent acquisition by Webb and businessman Henry Crown. “He said, I would but I want a large piece, and you couldn’t

biographical information are cited later, for another mention of title of Jacobson, see also Meeker, “Overview,” 2. On history of DEVCO, specifically changes in 1950s, and efforts, also see the following. On changes, see again Meeker, “Overview,” 1; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 6. On efforts in Phoenix, also see—again—Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 171-72; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 19. For specific projects in Phoenix, see the following. For Encanto Estates, begun in 1954: “Housing Project Started in Phoenix”; “Thousands View Webb Company’s New Encanto Homes Project,” *The Webb Spinner* 9, no. 3 (March 1955): 6; “Tom Breen to Manage Phoenix Housing Department”; “New Design Homes Planned for Phoenix,” *The Webb Spinner*, 11, no. 2 (February 1957): 4. On Camelback Village, underway in 1955: Illustrations and caption of “New Homes: Webb Company’s Camelback Village at Phoenix Offers ‘Home with a Heart,’” *The Webb Spinner* 9, no. 6 (June 1955): 5; “Tom Breen to Manage Phoenix Housing Department”; “New Design Homes Planned for Phoenix,” *The Webb Spinner* 11, no. 2 (February 1957): 4-5. On projects elsewhere, including in San Diego, where Webb in a joint venture was building part of a development already underway prior to the above management moves, see also “Plans Readied for Huge San Diego Development,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 21, 1954; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 19; “Webb Company to Build ‘City’ Near San Diego,” *The Webb Spinner* 8, no. 2 (Spring 1954): 1-2; “Homes Project at San Diego in High Gear,” *The Webb Spinner* 8, no. 5 (June, July, and August, 1954): 1-2; *The Webb Spinner* 11, no. 5 (May 1957): 8 (middle photo and caption); “Webb Company Ready to Start Project of 1,150 Homes at Cedar Rapids, Ia.,” *The Webb Spinner* 10, no. 4 (April 1956): 1, 8; “Huge Housing Construction Projects are Launched on Colorado and California Sites,” *The Webb Spinner* 12, no. 6 (June 1958): 1, 9. Historian Philip VanderMeer, however, seems to offer a different characterization of Webb, although the above evidence might reflect more active efforts in housing: VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix*, 1860-2009, 212. For biographical information on Jacobson, including his history and roles with Webb, see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, 16-17, 17; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 16, 17-19, 25, 36, 107-108, 109, 114, 119; Boswell, interview, 6, 18; who presumably was Jacobson in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 11, 11-13, 19; Sederberg and Lawrence, “Del Webb, the Bashful Barnum”; Seth Scott, “Jacobson Built an Extraordinary Life” [?], *Arizona Republic*, January 11, 2001, “PERSONALITIES (I-L)” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. This piece also discusses Jacobson’s involvement in Webb’s involvement with Webb’s Las Vegas efforts. For the point that Webb’s earlier efforts paved the way for Sun City, Arizona, see again, for example, Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 74-76.

505 See below for discussion and citation of accounts illustrating, more specifically, this context and its relationship to Sun City—how Webb’s acquisition of acreage seemingly led to a relationship with Jim Boswell, identified below, which allowed for, or helped to allow for, the eventual rise of Sun City. Also discussed and/or cited in note below are accounts suggesting broader context of Webb and efforts.

qualify for that. I said you are probably right, it is only ten thousand acres and he said let's go look at it."⁵⁰⁶ With Webb apparently remaining acquisitive and a sale eventually

506 First, for quotation and context of discussion, see Boswell, interview, 3. Shortly below, he recounted that, additionally, "I said, by the way there is another ten thousand acres here if you are interested. And with that he said let's go to the office and make a deal" (3). For same or similar accounts of interaction between Boswell and Jacobson here and above, see also Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 21; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 75; Arax and Wartzman, *The King of California*, 304. And for biographical identification of and/or information on Jim Boswell, see, for example, the following—some or all of which I return to and cite again below: Sturgeon, "'It's a Paradise Town,'" 83; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 20, 21; Meeker, "A Look Back, 1959-1981," bk. 1, 1; Dennis Hevesi, "James G. Boswell II, 86, Owner of Cotton Empire, Dies at 86," *New York Times*, April 9, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/10/us/10boswell.html?partner=rss&emc=rss&_r=0 (last accessed May 19, 2015). Additional sources dealing with background of Boswell and his family and the family's business cited below. For background on Boswell—the family, company, and Jim Boswell—see Arax and Wartzman, *The King of California*. Second, on the Webb-Crown acquisition, which Meeker identified and described as "the 3,000 + acre Arrowhead Ranch farming operation northwest of Phoenix and Glendale," see Meeker, "Overview," 1 (quotation); Boswell, interview, 3; "Del Webb and Chicago's Henry Crown Team in \$5 Million Purchase of Arizona Ranch," *The Webb Spinner* 13, no. 2 (February 1959): 1. For Crown and ventures including the Empire State Building, see, for example, Meeker, 1. Then, for evidence suggesting the influence of the Arrowhead Ranch deal on Boswell, in seemingly prompting him to approach Webb, see two accounts directly involving Boswell: Boswell, interview, 3; esp. Boswell in discussion on cassette tape, numbered as "C-101" partially transcribed by author, corresponding to description—first viewed by author—of Sun Cities Area Historical Society (SCAHS), April 15, 1987, "Subject: 'Do You Remember When---?'" event in "Index to Misc Audio Tapes" binder, SCAHS. The numbering on the tape itself, again, appears to differ. Additionally, the description includes the following: "Panel: James G. Boswell II, John Meeker, Owen Childress." Sturgeon also utilizes this in her work—in relation to another point to which I return later in this chapter. See event with the above on the same date as cited in Sturgeon, "'It's a Paradise Town,'" 102. Additionally, for accounts by Meeker recounting the ranch deal as leading Boswell to Webb, though not specified as via "the paper," see Meeker, "Overview," 2; Meeker, "A Look Back, 1959-1981," bk. 1, 1. For accounts not mentioning this acquisition but explaining and providing narrative of contact between Webb and Boswell, see the following. For an account of Boswell and Webb, via "a report," see Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 21. Finally, for yet other accounts, including Webb's Bob Johnson, who first had dialogue with Boswell, and seemingly differing from the above—and between each other—in terms of which party raised the issue, see Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 75; Jacobson and Breen, interview, 1. For another account perhaps more akin to the former, see also Arax and Wartzman, *The King of California*, 304. And for another account perhaps similar here, though not mentioning Johnson, see also Freedman, *Prime Time*, 36. For other mentions of Johnson, meanwhile, and slightly different series of events, see again Meeker, "Overview," 2; Meeker, "A Look Back, 1959-1981," bk. 1, 1. For narrative involving "meeting," whether the initial or a subsequent one, see also Meeker, "A Look Back, 1959-1981," bk. 1, 1. My paying attention to and thinking about differences across accounts involving origins of the Webb-Boswell relationship was sparked and shaped by a comment Ed Allen shared with me during a research visit at the former SCAHS about his own review of versions of accounts, which—as I recall it—included an Meeker and also possibly Boswell, if not another. And, in terms of what presumably was the context of Webb's efforts, whether in the wake of the Arrowhead Ranch land or whether as overall in the 1950s, or late 1950s, see the following. For example, Jacobson himself recalled that "at that particular time Del and I were very bullish in land." Jacobson and Breen, interview, 1. Similar quotation appears elsewhere. See Jacobson quoted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 75. For other accounts pointing to context, see also Arax and Wartzman,

finalized as part of an overall relationship, the *Spinner* later in 1959 reported, “It probably was the largest financial exchange of agricultural property in Arizona history.”⁵⁰⁷

And referencing the total acreage the developer had amassed in greater Phoenix by the early decade, “This is the site of Sun City,” Webb reported after the company had

303; Freedman, 36. The former references “That summer,” perhaps specific to the post-Arrowhead Ranch period—though this also could serve a more narrative function. Webb’s 1960 corporate illustrates suggests this context broader still—into the 1960s—in explaining in a section on “Land Development”: “Land development holds the key to the phenomenal growth of the Company and its exciting promise for the future. Since its inauguration in the early 1950’s, the Land Development Division has become increasingly important in the Company’s operations, responsible for the analysis, acquisition, development, management and sale of properties of every nature in which the Company maintains a proprietary interest. Today, that interest extends to nearly 60,000 acres of land.” Webb Corporation, *First Annual Report for the Year 1960*, 9. For perspective from that of the early 1960s, see also Jacobson, “The Corporation,” 73. 507 I have relied on the important accounts below—some of which already have been cited as relevant—to relay the basics of this relationship. Importantly, while at a later point in this chapter I discuss another aspect involving Boswell, here I focus on the sale of the land in question. First, for narrative of events, or sequence of events, on the road of making and ultimately finalizing land component, see, in particular, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 21, 22; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 75-76; Boswell, interview, 3; Arax and Wartzman, *The King of California*, 304. Then, for various accounts recounting the acquisition—of what some of the accounts below identify was 20,000 acres, or roughly 20,000 acres—see the following: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 174; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 83; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 76; Meeker, “Overview,” 2; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” bk. 1, 1, P-3 (top left caption); Meeker, interview, 4; “Webb Co. Acquires 20,000-Acre Arizona Ranch,” *The Webb Spinner* 14, no. 6 (June 1959): 1, 6; “Webb Buys 20,000 Acres For \$20 Million,” *Arizona Republic*, June 6, 1959; Arax and Wartzman, 304. Furthermore, for the specifics detailed in various accounts, including the specific ranch land acquired, see also Sturgeon, 83; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 76; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 1-2, 3; Meeker, interview, 16; “Webb Co. Acquires 20,000-Acre Arizona Ranch,” 1, 7; “Webb Buys 20,000 Acres For \$20 Million.” Further still, Meeker recalled that “the land was purchased without any carrying costs on it.” And as the corporate report for 1960 explained: “The unused portions of the property were leased back to the seller for farming purposes in lieu of interest payments on the purchase price.” For quotations here in note, see Meeker, interview, 16 (first quotation); Webb Corporation, *Annual Report for the Year 1960*, 10 (second quotation). For additional accounts on different points—of those above, along with others presumably necessary for or otherwise part, see, for example, Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 83; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 21; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 76; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 2, 3; Boswell, interview, 7; “Webb Co. Acquires 20,000-Acre Arizona Ranch,” 7; “Webb Buys 20,000 Acres For \$20 Million”; case of Sun City discussed in “Hidden Costs Cited in Landholding,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1968; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 36. Below I also quote and cite in a note material that perhaps involves what Freedman is perhaps referring to here. And for discussing in relation to Webb’s efforts more broadly, see, for example, again Jacobson, “The Corporation,” 73. And for another account perhaps relevant, though not apparently discussing or including *Sun City* as “leased back,” see also Webb Corporation, 9-10, esp. 10. For quotation here, as above, see again 10. And for discussion of broader issue or issues in relation to which Sun City was cited, see also “Hidden Costs Cited in Landholding.” And, for quotation in text, see “Webb Co. Acquires 20,000-Acre Arizona Ranch,” 1.

become publicly traded in 1960—one, more specifically, existing within the Marinette Ranch (Figure 3.1).⁵⁰⁸

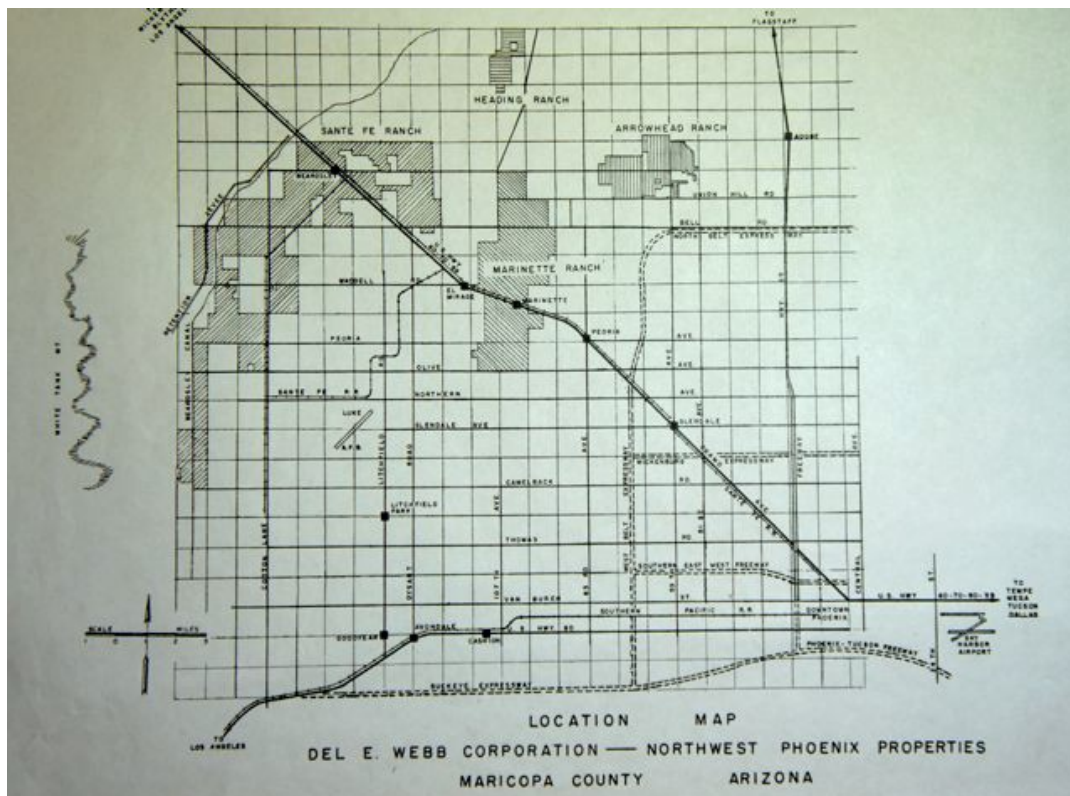


Figure 3.1. Map of Webb’s various land holdings, by early 1960s: “Location Map: Del E. Webb Corporation – Northwest Phoenix Properties: Maricopa County, Arizona” in A Panel from Councils of Urban Land Institute, *Northwest Phoenix Properties: Report to*

508 For quotation, see Webb Corporation, *First Annual Report*, 10. For context here discussing this total acreage, including not only the above but also that of “other large land acquisition,” see again 10. And a few pages later, it identified this total in stating the following, which also can serve as evidence involving Sun City’s location: “The project, 12 miles northwest of Phoenix, is a part of more than 30,000 acres controlled by the Company” (13). For similar figures elsewhere, see also ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 9; Jacobson, “The Corporation,” 73. On Webb going public, see, for example, Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 68. And, this account goes on to recount: “It was especially gratifying that within three years Webb would be listed on the New York Stock Exchange” (69). For other relevant accounts, also see, for example, Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 11, 26; Del E. Webb, “To Our Shareholders,” April 28, 1961, in Webb Corporation, 4; “Webb Corporation Offering of \$12 Million in Securities is Quickly Oversubscribed,” *Webb Spinner* 15, no. 1 (January-February 1961): 1, 2; “Webb Corporation Stock Listed on ‘Big Board,’” *Webb Spinner* 17, no. 9 (September 1963): 1, 2. And, finally, for Sun City as Marinette, see, for example, the following accounts, which state or suggest to varying degrees: Boswell, interview, 1; discussion in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 26; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 2, 5, P-1; Sturgeon, 83, 84. And for discussion of “town of Marinette,” see Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 72, 76 (quotation). As the map in Figure 3.1 indicates, Marinette was located in the Marinette Ranch. See “Location Map: Del E. Webb Corporation – Northwest Phoenix Properties: Maricopa County, Arizona” in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, n.p. Again, the document identifies what I am assuming is this as “Frontispiece”: ULI, 9.

the Sponsor, Del E. Webb Corporation; Recommendations and Findings (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1961), n.p. What presumably is this is described elsewhere in the document as “Frontispiece” (9).

Webb unveiled news of the development in September of 1959, though it would not officially welcome prospective homebuyers until the beginning of the following year, the *Arizona Republic* newspaper reporting, “A RETIREMENT community that will eventually have more than 1,600 homes is being built by the Del E. Webb Construction Co.”⁵⁰⁹ In terms of the “retirement” emphasis of what would become Sun City, various accounts have addressed its origins. “Sun City, which has served as a model for some of these communities,” *New Yorker* writer Calvin Trillin, for example, explained in a 1964

509 For quotation, see “Arizona Retirement Community is Webb Project: Homes, Shops, Golf Course Included in Town Near Phoenix,” *The Webb Spinner* 13, no. 9 (September 1959): 1, 6; “Webb Maps 1,600-Home Retirement Town,” *Arizona Republic*, September 4, 1959 (quotation). The article from the *Arizona Republic* seems to share same or similar material with two pieces in the *Webb Spinner* issue above: “Arizona Retirement Community is Webb Project,” 1, 6; “Retirement Town Planning in Brief,” *The Webb Spinner* 13, no. 9 (September 1959): 2. And in her study, in pointing to an issue involving another retirement community on which I note her work below, Sturgeon discusses and cites other newspaper coverage at or around the same time with at least some information same or similar to accounts above. See *Youngtown Record*, September 8, 1959, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 84. No article title included here. Additionally, on details of development as in-progress, see—in addition mentions in the *Webb Spinner* and *Arizona Republic* coverage above—the following, for example: Meeker, “Overview,” 2; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 4, P-1; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 25. However, while Webb’s efforts by this time clearly revolved around *retirement* development, various accounts suggest—if not demonstrate—that this was not necessarily the case in the early stages of the developer’s contact and negotiation with Boswell. On one hand, evidence suggests that this already was on the table as a possibility—whether Webb sought the land specifically for retirement or for development more generally—as Boswell recalled of Jacobson as “interested in retirement” in his interview. Boswell, interview, 3. And on a later panel, he also mentioned that “I think the homework has [*sic?*] been done as to the concept of trying to create a possible Sun City” at or around the same time. See Boswell’s comments, SCAHS, 1987 event. On the other hand, the interview of Jacobson and Breen, for example, perhaps suggests another chronology. See comments of both Jacobson and Breen in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 2. Nonetheless, as I discuss and cite below, retirement housing was on Webb’s radar prior to contact with Boswell and thus the point here simply is that it is possible Webb acquired the ranch land without specific retirement-related intent. Finally, for accounts dealing with Webb welcoming homebuyers in the text, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 160, 174; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 1, 87; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 77, 78; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 32, 36; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 25, 29. For Meeker’s materials useful here, see also, for instance, Meeker, “Overview,” 2; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 7. As the latter explains: “During the construction phase a small temporary sales office was moved on site to keep the hundreds of inquisitive visitors out of harm’s way. More than 400 prospective purchasers put down a \$500 deposit from September to the Opening Day of January 1, 1960.” Meeker, “Overview,” 2.

piece, referencing the proliferation of such “communities” nationally, “was itself modelled on others, and if it has changed the nation’s ideas on retirement, it did not invent what gerontologists call ‘chronological segregation.’” Pointing out that, closer to home, Webb was not alone, he continued, “In this respect, it was frankly inspired by Youngtown, a small development for elderly people (put up by a rival Phoenix construction company) that was formerly isolated in the cotton fields northwest of Phoenix but now has the burgeoning Sun City right across the highway.”⁵¹⁰

510 For quotation from Trillin, see Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 120, piece again first cited, for instance, in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 176, and Sturgeon, 80, 89. For various accounts on Youngtown as shaping Webb to whatever extent, from the standpoint of age segregation—explicitly or not—and/or otherwise or more generally, see the following: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 172, 172-173; Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 4; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 67, 76-77, 77, 84; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 71; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 34; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 31; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 206; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 210, 212. For discussion of “other projects,” see also 210-212 (quotation 210). Although not making direct linkage, or as direct as others, see also Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 15. And as Freedman’s account, writing of “not an entirely new idea,” whether applicable to Youngtown or not nonetheless useful in thinking about origins, see also Freedman, 33. For period accounts or accounts of those connected to DEVCO, see also Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 130; “The Family,” 47-48. For newspaper coverage of evidence Webb gained from Youngtown supporting age segregation, which Sturgeon also discusses, see Sturgeon, 84; “Retired Persons Like to Garden,” *Arizona Republic*, September 4, 1959. Assuming that this “market” was applicable to Webb, Meeker also suggests this in his later written account: Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 1 (quotation), 3. As further evidence, Meeker implies a relationship with the following: “Youngtown was of course retirement at that time but it was [*sic?*] very bare bones, low end market.” Meeker, interview, 3. Further still, see again Breen, in which he seems to acknowledge the existence of age segregation from which Webb very well might have departed or in opposition to which it defined its own efforts in part: Breen in Jacobson and Breen interview, 2-3, 3. Note: I return to the issue of age segregation and its role in the making of Sun City in a later chapter in Part II. Finally, for Boswell on role of one figure behind Youngtown, whom I return to below, see also Boswell’s comments, SCAHS, 1987 event. For accounts attributing knowledge of, more specifically, to “a national television show,” in Findlay’s words, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 172 (quotation); also Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 71. Other important accounts, also recounting the role of television exposure, identify it one, the other, or both of two different programs in the later 1950s. For Dave Garroway, on NBC, see Sturgeon, 76; Freeman and Sanberg, 15. For what presumably was this source, as well as Sturgeon’s point, also see 66-67. For Sturgeon on Garroway elsewhere in her study, see also 59. And for additional discussion in Sturgeon of Youngtown and Webb, see also 76-77. Perhaps in reference to the implications from Webb’s perspective, Meeker recounted: “The NBC Today Show [*sic*] with Dave Garroway did a short segment on the development, and ultimately 50,000 inquiries were received, indicating a sizeable potential market for an age restricted retirement community.” Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 1. And for Garroway, along with another program, see discussion of both in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 71. Other accounts discuss Webb’s relationship with Youngtown in relation to one of Webb’s then-vice presidents Tom Breen, who I further discuss later in this section, and his role. Calhoun writes: “In 1955, a Webb marketing vice-

president, Thomas Breen, noticed a novel housing development located just 16 miles from Webb's home base, Phoenix, Arizona." See Calhoun, 206. And for Breen's position, above, which—according to the previously cited report—was "vice president and director of housing," see, for example, Sturgeon, 77; Freeman and Sanberg, 19; Webb Corporation, *First Annual Report*, 22 (quotation); "The Family," 47. For "head of our housing and development," see also Jacobson and Breen, 2. And for "director of the Webb housing division," see also "Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders," 2. For biographical information on Breen, see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, 19; Boswell, interview, 5; Bernice Jones, "Top Webb Aide Creates New Cities," *Arizona Republic*, August 18, 1963, "WEBB CORPORATION—1961-1999" folder, VF-Sun City/ Sun City West (SC/SCW), SCAHS; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 34; "The Family," 47. Note: the file drawer that I have identified as "SC/SCW" appears on drawer as "SC & SCW IN COMMOM." And on his roles and/or titles within Webb over time, also see, for example, Meeker, "Overview," 1; Meeker, "A Look Back, 1959-1981," 6; Jones, "Top Webb Aide Creates New Cities"; "Housing Project Started in Phoenix," *The Webb Spinner* 8, no. 7 (December 1954): 7; "Tom Breen to Manage Phoenix Housing Department," *The Webb Spinner* 10, no. 1 (January 1956): 8. On Breen's involvement with *Time* on Webb, though no date given, see Jacobson, presumably, in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 16. For Breen's involvement in *The Beginning*, see Sturgeon, "'It's a Paradise Town,'" 91; "Motion Picture Dramatizes Retirement Colony." And more specifically still, another account recounts Breen and both television programs: Freedman, 34. And on Breen and Sun City more generally, see discussion in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 71; Kevin E. McHugh and Ann M. Fletchall, "Memento Mori: The 'Death' of Youngtown," *The Professional Geographer* 61, no. 1 (2009): 23. For another account on Breen and Youngtown, see also "The Family," 47-48, esp. 48. Another important account perhaps suggesting role of Breen, see also Sturgeon, 77. For Sturgeon writing of Garroway in relation to "several staff members," and subsequently of "Webb staff," and that might have included Breen, see again 76 (first quotation), 76-77 (second quotation 76). For accounts of those of Jacobson and Boswell, see Jacobson and Breen, interview, 7, 16; Boswell, interview, 5. Meeker also points out Breen—among other Webb personnel—as involved, whether in related or other sense: Meeker, "Overview," 24. Breen himself recalled in the context of the time around the Webb-Boswell acquisition: "I had been feeling around with this idea for about two years prior to this." See Jacobson and Breen, interview, 2. For discussion of his role, including in relation to Youngtown, which may fit with accounts above or not, see also "The Family," 47, 48. On Breen "for several years," see also Sturgeon, 77. For yet other accounts, on Breen and "the 'active retirement,' philosophy," see again Jones, "Top Webb Aide Creates New Cities" (quotation); "Breen Named as U.S. Expert," *Arizona Journal*, April 14 [?], 1964, "ARIZ.- Del Webb Corp," CF, PPL. Finally on the early history of Youngtown, see, for example, Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 172; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 15; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 71; McHugh and Fletchall, "Memento Mori," 22, 22-23; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 28, 28-29; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 34; "The Family," 47. And for a particularly useful and comprehensive historical overview of Youngtown in the 1950s and into the 1960s, see also Sturgeon, "'It's a Paradise Town,'" 57-59, 63. And on the significance of Youngtown, see the following as well. As Sturgeon writes: "Youngtown, Arizona [*sic*] was a fairly early retirement development, and appears to have been the first to require that residents be 50 years or older to reside there." Sturgeon, 57. As Freedman explains: "Although some cities in Florida—most notably St. Petersburg—were becoming de facto retirement havens as more and more older adults from the Snowbelt gravitated there, the first community to bar residents from the younger and middle generations was Youngtown." See Freedman, 33-34. On "the nation's first age-segregated community," see also Blechman, *Leisureville*, 28. Another account states: "Begun five years previously, Youngtown had become the first full-fledged retirement community in the country." For quotation and context, along with other evidence, see Freeman and Sanberg, 15. And on significance of Youngtown, via Sun City, another account explains: "The plethora of amenity-rich communities for retirees, preretirees, and empty-nesters we see today across America are derivative from the original Sun City model that was inspired by little Youngtown." See McHugh and Fletchall, 24. Freedman also offers a broader historical context for Youngtown: Freedman, 33-34, esp. 33.

In addition to the feature of the age composition of what became Sun City, evidence suggests that and how another issue shaped DEVCO.⁵¹¹ As Webb's Tom Breen—of whom L.C. Jacobson later said, “One guy who should get the most credit for this idea, the idea itself, that would be Tom Breen” and whose efforts included consulting the University of Chicago's Robert Havighurst—recalled his impression of Youngtown: “No facilities, no nothing, just the idea of an exclusive community.”⁵¹² Whether including

511 As noted above, Webb's scoping out and engaging with housing in terms of the particular age composition of the community further is explored further in Part II. Meanwhile, for accounts here on the shaping of DEVCO and Sun City, see—in addition to any ones of relevance previously cited, above, and from those from those closer to event, below—the following. Offering a framework here, of Sun City as departing from Youngtown in some form, one account, for example, explains, referencing a key figure in the latter's history: “The community he built, called Youngtown, set a precedent. But in its small and rather utilitarian beginnings, Youngtown was more idea than model.” See Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 71. Although perhaps more in relation to housing itself, see also Webb versus Youngtown discussed in Sturgeon, “It's a Paradise Town,” 77.

512 For the above, in order they appear in text, see the following. First, for Jacobson on Breen, see Jacobson in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 7 (first quotation). Second, and suggesting that and how Webb itself leaned on academic experts in homebuilding for retirement, on Breen and Havighurst, see Jacobson and Breen, interview, 2; Sturgeon, “It's a Paradise Town,” 77-78, 78, 80; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 19. For other evidence on this point, see—in addition to discussion in my Chapter 2—also the following. For Leisure World developer Ross Cortese sponsoring efforts in the 1960s at the University of Southern California, presumably with the overall goal of spurring home sales, see Achenbaum, *Crossing Frontiers*, 109, 109n74, 110; Davidson, “Thistles in Paradise,” 22. On Cortese's other methods in exploring the market, see Davidson, 22; “What Makes Ross W. Cortese the World's Largest Home Builder?” *Practical Builder* (May 1966): 88. And for an overview of Cortese's efforts and projects, see Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 109. And for efforts involving other experts, see also *Fortune* coverage, presumably that from 1966, discussed and cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 209. And in addition to Cortese, other evidence supporting a broader trend is the developer of Holiday City in New Jersey, which contacted “geriatricians,” according to one involved in the company's course of market research: Quoted in “This Man Has \$18,000 Cash, and He's Looking for a Place to Live—Sell Him Something,” *American Builder* 101: 10 (October 1968): 55. And according to Freeman and Sanberg's account, there was another influence as well: “Webb executives had also read about the findings of Dr. Alexander Comfort, Director of the Medical Research Council on Aging, University of London, England, which had been reported in *Time* magazine. Comfort found that people age faster physically than they should because they run out of ‘evolutionary programs.’” Freeman and Sanberg, 15-16. For evidence from Sturgeon on the Southern Gerontology Conference, see again Sturgeon, “It's a Paradise Town,” 71n30. And for Calhoun pointing out role of “statistics compiled by social scientists” as noted in my Chapter 2, see again Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 204.

Third, and finally, for Breen on Youngtown, see Breen in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 3 (second quotation). For same idea articulated by Breen, also see 2-3. To be clear, Breen and DEVCO presumably did embrace the component of age segregation of Youngtown—points to which I return, again, to in my Part II, in Chapter 5. For accounts on Breen's role, position/s with Webb, and biographical background, see again note in previous paragraph. Another account explained, writing in relation to a context that I return to in greater depth in my Chapter 5: “Despite this geriatric heresy, and despite the lack

Youngtown or not, coverage in the *Spinner* attributed it—and the function served—to “research,” explaining, “Making recreation and hobby facilities readily available in their new community, with an advisory board of town leaders to administer them and an activities director to assist, will meet the problem of inactivity, the developers believe.”⁵¹³ And, referencing findings flowing from Breen-backed exploratory efforts,

of facilities for shopping or recreation, the houses at Youngtown were steadily selling. Breen decided that there might be something in the age-segregation idea, no matter what the experts said.” See “The Family,” 48. For fuller context of here, see also 47-48. Meanwhile, for a secondary account perhaps suggesting point about facilities, see Freedman, writing of “really just a cluster of houses and a tiny store” in his account: Freedman, *Prime Time*, 34. For similar language and discussion elsewhere, see also Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 71. And for another seemingly do so, and if not in relation to Sun City on what—in context—appears to have been “amenities” then in relation to others, see VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 210 (quotation), 212. On “a conspicuous lack of either merchandising or *special facilities*,” perhaps in the vein of “facilities” above and elsewhere, see also Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 130 (emphasis added). And, as further evidence of the point above, in the text, John Meeker—identified in the text below—later recounted: “More than 700 homes priced under \$10,000 were sold in five years *with just a small lake and meeting hall as the only amenities*.” For quotation, see Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 1 (emphasis added). Additionally, for writing of “without amenities” in this account as well, see also Meeker, 3. And for yet other evidence from Meeker perhaps involving facilities, and thus further my reading of Meeker in the text above, see the following. For example, Meeker explained in an interview: “Youngtown sold a very economical home, but that was it. They had a little shopping center – a little meeting hall, but without diRection [*sic*].” Meeker, interview, 4. And here, he continued, suggesting how DEVCO thus responded: “From looking at that and then the Florida project they decided that a Rec facility with a golf course – in Florida there had been some – not necessarily sub-division golf courses” (4). Elsewhere in the interview, his comments might suggest additional evidence in relation to the point about facilities. He said, his mention of “bare bones” maybe applying to homes without accompanying facilities, or significant ones, “Youngtown was of course retirement at that time but it was [*sic*?] very bare bones, low end market” (3). And later, for discussion that I utilize later as evidence of a qualitative difference between Sun City and its predecessor but that might involve in the process the *existence* of such facilities, see also Meeker, 28.

513 See “Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders,” 2. For this issue elsewhere in the piece, called “the biggest single problem facing retirees today,” in the words of “Webb builders,” see “Webb builders” quoted—within the broader quotation from which this is from—in “Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders,” 2. Some accounts do discuss issues of facilities and/or ideas about retirement recreation in relation to Youngtown specifically, thus suggesting how Sun City’s predecessor played—or might have played—a role in the formulation of this position. Findlay writes that “they concluded that the conventional approach to building for the aged had produced ‘drab’ and ‘depressing’ places *where residents had little to do*.” See Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 173 (emphasis added). And that this involved facilities in some way is suggested by broader context of discussion, in terms of broader trend and in relation to a strategy discussed shortly below. Here, see 172, 173. For Finlay also discussing and quoting relevant material speaking of “activity,” see evidence as quoted—and context in which this appears—in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 178. As additional evidence, something I mention in the note above and return to later in this chapter, material from a Meeker account also might suggest a contrast in terms of facilities, if such resources were necessary for this brand of retirement. See Meeker, interview, 28. And, on Sun City as shaping The Villages, perhaps relevant here in relation to facilities discussed in particular, or “amenities,” see Blechman, *Leisureville*, 43, 44 (quotation). Here, Blechman also draws an

apparent comparison to Schleifer of Youngtown. See again 43. On figures involved in the history and rise of this development, see, for example, 38, 39-46.

One of the key figures behind Youngtown, Elmer Johns, did acknowledge the role of facilities, stating in a letter articulating “five main points in developing a successful retirement community,” that “Residents Must Be Kept Active: Conditions must be such that this will naturally come about.” For quotations from document, see Elmer L. Johns to Luis O. Giraldo, March 18, 1959, 5, box 11, Youngtown Historical Society (YHS), MG 103, Arizona State Archives, Library, and Public Records (ASALPR). I return to this document elsewhere in this project in citing other “points” addressed here. And, for biographical information on this figure, Elmer Johns, see Boswell, interview, 3, 5; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 15. And on involvement in, also see Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 58. Seemingly including a facility or facilities to some extent, Boswell cited the role of Johns, explaining, for example: “I think Elmer had established that maybe there could be an active way of retirement.” For quotation, along with additional discussion, see Boswell’s comments in SCAHS, 1987 event. For additional evidence, see also Boswell, interview, 3. Note: I discuss and cite Boswell’s role in Sun City later in this chapter. In terms of *actual* “facilities” in Youngtown, the development did have some such resources in the 1950s, as the following—along with Meeker’s quotation, above—indicate: Sturgeon, 61-62; Mrs. Eric P. Kelly, *History of Early Youngtown: In Its Important Pioneer Years of 1954 and 1955* (Youngtown, Arizona: The Pioneer Club, 1964), 7, 10, box 7, YHS, ASALPR. In her account, cited above, Sturgeon draws in part on this as well: Kelly, 10, cited in Sturgeon, 62. For additional evidence, presumably in the 1950s in light of the rise of Sun City in context of the discussion, see also Boswell’s comments, SCAHS, 1987 event. For Youngtown as falling short, however, but also expansion of, see also Sturgeon, 61, 63-64, 66. For discussion of in another secondary account, also see VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 210. On development politics of, see Sturgeon’s excellent analysis: Sturgeon, 61, 62-63, 66. And on “lacked the capital,” though not in relation to Sturgeon’s point, see again VanderMeer, 210. And while Sun City was a reaction to Youngtown, in development and terms, Youngtown itself was a reaction to existing housing for older Americans, various accounts have explained—an attempt to right the retirement-housing ship, specifically from the perspective of one of the key figures behind the development, Ben Schleifer, and that in part might be connected to my discussion of the emphasis on the “active,” per Johns, above. Drawing on Schleifer himself, Sturgeon explains in her account: “A transplanted easterner, he explained that the idea for a retirement community had come from an experience he had while visiting a friend who was living in a cooperative home for the aged in New York. Schleifer was struck by the regimentation—radio off at ten and lights out soon after—and *the number of old people ‘sitting there with nothing to do, just waiting to die.’*” See Sturgeon, 57 (emphasis added). Here, one of the sources she cites is the NBC segment previously cited: Schleifer, interview by Dave Garroway, “Wide, Wide World,” NBC Television, November 9, 1957, cited in Sturgeon, 57. For Schleifer directly, from copy viewed by author, see also comments of Schleifer, *Today*, NBC, n.d., box 21, YHS, ASALPR. For other accounts, see the following. For another on “regimented,” see also Blechman, *Leisureville*, 28. And for another perhaps illustrative here, of “empty, lifeless days and spirit-crushing loss of independence,” see also McHugh and Fletchall, “Memento Mori,” 22. And for yet another account that could be dealing with this, see also Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 172. In his letter, cited above, Johns addressed “regimentation such as curfews etc.” as well: Johns to Giraldo, 5. And on the latter point, see again Sturgeon quoting Schleifer on, for example, “sitting there with nothing to do, just waiting to die.” See Schleifer quoted in Sturgeon, 57. For another more directly, also see Schleifer on *Today*. In his account, Blechman writes that “they didn’t come to die; they came to live.” See Blechman, 29. For perhaps related discussion, including quoting of Schleifer, in Blechman, 28. Another account, which might provide evidence connecting this to “active” and—in turn—possibly to facilities ultimately, quotes Schleifer stating, for example: “I saw all these people just sitting there with nothing to do – just waiting to die. I remember thinking that what was needed was some place where elderly people could stay active, live their own lives and not lose their identity as individuals.” See Schleifer quoted, identified as November 24, 1957, as part of “Ben Schleifer’s Vow Results in First Retirement Community,” *Daily News-Sun*, October 30, 1989, in *Salute to Youngtown’s 35th Anniversary*, October 30 and 31, 1989, 3, box 11, YHS, ASALPR. This document identified as “Advertising Supplement to the Daily News-Sun.” And here, this quoted material also includes, immediately preceding the quotation I draw on here, discussion of “regimentation” as well (3). Additionally, another account could be addressing this point as well in referencing “the empty, lifeless days,” also quoted above. See again McHugh and Fletchall, 22. And that this was a narrative, too,

is suggested by their referencing of “Youngtown’s creation story” as well (22). Additionally, for biographical information on Schleifer, on the road to Youngtown, see, for example, Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 71; Sturgeon, 57; Blechman, 28; McHugh and Fletchall, 22; Freedman, 34. And for Schleifer’s later activities and life, see also Blechman, 28, 30, 31. For evidence from Sun City perhaps paralleling that of the preoccupation with “regimentation” and/or “individuals” surrounding Youngtown, see the following. See Sturgeon on Breen again: Jacobson and Breen interview discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 79. And for Breen directly, see Jacobson and Breen, interview, 3-4. For yet another account, see Breen discussed and quoted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 73, 75. Elsewhere, Breen explained, in part, for example: “We believe senior citizens in our community will retain their independence and individuality through interest and activity of their own choosing.” See Breen quoted in “Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders,” 2. And for discussion of “independence” slightly earlier, see also Breen quoted in in “Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders,” 2. As additional evidence, see also discussion in *Time* coverage of “without artificial ‘cruise-director’ stimulation”: “The Family,” 48. And as Sturgeon explains in relation to the document also discussed and cited in the note above, “These themes would be reiterated in future advertising promotions.” See Sturgeon, 79-80. Finally, in terms of relationship between Sun City and Youngtown, DEVCO perhaps saw itself as offering something more comprehensive and, in turn, transformative. On capacity and nature of, especially see again comments of Meeker—and also discussion of point and evidence later in this chapter where I quote this material—in Meeker, interview, 28. And, for previously cited work of Findlay on “independence,” see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 161, 208.

For DEVCO on such issues in relation to scoping out Florida, per various accounts, see the following. For accounts on a document authored by Breen, based on findings from “an acquaintance” he backed, see discussion involving “Activity” articulated by Breen. See document discussed—and quoted here—in Sturgeon, 79. For background of, see also 109n19. For document discussed elsewhere see that of “memo” in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 73 (quotation); Freedman, *Prime Time*, 35; also Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 19. For evidence more directly, probably from Breen himself, see Breen in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 3. And although not discussed in relation *here* to Silverstein, whom I return cite again below, later the mention of “three basic elements” presumably fits the chronology of others. See 13-14 (quotation 14). For Breen elsewhere writing, in relation to discussion perhaps the same as or paralleling that of above, of “activity opportunities,” see Breen quoted in “Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders,” 2. Then, for Silverstein’s work, whatever its relation to Breen’s document, see discussion of Silverstein and also T.E. Breen and Lou Silverstein, “Recommendations for Retirement Housing,” March 16, 1959, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 79. For Silverstein elsewhere, see Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 72-73; Freedman, 34-35; Freeman and Sanberg, 19; Jacobson and Breen, interview, 13-14. While I return to Silverstein, and secondary accounts on it, later as needed, for Sturgeon on Silverstein’s points, see Silverstein discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 80-82. For actual document itself, see T.E. Breen and Lou Silverstein [Silverstein to Breen?], “Recommendations for Retirement Housing,” March 16, 1959, “DEVCO (DE. [*sic*] E. WEBB DEVELOPMENT CO.)” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS, first cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 79. For Sturgeon noting the background of viewing this document, which differs from the subsequent, specific archival location noted above, see also Sturgeon, 109n18. And on facilities directly here, see Breen and Silverstein [Silverstein to Breen?], 1. For DEVCO and other engagement in Florida, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 173. For Breen himself in Florida, specifically, see Freedman, 35. And for Breen and “activities,” see “The Family,” 47. Breen might have visited the state prior to his encounter with Youngtown, as the apparent chronology of the latter account suggests, but an interview with Breen elsewhere might suggest another chronology of events—at least at this point along the road the Sun City. Though person not identified at this point in transcript, see—in addition to context of the former, comments of person who presumably was Breen in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 14; “The Family,” 47-48. On discussion of findings among aging persons, see Dorothy Coons and Helen K. Maurice, “Activity Programming” in *Retirement Villages*, ed. Burgess, 55.

On Webb “research” more generally and various issues, including one presumably relevant here, see Blechman, 31-32 (quotation 31). And perhaps showing what Webb did in response, see also 32, 33. For other accounts on Webb’s efforts, see the following. Given the discussion that includes discussion of “facilities,” Calhoun perhaps is addressing the broader issue here: Calhoun, 206-207 (quotation 207). Trillin, too, mentions efforts, though he seems to link to age segregation: Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 130. For discussion of various efforts leading up to Sun City, at least part of which I return to later, on the

John Meeker—Webb employee and the Sun City Operations Manager who became DEVCO president by the mid-1960s—recounted that “some very unscientific research was conducted in Florida, and a conclusion was reached that for the project to be successful, all amenities should be in place prior to opening for sale.”⁵¹⁴ DEVCO,

road to Sun City, see Sturgeon, 77-83, 84; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 71-73, 75; Freeman and Sanberg, 19-20; “Overview,” 2; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 2, 2-3; Jacobson and Breen, interview, 4, 4-5, 13. In terms of DEVCO’s conducting of research among Youngtown residents, per Sturgeon’s uncovering, see also the following: Sturgeon, 84; “Retired Persons Like to Garden,” *Arizona Republic*, September 4, 1959; “Arizona Retirement Community Is Webb Project,” 6. And in terms of the ULI event referenced in accounts above, as I note elsewhere in my project, the document I located and viewed form the ULI indicates another date and thus suggests a slightly different chronology than the above. For chronology here, see, for example, Meeker as “1959” in Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 2-3. Also here, it is not clear if material towards the top of p. 3 dealing with Florida applies to the ULI event or not. But below I return to accounts in this vein. Regardless of the specifics and specific details, important here is the trajectory of events and issues involved—of Webb scoping out possible market and gauging extent and quality of demand and, in turn, undertaking development in this vein. Finally, as some of these accounts have suggested, Webb called attention to its efforts. For example, see Findlay, 177; Calhoun, 207. Calhoun here takes place in relation to previously cited discussion and follows that of Breen’s efforts specifically. See again 206-207.

514 For material in the text, see the following. For quotation and also its context, chronology-wise, see Meeker, “Overview,” 2. On Meeker and his rise within Webb and DEVCO, see, for example, the following various accounts: Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary*, 231; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 103; Finnerty, *Del Webb*, 71, 80; Meeker, interview, 1-2; Boswell, interview, 5, 7; Meeker, “Overview,” 5, 25-26; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 4, 32, 37. In terms of the main point here, for an important scholarly account upon which I first encountered on this point, see that of John Findlay. For Findlay, who discusses in relation not necessarily to Florida but to “Youngtown and other retirement communities,” see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 173. For other important secondary accounts on efforts in Florida, the findings there, and/or DEVCO’s strategy, see also Findlay, 174; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 80; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 19; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 72, 73; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 34-35; VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 212. Here, VanderMeer also includes Youngtown as well. Also perhaps relevant here, see also Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 74. For accounts on Breen and Silverstein, see Freeman and Sanberg, 19; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 72, 73; Freedman, 34-35. For accounts of those connected to DEVCO, see Meeker, interview, 2-3. Meeker is identified later in this note. And for Breen, more directly still, see also Breen in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 13. Presumably applicable here as well, in light of the context in which it appears, see also discussion in Sturgeon, 80. In terms of accounts of those involved with, or closer to, the point here, Meeker—for example—elsewhere wrote: “Florida had many lot sale communities attracting retirement prospects, but research indicated that amenities offered were nothing more than signs indicating future golf course, future shopping center, etc. This plus Youngtown’s success without amenities convinced Webb that building the amenities before selling homes would ensure a better chance of success.” Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 3. For similar evidence, see also Meeker, interview, 3; Meeker’s comments on SCAHS, 1987 event. Additionally, Meeker wrote: “Credit must go to L.C. Jacobson, Joe Ashton and Tom Breen for putting the Sun City concept together (i.e. build the amenities first and then sell the homes) and implementing it in a timely manner once the land deal was consummated with Boswell.” Meeker, Overview, 24. And for Breen, whether referring to Florida or otherwise, see Jacobson and Breen, interview, 14. Although the transcript does not indicate whether Jacobson or Breen was speaking at this point, evidence at points in the flow of

discussion suggests that it was Breen. See discussion in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 13-15. For discussion of perhaps similar or related concerns, see also Silverstein to Breen [?], "Recommendations for Retirement Housing," 3. For evidence from a period account, though not explained in relation to Florida, see also "The Family," 48. And, for Boswell seemingly on this point, from his perspective, see also Boswell, interview, 3-4. And, in terms of Florida, Webb efforts also encountered demand for age-segregated housing in Florida, which I also discuss and cite sources for in my Chapter 5.

In terms of apparent reasons prompting the approach, Meeker—for example—would explain it as "that all those facilities must be built first and there for the people to see or they are not going to come and buy." And continuing, he might have been suggesting that this was tied to geography—or, more specifically, that the role of facilities was tied to demand, which was tied to access, which was tied to space—in light of the following and its context within the discussion at hand: "Sun City, at that time, was pretty remote from Phoenix. The main road was Grand Avenue and Glendale was not very big, Peoria was just a wide spot in the road and had just a very small commercial area. So we were really quite remote." For quotation and context here, see Meeker, interview, 3. Additionally, for what perhaps involved the significance of such facilities in light of the particular demographic at hand, see Jacobson and Breen, interview, 14; Breen as quoted in "The Family," 48; Breen as cited in Freedman, 33. For other potentially applicable discussion here, if connected to the overall point here, see also that in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 14-15, 15. For actual realization on the ground, see Findlay, 173; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 33; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 128. Elsewhere, Findlay discusses in relation to timing: Findlay, 174. For facilities in accounts—not directly linked, as in those above, but connected when viewed alongside previously cited pages—see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 19, esp. 25; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 73, esp. 76, 77; also, perhaps, Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town," 80, 84. For other accounts relevant here as well, see, for example, Meeker, "Overview," 2; Meeker, interview, 3; Meeker, "A Look Back, 1959-1981," 2, 3, 4, 7. Note: the context of pp. 2-3 might suggest that this followed the facilities discussed earlier on p. 2, although this material—on p. 2—might be relevant to the sweep of the discussion, itself relevant to the broader point at hand. For another account presumably suggesting this, though without specifics, see Jacobson and Breen, 15. And for period print accounts on facilities, including from the standpoint of facilities as in-progress and/or such discussion as involving "first residents," see, for example, "Webb Maps 1,600-Home Retirement Town" (quotation); "Del Webb's Retirement Sun City of 1600 Homes Will Open Today," *Arizona Republic*, January 1, 1960; "Arizona Retirement Community is Webb Project," 1; "Retirement Town Planning in Brief," 2; mention in "Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders," 2; "Thousands Throng Sun City; National Attention Won by Retirement Community," *The Webb Spinner* 14, no. 1 (January 1960): 1. And in its December, 1959, issue, the *Spinner* stated that "recreational and shopping facilities which many builders can only promise until their communities are established have already been built in this new Del Webb town, and will be ready and awaiting the first residents." "Model Retirement Community to Open January 1," *The Webb Spinner* 13, no. 12 (December 1959): 1. For additional evidence, see also 3. One of these, for example, perhaps might provide evidence applicable to earlier in this note on Webb's efforts, and also maybe its findings, while coverage in the *Spinner*—although it does not appear to have same emphasis involving the specific timing of facilities—mentions "research" for its part: "Del Webb's Retirement Sun City of 1600 Homes Will Open Today"; "Retirement Town Planning in Brief," 2; "Arizona Retirement Community is Webb Project," 1 (quotation), 6. For other accounts on development of the community in various respects in 1959, see, for example, Meeker, "Overview," 2; Meeker, "A Look Back, 1959-1981," 2, 4, 5, 6; "Webb Acquires 20,000-Acre Arizona Ranch," 7; "Webb Maps 1,600-Home Retirement Town"; "Retirement Town Planning in Brief," 2. For other accounts here, see also, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, 25, 28 (photo and caption), 29 (photo and caption); Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town," 84, 84-85. For examples of this point as told in the advertising for Sun City, see advertising section by Webb: Del E. Webb Development Co. (DEVCO), "Presenting Del Webb's Sun City: A Retirement Community," special advertising section, *Arizona Republic-Phoenix Gazette*, January 1, 1960, sec. A, 2, in "ARIZONA -- CITIES AND TOWNS—SUN CITY 1959-----1964" folder, CF, PPL. I have borrowed document descriptor "special advertising section" from Findlay: Findlay, 349n56. Meanwhile, for another example, see Del E. Webb Development

meanwhile, would continue to build Sun City, Arizona, into the 1960s, seeking to sell a new brand of retirement to aging Americans.

Retirement, Sun City-Style

Foundational to DEVCO's selling of Sun City was a particular formulation of retirement, specifically one departing from—and revolving around an ultimate triumph over—ostensible tragedy. In seeking to smooth out retirement-related turbulence, Webb would have to represent retirement within a framework and via a language addressing what ostensibly were underlying tensions.⁵¹⁵ And the identification and explication of such tensions served to lay the groundwork for DEVCO's brand-new homes and, more particularly, amenities.⁵¹⁶

Co., "Promises Are Not Being Sold in Del Webb's Sun City," n.d., in "1960 - March 1961 Newspaper advertising & proof sheets" scrapbook, SCAHS. Label indicates that this ran in *Arizona Republic*, February 26, 1961. Additionally, this scrapbook is one of a group of such scrapbooks held by and housed at the SCAHS dedicated to and containing various advertisements and/or other relevant advertising material. Findlay uses these as well, and I here I also have departed from while also modifying his citation description and method. For example, see Findlay, 348n44. And for evidence that this overall strategy worked, at least from the perspective of one prospective homebuyer and eventual resident, see Mildred Toldrien, interview by Melanie Sturgeon, February 7, 1992, C215, transcript, 1-2, 5, 6, SCAHS, "Oral History Project," bk. 2, SCAHS. Freedman in his account writes of Webb's efforts before and around Sun City's unveiling: "Over the past months the Webb Company had conducted a national advertising campaign. And throughout the upcoming three-day weekend *The Arizona Republic* would carry a double-page ad heralding 'An Active Way of Life!' offered by the new development focuses exclusively on the older set." See Freedman, *Prime Time*, 33.

515 First, for previously cited accounts relevant here from the standpoint of discussing the role of Webb, see again Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 173-174, esp. 174; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 54-55, esp. 71. Second, perhaps offering a framework applicable here is the work of Jackson Lears. While I note and discuss this in greater detail later in this chapter, see T.J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880-1939" in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980*, ed. Richard Wightman Fox and Lears (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 1-38.

516 In the following sections, I am indebted, in particular, to John Findlay's work on DEVCO advertising in the key points and themes here that I further discuss throughout this chapter and elsewhere, particularly my Chapter 5. More specifically, I largely depart from and seek to expand upon his important early analysis, utilizing his framework in part in the process. See Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 173-174, 176-179, esp. 177, 177-178, 178, 179. Note: I discuss and cite other accounts below as well that might share overlap with Findlay, though I have utilized his account for a framework and reference on key points to a

DEVCO's efforts in its branding of retirement operated on a critique of what John Findlay characterizes as "conventional retirement" in his discussion.⁵¹⁷ Retired Americans had two different pre-Sun City lived experiences, laid out within a before-and-after framework of sorts and illustrated, for example, by the sequence of events—surrounding an initial enthusiasm for retirement to a realization of retirement desperation—that unfolded in *The Beginning*, whose narrative structure overall parallels that of retirement itself.⁵¹⁸ Resembling that of "Mr. A" in Chapter One, it begins on a celebratory note. As DEVCO's narrator and retiree Ben Huggins leaves the office, a group of people—presumably co-workers—escort him to his automobile, singing "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow." After farewells and before leaving the parking lot, he examines and opens a watch as he thinks to himself, "I've finally made it. No more

greater extent. In this section, see in particular DEVCO's discussion of its brand of retirement in relation to existing modes and models—or what he refers to as "conventional retirement" in a number of places. For Findlay on contrasts drawn, whether explicitly or implicitly, shaping my work in this section and elsewhere, see Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 176, 177-178, 178. For quotation specifically, see 177 and also 178. Such thinking, as well as my own discussion of DEVCO's work, might illustrate the ideas and efforts that fell under the umbrella of "social adjustment" discussed in my Chapter 2, specifically surrounding the work of period experts and of more recent scholarship such as Edward Berkowitz's work on disability politics. And Findlay does, for instance, discuss an enhanced "environment" and "environments" available through Webb, thus perhaps reflecting a same or similar framing. See Findlay, 176 (first quotation), 178 (second quotation).

On shift in understandings or practices surrounding retirement, real or imagined, also see, for example, the following—which I return to later as well: Findlay, 173-174, esp. 174; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 61; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 32; Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town," 85. And, to be sure, for work dealing with amenities in relation to Sun City, Arizona, see again accounts and relevant pages in my Introduction in section dealing with development.

517 For quotation, see, for example, Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 177. For phrase elsewhere in Findlay, see also 178. For other discussion of relevance here in relation to retirement-as-outdated shaping my thinking in this section, see 176, 177, 177-178, 178. For other useful accounts, which I cite again below, that includes discussion relevant here, see also Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town," 85; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 61; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 32.

518 For Findlay's account, which explains—and helps to establish—the tension between different retirement-as-imagined and retirement-as-lived, see discussion and analysis of evidence in Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 177. No specific source cited—at least in this paragraph—for the evidence used here and elsewhere, presumably following from the citation approach it describes in a note: Findlay, 349n61. For complete note—and thus sources cited—see 349-350n61. Findlay's note here helped to direct me to relevant source material at the SCAHS, and I utilize some of these sources in my own analysis. In terms of *The Beginning*, see my discussion, analysis, and citing of below.

hurry, no more pressure.” After next reading its inscription—“To BEN HUGGINS for 30 Years Loyal Service”—he declares, closing and putting it away, “From now on, I’m going to enjoy myself.”⁵¹⁹

At first, Huggins revels in the novelty of retirement and the relief it offered.

Narrating his journey through retirement, as he does throughout the film, he explains that “When I retired, my first project was to do absolutely nothing, slowly,” as he looks at his watch and relaxes in a hammock on the front porch. “I was at peace with the world, the world was at peace with me. It was like being a boy again, and a whole new world was before me. I felt great.” His wife, meanwhile, has brought him a beverage and a newspaper and sits down near him. He points out something to her in the newspaper and puts it down as if dismissing it, perhaps symbolizing a dismissal of the cares and worries of the working world. “Ah,” he says as he takes a sip, “this is the life.” He puts his hands behind his head. “What with my retirement plan, and a few dollars I’d saved, I didn’t have a thing to worry about.”⁵²⁰ Financial means and copious leisure seemingly underpinned a broader satisfaction in retirement—although Huggins would discover that neither money nor leisure necessarily translate into contentment.

519 All quotations and scenes described here and in the following paragraphs from DEVCO, *The Beginning*. Also in this scene, as he prepares to leave the lot, he pulls up to “EXIT,” painted on the ground. And when he pulls out of the lot, “EXIT” is still visible—a pavement marking perhaps bearing metaphorical significance in signaling his transition out of work, if not life overall, to the new but ultimately unsatisfying world of retirement. See again DEVCO, *The Beginning*. On the film, see again Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 91-92. For discussion of theme of film, see again Svendsen, interview. And for useful summary of, see again Sturgeon, 91; “Motion Picture Dramatizes Retirement Colony.” On history of “retirement ceremonies,” see discussion in Wood, *Retiring Men*, 161 (quotation), 162, 164, 164-66, 167-68. For brief discussion of in his account, also see Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 233. And for his excellent discussion of the role of class, particularly the privileging of some over others and thus something seemingly illustrated by the case of Ben Huggins, see also Woods, 161, 163, 169.

520 DEVCO, *The Beginning*. For useful summary of again, see Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 91; “Motion Picture Dramatizes Retirement Colony”; Svendsen, interview. For additional evidence, of discussion involving “relaxation,” see “The philosophy of Retirement” in Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, n.p. [inside back cover].

In the short term, his retirement utopia remains uninterrupted. Out shopping, he observes the world around him—cars honking on a congested street and drivers shouting at each other. “I watched people rushing around,” he says, looking at the scene and smiling to himself. “I was glad I didn’t have to.” He continues: “After thirty years of running,” he says, dismissing the scene with his hand and walking away and into the store, “I was happy to walk for a change.” Back at home, he acknowledges a mismatch between housing and demographics: “With the children married and gone, our house was pretty big.” At the same time, there was the financial upside of owning it outright: “But the mortgage was paid up.” And in terms of the home itself, “Sue and I had always looked forward to fixing the house up just like we wanted it,” he explains. “And we set out to do just that.” At one point, he works away in the garden, installing a bird bath along the way. “I was pretty proud of it—made it myself.”⁵²¹

The novelty does not last long, and the film calls into question life beyond the world of work in a series of retirement revelations. Huggins initially welcomed opportunities for working on his golf game. “To think that I used to fuss about how crowded everything was on weekends,” he says. “Now I had the golf course all to myself, all through the week. I’d think of the fellas back at the office, same old grind, nine to five every day.”⁵²² Continuing, Huggins reveals another side of retirement, however. “Then there were times I’d get a thought I hated to admit: I was sort of lonesome,” he explains as he walks all alone, pulling his golf bag behind him. His experience with his “weekly luncheon club” changed and thus proved unfulfilling as

521 DEVCO, *The Beginning*. Again, for events and arc of narrative advancing here, see Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 91; “Motion Picture Dramatizes Retirement Colony.”

522 For film, see again DEVCO, *The Beginning*. For narrative arc of film advancing here, see also Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 91; “Motion Picture Dramatizes Retirement Colony.” On history of golf in postwar period, see George B. Kirsch, *Golf in America* (Urban and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.), 128-145; Wood, *Retiring Men*, 198-199. For context of retirement recreation here, also see 196.

well. “It seemed like we no sooner got started than they started rushing back to work,” Huggins says, the film showing him socializing at one such event. “It didn’t used to be this way. But now I was always the last one to leave.” Going outside afterwards with no apparent urgency and even putting money into a sidewalk scale, he relays his reflection on having retired: “After a while, I found myself walking away from those meetings and wondering—wondering if maybe I should have stayed on at the office a few more years.” The camera cuts to a shot from above showing him amid people moving in the opposite direction. “Everyone seemed to have somewhere to go, something to do.”⁵²³

The film discusses other ways in which retirement dreams failed to come true. As Huggins and his wife sit on their front porch, and after Mr. Huggins further reflects on retirement tensions in relation to the role of work in shaping life, activity on and off the sidewalk abounds. “The neighborhood seemed to be growing away from us—lots of new young people moving in, lots of new children,” Huggins explains, life cycle and residential landscape now out of sync.⁵²⁴ Climatically, there was a disconnect as well, the next scene, which soon follows, suggests: Mr. Huggins practices his golf putting game inside when winter arrives, the television further delivering reports of unpleasant

523 DEVCO, *The Beginning*. For this idea summarized in previously cited newspaper account, also see Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 91; “Motion Picture Dramatizes Retirement Colony.” For evidence perhaps conveying same or similar idea elsewhere, see discussion of “the sidewalks are still crowded with people who have someplace to go” in previously cited document. See “The philosophy of Retirement” in Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, n.p. [inside back cover]. For Findlay on “loneliness,” for example, see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 178. For what Gregory Woods describes as a “grim realization,” see his discussion in Woods, *Retiring Men*, 168-69 (quotation 168). And for additional mention of “the frequent socializing and the camaraderie,” though chronology in narrative might have differed from that of Huggins, see also 162. For a period account providing a framework of sorts relevant here as well—at least in terms of “gardening” and thus similar to the case of Huggins—see again Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 306.

524 DEVCO, *The Beginning*. My thinking here about the disconnect between retirees and surrounding social landscape is shaped by discussion in Sturgeon’s interview with Jerry Svendsen, who explained—whether directly following from his discussion involving the film or not, in context of his comments: “See what happens is if you retire in Des Moines you’re the only one on the block who is retired, everybody else is going off to work and all these young housewives are raising their kids and that’s wonderful but you want to be with your own age.” See Svendsen, interview. I return to this overall idea, as well as Svendsen’s comments, along with additional relevant evidence in a later chapter.

weather ahead.⁵²⁵ After turning it off and leaving the room, Ben Huggins next is shown lying awake in bed, where he reaches for his gold watch on the bedside table. Checking the time, he then reads the inscription again, the recognition of his labor now perhaps painfully ironic. “So this is retirement,” he muses, putting the watch down. “Time on your hands, with no place to go, nothing to do,” he says, pulling back the sheets and sitting up on the edge. “This is what it means to be put out to pasture. There must be something else. This can’t be what I’ve looked forward to for all these years. I’m not ready for pasture—I’ve got a lot of living left in me.”⁵²⁶

This “something else” was—thanks to DEVCO’s arrival on the consumerism scene in the arena of retirement—Sun City, as Webb undertook a project of “redefining the idea of retirement,” in Findlay’s words.⁵²⁷ As Marc Freedman writes, “In the Webb Company’s jingles and full-page ads,” he writes, “aging was depicted not as an incurable

525 DEVCO, *The Beginning*. For discussion, perhaps more indirectly, of relevance here, see also Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 91; “Motion Picture Dramatizes Retirement Colony”; Svendsen, interview. And for Findlay perhaps addressing the idea of climactic incompatibility, in writing of “Arizona’s warm climate,” see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 178.

526 First, for evidence addressing and illustrating this idea, see that discussed and quoted in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 177. Second, for evidence and discussion in the text from the film, see again DEVCO, *The Beginning*. Here, he appears to put emphasis on “living”—or maybe “livin’”—in this quotation. And next, Mrs. Huggins turns on the light, sits up, and suggests the Arizona trip. Woods seemingly makes similar point in his discussion as well about the potential for different, or perhaps oppositional, interpretations: “For example, men pondered why employers would send them away with a wrist watch. After all, some men remarked, when a man retired he no longer needed to keep track of time.” See Woods, *Retiring Men*, 166. For tensions more broadly, see again Woods, 161, 164. Here, for Huggins, it might have served to illustrate an *excess* of leisure—a point that Webb made elsewhere, in explaining—in previously noted material—that “the hours between 9 and 5 that used to be filled with work become longer, emptier, harder to fill, and *the hands on the clock remind us that time is becoming a problem.*” See again “The philosophy of Retirement” in Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, n.p. [inside back cover] (emphasis added). For perhaps similar evidence to overall idea here, see also discussion in another version of “The philosophy of Retirement”: “The philosophy of Retirement,” in Del E. Webb Development Co., *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Active Living for America’s Senior Citizens* (n.d.), n.p. [inside back cover], in “1960 Models 1-5” folder, SCAHS. A note paper-clipped to the cover identifies this as “Revised 24-Page Sun City Brochure. First Printing: 50,000.” These materials, additionally, located in file cabinet no. 1, drawer “a,” SCAHS.

527 See Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 174. And for context of discussion here, see also 173-174. Suggesting a similar framing of shifts in understandings and practices, the language of “redefining” appears in very subtitle of Calhoun’s study. See Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old: Redefining Old Age in America, 1945-1970*.

disease but rather as a reward and a privilege (‘Lucky enough to be 50?’ one Sun City ad asked.) Later life was recast in the company’s marketing efforts as a special phase of life, something to look forward to.”⁵²⁸ While DEVCO’s brand of mid-century retirement was “active,” the usage of the “new” suggested—if not signaled—a transformation underway, illustrated in the cover of a section sponsored by DEVCO in the *Arizona Republic* at the beginning of 1960, for example, trumpeting the arrival of “AN ACTIVE ‘NEW WAY OF LIFE’” (Figure 3.2).⁵²⁹ As additional evidence, one advertisement suggested how

528 Freedman, *Prime Time*, 61. And for same or similar point elsewhere, see again Freedman, 58. In terms of the idea addressed in the text, another account, by writer Andrew Blechman, explains: “Given this information, Webb began to depict old age in a decidedly more favorable and promising light. Old age wasn’t so bad, he declared. In fact, it could represent the best years of one’s life, something to look forward to rather than dread.” And, he continues: “To help spread his message, Webb called late life ‘the golden years.’” See Blechman, *Leisureville*, 32. And yet another useful account for framing change at hand, and one that does not necessarily focus on age *per se*, Jon Teaford explains the transformation of retirement that such developments attempted to demonstrate: “Together, the Sun Cities and Leisure Worlds offered senior citizens a new lifestyle that defied traditional stereotypes about aging. Rather than viewing old age as a sedentary time for slumber and inactivity, these communities sold an active retirement.” Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 110. For other, previously cited accounts, useful here from the standpoint of a shift or shifts desired or underway, see again discussion in Findlay, 176, 177-178, 178; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 85.

Meanwhile, Freedman’s account overlaps with others to some extent. For same or similar language discussed and quoted in parenthetical portion of his quotation in text, see that in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 120; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 206. And, in terms of the “jingles” Freedman refers to in the quotation in the text, see the following. First, for Freedman’s reference, above, see Freedman, 61. And for untitled work appearing at beginning of respective chapter, see that of “Radio advertising jingle, Del Webb Corporation, 1960,” appearing in Freedman, 32. Other important accounts also address this, which Sturgeon identifies title as “Wake up and Live in Sun City” in her study. For discussion—to whatever extent—and quoting of, see that in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 177-178; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 85 (quotation). For identification of title and discussion and citing of in a period account, see that in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 120. On background of the song, “written and produced by the Garland Advertising Agency” of Phoenix and that also collaborated on *The Beginning*, as well as other aspects of DEVCO’s advertising efforts, see Sturgeon, 85; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 14 (quotation). For mention of “the song,” which presumably was this, see also Meeker, interview, 15. A copy of this available at SCAHS, a record identified on sleeve as belonging to Meeker also containing typed lyrics.

529 First, for evidence of language of “active” in general, see various DEVCO materials and sources cited throughout this chapter. For examples of similar language of “active retirement,” also see that previously quoted in FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 216. And in terms of Sun City, Arizona, see again that quoted in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 85. And for evidence from Webb more immediately, see also, for example, phrase as part of “Del Webb’s Active Retirement” as quoted in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 178. And see also language in title of Del E. Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement* (n.d.), n.p. [front cover], copy in, for example, Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 2, app. 18. As context here, for “active retirement,” also see discussion in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 24. And for context in period evidence, viewing aging Americans as increasingly “active” appears to have been something emphasized in different circles in the early 1960s—within the

Sun City shed the past: “It’s the town the whole nation’s talking about where the definition of ‘retirement’ has been changed to mean ACTIVE LIVING for America’s Senior Citizens who have been adopting its wonderful new way-of -life in record-breaking numbers!”⁵³⁰

industry and among aging experts and advocates. Coverage of *House & Home* in 1961 told readers, “*don’t be fooled by stereotypes about ‘old folks’ who sit around when they retire.* That is no longer true—and fortunately so—because gerontologists have learned that about the worst thing that can happen to an elderly person is to be inactive.” Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 97. For another example, also see DFPA, *Builders Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. I, n.p. [inside front cover], 2, sect. II, 2. And for an example from later in the 1960s, see also Becker, “All-Adult Market Grows Strong,” 66, and “Get Empty-Nester Concept Right,” 67. For aging experts more generally, see Ollie A. Randall, “Changing Needs of Older People: Improved Homes for the Aged,” *Architectural Record* 119 (May 1956): 208; WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 7.

Next, for material in rest of text above, for “new” see same or similar language quoted in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 174. And for Freedman on “new active way of life,” see also Freedman, *Prime Time*, 71. For this quotation itself, in the text and which I also use in the title of this chapter, see front cover of DEVCO, “Presenting Del Webb’s Sun City,” 1. On the following page, and perhaps more effective in illustrating this point, it spoke of “an entirely new perspective toward retirement living: A New, Active ‘Way-of-Life’” (2). See also evidence discussed in Findlay. For evidence of same, or essentially same, language, see that quoted in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 120. Furthermore, in this paragraph and elsewhere on this page, Trillin points out how Webb drew attention to—or otherwise acknowledge—its efforts, something that thus might also provide evidence of how DEVCO defined Sun City in opposition to previous retirement precedents. See discussion of relevant language, when he writes of “Sun City, which, occasionally describes itself as ‘the town that changed America’s viewpoint on retirement,’” see Trillin, 120 (quotation), 123. For same or similar evidence, see also that discussed in Calhoun: “Sun City,” *Burrough’s Clearinghouse* (February 1964), cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 207. On another note, for origins of “active” language, see the following. For “an active new way of life,” for which John Meeker points to Bob Garland, see that quoted in Meeker, interview, 15. And for “active retirement,” per Sturgeon’s question in the interview, Meeker also pointed to Garland, while a Phoenix business writer attributed to it the collaborative efforts of Garland and Webb. See, in order here, Meeker, interview, 15; Mal Hernandez, “Sun City Recounts 3 Years’ Progress,” *Arizona Republic*, January 27, 1963, “GENERAL” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. And for an important secondary source discussing “active retirement” in relation to the Garland Agency, whether or not “capitalized on” is the same as originating it, per the interview with Meeker, see also Sturgeon on Garland, in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 85. And for Meeker again, see Meeker, interview, 15. In the next section, I discuss and cite sources involving an overlapping idea and language here. For additional evidence perhaps promoting this framing of retirement in the vein of Sun City, see the following. For example, see DEVCO’s Jerry Svendsen discussing the narrative placement of the very title of *The Beginning*—if not the title itself: Svendsen, interview. For Svendsen on the film, including the Huggins’s ultimate decision, see also Svendsen, interview description, 2. For film itself, see again DEVCO, *The Beginning*. Using similar language, and thus also perhaps advancing this idea, one advertisement—its title—declared: “LIFE begins at 50 in america’s happiest, friendliest city: DEL WEBB’s Sun City.” See Del E. Webb Development Co., “Life Begins at 50 in America’s Happiest, Friendliest City: Del Webb’s Sun City,” in “1961 March 26 – Dec. 31 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCHAS. Handwriting dates as *Arizona Republic*, August 13, 1961.

530 Del E. Webb Development Co., “Population . . . At Press Time: Del Webb’s Sun City (Established Jan 1., 1960)” in “1960 - March 1961 Newspaper advertising & proof sheets” scrapbook, SCHAS. Handwriting on print dates this as January 24, 1960. Another juxtaposed competing definitions—literally—of “RETIREMENT LIVING” in the mock “case of Webb vs Webster,” as it put it: Del E. Webb Development Co., “The Evidence that Won a New Way-of-Life for America’s Senior Citizens in the case

of Webb vs Webster on the Subject of Retired Living” in “1959-1967 National Advertising,” advertising scrapbook, SCAHS. A paper-clipped tag indicates that this was published on August 14, yet there is not information indicating the year. A copy of same or similar advertisement by same name in “1960 - March 1961 Newspaper advertising & proof sheets” scrapbook. And, drawing a perhaps more explicit contrast, “This Wonderful New Way of Life holds the answer to post-retirement boredom,” one advertisement from the mid-1960s stated. Del E. Webb Development Co., “Take Any Page from Our Activities Calendar,” in “Advertising Proofs 1965-66” scrapbook, SCAHS. Typing identifies this as *Arizona Republic*, February 28, 1965. Other DEVCO advertising materials advance similar themes—and in colorful ways. One print advertisement, for instance, asked readers to take a “Quiz,” in which the answers to twelve questions served to contrast “your present way-of-life” with that offered in Sun City. It asked readers to check a “YES” box to such questions seemingly addressing their attitudes towards daily life and, in turn, reflecting their broader attitudes toward retirement—and the world they might be missing by *not* living in Sun City—as “Are you as interested in life as you were 15 years ago?” and “Do you awaken each morning with something of interest to do that day?” If the readers did not have a perfect score, then “YOU”RE MISSING OUT ON FULL-TIME LIVING.” After all, in Sun City, retirees were “ALL ‘A’ STUDENTS ON THIS IMPORTANT SUBJECT OF ACTIVE RETIREMENT.” See Del E. Webb Development Co., “Senior Citizens.....Can YOU Score 100% on This Quiz?” in “1960 - March 1961 Newspaper advertising & proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. Handwriting on print dates this as August 21, 1960. Seemingly relevant here again is Findlay’s work, especially Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 177-178. And again, here he is quoting “Wake Up and Live in Sun City” in this part. See song discussed and quoted in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 177-178.

Retirement developments elsewhere perhaps sought to advance similar ideas, evident here in their attention to language in different ways. For example, in the case of a Leisure World that was developed in Maryland, a study noted that “the connotation of ‘Leisure’ which conjured up undesirable images of idleness and repose in the minds of prospective buyers. Thus, in 1966 Rossmoor responded by dropping ‘Leisure World’ from the Maryland name and instead calling it ‘Rossmoor Maryland.’” See “Leisure World of Maryland” in Michael E. Hunt, et al., *Appendix B: A Detailed Look at 18 Retirement Communities* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute of Gerontology, University of Michigan, 1982), 5 (quotation), 17, 39-40. Additionally, Calhoun explains a shift towards a new language in his study, which is evident in that involving other developments. “The words ‘retirement,’ ‘elderly,’ and ‘aged’ are words that are absolutely taboo with the seventy sales representatives at our three going projects in California,” an official associated with the Leisure World developments explained in a presentation for a 1964 Urban Land Institute event. “Because we’re not selling retirement, we’re not selling old age, we’re not selling a place where elephants go to die; rather, we’re selling a place where people go to live.” See, in order, Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 24; William G. Brangham, “The Retirement Community” in “The Care of the Elderly and the Retirement Community,” pt. 1, *The Care of the Elderly and the Retirement Community; Recreational Real Estate*., Urban Land Institute, Community Builders Council (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1964 [?]), 18. Also identified on cover as: “TO SUSTAINING MEMBERS: A SPECIAL REPORT.” On periodization and comparison in Calhoun, see Calhoun, 23-24, 24. And on history of Cortese and of his Leisure World developments, see again, for example, Calhoun, 206, 208-209; Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 169, 195, 207-208. More specifically, Calhoun explains, for example, that “active retirement” replaced “retirement” in the window of time, beginning in 1965, that he discusses. Such chronological boundaries, of course, were not necessarily not *not* porous—after all, Sun City exhibited this language by the late 1950s and/or 1960s. See again Calhoun, 24. However, on the fate of “Active Retirement,” as Findlay quotes it, however, see also Findlay, 190. I return to the broader change below. Furthermore, for evidence providing another perspective to Calhoun’s on replacement naming of “senior citizens,” for example, another period account explained that, for example, “most of the advertising men are agreed that ‘adult community’ is the most effective label for these new developments.” See Cooley and Cooley, *The Retirement Trap*, 24.

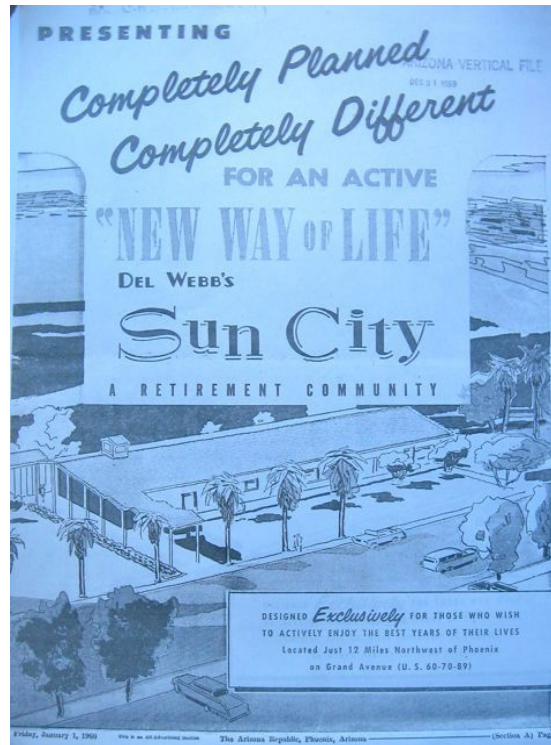


Figure 3.2. Early advertising for Sun City, Arizona: Del E. Webb Development Co., “Presenting Del Webb’s Sun City: A Retirement Community,” special advertising section, *Arizona Republic-Phoenix Gazette*, January 1, 1960, sec. A, “ARIZONA -- CITIES AND TOWNS—SUN CITY 1959-----1964” folder, clipping files, Phoenix Public Library (Burton Barr Central Library, Arizona Room), Phoenix, Arizona. As noted previously, I have borrowed document descriptor “special advertising section” from John Findlay in his study of Sun City: John M. Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” in *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 349n56. See also explanation of my citation and description of materials from the Phoenix Public Library, largely based upon Findlay’s work, in a previous note.

Fun and Games

Sun City ostensibly aspired to do away with the different challenges and frustrations that grew out of retirement. Appearing in a promotional booklet created in the 1960s, one version of DEVCO’s “The philosophy of Retirement” explained that “one of the most serious drawbacks to the idea of retirement has been an awareness of how

many retirees find themselves living a life of complete boredom within a few months after attaining their freedom.” It continued, more specifically pointing to the role of particular means of negotiating the terrain of retirement: “The reason for this, of course, is that in our society there is a distinct lack of facilities offering interesting activity and companionship for the senior citizen.”⁵³¹ Factoring into the broader equation addressing retirement restlessness, the variable of amenities ultimately would be steeped in different ways and in different contexts in retirement politics.⁵³²

531 See “The philosophy of Retirement” in DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Active Living for America’s Senior Citizens*, n.p. [inside back cover]. This document goes on to discuss ways in which the developer thus responded with such amenities, and I return to this below in this section. Perhaps useful here—and also below and later in this section—in terms of thinking about and understanding the role of different efforts and resources in the identifying of, and ultimately allowing for, retirement and its particularities again is Findlay, along with my comment pertaining to Chapter 2 and “social adjustment” in a note at the beginning of the previous section in this chapter. Here, in addition to that note, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 176. And no less important, for secondary accounts on Webb’s efforts within retirement context, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 173-174, esp. 174; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 71; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 85. And for Findlay raising issue of “amenities” earlier, in relation to his discussion of what perhaps was Sun City distinctiveness, see also Findlay, 161.

532 In terms of the relationship between “activity”—as raised in and quoted from the document cited immediately above—and such amenities, see the following for what presumably is evidence in addition to that above: “Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders,” 2; Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, n.p. [inside front cover]. Although not utilizing specific language of “active,” for discussion of “a place to live in a community which will provide *the facilities necessary* to enjoy their ‘privileged’ years,” see the following—which I return to later in this chapter: “Retirement Town Planning in Brief,” 2 (emphasis added). My discussion in this section and the following ones deals with “activity,” as raised in the document cited immediately above, or in relation to what they describe as “active,” or as involving something as such, as in accounts below to which I point and further discuss after the first round of secondary sources. And in doing so, my discussion focuses on the relationships with *amenities* in Sun City. For accounts that seem to—or explicitly do—discuss this connection, see the following, which do so whether perhaps indirectly in relation to the flow or broader context of discussion in different accounts or more directly. Offering an important framework for my discussion, the account of Freeman and Sanberg puts it: “Twenty-five years ago Del Webb embarked upon the construction of what was billed as the world’s first ‘active retirement community.’ The original concept called for recreation to play a key role in the lifestyles of the residents.” Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 79. And, they shortly after refer to “facilities,” thus suggesting such a linkage. See again 79. See also, for example, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 178, 179. And, assuming that “little to do” involved “activity” in the vein above, see also Findlay, 173. For other accounts, see Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 79; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 73; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 35. Here again, a few cite DEVCO-related efforts on the road to Sun City. On “memo,” see again that discussed and cited/quoted in Sturgeon, 79 (quotation); Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 73; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 35. More specifically, Sturgeon—for example—quotes what she identifies as the title. For evidence

here more directly, Breen said: “Activity of course means you have to provide the facilities for people to be active.” For quotation, and background and elaboration, see Breen in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 3. Next, for secondary accounts discussing in relation to “active,” as first laid out earlier in this note, see, for example, Sturgeon, 79. Here, she writes of “an active life-style,” of specific relevance, and—perhaps more broadly—of “an active way of life” as well (79). For discussion later, see also that involving “an ‘active older lifestyle’ in relation to amenities in Sturgeon, 87. And as additional evidence, she also discusses—the relationship with actual amenities seemingly more implied—“the ‘active retirement’ concept,” in relation to the Garland Agency. See Sturgeon, 85. For evidence suggesting this from elsewhere, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 207; SCHOA president Louis Inwood, quoted in Trillin, “Wake Up and Live,” as quoted in Calhoun, 207. And, although not featuring the specific language of the above, see Freedman on *Time* coverage in early 1960, perhaps making connection. See discussion of “A Place in the Sun” [*sic?*], *Time*, August 3, 1962, n.p., cited in Freedman, 58. And for additional discussion involving amenities as more general reference, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 173; Sturgeon, 86-87, esp. 87. And for “amenities” in their study, including in relation to retirement, see, for example, Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 46 (quotation), 55.

In terms of the relationship between the two, one level they perhaps were interchangeable, or at least perhaps had the essential meaning, as they appeared in accounts. In this case, one might have referred to the idea or practice itself, for example, and the other serving as more descriptive in its function. On another level, the latter—“active”—could have existed as a broader umbrella under which “activity” fell. Suggesting that the latter here was a subset of the former, Calhoun’s account draws on that of Trillin, writing of “the patented Webb ‘active’ retirement formula: activity + friendliness = happiness.” For Calhoun discussing Trillin, specifically the quotation and its respective context, see Trillin, “Wake Up and Live,” cited in Calhoun, 206. For Trillin directly on this point, see Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 123. And, for discussion involving the latter variable here, see, for example, Louis Inwood, quoted in Trillin, 130; Tom Austin, quoted in Trillin, 140. Meanwhile, that “active” was more comprehensive—framing the Sun City experience—is suggested by additional evidence. For example, a brochure spoke in one context of “a community exclusively for America’s retired citizens with attractive, modestly-priced homes and endless facilities for their recreational and creative activity, *the whole* based upon an entirely new perspective toward retirement living . . . A New, Active Way-of-Life.” See Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, n.p. [inside front cover] (emphasis added). And, another account, seemingly encompassing more than “facilities,” went: “This beautiful new ‘town’ of lovely homes and endless facilities for recreational and creative activity is based upon an entirely new perspective toward retirement living: A New, Active ‘Way-of-Life.’” See DEVCO, “Presenting Del Webb’s Sun City,” 2. Evidence from *The Beginning*, too, might reflect such a comprehensive meaning, given the different amenities—beyond those that might constitute “facilities” for hobbies, for example—appearing literally beneath a sign trumpeting “AN ACTIVE NEW WAY OF LIFE.” See sign in the development that Ben Huggins narrates in DEVCO, *The Beginning*. For Findlay also citing “shopping centers,” for instance, see Findlay, 173. And for perhaps what was other evidence—in print—one advertisement trumpeting “ACTIVE RETIREMENT” also listed not only to housing but also various resources, too: Del E. Webb Development Co., “Country Club Living Awaits America’s Modern Retirees in Del Webb’s Sun City: The Unique Community for Active Retirement,” *Arizona Days and Ways Magazine*, October 16, 1960, 17, in “1960 - March 1961 Newspaper advertising & proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS.

Regardless of the possible usages here and of the connections with amenities, the key point here is that amenities factored into Sun City—the focus of this and following sections. Furthermore, here, amenities were political—as I signal in the text above. In terms of amenities as sites of political tensions involving various parties in various ways—residents, the developer, and metropolitan neighbors—and also as assets of the community that provided legal and political legitimacy to age restrictions in Sun City and elsewhere in the 1970s and later, I discuss such issues later in Part II and in Part III. My particular attention to amenities involves the role that amenities played in Sun City in different respects. Amenities mattered not only as a vehicle through which the “active” was carried out, the discourse of which appeared even later

The developer called attention to various aspects of “facilities” in the retirement community serving the broader Sun City project. From a dollars-and-cents standpoint, John Findlay deals with the issue of cost-effectiveness in the framework—as he puts it—of “paradise on a budget,” part of an overall approach operating on cost-*consciousness* that extended to financing and that unfolded as the developer also addressed, and seems to have viewed in an optimistic light, relevant statistics surrounding older Americans.⁵³³

in the history of Sun City, including in relation to jockeying over federal housing policy. But such resources were and are significant also due to their role in politics and policy—in the political culture in and surrounding Sun City and as a point in the crafting and debating of fair-housing law later in the twentieth century. I explore these issues in which amenities are involved in Part III and in the Epilogue of my dissertation. For Sun City’s political nature, see again Blechman, *Leisureville*, 129.

And lastly, to be sure, this was made possible by apparently tying in recreation to housing—of the former flowing from the latter. Findlay appears to be making this linkage, explaining: “Purchasers had only to pay the price for their homes and the small annual fee for use of the recreational complexes; everything else came as part of the package.” For quotation and context of discussion at hand, see Findlay, 179. And according to Webb: “Everything you want to do . . . and everything you need to do it, is awaiting your use, as a privileged resident of this beautiful city that’s specifically created for active retirement.” See Del E. Webb Development Co., “The City That Went to Town with Activities,” *Arizona Days and Ways Magazine*, November 26, 1961, 19, in “1961 March 26 - Dec. 31 Proof sheets,” advertising scrapbook, SCAHS.

533 See the following for points in text. For quotation and relevant discussion involving amenities—of “many facilities”—in context of overall idea, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 179. In terms of amenities, a caption on the following page more specifically explains—presumably of resources in this vein—that “early advertising emphasized a variety of activities and adventures for retirees in Sun City, to illustrate how much the retirees could get for their money.” For quotation, and its respective context to which I return below, see 180 (caption to fig. 25). For Findlay presumably addressing relationship involving amenities elsewhere, see also 190, 191 (caption). The text on p. 191 speaks of “the many features and bargain prices,” amenities perhaps connected to “bargain” framework in p. 190 referring readers to this figure. For other scholarship, for that discussing amenities—not in terms of such depth of but apparently within this broader context involving economics—see also Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 86-87, esp.

87. And for another account on economics, though not addressing amenities here though to which I do return below in terms of the other half of the equation, see Freedman, *Prime Time*, 61. For additional evidence relevant here from my own research, perhaps illustrating “paradise on a budget” point by Findlay, including in relation to amenities, see Del E. Webb Development Co., “It’s Easy, Inexpensive and Fun to Stay Fit Living in Sun City,” in “Advertising Proofs 1965-66” scrapbook, SCAHS, with typing identifying as *Arizona Republic*, October 11 [or 31?], 1965; Del E. Webb Development Co., “5 Myths That May Have Kept You from Living in Sun City,” in “Advertising Proofs 1965-66” scrapbook, SCAHS; Del E. Webb Corporation, “ANYONE Who Can Retire CAN AFFORD Full-Time Living in Any of Del Webb’s Beautiful Cities” (1963), n.p., in “PERSONAL PLANNING PORTFOLIO” folder, “SUN CITY MARKETING ‘HANDOUTS’” drawer, SCAHS. And for overall idea, though not apparently in relation to amenities from a quantitative standpoint, see dialogue—particularly on the part of husband of Huggins’ couple friend at their home—in DEVCO, *The Beginning*. For accounts on amenities for prospective homebuyers and residents as diverse and/or deep from the standpoint of consumer selection, though not—or not necessarily so—in relation to economics, see the following. For discussion by Findlay, in context

above, see again Findlay, 179. For another, though not necessarily addressing breadth of “facilities” specifically but at least discussing different ones as well, see also Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 207. For one description of recreational amenities, see, for example, Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, 1.

For DEVCO and intended market here, see the following. First, for market pursued, see Findlay, 180 (caption), 182, 183, 189. For what presumably was market, of “idea,” see Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 85. For Sturgeon on evidence of discussion of “average budget,” thus implying this market, see again Sturgeon, 87. See also market as indirectly suggested in VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 212. And elsewhere, see Freedman on “the average American” and engagement with “affordability” in Freedman, *Prime Time*, 61 (first quotation), 62 (second quotation). For additional discussion, see also 64. For example, Findlay writes, in reference to a shift in efforts later in the 1960s: “The company had initially conceived of Sun City as a fancier version of the retirement village, but it still regarded the development as housing for people with relatively low incomes” (182). For discussion in Findlay perhaps providing context on the point about the positioning of Sun City, see also 172, 173. For definition of “Retirement Villages,” see term quoted in Findlay, 168. And for mention of “a retirement village,” see also 172. For accounts on, or otherwise suggesting, economic profile of Youngtown, which another secondary account describes as such, first—for identification—see VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 210. Then, for economics, see, for example, Findlay, 172; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 77; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 22; VanderMeer, 210; Schleifer quoted in Blechman, *Leisureville*, 29, 30; Schleifer also as cited in Blechman, 29. For other discussion in Sturgeon on economics, if what apparently was the demand mirrored the supply, see also Sturgeon, 59. And, as evidence from my own research here, discussion involved “inexpensive enough for the average retiring couple” in a previously cited document: Johns to Giraldo, 2. For other accounts that might have been addressing the economics of Youngtown—via what might have been amenities, in light of the contexts of respective accounts—see, for example, mention of “utilitarian beginnings” in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 71. Another account seems to make a more direction linkage with economics, whether involving amenities or not, in speaking of “very bare bones, low end market.” See Meeker, interview, 3. Finally, for relationship between Sun City and its predecessor from an economic standpoint, the former did not seek to be the latter. For Sun City versus Youngtown, see Findlay, 173. For another perhaps addressing a split, see also evidence discussed in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 77.

Next, in terms of discussion of cost-consciousness in Findlay’s account, see 182, 183, 186, 190. And in terms of homes specifically, see 182, 186. And for prices, for example, see 183. For Freedman relevant here, see also Freedman, *Prime Time*, 61. For prices in comparative metropolitan perspective, see VanderMeer, 212. And on expensiveness of housing presumably as reflected in homes themselves, see Findlay, 183. Sturgeon discusses “masonry block,” though this does not appear to link—or link directly—to economics: Sturgeon, 87. For a Meeker account confirming building approach, see Meeker, *A Look Back, 1959-1981*, 7. And for context in local case perhaps relevant here, see also VanderMeer, 198-200. For other accounts cited in the preceding paragraph in this note that can be viewed as such, or that those above can be viewed as serving that respective purpose, see again Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 85; Sturgeon, 87; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 61, 64. For previously cited “memo” as relevant here, in relation to amenities, see again that in Sturgeon, 79 (quotation); Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 73; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 35. More specifically, Sturgeon—for example—quotes what she identifies as the title. And for Breen directly again, see Breen in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 3. In terms of such consciousness as connected to amenities. I am assuming that this is connected to amenities to at least some extent in light of apparent commonality with earlier discussion—if not also so when viewed in relation to discussion across sections. For commonality, see again 179, 180 (caption), 190, 191 (caption). And for broader sweep of what presumably was overall idea, see—along with pages noted above as bookending the following—also 182, 183, 186.

On financing here, specifically “FHA financing,” according to Findlay, see Findlay, 182. While I have discussed FHA efforts in Section 203 in my Chapter 2, neither Findlay nor the document he cites—which itself identifies this as “standard section 203B”—appear to discuss this in terms of older Americans

per se, whether or not this was the intention on the part, for example, of DEVCO. For citation by Findlay, see DEVCO, “You’re Just 3 Steps Away from Your Beautiful Home in Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona,” 1963 [?], SCAHS, cited in Findlay, 182. For document as viewed in course of my research, see Del E. Webb Development Co., *You’re Just 3 Steps away from Your Beautiful Home in Del Webb’s Sun City*, (n.p., n.d.), n.p. [back page], in “YOU’RE JUST THREE STEPS AWAY: 1860 [sic]-63” folder, “SUN CITY MARKETING ‘HANDOUTS’” drawer, SCAHS. Handwriting on cover identifies as 1963. For another secondary account offering same or similar evidence, see Sturgeon, 88. Specifically, she uses: “You’re Just Three Steps Away from Your Beautiful Home in Sun City” (Del Webb Corporation, 1960), SCAHS. And for mention of “FHA loans,” see also Freedman, 63. However, for another on what presumably—per my discussion in Chapter 2—was Section 203, given that Sturgeon discusses 1956 legislation, see Sturgeon, 60-61. For a period newspaper account on retirement development in the *Arizona Republic*, including Sun City, on FHA policy—and what might have been this—see also Henry Fuller, “Elder Citizens Communities Fill Gap in Arizona Picture,” *Arizona Republic*, January 17, 1960. Meanwhile, for other evidence dealing with FHA efforts in Sun City, though not specified as tied to older homebuyers, see Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 8; Meeker, interview, 19; comments of Owen Childress from SCAHS, 1987 event. Webb’s utilization of FHA-backed loans was another area of reliance on government, as Freedman points out in his analysis: Freedman, 63. On fate of and what resulted, to which I return to in my Chapter 6, see Findlay, 182; Meeker, *A Look Back, 1959-1981*, 8; Meeker, interview, 19.

As Findlay explains: “By and large, the purchasers ignored not only the FHA financing but also the more conventional mortgages; the paid cash for their homes.” For quotation, see Findlay, 182. And for context in which he makes this point as involving a broader shift to which I return later in this dissertation, see also 182-183. “During the early years, many of the people, as many as fifty percent of the people who bought homes, paid cash for them,” one Webb representative later said in the 1970s. “They had the money from sale of their homes where they came from, or they just had an income that permitted them to do that.” See McLain, interview, 18. For different figures of percentages of such sales, though not framed per Findlay’s account either, see also Freedman, *Prime Time*, 62; Meeker, interview, 19; Bill Rodd, “Western Views” in “Special Western Section,” *American Builder* 82, no. 5 (May 1960): 46-N; Webb statistics recounted in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 133. For trend and proportion of, see also VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 212. While Findlay (pp. 182-183) suggests that this was part of a broader top-down transformation surrounding Sun City that unfolded by the mid-1960s, some of this evidence also might parallel that of other parties involved in retirement development as my Chapter 2 discussed. Viewed in this way, it was not that residents of the retirement development increasingly were wealthy, from the standpoint of Sun City, but that *as retired Americans* they bought homes outright, perhaps—or as McLain, for example, in part explains—thanks to home equity.

Next, on the last point about Webb’s addressing and understanding of such statistics, as well as positive developments, see the following. As the document and evidence below suggests, Webb seemingly was optimistic, given the statistics and developments it addressed and its interpretation of them. See document by Breen as part of the previously discussed ULI document: Breen, “Retirement and Retirement People,” 93. More specifically, in terms of means, Breen refers to “retirement and pension funds,” whether including Social Security or not. For accounts pertaining to Sun City cited in my Introduction on the issue of means, see again Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 4; Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 172. And, on p. 172, he refers to “a sizable market,” which in context of what follows—previously quoted in my Introduction and cited above—might be connected to means, to another point or points, or all of the above. Also see again Freedman’s account, which specifically addressed Social Security and other points: Freedman, *Prime Time*, 35-36, esp. 35. For evidence of another perspective, at the level of “the housing market” more broadly, see also Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 77. If referring to Social Security, for instance, Breen’s account what illustrate Freedman’s previously cited point about federal efforts helping to create—or further—the market it pursued. See again Freedman, *Prime Time*, 63. And if not, then Breen’s document does seem to illustrate what might have amounted to a sort of piggybacking on public policy in

terms of what would become Medicare, while suggesting another factor in the process. Next in the document, Breen writes: “Programs presently contemplated by the Kennedy administration are another indication of the trend toward assisting the field of housing for the elderly or the retiree.” Continuing, he writes, referring to perhaps the federal legislation in the 1950s in terms of the first item and presumably the issue of health insurance for older Americans in the second: “Financing has become easier in past years, and hospitalization and health and welfare benefits, tied in through Social Security or some other means, will again make more funds available to the housing field, both by financial institutions and the individual contemplating the purchase” (93). For role of Medicare in relation to consumption, or potential consumption, more broadly, see again Cohen and Pelzman as discussed in cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 198. How such steps in Breen’s account specifically would do so, however, is not explicated here, though the Cohen account discussed and cited in Calhoun could help to illuminate this relationship. As Wilbur Cohen explained, in 1966: “Virtually all the 19 million aged now have the health insurance protection provided under the new Medicare program, which will help to relieve them and their children of a major part of the financial burden of illness in old age.” See Wilbur J. Cohen, “Improving the Status of the Aged,” *Social Security Bulletin* 29 (1966): 3-8, first cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 198. For this quotation and overall point from document viewed directly, see Cohen, 3. Thus, his point here might have involved the potential for reallocating resources as a result. For context of events to which Breen very likely might be referring—given the dates on hand—leading up to Medicare, see Marmor, *The Politics of Medicare*, 31. And for events leading up to this, see 29-30. Additionally, coverage in *Time* seems to paint this relationship as well, involving “the spendable income of the aged” in its discussion of background issues: “The Family,” 47. Meanwhile, for evidence illustrating Ross Cortese on relevant demographic trends, see Cortese quoted in Calhoun, 208-209.

And finally, in terms of my connection between this point, by Breen, and the point in the text involving economics, this was the case even as—as both secondary and primary sources above make clear—it also paid attention to the financial limits of buyers or residents. My point here is that, when trying to make sense of Webb’s approach at an overall level, one does not appear to have negated the other—or, of the latter precluding the former—not only in the parallel existence of such perspectives, of course, but also evidence within the document itself. For example, assuming that the following involves such consciousness in the vein of the idea above and that it applies to Sun City, it states: “The cost of living in the Phoenix area may not be appreciably lower to its families with children, in view of the relatively similar costs with regard to foodstuffs, etc. However, to the retiree, the principal cost reductions come from the tremendous cost in the reduction of housing, the lessening of expenditures for winter clothing, and heating, and the more extensive facilities at little or no cost available for recreational activity.” See Breen, 94. Additionally, neither does other discussion in this document contradict or cancel out economic concerns. Specifically, it states, in part: “The type of retiree that would be attracted to a Sun City is generally of the *upper middle class and above* type of citizen...” See Breen, 93 (emphasis added). Thus, that cost-consciousness was on the table—both as accounts above explain and document, and as evidence here again suggests—did not mean a lesser class status. Furthermore, the co-existence of cost and class concerns here and above might relate, if not amount, to the politics surrounding retirement economics discussed in my Chapter 1. DEVCO elsewhere, for example, spoke of “modest *retirement-budget* incomes” in one instance: Del E. Webb Development Co., “Eloquent Hands,” “1962 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS (emphasis added). Label identifies as *Arizona Republic*, July 1, 1962. For similar evidence, see also Del E. Webb Development Co., “Buy Yourself a Complete City,” in “1963-1964 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. Label identifies this as *Arizona Republic*, January 19, 1964. Such language—the “retirement” component here—might suggest existence within broader, free-standing conditions particular to such a stage of life. Additionally, for reference to “RETIREMENT BUDGETS,” see Del E. Webb Development Co., “Time Cannot be Stored, It Must be Spent” (emphasis added) in “1962 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. Label identifies as *Arizona Republic*, September 2, 1962. And in the same paragraph from the Youngtown document cited earlier, it explained: “Remember now that a community was being planned for the retired, people who were no longer going to be in an earning capacity, but rather a people who were going to have to live on a fixed income.” See Johns to Giraldo, 2.

Identifying the same or a similar duality, although presenting it in a different order and thus focus, Freedman explains in his account that efforts did not preclude the upscale. “He found a way to combine affordability and luxury, which fed the overall Sun City message that retirement could be a kind of aristocratic experience,” he writes of Webb. “The central vehicle for conveying this sense was golf.”⁵³⁴ Despite the role that such “affordability” played in promoting Sun City, it was the latter that the development’s metropolitan neighbors would fold into their critiques of community residents in the 1960s and 1970s.⁵³⁵

In addition to concern about the residence and recreation in the retirement development as cost-effective, another key ingredient in the Sun City recipe was the spatial relationship of amenities to retirees and their housing. The facilities of which DEVCO spoke were, in other words, well-located, as DEVCO placed the specific

534 Freedman, *Prime Time*, 62. For previously cited discussion, see also 61. As Findlay writes in his account: “More than anything else, perhaps, the golf courses offered physical proof that Sun City was truly a resort and retirement truly a vacation.” For Findlay quotation, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 203. For golf in relation to retirement development more generally, see Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 46. However, see also 55. Meanwhile, other, more general evidence suggests the linkage between amenities and aesthetic significance from a resident perspective: “Members like having a pool available...even if they don’t use it often. A pool may be a mark of the social status of the community—an example of Veblen’s conspicuous consumption as well as recreational or exercise locale.” See Gordon F. Streib, “The Life Course of Activities and Retirement Communities” in *Activity and Aging: Staying Involved in Later Life*, ed. John R. Kelly (Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1993), 258. Also, I cite the work of Veblen—Thorstein Veblen—elsewhere as well. For evidence of pool and retirement perhaps illustrating this, see discussion of that in “Summary of Three Housing Clinics on Environmental Planning,” 8k. On the duality at play here, the source Freedman uses here (p. 62) partly is quoted as writing: “No way, especially back in 1960, could a regular Joe on a pension expect a golf-course retirement—until Del Webb provided it.” See Mike Steere, “Ready When You Are,” *Worth* (April 1998), quoted in Freedman, 62. Indeed, Steere’s assessment here very well might have been right, as the grafting of high and low onto the Arizona desert ultimately gave rise to and represented a new residential landscape—at least in Webb’s estimation. For example, the *Spinner* reported in its coverage of the unveiling of the company’s retirement concept in 1959, Sun City would be able to offer “the only \$9,000 home in America bordering the grassy fairways of a regulation golf course.” “Retirement Town Planning in Brief,” *The Webb Spinner* 13, no. 9 (September 1959): 2. And Meeker later asserted: “We were kind of a pioneer of subdivision golf courses in the country at that time. There were maybe some done but more for Country Clubs, more high dollar, high end type developments. Nothing of the economical homes on the golf course type that we were doing.” Meeker, interview, 4-5. Whether or not applicable to the case of Sun City, Arizona, see trend discussed by McKenzie. For example, see McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 10.

535 See my discussion of events and evidence in my Chapter 6 pertaining to school taxes.

positioning of such Sun City sites within a critique of existing retirement landscapes.⁵³⁶

“He found that the facilities for senior citizens’ enjoyment of outdoor sports in the cities of our country were not only inadequate in variety, but were inconvenient in location, too,” the same “The philosophy of Retirement” said of one issue, in relation to Webb—in the process perhaps illustrating part of what was a broader strategic framing involving “publicity on Del E. Webb himself,” Findlay and others have explained.⁵³⁷ The extent of

536 Perhaps useful here—and also below—again is Findlay, along with my comment pertaining to Chapter 2 in a note at the beginning of the previous section in this chapter. Here, see, in particular, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 178.

537 For first quotation, see “The philosophy of Retirement” in DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Active Living for America’s Senior Citizens*, n.p. [inside back cover]. That this was one of various points presumably falling within this “lack of facilities” critique is suggested by the structure of the discussion addressing these other points throughout the middle section of the text of the document. Another point, for example, was, it explained: “He knew that creative activities were among the most frequent items on those lists of ‘things I’ve always wanted to do’. However, in many instances, when the time was finally available for their enjoyment, either the money or the space was lacking for the necessary equipment”. See again see “The philosophy of Retirement” in DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Active Living for America’s Senior Citizens*, n.p. [inside back cover]. For additional evidence in DEVCO advertising on the former issue, see Del E. Webb Development Co., “Activities Unlimited for Creative Hands,” *Arizona Days and Ways Magazine*, November 19, 1961, 6, in “1961 March 26 - Dec. 31 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. And for evidence perhaps offering context of expert period literature, again on the former, see also Felix in *Growing in the Older Years* (1951): Felix, “Mental Health in an Aging Population,” 36. Meanwhile, for additional evidence of the issue of the immediacy of recreational resources in the text, see also Del E. Webb Development Co., “Fun at Your Finger Tips,” *Arizona Days and Ways Magazine*, December 4, 1960, 19, in “1960 - March 1961 Newspaper advertising & proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS.

For second quotation, and overall point, in the text—the context in which it is framed to which I return in my Chapter 4—see quotation and context in which it appears, in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 177. At least of this, according to Findlay, was: “His publicists claimed that Webb had realized in Sun City a lifelong, ‘never-diminishing dream’ to assist the elderly in leading fuller, happier lives.” See Findlay, 177. For period evidence that promotes “dream” theme directly, see that from earlier in the very document, above: DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Active Living for America’s Senior Citizens*, n.p. [inside front cover]. For other important secondary accounts addressing same or similar points here, see also Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 151-152. For other discussion of “dream,” though not explicitly explained in terms of retirement, see “dream” as quoted in Sturgeon, 131; Sturgeon, 132. And for another relevant account, see also Freedman, *Prime Time*, 37. Here, Freedman’s discussion includes quoting Webb from coverage in *Time*: “My old man used to say it was only the railroad companies that did anything for the guys it retired. Well, it’s pretty grim, being old with nothing to do.” See Webb, quoted in “A Place in the Sun” [*sic?*], *Time*, August 3, 1962, quoted in Freedman, 37. And for “dream” idea, whether or not defining in opposition to retirement-as-usual or to the same extent as Findlay, above, for instance, see comments of Jack Davis in DEVCO, *The Beginning*. Here, he is identified as “a Sun City representative” in this segment. For additional evidence here, though not apparently explicitly in relation to Webb, see Trillin on Tom Austin: Austin as quoted in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 142. For other discussion involving “personalized promotions” of Webb’s development, see the following. For that involving previously cited Silverstein document, see Breen and Silverstein [*sic?*], discussed and quoted in

Webb's actual role aside, in *The Beginning*, meanwhile, Ben Huggins's friend tells him at

Sturgeon, 81. For other, see that including evidence discussed and quoted in Sturgeon, 86 (quotation). For document directly, see also Silverstein to Breen [?], "Recommendations for Retirement Housing," 2. For other evidence at level of "man," see Webb's Les Parry, on Webb, quoted in Trillin, 151. And for discussion of the angle at the level of "the Del E. Webb Construction Company" as well, see also Silverstein to Breen [?], 3 (quotation), 4. For context of quotation here, see 3. Meanwhile, for another relevant secondary account, see Findlay's discussion involving Yankees, which—to be clear—the above also address. See, in order, Sturgeon, 81, 86; Silverstein to Breen [?], 2; Findlay, 177. As additional evidence, Boswell explained in one instance that "that I wanted the name 'Del Webb' associated with this activity because he was Mr. Baseball, he had the Yankees, Casey Stengel, Joe DiMaggio, and I thought it was important." See Boswell's comments in SCAHS, 1987 event. Calvin Trillin also described and discussed an "anthropomorphism" in effect in his piece: Trillin, "A Reporter at Large," 130. And on reception of see Sturgeon, 131; Freedman, 37; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 85, 88; John Meeker quoted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 88. For another account offering evidence, see Meeker, interview, 20, 24. Finally, on "appearances," including reception of here, see Tom Austin, interview with Melanie Sturgeon, October 17, 1991, SCAHS, cited in Sturgeon, 131-132; Freedman, 37 (quotation). For another account relevant, see also Jane Freeman cited in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 78.

For accounts calling into question Webb's relationship in different ways with Sun City, however, see, for example, Sturgeon, 151-152; Boswell, from "interview with J.G. Boswell II," discussed and quoted in Arax and Wartzman, *The King of California*, 305 (quotation and discussion in text), 432 (quotation here). Arax and Wartzman identify not only what cite and describe in corresponding note above (493) but also what they point to was "an interview with the Sun City Historical Society" (493), relevant material from this interview of which can be found more directly, for example, in Boswell, interview, 6. For perhaps an explanation or caveat of sorts here, see also 6-7. For another account offering another perspective with same or similar significance, see also discussion in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 7, 8. While it is not indicated whether it is Breen or Jacobson speaking here in the transcript, it is assumed—at least for p. 7—that it is Jacobson on the top of the page and Breen below based on perspectives of speaker. For other discussion of "speech" history, discussed above in Arax and Wartzman, Boswell directly (6), and Jacobson and Breen (7), see also William Chapman, interview with Melanie Sturgeon, October 1991, SCAHS, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 132. For another published account mentioning Webb's actual familiarity with Sun City seemingly similar to Boswell, as it appears in Arax and Wartzman and also Boswell (6), see also Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 85. And for other accounts discussing Webb's distance from Sun City, see, for example, Austin, interview, quoted in Sturgeon, 131. Here, for Meeker on this, see also Meeker, interview, 23, 24. In fact, Sturgeon mentions Austin, among others, on this point. See Sturgeon's comments in Meeker, interview, 23. And yet, for another discussion offering an explanation of sorts, considering chronology and allowing for changing relationship over time, see Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 85, 88. For evidence perhaps suggesting this in early stage, see Austin, cited in Sturgeon, 132. Also, for Meeker—after discussing Webb's own reaction—and involvement with, see also Meeker, 20, 24. And, as explanation from the Jacobson and Breen interview, it involved practicality. Regardless of who is speaking, see discussion in Jacobson and Breen, 7, esp. 8. For mention of "the name we were selling," see 16. At the same time, and on another front, see discussion of Webb's involvement in the DEVCO-backed "'Name the City' contest"—which I also discuss in my Chapter 5—towards the end of 1959. For Webb's role here, as well as background of, see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 25, 28; *Jubilee* as quoted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 78-79; Meeker, "Overview," 23; Meeker, "A Look Back, 1959-1981," 5 (quotation); Boswell, interview, 13, 14-15; and, in particular indicating both DEVCO's role and timing of, identified by date and also as having run in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Del E. Webb Development Co., "Name This Active Arizona Retirement Community, [?] Win a New Way of Life," [*Saturday Evening Post*], November 28, 1959, in Freeman and Sanberg, 27. The date here is confirmed in that it also appears on page of advertisement itself. For another account presumably addressing such areas, see also Jacobson and Breen, interview, 28.

one point, “You know, there’s one big discovery that we all make when we retire, and that is that our fun time doesn’t have to be confined to two weeks out of the year anymore. But then you find out there aren’t enough facilities, or everything’s on the other end of town, or the weather’s against you.”⁵³⁸ At the same time, bringing spaces for such pursuits on site—or leaving one community for another where these spaces existed—rebalanced what was a previously *un*-balanced distribution of recreational resources. “So,” the former—for example—continued, speaking of Webb, “he created this fun-filled country club living where all your favorite activities are awaiting your exclusive enjoyment ‘right up the street.’”⁵³⁹

538 See again *The Beginning*. In the 1962 *Time* article, a retired Midwestern dentist defended Sun City, Arizona, with a similar contrasting of past and present. “Back there, you can play golf only a few months of the year,” he said. “The rest of the time you go to the Elks Club and play two-bit rummy.” See Chester L. Meade quoted in “The Family,” 48. On the relationship between golf and retirement, which I note in the following chapter as well, see, for example, Wood, who writes: “Golf offered a lower-impact workout, becoming a popular retiree activity during the 1950s. Like baseball, the sport brought men out of doors, providing exercise, sociability, and a basis for manly competition. Even though golf was a significantly less physical game than baseball or roller-skating, the difficulty and complexity of golf, the opportunities for competition it afforded, and the length of time needed to finish a series of nine or eighteen holes made golf an attractive substitute for the job in an aging man’s retirement lifestyle.” See Wood, *Retiring Men*, 198. For context here, see also 197-98.

Presumably related to the discussion of “weather” in *The Beginning*, DEVCO’s rationalization of retirement, Sun City-style, also addressed the following in the former document, writing, again of Webb, “that the climatic conditions in most sections of the country were robbing our retired citizens of many months of their new free years.” Intervening here, while I return to steps involving other ways of remedying retirement below, it continued: “So he chose this beautiful Arizona valley for the setting of this new community, on which Nature lavishes her finest climate all year round.” See again “The philosophy of Retirement” in DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Active Living for America’s Senior Citizens*, n.p. [inside back cover]. And perhaps circling back to “weather” himself, Huggins’s friend speaks of “Arizona’s fabulous sunny dry climate” around the same point in the film as well. See again DEVCO, *The Beginning*. There appears to be significant overlap on the points explored in this and the preceding paragraph between these documents. And for Findlay on “climate,” see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 178.

539 See “The philosophy of Retirement” in DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Active Living for America’s Senior Citizens*, n.p. And, as Huggins’ friend boasted, continuing from above, “That’s the beauty of Sun City, boy.” See again DEVCO, *The Beginning*. And here, his friend continues, at least in part displaying evidence overlapping with the former, print-based document, while showing pool-side people socializing: “All your favorite activities are available to you right up the street.” Meanwhile, the former statement also discussed impediments—that “either the money or the space was lacking for the necessary equipment”—to the pursuit of “creative activities” in retirement as well. Again, the piece by Felix in *Growing in the Older Years* (1951) identified the issue of affordability as well: Felix, “Mental

Whether real or in rhetoric and representation, how Sun City residents engaged with and used recreational or other amenities further revealed the place and politics of such resources in the community. In terms of the role of recreation in retirement, one advertisement spoke of “interesting, purposeful activity” and another of “working and playing creatively, with purpose,” perhaps paralleling aging experts’ treatment of recreation’s capacity as goal-oriented.⁵⁴⁰ Related or not, and resembling—if not more directly falling within the ideas broached by—the University of Chicago’s L.C. Michelson’s writing of “latent talents” and “potential talents,” DEVCO informed readers that “Sun City is a place where half-forgotten talents are renewed and perfected . . . where ‘I-never-knew-I-could-do-that’ talents suddenly are discovered.”⁵⁴¹

Health in an Aging Population,” 36. For additional evidence of print promotional materials advertising the immediacy of recreational facilities, though not appearing with framework as above, see, for example, Del E. Webb Development Co., “Fun at Your Finger Tips,” *Arizona Days and Ways Magazine*, December 4, 1960, 19, in “1960 - March 1961 Newspaper advertising & proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS; Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, 2. Perhaps also relevant here is p. 3. And for additional evidence on affordability, see Del E. Webb Development Co., “Activities Unlimited for Creative Hands,” *Arizona Days and Ways Magazine*, November 19, 1961, 6, in “1961 March 26 - Dec. 31 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. Also, in the *Beginning*, shortly after he mentions “climate,” as noted above. See again DEVCO, *The Beginning*.

540 First, see discussion in Findlay’s important account—of “purposeful leisure,” in context of period thinking: Findlay, 166. And on evidence seemingly addressing same or similar idea in the language of “purposeless,” see that quoted in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 177. Next, for quoted material in text from DEVCO, see Del E. Webb Development Co., “A Very Special Kind of Town, A Very Special Kind of People,” in “1962 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS (first quotation); Del E. Webb Development Co., “Imitated. . . . but Never Equaled,” in “1962 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS, with typed label dating as *Arizona Republic*, January 14, 1962 (second quotation). That this idea was linked to facilities is suggested by the context in which this language appears—that both, following these contexts, address such amenities. And, although not linking in this way to amenities, a brochure from 1964 touted, among other points: “The OPPORTUNITY for all kinds of satisfying, purposeful, interesting activity.” See Del E. Webb Development Co., *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: For the Best Time of Your Life* (1964), n.p., in “SUN CITY. [sic] AZ FOR THE BEST TIME OF YOUR LIFE” folder, “SUN CITY MARKETING ‘HANDOUTS’” drawer, SCAHS. For context of aging experts, see again my discussion of literature in my Chapter 1 on this role of recreation. And, as evidence from my own reading, accounts—also cited in my Chapter 1—write, for instance, of “purposeful living” and “purposeful ways.” See, in order here, Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 306 (emphasis added); Michelson, “The New Leisure Class,” 373 (emphasis added). For mention of “a purpose,” see also Michelson, 373.

541 For quotations and their respective contexts in Michelson, see Michelson, “The New Leisure Class,” 373. For DEVCO evidence, first see discussion of “long-dormant abilities” by Findlay in Findlay, “Sun

City, Arizona,” 178. For material I quote in the text here, see Del E. Webb Development Co., *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: A New Look* (n.d.), n.p., no folder [?], “SUN CITY MARKETING ‘HANDOUTS’” drawer. Handwriting on cover dates as 1965. And to be sure, the addressing of “facilities” on this page, for example, suggests that this point was made within a context involving amenities. Additionally, the opposite page here seems to link retirement recreation and amenities perhaps more generally—and where the “Arts & Crafts Center,” which the document details on the above page, appears under the “facilities” cited here. See DEVCO, n.p.. For additional evidence of language of “develop and discover your individual talents”—and that, although not possibly linked to amenities via text, such a connection nonetheless perhaps suggested by the photographs on the opposite page—see Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Active Retirement*, n.p.. And for discussion involving “facilities,” see the page following the one with text above. See Webb Corporation, n.p.. And opposite this is a page of additional accompanying photographs—at least some of which presumably show amenities. See Webb Corporation, n.p..

For additional discussion perhaps related to this idea or otherwise involving positive effects of such recreation and engagement with, see Findlay writing of “individual fulfillment” and “personal fulfillment” and “self-fulfillment”: Findlay, 176 (first quotation), 178 (second and third quotations). For fate of, however, see again the following by Findlay: “After 1965 DEVCO did less to publicize Sun City’s ‘Way-of-Life’ for retirees and ceased to highlight the themes of economy, ‘Active Retirement,’ and individual fulfillment.” See Findlay, 190. I use Findlay—and other accounts—in discussing change later in my project. For same and similar language and idea, see—including discussion of relevant literature—Ekerdt and Clark, “Selling Retirement in Financial Planning Advertisements,” 56, 62, 64, 66, account again first cited in Katz, “Growing Older Without Aging? Positive Aging, Anti-Ageism, and Anti-Aging,” *Generations* 25 (Winter 2001-02): 28; Katz, “Growing Older Without Aging? Postmodern Time and Senior Markets,” 191. For “self-fulfillment” specifically, see Ekerdt and Clark, 64.

Here, furthermore, work by T.J. Jackson Lears might provide a broader framework for understanding—and particularly for understanding perhaps via further, future study—the ideas involving the capacity of consumption in the mold of Sun City advanced or suggested by DEVCO: Lears, “From Salvation to Self-Realization” in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980*, ed. Fox and Lears, 1-38. More specifically, Lears focuses on “a therapeutic ethos stressing self-realization” and why and how it gained traction in American life. For quotation and relevant discussion, see, for example, Lears, 3, 4 (quotation), 17, 27, 29, 37. And at one point, Lears describes change in relation to “individual fulfillment” as well (3). For additional discussion of points here, see also overview of Lears’s piece here: Lears, “From Salvation to Self-Realization,” cited—and also quoted—in Richard Wightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears, “Introduction,” xiii. And for “self-fulfillment” and “personal fulfillment,” see also Fox and Lears, xii. Additionally, for discussion involving periodization, see also ix. And meanwhile, work by academic aging experts perhaps provides additional evidence along with that from Sun City, if anything in language, and thus possibly better approached and interpreted via Lears. See discussion involving “self-realization” and “personal satisfaction” in Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 306 (first quotation), 307 (second quotation). And for “satisfying” in multiple places in Michelson, see, for example, Michelson, 373. For additional discussion, see also 373. Furthermore, if this “therapeutic ethos” played a particular role in light of certain conditions, then new incarnations of retirement—including Sun City—imagined in the middle of the twentieth century thus might have been similar not only as a remedy of sorts but also in the factors leading to a means of redressing retirement, or retirement-as-usual, in the first place. For factors—the same or not—discussed by Lears and in period accounts dealing with retirement, see the following. For those cited and/or discussed by Lears, see, for example, 3-4, 4, 6-8, 10, 16-17, 17. For additional discussion, see also Lears, discussed in Fox and Lears, xiii. In terms of period experts, see those briefly discussed and further noted in my Chapter 1 in relation to cross-generational residential practices and politics, as well—for example—as in Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems,” 301-302; Tibbitts in Sheldon, *The Older Population of the United States*, 5-7. For evidence from Webb elsewhere, see “The philosophy of Retirement” in Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, n.p. [inside back cover]. Here, and perhaps illustrating same or similar points as above, this also—for example—writes of “the firm foundation of self-

Furthermore, “half-forgotten”—or “latent,” as DEVCO itself put it elsewhere—might have meant that someone or something stood in the way, or enjoyed higher standing, thus subordinating individuals’ dreams or desires.⁵⁴² As historian Gary Cross writes in his broader study of consumerism, in reference to the under-developed market of older Americans, “The solution to this dilemma was to redefine retirement as a time of freedom

respect and self-confidence . . . of real pride in the freedom they have to do what they want, when they want . . . in the satisfaction of spending their time in constructive pursuits . . . in the many service and welfare activities of their community” (n.p.) [inside back cover]. For yet another possible parallel between Lears and period accounts, see language involving “creative” in the following. In Lears, see Bruce Barton, apparently speaking of “creative leisure,” quoted in Lears, 32. And in the 1950s, see “creativity” and “creative arts” in Tibbitts, 306; “satisfying and *creative* uses of leisure” in Michelson, “The New Leisure Class,” 373 (emphasis added).

At the same time, as John Findlay shows, Webb relied on a sort of discursive defensiveness against any criticism surrounding such consumption. He writes: “Lest the satisfaction of every desire and the pursuit of self-fulfillment be perceived as hedonistic or antisocial, however, publicists hastened to identify the luxuries of Sun City as ‘earned pleasures’ that constituted a patriotic reward for ‘those who have taken part in the years of America’s greatest growth and development.’” See Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 178. It is not clear which source, or sources, this quotation, or sources, is or are from. For note here, see Findlay, 350n66. And for what presumably were those sources there, see also 350n61. For discussion elsewhere in Findlay including “hedonistic,” see also 199. For same language as second quoted grouping above elsewhere, see comments of DEVCO spokesman Jack Davis in *The Beginning*. For similar evidence—and perhaps from a source Findlay also cite, given his previously cited method here—and that includes mention of “contributions,” see Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, n.p.. For other evidence, which—like that above here—might parallel the general language and logic, though not in terms of specific benefits, of housing policy discussed in my Chapter 2 and also of older Americans as “deserving” in the work I discuss and cite in my Introduction, see DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: A New Look*, n.p.; DEVCO, “A Very Special Kind of Town, A Very Special Kind of People”; Del E. Webb Corporation, “Retire to Active Living,” in “1959 - 1967 National Advertising” scrapbook. Here, label dates as November 19, 1962. Using language of “reward,” Frances FitzGerald writes of the Sun City development in Florida: “Many of them look upon Sun City as the reward for which they have worked and made sacrifices.” See FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 232. And Atchley writes in a useful overview that “retirement is a morally sanctioned life change. The cultural life course concept in industrial societies defines retirement as an earned reward financed from the productivity of an economic system that individual workers helped to create through their lengthy employment, a reward that individuals ought to and do feel good about accepting.” See Atchley, “Retirement,” 454. For same or similar idea, see also 459.

542 In terms of this overall point, Michelson in his account might be saying the same thing, in writing—for example—of “ways formerly *denied* him.” See Michelson, “The New Leisure Class,” 373 (emphasis added). Then, for evidence quoted in text, see DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: A New Look*, n.p. (first quotation); Del E. Webb Development Co., “Shakespeare & Hamburgers!” in “1959 - 1967 National Advertising” scrapbook (second quotation). And, of course, see evidence from my reading of DEVCO materials below in this paragraph that fall under this idea, as well as seemingly illustrate the framework provided by Gary Cross, also below.

from obligations to community, family, and work, a permanent paid vacation.”⁵⁴³

DEVCO materials literally referred, for example, to “the freedom of retirement” and “the freedom side of fifty.”⁵⁴⁴ Other evidence features perhaps similar language in relation to external threats, more specifically, thus suggesting how Sun City interests were defined

543 See Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 187. And here, he also writes of view of it as “a new stage of fulfillment and compensation for work” (187). In addition to the previously cited account of Atchley, sociological research on representations later in the twentieth century similarly addresses the idea of the subordinating of the individual and “the liberated retiree.” See, in order, Atchley, “Retirement,” 449-450, esp. 449; Ekerdt and Clark, “Selling Retirement in Financial Planning Advertisements,” 62. This piece also cites work involving discussion, for example, of “an emancipatory view of retirement as adult life without the responsibilities of career and children” that seems to illustrate Cross’s point as well. See A. Blaikie, *Ageing and Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), quoted in part in Ekerdt and Clark, 65. For “emancipation” elsewhere, see 64. For additional discussion, see that in relation to relevant work in Ekerdt and Clark, 56, 64. And, for “release” elsewhere, see also 65. For similar evidence and discussion of it as “delayed gratification” from Sun City, Arizona, in the late twentieth century see the following piece by Arizona State University geographer Kevin McHugh: Kevin E. McHugh, “Generational Consciousness and Retirement Communities,” *Population, Space and Place* 13, no. 4 (July/August 2007): 300-3001 (quotation 301). For discussion including “delayed gratification,” see also Ekerdt and Clark, 65. And for another account that happens to discuss retirement recreation in terms of a similar framing, also see Wood, *Retiring Men*, 203. Finally, in terms of Sun City, evidence in Findlay might also be referring to this. See “free of compulsion” quoted in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 178. Also, Freedman in his study speaks of “liberation,” too, though more in relation to an issue—age segregation—that I further explore in my Chapter 5: Freedman, *Prime Time*, 59. And in terms of Lears, his piece mentions “liberation” at one point as well: Lears, “From Salvation to Self-Realization,” 27. Meanwhile, for other evidence from Sun City, Arizona, perhaps illustrating or otherwise related to such themes, see Calvin Trillin’s account. First, see Thomas Breen, discussed and quoted in Trillin, “Wake Up and Live,” 172, 177, discussed and quoted in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 210-211. For my own reading of this on this part of the account, see Breen quoted in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 176-177. And second, for other material in Trillin’s account, particularly discussion of “free from the social restrictions of their home towns as well as the professional restrictions of earning a living,” see also Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 123-124 (quotation 124).

544 For first quotation, see “the freedom of retirement”—discussed and quoted in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 177. And for quotation elsewhere, which—based on the apparently same language in the context in which it appears—might be from the same document Findlay cites at one point, see phrase in Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Active Retirement*, n.p.. For source in Findlay—perhaps this—see Findlay, 350n61. And for his citation method here, see again 349n61. For second quotation, see Del E. Webb Development Co., “And I Thought You Were a Bunch of Old Fogies,” in “1959 - 1967 National Advertising” (second quotation). As additional evidence, one version of “The philosophy of Retirement” spoke, for example, of a “longed-for age of freedom.” See “The philosophy of Retirement,” in DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Active Living for America’s Senior Citizens*, n.p. [inside back cover]. For “freedom” elsewhere, whether same idea or not, see also, for example, “The philosophy of Retirement” in Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, n.p. [inside back cover]. For examples of discussion of “freedom” in various ways in retirement literature, see Gertman and Alpert, *Wake Up Younger!* 139-40, 141, 229-30; Collins, *The Golden Years*, 15-16, 20-23. And, in relation to Sun City again, Freedman himself uses language of “freedom” in addressing generational politics—to which I return in my Chapter 5 and in Part III.

in relation to younger stages of life—and in relation, in the following, to one amenity in the retirement community. “View the beauty, the originality, the artistic and functional handiwork of Sun City’s own ‘artists,’” material advertising a 1961 event explained, “which reveals *how naturally creative minds become when they are freed from the pre-retirement routine*, and sparked by proximity to ‘kindred spirits.’”⁵⁴⁵

On another front, DEVCO approached the *quality* of engagement with and utilization of amenities in particular and characteristic ways—a point that might be suggested, for example, by the perspective of John Meeker, shared in an oral history conducted in the 1980s. “It catered to a different life style from what we offered,” he explained, in discussing the relationship between Webb’s development and its predecessor, Youngtown. “We were golf and more active and they truly were the ones where they built them a house with a rocking chair and they were going to sit there and

545 Del E. Webb Development Co., “Step into a Wonderful New World of Accomplishment... Today at Del Webb’s Sun City Annual Arts & Crafts Festival,” (emphasis added), in “1961 March - Dec. 31 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. Label dates as *Arizona Republic*, November 12, 1961. More specifically, this was advertised as taking place at what was described at one point as “In Sun City’s Own Arts & Crafts Center.” Although not discussed in same direct relationship to an amenity or amenities as this advertisement, see the following—which could be related to such resources based on different contexts of respective documents. Specifically, one version of DEVCO’s “philosophy” spoke of “a golden time, *free of demanding responsibilities*,” while DEVCO spoke of “6,000 people *free from work-a-day pressures*,” in one 1962 print newspaper advertisement. For first quotation, from in a document in which—for example—the paragraph following the one in which this appears speaks, again, of “a distinct lack of facilities offering interesting activity and companionship for the senior citizen,” see again “The philosophy of Retirement” in DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Active Living for America’s Senior Citizens*, n.p. (emphasis added). And for second quotation, the advertisement in which it appears including text and images dealing with amenities, see DEVCO, “Time Cannot be Stored, It Must be Spent” (emphasis added). For additional evidence, connected or not to amenities, see writing of “long years of daily routines and business pressures” in “The philosophy of Retirement” in Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, n.p.. And for further evidence, see again DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: A New Look*, n.p. And, as previously discussed and quoted, as Ben Huggins says at one point: “No more hurry, no more pressure.” After reading the inscription on his watch, he pockets it, declaring that “From now on, I’m going to enjoy myself.” See again DEVCO, *The Beginning*. For similar evidence from Sun City Center, Florida, in FitzGerald’s account, see again case of Ronald and Lora Smith, as well as comments of unidentified residents in “Sun City—1983,” 229, 229-30. For Schulman again, drawing in part on FitzGerald as indicated in my Introduction, see again Schulman, *The Seventies*, 87.

wait to die. That wasn't our concept."⁵⁴⁶ Meeker more definitely defined the distinctive nature of Sun City in contrasting the two. But whether he drew a direct line to amenities—if, for example, “golf” was a *manifestation* of a “more active” nature—or not, or whether such a relationship was implied or not, other evidence nonetheless suggests the necessity of such recreational resources.⁵⁴⁷

546 Meeker, interview, 28. In terms of Sun City as shaped by Youngtown, however, see again Boswell's discussing of the role of Elmer Johns in Youngtown in relation to Webb's efforts: Boswell's comments in SCAHS, 1987 event; Boswell, interview, 3. In terms of “active,” see, for example, Sturgeon's excellent discussion here—writing of “the ‘active retirement’ concept, in which retirees left their rocking chairs to engage in fulfilling sports and hobbies.” See Sturgeon, “‘It's a Paradise Town,’” 85. And for discussion of “active” in relation to previously cited evidence, see again that discussed and quoted in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 177, 178. On apparent shift, from “retirement” to “active retirement” that Calhoun documents more generally, thus offering an important contextual framework, see again Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 24. In terms of the idea of the “rocking chair” idea, particularly its role as a device for defining the “active,” see again Sturgeon, 85. In his discussion of the transformation of retirement represented by such developments as Sun City, Teaford writes, for instance, that “they professed to be communities where senior citizens could eschew the rocking chair and enjoy to the fullest their retirement years.” See Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 110. See also the following. In his account, Calvin Trillin tells of meeting a Webb official, who discussed an advertisement making this point. See Jim Detrick, discussing one identified as “It's All Yours Now, Rover Old Boy,” quoted in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 134. For copy of what presumably was this, given the identification and discussion of by Detrick, see Del E. Webb Development Co., “It's All Yours Now, Rover, Old Boy,” in “1959-1967 National Advertising.” A print by same name, with a label identifying it as *Arizona Republic*, December 2, 1962,” also appears in “1962 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. Additionally, in *The Beginning*, for example, Ben Huggins and his wife at one point sat in what appear to rocking chairs on the front porch—prior to Sun City. See again DEVCO, *The Beginning*.

For evidence from retirement developments elsewhere perhaps also illustrating broader ideas here akin to the Sun City vision, see again Leisure World official, who said, for example, in 1964 that “we're not selling retirement, we're not selling old age, we're not selling a place where elephants go to die; rather, we're selling a place where people go to live.” See again Brangham, “The Retirement Community,” 18. And involving language that might fit within DEVCO's approach more directly, see, *American Builder* in the later 1960s, reported on promotion of the development that “the ‘active’ in the theme works to overcome the psychological objections to a special community for older people.” See “They Think Holiday City is a Blast” in “This Man Has \$18,000 Cash, and He's Looking for a Place to Live—Sell Him Something,” 55.

547 For quotations, see again Meeker, interview, 28. For evidence linking this nature to amenities, see the following. For example, see again “Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders,” 2. And evidence in the advertisement cited above in Trillin's account itself suggests the role of amenities to different extents. First, golf—and thus, presumably, a golf course—appears, in the golf clubs present in the image. See DEVCO, “It's All Yours Now, Rover, Old Boy.” On golf in the advertisement, see again discussion of in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 134. Second, the text of the document addresses amenities, thus perhaps suggesting a linkage to at least some degree. For example, it cites “the many recreational facilities to use” in the paragraph following the opening one, which is a quotation presumably from the man in the scene above. “You've been sneaking into that chair of mine for years now – well, be my guest from

Such ideas took a visual form as well. In images in different advertising material, Webb pictured residents in the process of consuming the different amenities in the development. In one brochure booklet, the illustrated cover shows figures engaged in golf, painting, and other endeavors, while figures—inside, in photographic images—appear, for example, sitting pool-side and working away at Sun City’s “Arts & Crafts Center.”⁵⁴⁸ Such engagement, more specifically, might have suggested that residents were “active” from the standpoint of the literal doing of things—the antithesis, per the

here on,” he tells a dog. “When we moved here yesterday, my *rocking chair retirement ended*.” See again DEVCO, “It’s All Yours Now, Rover, Old Boy” (emphasis added).

And in the paragraph that follows, the advertisement—like another—advanced the idea of what perhaps was an ostensible irony growing out of Sun City’s particularly effective efforts. Continuing from the opening quotation, the advertisement next explains: “Rover’s master has plenty of interests to fill his day now . . . and so has his mistress. In fact as they put it, this town’s *changed the retirement problem from ‘what’ to ‘which.’* No longer will they wonder WHAT to do with each day. Now, it will be WHICH of the many clubs and classes and social gatherings they’ll attend . . . Which of the many recreational facilities to use . . . Which of the fully-equipped workshops and studios they’ll visit. It’s a problem that seems to make them both very happy.” See again DEVCO, “It’s All Yours Now, Rover, Old Boy” (emphasis added). On this point, another advertisement declared: “SUN CITY HAS CREATED A **NEW** RETIREMENT PROBLEM! (How to find time to do everything you would like to do).” See Del E. Webb Development Co., “Sun City Has Created a **New** Retirement Problem!” in “1963-1964 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. And, work that first addressed same or similar issues, see Sturgeon on Calvin Trillin: Trillin, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 124. And as evidence from Webb’s Tom Austin, in Trillin’s account, *also* similarly suggested, the extent was such that it threatened to undercut its presumed purpose. As Austin explained to Trillin: “Day after day, people tell me, ‘Tom, the days aren’t long enough. Next year, I’m going to retire.’” Tom Austin quoted in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 140, 142. For similar language, see of “days just aren’t long enough,” see Del E. Webb Development Co., “Never a Dull Moment at Sun City,” in “1963-1964 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. Typing and handwriting on print identifies as *Arizona Republic*, July 5, 1964. For Frances FitzGerald making this observation in relation to Sun City Center, Florida, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 227. For additional discussion of in terms of residential experience, also see 226-27, 227-29. And for discussion not taking this culture at face value but rather contextualizing and analyzing it, see discussion utilizing one scholarly framework to explain Sun City. See David J. Ekerdt, “The Busy Ethic: Moral Continuity Between Work and Retirement,” *Gerontologist* (1986), discussed and quoted in Freedman, *Prime Time*, 69. And, of course, Freedman here includes his own discussion in relation to Sun City: Freedman, 69. For other accounts using Ekerdt, for example, see also Ekerdt, 243, discussed and cited in Katz, “Busy Bodies,” 138-139; Ekerdt and Clark, “Selling Retirement in Financial Planning Advertisements,” 56. And on the above point, see again Trillin as cited and quoted in Sturgeon, 124.

548 For this particular document, and—in order in which they appear in above text—specific pages, see Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, n.p. [front cover], 2, 4 (quotation). For other depictions of amenities, or the consumption of, including some of the above, see also, for example, n.p. [front cover], 1, 3, 5, 7. Evidence included in Findlay’s study appears to show the same illustrated material, though obscured by titling, in addition to other evidence on its cover. See [Del E. Webb Development Company or Del Webb Corporation?], *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Active Living for America’s Senior Citizens*, n.p. [front cover?], in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 180, fig. 25. I cite a same or similar document elsewhere.

graphic proof held up to viewers, of discursive “inactivity” or “rocking chair retirement” otherwise constituting older ages.⁵⁴⁹ At the same time, *how* residents—real or imagined—were *doing* the doing factored into the equation, and advancing and upholding particular ideas and practices involving the interaction of retirees and amenities would require steps ultimately amounting to protective, if not pre-emptive, efforts.

Aging and Amenities

As both scholarly and period historical accounts make clear, Webb was anxious about threats to the ostensibly distinctive brand of retirement it developed, making efforts to control and minimize references to or evidence of aging in different arenas—such that Sun City’s brand might have involved, if not having been predicated on, “active denial” as well.⁵⁵⁰ In the process, DEVCO’s treatment of old age—in relation to amenities, in certain amenities themselves, and on other fronts—in some instances involved a strategy

⁵⁴⁹ First, for quotations in text, see again “Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders,” 2 (first quotation); DEVCO, “It’s All Yours Now, Rover, Old Boy” (second quotation). Second, perhaps illustrating this point, see the Webb Corporation previously in the text and cited at the top of the note immediately above. And in addition to this, along with that included in Findlay, see also, for example, evidence perhaps further illustrating this—in drawing contrasts of sorts in advertising in which imagery appears simultaneously with other elements, whether title, text, or other imagery. For example, see Del E. Webb Development Co., “Nobody’s on the Sidelines,” in “1960 - March 1961 Newspaper advertising & proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. Labeling indicates that this ran in the *Arizona Republic* in 1961, although the month is not provided. For evidence along these lines, also see, for instance, Del E. Webb Development Co., “Come and See the Nation’s Most Talked about Town: Del Webb’s Sun City,” in “1960 - March 1961 Newspaper advertising & proof sheets” scrapbook. Label indicates as *Arizona Republic*, January 22, 1961. For another source, based on text and its use within the advertisement, see DEVCO “The Evidence that Won a New Way-of-Life for America’s Senior Citizens in the case of Webb vs Webster on the Subject of Retired Living” in “1959-1967 National Advertising,” advertising scrapbook. Specifically, see photographic evidence in “EXHIBIT D.” And, see also Del E. Webb Development Co., “What’s Your View to Retirement,” *Arizona Days and Ways Magazine*, October 2, 1960, 3, in “1960 - March 1961 Newspaper advertising & proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. Other evidence perhaps drew a contrast in title more implicitly—by picturing or otherwise describing what readers’ current retirement experiences were *not*. See Del E. Webb Development Co., “Retired Living is Full of Life,” *Arizona Days and Ways Magazine*, August 27, 1961, “1961 March 26 - Dec. 31 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS.

⁵⁵⁰ I rely in this section on work by Sturgeon, for example, as well as on accounts connected to Webb. For language of “active retirement,” see examples from various sources as cited earlier in this chapter. And for “active denial,” this idea and colorful expression is from Andy Achenbaum, who discussed my project with me at an early stage: W. Andrew Achenbaum, in discussion with author via telephone, November 28, 2007.

perhaps understood within the marketing dynamic Richard Calhoun identified and explained, of what apparently was the simultaneous aversion to but also addressing of old age.⁵⁵¹ Rather than simply stripping age-related physiology or medical issues from Sun City culture, DEVCO actually accommodated, or entertained accommodating, such changes in different ways, allowing for aging in the landscape it envisioned and established to the extent of actually advertising certain relevant resources.⁵⁵²

551 My thinking here—what follows—is largely influenced by Calhoun’s framework. In addition to my discussion and noting of Calhoun on this point in my Chapter 2, see again Calhoun, 193-195. And for evidence involving housing again, see 193. While my discussion of Sun City explores DEVCO’s efforts in such areas covered by Calhoun as marketing, in particular, and the mention of the home—see p. 193 in Calhoun—it also considers the inclusion of different facilities at the level of the community more broadly within the more comprehensive view of the development process. For another previously cited account that offers an important framework, both there and also here as I try to understand the nuance here in DEVCO’s efforts—in “recognizing the need but not emphasizing the differentiation”—see Dodge, “Purchasing Habits and Market Potentialities of the Older Consumer,” 147.

552 In shaping my thinking and serving as points of departure for my purposes here as I continue to discuss the place and significance of amenities within DEVCO’s agenda, I am indebted to the work of Melanie Sturgeon in this section and the following section—specifically, her discussion and analysis in relation to the protection of DEVCO’s “active way of life” and to the effect, ultimately beneficial, of the hospital built in the community. On the former, which I utilize first, see Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 101-102 (quotation 102), 102. And on the latter, which I return to later, see 101. In terms of the former, she writes, in particular: “Although they recognized the need for some medical facilities within the community, in the early years of Sun City DEVCO did not want any cemeteries, mortuaries or hospitals to remind potential buyers they were mortal” (101-102). For point elsewhere here, including evidence from Tom Breen, see both discussion and Breen cited/quoted in Sturgeon, 102. I depart from Sturgeon’s discussion and evidence of opposition to aging, and I supplement her work with evidence I have used and analyzed. Her work also explores—or, at the very least, includes—an allowance for accommodation of such “need,” although she appears, as the very framing of her quotation above suggests, to place more emphasis on opposition. However, though my work attempts to give relatively greater analytical attention and weight to the factor of accommodation, given my broader addressing of and concern with the role of amenities in the later sections of this chapter—including here—on the road to building up to the idea of amenities for aging. Additionally, as I explain below, I seek to look at this dynamic at an internal level of such facilities and elsewhere where which such tensions existed. And, even if efforts entertained did not materialize, certain instances nonetheless show a more nuanced relationship at play, however concrete or lasting. Overall, I seek to take a view—using such work as Calhoun, above—to extend this point beyond facilities. Specifically, I pick up from my discussion of advertising in previous section and then move up spatially, going from home to facilities per the arc I explain in my Chapter 2, while also including—and fitting with another arc of sorts, of aging—nursing resources. On this latter arc, see “doctor” in FitzGerald, who says, in part: “It has a section of private houses, where people go when they retired. Then it has a section of condos and apartments, where people go when they can’t keep up their houses. Then it has a nursing home. Then it has a cemetery.” See “clinical psychologist at the University of South Florida, in Tampa,” quoted in FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 204. In the process, my use of “obscuring” in titling this section is tied to the points I explore in this, and particularly the following, section. In my thinking, “removal”—for example—might involve a finality or a completion of the related efforts, the former might be a two-way street, allowing for the management of particular ideas or images *and also* for the ability to reverse course, thus allowing for the ongoing presence of aging as needed by Webb.

Visual imagery again was one medium through which DEVCO advanced ideas. Offering one framework within which the case of Sun City might fit, sociologist David Ekerdt and Evelyn Clark in their study of advertising from the late-twentieth century in one product market argue that “retirement is not old age.” This dichotomization apparently was evident both in what was illustrated and in what was *not*, they continue: “Every retired model is hale and healthy, enjoying selected moments of release. No model faces the situation for which one would really need financial reserves, especially medical expenses, long-term care, or a survivor’s income.”⁵⁵³

Among the two threads simultaneously weaving through the picturing of Sun City, some images might well have signaled a way in which “Sun Citizens” were “active” beyond the mere fact or act of the doing of things—evident in terms of the character of the recreating apparently taking place in Sun City, via the development’s amenities. For example, the extent of engagement depicted in images could differ along lines of actual effort or exertion; whereas residents appeared as lounging or even manipulating tools on a table-top, elsewhere figures were shown in different stages of motions that particular

553 Ekerdt and Clark, “Selling Retirement in Financial Planning Advertisements,” 65, account here or pages again first cited in Katz, “Growing Older Without Aging? Positive Aging, Anti-Ageism, and Anti-Aging,” 28; Katz, “Growing Older Without Aging? Postmodern Time and Senior Markets,” 191. For an idea they briefly mention several pages earlier, which might be relevant here and in part shaping my thinking about the privileging of some aspects over others, see that of “selective” in Ekerdt and Clark, 61. For dating and description of evidence here, see Ekerdt and Clark, 57. For what presumably related to the former point, discussed elsewhere—and which I cite again below—in this piece, see also Ekerdt and Clark, 62, 64. On the latter, see also mention of “unmentioned contingencies of old age” at the end of the paragraph from which the quotation in the text above comes, see again Ekerdt and Clark, 65. Finally, my thinking here is shaped in part by the work of geographer Kevin McHugh, which, among other things, discusses the obscuring of aging in representations of Arizona retirement: McHugh, “The ‘Ageless Self?,”” 108; McHugh, “Three Faces of Ageism: Society, Image and Place,” *Ageing & Society* 23, no. 2 (March 2003): 167, 169-170; McHugh and Elizabeth M. Larson-Keagy, “These White Walls: The Dialectic of Retirement Communities,” *Journal of Aging Studies* 19, no. 2 (May 2005): 253. For trend in relation to consumerism more broadly, see also McHugh, “The ‘Ageless Self?’” 105-6. And elsewhere, McHugh makes this point in relation to “promotional literature of upscale retirement communities.” See also Kevin E. McHugh, “Inside, Outside, Upside Down, Backward, Forward, Round and Round: A Case for Ethnographic Studies in Migration,” *Progress in Human Geography* 24, no. 1 (2000): 84.

forms of recreation required—swinging a golf club, tossing a horseshoe, and diving into a swimming pool, for example.⁵⁵⁴

At the same time, Calvin Trillin wrote in 1964, “During my ten days in Sun City, I was constantly reminded of the presence of sickness and death,” before going on to cite the fact that, among other examples, “The Catholic priest has planned his confessional to

554 For the former examples of engagement, in order, see Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, 2, 3. And for the latter, showing what presumably was a greater extent of engagement, also in order, see, the following sources for examples of what were illustrated figures here: Webb Corporation, n.p. [front cover]; Del E. Webb Development Co., “Name This Active Arizona Retirement Community,” in “1959 - 1967 National Advertising” scrapbook, SCAHS. Label indicates that this appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* in November of 1959. As Ekerdt and Clark observe in their work: “When it is shown, the leisure of retirement is active and healthy, so depicted by models fishing, surfing, water skiing, on a swing, on a bike, as volunteer carpenters, chasing penguins, or leaping in the air.” For quotation here, see Ekerdt and Clark, “Selling Retirement in Financial Planning Advertisements,” 62. The case of 1960s Sun City, in Webb imagery, might parallel this “active and healthy”—and, as quoted previously, “hale and healthy”—framing, if this involved their “physical” discussion, and/or if those from the 1960s were the period equivalent to such recreational forms at the end of the century. For “hale and healthy,” see again Ekerdt and Clark, 65. And for “physical,” see again 62. While future work might attempt to compare representations across periods with an analytical eye towards addressing relativity, for “active” in this account as well, and perhaps operating in this sense, see also—including evidence and relevant work as discussed in—Ekerdt and Clark, 56 (quotation), 61, 62, 64. For additional discussion in their study perhaps relevant by citing the opposite, which might apply to bodily function, see that of “the frailty that heralds death,” in Ekerdt and Clark, 65. On “healthy” in Katz also perhaps relevant here, see also, for example, Katz, “Busy Bodies,” 138. And for framework of “activity as physical movement,” useful in identifying and understanding “activity” in this sense, see 136.

DEVCO, to be clear, did not bypass aging altogether, something suggested by the account of the author of *A Brighter Later Life* of his visit to Sun City, Arizona. “The billboard features a bathing beauty and a golfer, but they are different,” he recounted. “The golfer is an elderly man and the bathing beauty is a white-hair grandmother wearing glasses. This, we reflect, is something new in American advertising. *Our youth-worship has given way, at least this once, for the lending of a bit of glamour to old age!*” See Whitman, *A Brighter Later Life*, 147 (emphasis added). For context here surrounding visiting, see also 147, 148. For context of billboard and of quotation, specifically the beginning of paragraph, see also 147. Here, this included language of “Active Retirement.” See billboard as quoted in Whitman, 147. At the very least this thus was connected to the “active” framework, even if figures appearing in the scene do not fit within the analysis pertaining to effort and exertion, above. And, of particular importance for my purposes here, this provides qualification pertaining to the analysis above—that aging, as suggested by the description of “elderly” and also “white-hair,” apparently was present to some extent. See again 147. Meanwhile, for context of evolving expert thinking about aging, see, for example, Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 69-72. Here, for instance, he writes of “the idea that aging constituted but one more stage in the developmental processes of life,” thus perhaps helping to contextualize the appearance of the female figure discussed in the above text. See Dr. Edward L. Bortz, cite in Calhoun, 70-71 (quotation 71). Such evidence from Sun City thus might be seen as a sort of cultural counterpart to the tension surrounding aging in the form of various facilities—something I discuss in the pages below.

accommodate a wheelchair.”⁵⁵⁵ And yet, while demand thus might have existed for wheelchairs, for example, they do not appear—in general, if at all—in the Sun City promoted by DEVCO.⁵⁵⁶ Overall, not only did this brand of retirement not sync, for instance, with the experiences of at least some residents from the standpoint of aging *over time*, the implications of such visions of retirement were such that—as studies of cases elsewhere have suggested—other prospective residents might not have moved to developments of this kind due to what perhaps amounted to a sort of exclusionary marketing and discriminatory sales practices.⁵⁵⁷

555 Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 160.

556 While such a trend—of something that did *not* appear or exist—is not necessarily so easily expressed in a note, this observation holds true to the best of my knowledge from having reviewed advertising from 1959 to 1965 in the collection of scrapbooks of advertisements. Furthermore, it might be added to these specific points that, more generally, residents depicted in Webb materials did not—or at least tended not—to bear any obvious or outward signs or suggestions of limited physical ability. And, to be sure, see previously cited material from Ekerdt and Clark’s study that might help frame evidence—or evidence omitted—from Sun City. See again “unmentioned contingencies of old age,” for example, in Ekerdt and Clark, “Selling Retirement in Financial Planning Advertisements,” 65. Additionally, if by “selective” the authors were referring to a trend of visual privileging, then this might help frame that involving visual exclusivity in Sun City as well. Finally, in terms of the idea I gesture towards at the beginning of this paragraph, the point here is that acknowledgment might have been viable from DEVCO’s perspective *until passing particular thresholds in which degrees amounted to qualitative differences*—such as the possible difference between, for example, graying hair and wheelchairs. The former thus might have provided psychological, or others hooks for catching prospective homebuyers—the author in *A Brighter Later Life*, above, expresses a favorable view of such apparent depictions—while the latter might have represented a tipping point of sorts, at which such homebuyers might no longer have identified with the images of the development.

557 On aging over time, for Findlay on this basic idea, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 198, 208-209. On aging over time in Sun City, Arizona, see also other discussion in Trillin—discussion that appears in the same section of the article as that of “sickness and death,” above. Here, he wrote: “Since so many Sun City residents moved in more or less at once—and at about the same age—the average age of the whole population is increasing, and the community is gradually facing more problems of the less active aged.” For quotation and preceding context, see Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 159. And here, he goes on to cite facilities, their origins, to which I return to below. For “sickness and death” again, as well as section, see also 159-162 (quotation 160). In terms of idea elsewhere, for one scholar who observed “Fun City,” the fictitious name given to a certain California retirement community he reported on in his 1970s study, see Jerry Jacobs, *Fun City: An Ethnographic Study of a Retirement Community* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), 28, 32-33, first cited, or at least also cited, in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170. For Katie Otis’s excellent discussion of aging in retirement developments, see Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 113, 113-14, 115. And for tension in relation to what perhaps was retirement housing more broadly, see also 70. And for additional discussion of findings dealing with changes over time, see Streib, “The Life Course of Activities and Retirement Communities,” 250-51, 252, 256, 260, 261, 262. For other factors refuting the celebratory culture of retirement in Sun City, see Jacobs, 31, 33; Trillin, “A Reporter at

Different levels of the built environment engaged aging in similar ways—and also in ways allowing for both aversion and accommodation, even if the method and politics of distracting from it won out.⁵⁵⁸ At the level of housing itself, Findlay writes in his account that “residences were adapted to the preferences of the aged.”⁵⁵⁹ Perhaps suggesting how space, for example, better synced with the downsized household, Mrs. Huggins’s female counterpart says at one point, “It’s just perfect for the two of us.”⁵⁶⁰

Large,” 147-48. Trillin also wrote, for example: “Some obviously do nothing—behaving no differently from the way they would behave in a town that did not have an Active New Way of Life, but, on the whole, satisfied with what they consider decent weather and a pretty good bargain in housing” (147). And as FitzGerald wrote of Sun City Center, Florida: “So strongly do Sun Citians insist on their activities that after a while the visitor must begin to imagine that there is some unspoken second term of people who are not active at all. And, of course, such people exist.” For quotation and discussion, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 227. Additionally, recent scholarship discusses the flawed aspects more generally of ideas involving aging. For interesting and important discussions, see, for example, McHugh, “The ‘Ageless Self?’” 113; McHugh, “Three Faces of Ageism,” 166, 178-81; McHugh and Larson-Keagy, “These White Walls,” 253; Katz, “Busy Bodies,” 135-36, 143-44, 144-46, 147, 148; Katz, “Growing Older Without Aging?” 195. For discussion of both “activity and autonomy” in Haber and Gratton’s study, also see Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 182-183 (quotation 183).

On practices and implications, one scholar studying retirement developments in New Jersey in the 1970s suggested of the privileging of ideas, perhaps the same as or similar to Webb: “Health or income entrance requirements are rarely acknowledged in these communities, although the rhetoric of the retirement home industry emphasizes the ‘active life’—an image that may tacitly discourage the disabled elderly.” See Katherine McMillan Heintz, *Retirement Communities: For Adults Only* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, 1976), 8, study first, or also, cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170. And, whether cause or effect, developer Bob Schmertz stated to *American Builder*: “‘We don’t have the people in wheelchairs come to us,’ says Leisure Village builder Robert J. Schmertz. ‘The people who move to a retirement community are adventuresome.’” See “This Man Has \$18,000 Cash, and He’s Looking for a Place to Live—Sell Him Something,” 51. And, in terms of sales, “The common practice today,” the California study reported of events following earlier, and ultimately failed, efforts to screen for “medical undesirables,” “is for salesmen to discourage prospects with apparent chronic illnesses and advanced form of senility by persuading them that the community is simply not geared to meeting their needs.” Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 45, 46 (quotation), 71. Here, this might provide evidence of a sort of aging-based “real estate steering” in retirement-housing markets. On such practices involving race in postwar housing, see Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 257 (quotation); Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 219.

558 In discussing different levels of the built environment of Sun City, from housing to amenities, I follow a similar spatially defined trajectory as in my Chapter 2—where I cite useful models there.

559 Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 201. As his discussion here continues, he addresses points on which I elaborate on below and in the following paragraph. However, a scholarly assessment from the 1980s suggested that for the most part the built environment at hand did not fully address or allow for aging: Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 23, 25.

560 DEVCO, *The Beginning* (quotation). For Findlay on sizes here, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 201. For Trillin—drawing on Webb—relaying household size, see Webb data on this and other points as discussed in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 130, 133. Perhaps illustrating the “independence” theme as it played out in relation to Sun City, Del E. Webb himself was quoted as stating: “Retirees need not suffer a loss of identity or a loss of independence from a large home, bigger than they need, to a small home

And as the husband later tells Mr. Huggins, “The houses, like everything else in Sun City, were designed exclusively for guys like you and me, to suit the needs of folks who’ve retired. The rooms of every house are all on one floor, and the entire home is designed for easy upkeep and minimum maintenance.”⁵⁶¹ Here again, such evidence does not appear to have raised or confronted different issues and the concerns underlying them, at least explicitly, such as that of stairs and the threats they posed for aging occupants.⁵⁶²

Paralleling the prescriptions of housing experts and others in the homebuilding industry, evidence demonstrates DEVCO’s accommodation of aging—in the process, of addressing aging by *not* addressing aging.⁵⁶³ ““The light switches are down to the wheelchair level, and the lavatories are high—too high for a family with kids—and the electrical outlets are higher than usual, sure,’ Breen had told me,” Trillin noted in recounting a home tour with the DEVCO employee. ““But we don’t merchandise it; we feel that would be a poor treatment of this market, a little bit offensive.””⁵⁶⁴ And if trends

designed specifically for their individual requirements.” Del E. Webb quoted in Public Relations Department, Del E. Webb Corporation, “The Town that Changed America’s Viewpoint on Retirement: Sun City, Arizona,” news release, January, 1969, 6, “Sun City - History 1960-1976” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS.

561 DEVCO, *The Beginning*. For important overview of such points, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 201. For other accounts, also see, for instance, “Built to Older People’s Taste,” *Business Week*, April 15, 1961, 50. And for discussion in relation to the Leisure Worlds, see Brangham, “The Retirement Community,” 19-20.

562 My analysis here is in relation the discussion here in *The Beginning*. See again DEVCO, *The Beginning*. And for these issues and concerns, see again my discussion—the broader context here of postwar decades—in my Chapter 2.

563 First, for industry level example, see—in addition to the example I provide in the note at the end of this paragraph—again my relevant discussion Chapter 2. Second, for analytical frameworks here, see again previously cited work—towards beginning of this section and earlier—of Calhoun and Dodge.

564 For quotation and discussion in which it appears, see Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 150. And, Trillin’s account continues, discussing his already-in-progress tour and perhaps providing additional evidence of another level on which Webb did such bridging: “Parry managed to demonstrate these features without seeming to. He jumped up and down on the seat in the shower as if every shower had a seat, he pointed out the raised electrical outlets with a casual wave, and, after demonstrating from inside the bathroom how to lock the door by pressing the button in the knob, he showed from the outside how to open a locked bathroom door with an icepick or a nail—‘in case somebody locks himself in by mistake.’ We

from a 1960s California study applied to the case of Sun City, Arizona—it reported that “it can be concluded that retirement community housing, by and large, is intended to serve the ‘young aged’ segment (50-70 year age group) as this group requires practically no special design features”—then the built environment, whether involving strategic or outright omission, might have reflected DEVCO’s desired demographic.⁵⁶⁵ After all,

were in the kitchen before I realized that nobody could lock himself in the bathroom by mistake—all he would have to do is turn the doorknob—and that what Parry was really saying was in case somebody has a heart attack in the bathroom by mistake.” See Trillin, 148, 150-51 (quotation). Although not apparently discussing in this context, of Trillin and of my usage of Trillin, for Sturgeon also on Parry and various “items,” including the above, with the exception of the “locked” issue: Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 120. Here, among the sources cited is that of Trillin: Trillin, “Wake Up and Live,” cited in Sturgeon, 120. Note: I have opted to cite Trillin’s account by a different title. Meanwhile, for identification of Parry here, Les Parry, see, for example, Sturgeon, 119-120. For Trillin on Parry here, see Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 148. And, although the actual hardware DEVCO used in terms of the bathroom door, for instance, might not have involved what Trillin suggested was really the underlying concern, nonetheless some material did address this issue. As the Kira study stated: “All entrance doors should be master-keyed so that in emergencies the elderly can either be warned or given assistance. It is also important to omit and to prohibit the use of dead bolts, chains or any other devices which cannot be operated from both sides.” And, the DFPA’s *Builder’s Guide* stated, presumably in reference to the above: “Many experts are against bolts, chains or other devices that make it impossible to operate the door from both sides. In apartments, entry doors should be master-keyed.” See, in order, Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 48; DFPA, *Builder’s Guide*, sec. II, 9. And, for Findlay providing an overview of such points, see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 201. And developed with a partner by former NAHB president Nels Severin, Palm City, California—which John Meeker later described as a “copy cat”—did incorporate some relevant steps up-front. “But we’re soft-pedaling this angle in our selling,” *American Builder* quoted him in 1961. “Most of our buyers do not need these facilities and we don’t want to give the impression that the community is for the aged and infirm.” See, in order of quotations here, Meeker, interview, 5; Nels Severin quoted in “Nels Severin Sells Way of Life: Active Retirement,” *American Builder* [83?] (June 1961): 86, listed in [NAHB?], *Housing for Our Senior Citizens: A List of Selected Referenced with an Appendix on Nursing Homes*, 13. On Palm City, also see “It’s 50 Plus at Palm City” in “The Retirement Market,” 55; “Built to Older People’s Taste,” 50. As additional evidence, *Business Week* reported: “ON the much touted appeal of special safety features, opinion is split. Some Florida builders say flatly their customers don’t want to advertise their decrepitude. Others include them—but soft-pedal them in making their sales pitch.” See again “Retirement City—Haven or Ghetto?” 130.

⁵⁶⁵ For California study here, see again Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 34, study—again—first cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 165; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 1. In terms of the context of discussion here, this was the answer to the “paradoxical question” of “If the large majority of developers are building ‘completely planned communities’ which are not planned for the special needs of the aged, who are they building for?” See again Barker, 34. And for the evidence behind this, and to which the quotation in the text—in its full form—refers, though again I have omitted, see again Barker, 33, including table 6, “Percentage of Developers Checking Conceptual Features.” To be sure, it offered definitional clarification here on how recreational-type amenities and what seems to have been a new and improved retirement home were treated: “It must be pointed out that special design in terms of *leisure facilities* is included in the idea of a ‘completely planned community’ and is not included in ‘special design for elderly,’ which was taken more on the basis of the *individual unit*” (34, all emphasis added). For discussion earlier in study useful as well, see also following. For definition of “Young aged,” see 14. And for discussion of “special design features,” see 14-15 (quotation 14). For later mention of idea in Barker,

coverage of the unveiling of what would become Sun City spoke, in part, of “senior citizens who, though retired or semi-retired, still are comparatively young” and of “the active retiree rather than the infirm who might be dependent upon others” as well.⁵⁶⁶

Zooming out, Sun City further reflected a distancing from—but, ultimately, simultaneous inclusion of—resources for aging-related changes, real and imagined. As Melanie Sturgeon explains in her study of Sun City, Arizona, “Although they recognized the need for some medical facilities within the community, in the early days of Sun City

also see again 42. Finally, for evidence here similar to above, in text, see also see that of “one developer” quoted in Barker, 33-34 (quotation 33). But, in terms of the main point addressed in this note, Findlay and FitzGerald offer frameworks, useful here in terms of the privileging of some over others. For mention of “emphasis on recreation and activity, as opposed to nursing homes and life-care facilities,” see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 197. And as FitzGerald puts it, also painting a broader picture: “Like builders of retirement villages all over the country, they built recreation facilities, not clinics and nursing homes.” See FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 240. And as period evidence, although dealing with a different level of the built environment here, the piece from *American Builder* continued: “Instead, greater emphasis is placed on the spacious recreation and activity hall.” See again “Nels Severin Sells a Way of Life,” 86. On Palm City, also see “It’s 50 Plus at Palm City” in “The Retirement Market,” 55; “Built to Older People’s Taste,” 50.

566 First, John Findlay writes that “the town’s emphasis on recreation and activity, as opposed to nursing homes and life-care facilities, initially attracted the ‘young elderly’ rather than the very old.” Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 197. Second, for evidence from Webb, above, see the following. For first quotation, defining this market in terms of age, of relative youth, see “Webb officials” as cited in “Retirement Town Planning in Brief,” 2. At least one resident would promote this point as well: “These are *young* old people.” Unnamed resident quoted in Whitman, *A Brighter Later Life*, 153. For second quotation, seemingly dealing with the issue of the capacity for retirement of the Sun City variety, see “Webb builders” as cited in “Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders,” 2. For additional evidence perhaps illustrating this elsewhere, see “This Man Has \$18,000 Cash, and He’s Looking for a Place to Live—Sell Him Something,” 51; “They Think Holiday City is a Blast,” in “This Man Has \$18,000 Cash, and He’s Looking for a Place to Live—Sell Him Something,” 55. And as an official associated with the Leisure Worlds stated: “We have found that people in this age bracket to not like being around sick people. We’re selling active people.” Brangham, “The Retirement Community,” 20. For parallels with work of Katie Otis, see also her discussion in Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 115, 115-16. As additional evidence perhaps suggesting how the “active” in this vein was tied to age—or, more specifically, health—the developers of a California retirement community, according to *American Builder* in 1961, for example, “decided that there’s a big ‘active retirement’ market waiting to be tapped. It’s comprised of people over fifty, in good health, who want to keep occupied, both physically and mentally.” See Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 96-97 (quotation 96). And perhaps also illustrating such a relationship, in speaking of “vigorous,” the homebuilding consultant in *Buildings* in 1969 explained this relationship in outlining the marketing strategy of targeting a younger demographic. “This man isn’t old,” he wrote of the early retiree. “He is vigorous, active and has many interests.” Becker, “All-Adult Market Grows Strong,” 66. On health more generally, see Randall, “Changing Needs of Older People,” 208; WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 7; Gertman and Orbach, “Health Services in the Retirement Village,” 83. On health and age, see also Gertman and Orbach, 84.

DEVCO did not want cemeteries, mortuaries or hospitals to remind potential buyers they were mortal.”⁵⁶⁷ This relationship thus was one of opposition and aversion, to be sure,

567 For quotation here, see again Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 101-2. For additional discussion and evidence of such a dynamic here, see that—including Breen discussed and quoted—in Sturgeon, 102. Here, this “clinic” presumably is, or is included in, the “medical facilities” to which she is referring in the quotation in the text, given that “some” existed and that this specific resource also existed: Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 101-102 (first quotation), 102 (second quotation). What Breen was speaking of in his referencing “a ten-unit medical center” might have been this as well. See again Breen quoted in Sturgeon, 102. For “clinic,” see, for example, again Sturgeon, 102 (quotation); Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary*, 147; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 10, n.p. (photo in “1960” section). For additional evidence in this section on opposition, see “DEVCO official” as quoted and/or cited in Sturgeon, 102. And as additional evidence here of DEVCO’s apparent consciousness, see discussion involving “Active, active, active” on part of Boswell. See Boswell discussed and quoted, in part, in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 102. Sturgeon’s quotation and discussion of Boswell utilizes the already-cited 1987 SCAHS panel: SCAHS, 1987 event. It is not necessarily clear to what or to which Sturgeon is referring in her writing of “these medical facilities”—if, for example, it is a reference to Breen speaking of “medical facilities” in the block quotation preceding the paragraph in which this appear or the “clinic” discussed prior to that, which might be the same as or even included underneath Breen’s “facilities” here. See again discussion and Breen quoted in Sturgeon, 102. It also could be or could include what became the hospital given the earlier mentions of the hospital in context of others and also the appearance of this discussion and quoting of Boswell in the particular paragraph on the hospital in Sturgeon. And here, furthermore, another possibility that opposition existed in relation to the hospital, in part or in whole, in Sturgeon’s account here might be this: The position Boswell eventually took, in which—as Sturgeon puts it—“he *became* very supportive” and within the apparently casual context in which this occurred, might have involved a change—a shift—in position necessarily, which thus could have departed from a negative one, whether in relation to any other resources and/or what became the hospital or what otherwise involved something along these lines. See again, in order, mention of hospital in broader context and discussion of the rise of the hospital, including description of Boswell’s eventual position, in Sturgeon, 101-102, 102-103 (quotation 103). For Boswell making same or similar point or points elsewhere, see also Boswell interview, 10. Also viewed was a summarized transcript with first- and third-person voices, identified as “Updated: 1/8/2008,” of Boswell interview in SCAHS, “Oral History Project,” bk. 1, SCAHS. Here, Boswell writes, specifically, that “Dr. Horton, who was around here for years, very much a close friend of Del Webb, kept wanting to get the medical side into the studies of the aged and I was the one, who I think was probably adamant than anyone else that you have got to go active, active, active, and do not give the image that you have a geriatric center. Because if you do you will attract the geriatrics from the world over and will destroy what I think is a very unique active way of retirement.” See again Boswell interview, 10. This “Dr. Horton” here might be the following. On Horton, see Kenneth McCracken, “Sun City Hospital Has Rochester Links,” *Rochester (MN) Post-Bulletin*, Friday, July 10 [1970?], Mayo Historical Suite, Mayo Foundation, Rochester, Minnesota, courtesy of W. Bruce Fye. Another copy is located at the SCAHS and dated on typing on copy of as July 15, 1970: McCracken, in “Boswell Hospital 1970-78” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. On Horton, also see Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 43. With or without Horton, evidence suggests that several sources from the 1960s in fact mention different things along these lines. Webb’s 1961 report, for instance, recounted that “work is underway for the establishment of a medical research institute for the study of geriatrics.” See Del E. Webb Corporation, *1961 Annual Report to Stockholders* (Phoenix, Arizona, 1962), 5. For similar mentions, see “Man on the Cover,” 49; Del E. Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City Industrial District: An Integral Part of Nationally Famous Sun City, Arizona, in the Valley of the Sun* (Phoenix, Arizona: Del E. Webb Corporation, n.d. [1961 or 1962?]), copy in Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 2, app. 19; Dick Taylor, “Here’s Tale of Two Sun Cities,” *Phoenix Gazette*, June 15, 1964, article—with corresponding newspaper and date, although not identified by title—first cited in Findlay, 181. For specific citation in note, see 350n71. And for dating of Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City Industrial District*, I explain my treatment here in the following chapter when citing evidence from then document.

but also of allowance—at least in terms, here, of type rather than at the level of specific resources themselves.⁵⁶⁸ Nor did such apparent aversion last forever, as Sturgeon further explains in her study in relation to a hospital, which Sun City did have in place by 1970: DEVCO came to take a different position, with Webb and Jim Boswell—Boswell had teamed up with Webb going forward, as part of the relationship formalized in 1959—contributing in their own respective ways.⁵⁶⁹ Offering a rationale for such a facility, an

No less important, for other work on DEVCO and anxieties involving aging, specifically in relation to a cemetery in one instance in Arizona, see case discussed in FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 244. And for Freedman, perhaps from FitzGerald, too, here, see also Freedman, *Prime Time*, 60-61, esp. 61. Meanwhile, for other accounts dealing with different resources, see the following. For Findlay on privileging, see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 197. FitzGerald, who—in the same paragraph as quoted earlier—writes, of Florida: “The developers who built Sun City made no provision for sickness or incapacity.” FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 240. Neither Findlay nor FitzGerald appear to explain intent here as explicitly and as directly as Sturgeon does in the material cited above—or as FitzGerald herself more so does in discussing the case of the Arizona cemetery, above. Another useful account writes of “the active adult community”: “These communities emphasized the active lifestyle to distance themselves from the institutional image of nursing homes and the over-65 definition of senior congregate housing.” Ball, *Livable Communities for Aging Populations*, 136. Finally, as additional evidence on when Melanie Sturgeon asked Meeker about the origins of “active retirement,” his response in part explained: “You at the time they called retirement and they still do, they will call it a retirement village when it is a building for long term care. An intermediate care type facility where people that are elderly, that can’t drive anymore and they want to have their meals there.” Meeker, interview, 15. And again, here he credits Garland. Whether the preoccupation with such associations had to do with the rationale contributing to the rise of Youngtown, with concerns about physical aging that would require nursing facilities, or a combination of the two, it nonetheless appears to have factored into Webb’s efforts surrounding Sun City. If the reference to “a special community for older people” paralleled such facilities, then the evidence from *American Builder* in 1968 on Holiday City might illustrate this as well: “They Think Holiday City is a Blast” in “This Man Has \$18,000 Cash, and He’s Looking for a Place to Live—Sell Him Something,” 55. Also perhaps relevant here, too, on shift in language of old age, see also FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 206.

568 As I note in the introductory paragraph of this section, Sturgeon’s emphasis in the preceding quotation—cited in the previous note—appears to be on opposition more so than accommodation, although she does address this. For my purposes, in building towards discussion of amenities, specifically amenities for aging, in light of my broader focus on such resources in this chapter, I seek to explore the latter as much—if not more—than the former. And, to be clear, about the relationship of my work to that of Sturgeon, I seek to examine this dynamic at an *internal* level of such facilities, and elsewhere where which such tensions existed, rather than between those she cites.

569 On opposition to hospital specifically, see mention in quotation, Sturgeon, 101-102. Here, see also discussion in Sturgeon, 102. And whether or not involving opposition to the hospital specifically, see again previously cited paragraph on the rise of the hospital in Sturgeon, which includes discussing and quoting Boswell: Sturgeon, 102-103. For various overviews dealing with the rise of the hospital, see, for example, Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 102-103; Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities*, 78 [?]; C.C. Loudon and Luella Leisy, “History of the Walter O. Boswell Memorial Hospital,” *Arizona Medicine* 33 (December 1976): 1053-1055, courtesy of W. Bruce Fye; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 148, 150, 151; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 85; Meeker, “Overview,” 6. And for another source, offering a useful outline of events, see also Meeker, *A Look Back, 1959-1981*, 34, 36, 42-43, 52, 57. For 1970 specifically, see, for example, Meeker, *A Look Back, 1959-1981*, 57; Jacque Pappas, “Boswell Hospital Filled Big Void:

Sick Were Transported to Glendale,” *News-Sun*, January 12, 1990, “BOSWELL HOSPITAL 1980-2000” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS; Freeman and Sanberg, 153; Loudon and Leisy, 1055; Meeker, “Overview,” 6. For apparent opposition of DEVCO, see Sturgeon, 101-102, 102. And for opposition of Boswell, see 102. In terms of DEVCO’s role here, see the following. Sturgeon explains that it ultimately originated from below, writing that “it was Sun City residents who agitated for the hospital.” See Sturgeon, 102. For other accounts on parties involved and their roles, and some or all of which might offer a different perspective from Sturgeon, see Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities*, 78 [?]; Loudon and Leisy, “History of the Walter O. Boswell Memorial Hospital,” 1053; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 148; Meeker, “Overview,” 6; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 34. For an account that does not appear to factor in community members or interests, see also Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 85. For document to which Loudon and Leisy might be referring in having written of “opinion survey,” see T.P. Kohl, Del E. Webb Development Co., “Dear Sun City Resident,” n.d., and untitled accompanying document, “BOSWELL HOSPITAL 1965 - 1969” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. For Loudon and Leisy again, see Loudon and Leisy, 1053. For mention of “opinion survey” elsewhere, also perhaps referring to the above, see Pappas. Whether or not referring to this, another account also writes of “a poll”: Freeman and Sanberg, 148. Sturgeon also mentions something along these lines, whether or not it was backed by DEVCO, see also Chapman as discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 101. I return to this source later as well. On Webb and residents going forward, see Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 36; Loudon and Leisy, “History of the Walter O. Boswell Memorial Hospital,” 1053; Pappas, “Boswell Hospital Filled Big Void”; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 148, 150; also Meeker, interview, 7. On apparently pivotal role of Boswell, as well as his contribution or the contribution for which he arranged, see Sturgeon, 102-103; Freeman and Sanberg, 150; Meeker, interview, 7-8; Boswell, interview, 11-12; Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities*, 78 [?]; Loudon and Leisy, “History of the Walter O. Boswell Memorial Hospital,” 1053; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 42-43; Meeker, “Overview,” 6, 24; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 85; Pappas, “Boswell Hospital Filled Big Void. And for contributions by Webb, see, for example, Sturgeon, 103; Freeman and Sanberg, 150; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 85; Loudon and Leisy, 1053-1054; Meeker, *A Look Back, 1959-1981*, 43. And for Meeker also on community, too, see also Meeker, interview, 26. Webb also proposed contributions pre-Boswell, too, whatever the specific arrangement or context. The DEVCO letter above stated: “If a good percentage of Sun Citians are in favor of a general hospital, and if they offer support through contributions, we are prepared to aid in the facility’s development in the following ways: Land has already been set aside by the Webb firm. We would commit to build the hospital at cost, without overhead. We have begun preliminary studies of design and construction criteria, applying experience gained through construction of six full-service hospitals in other locations.” See Kohl, “Dear Sun City Resident.” For accounts elsewhere on overlapping or other contributions, also see, for example, Meeker, *A Look Back, 1959-1961*, 34, 36, esp. 34; Meeker, “Overview,” 6; Meeker, interview, 7. For another account with details perhaps along these lines, whether or not citing Webb specifically as directly contributing, see also Loudon and Leisy, 1053. Finally, on Webb and Boswell, see the following. Especially useful in grasping the different functions carried out as part of relationship are Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 76; Meeker, *A Look Back, 1959-1981*, 1. Another account explains: “The land was perfect for the project, and Webb convinced Boswell to give it to him in return for a minority interest in the new development.” Freedman, *Prime Time*, 36. For other accounts on teaming up and specifics, also see Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 83, 83-84; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 22; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 2; Boswell, interview, 4, 7, 13-14; Arax and Wartzman, *The King of California*, 304-5, esp. 304. The account by Freeman and Sanberg, for example, writes: “A new corporation was formed, the Del E. Webb Development Company (DEVCO).” Freeman and Sanberg, 22. Here, also see Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 83. However, see again my discussion and citing of Meeker in a previous note on origins of DEVCO. Regardless, for identification of Boswell in terms of Boswell and Webb, and in terms of ownership making up and governance of DEVCO, see, for example, Del E. Webb Development Co., *158 Garden Apartments: An Outstanding Investment Opportunity* (Sun City, Arizona: [1974?]), 14, SCAHS. For mention in document

account of events beginning in the mid-1960s later would address a disconnect: “At that time, it was necessary for any resident with a major health problem to travel to a medical clinic or hospital in Phoenix. Since there was no ambulance service in Sun City, the time

perhaps providing date, by year, see 4. Boswell and Webb appear under apparent heading of “DEL E. WEBB DEVELOPMENT CO.” (14).

In terms of the relationship between Sturgeon’s and other accounts and my own here, there are two points here necessary to point out. First, whether qualifying or adding to other accounts in different ways, evidence suggests that a hospital—related or not to what became the hospital in Sun City—already was on Webb’s development radar, having broached the topic with an Urban Land Institute (ULI) panel in 1961. For question by Webb and position given by panel, see ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 36-37. And for conversation involving hospital, or potential hospital, in the document, see also mentions by—in order—J.H. Bacheller, J.W. York, and Angus G. Wynne, Jr., in ULI, 60. The heading of this section, too, is “HOSPITALS AND NURSING HOMES.” And this section, or sub-section, appears in the document as portion “DISCUSSION OF THE PANEL’S REPORT.” See ULI, 40-68 (quotation 40). Also, for positions or other information of individuals here and elsewhere, see—in order—“THE SPONSOR OF THE STUDY” and “THE MEMBERS OF THE PANEL” in ULI, 6, 7-8.

In fact, a timeline of the rise of the hospital traced its origins to 1959, when the following occurred: “Idea of hospital for Sun City began with master plan.” See “Boswell Memorial Hospital History,” *Sun Citizen*, November 4, 1970, “Boswell Hospital 1970-78” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. And whatever this exact facility or project exactly was, as yet another account, Trillin wrote in his account, published in 1964, that “during my visit the Webb company, which seems very much aware of the problem, completed negotiations with a group of doctors who are planning to build a private hospital in Sun City to supplement the hospitals now available in Glendale and Phoenix.” For quotation, as well as the context—including the context to which he presumably is referring here within this quotation—in which this appears, see Trillin, “Wake Up and Live,” 159. And for Sturgeon here, see again Sturgeon, 102.

One way of linking these accounts might be that, while *on* DEVCO’s radar, the community could have been the trigger to act on DEVCO’s part—the developer’s apparent reticence perhaps due to DEVCO’s concerns or other ones. DEVCO’s not acting in the interim, between 1959 and the mid- or mid-to-late 1960s, could have been connected to, for example, matters of viability—that a certain critical mass might have been needed, suggested by discussion of “increasing,” or that it involved cost, in light of the arrangement of funding, which might have been related to the former from the standpoint of an economy of scale. On “increasing” discussion, see Kohl, “Dear Sun City Resident”; Freeman and Sanberg, 148; Loudon and Leisy, 1053 (quotation); Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 85; Pappas, “Boswell Hospital Filled Big Void.” For other evidence, potentially relevant here if dealing with viability, from another standpoint, see also Oscar Friske, interview by Melanie Sturgeon, March 7, 1996, C224, partial transcription by author of cassette tape, and also “Synopsis” in description first consulted in SCAHS, “Oral History Project,” bk. 2, SCAHS. And, on cost—from standpoint of arrangement—see, for instance, Sturgeon, 103; Kohl, “Dear Sun City Resident.” For “matching,” see Meeker, “Overview,” 6; Meeker, *A Look Back, 1959-1981*, 42; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 85. And on thinking here, see Boswell, interview, 12. For “community responsibility,” the context of which I return, see also Kohl, “Dear Sun City Resident.” Second, DEVCO’s position towards such a facility in Sturgeon’s “early days” might also fit within the framework I attempt to use in this section—that the developer was not seeking to draw attention and, at the same time, was the very least on its development radar. And while accounts show—to varying degrees—the origination or impetus for the hospital from below, in part or in whole, DEVCO did respond at some point in the 1960s—and, in terms of why not acting earlier, one possible explanation might have dealt with viability, above. As I return to in a note later, *why* the developer did so is another matter. In the end, the cases below might better illustrate this overall dynamic.

consumed in transporting the victim of a heart attack or stroke to an intensive care facility was, at best, dangerous and sometimes fatal.”⁵⁷⁰

Sun City also had a cemetery, by 1963, a case that more particularly reflects this dynamic at play.⁵⁷¹ At least as early as 1961, the developer entertained building one, if it did not plan to do so, evidenced by having asked a panel of the Urban Land Institute

570 For quotation here, see Loudon and Leisy, “History of the Walter O. Boswell Memorial Hospital,” 1053. For other accounts on this or other disconnects, and thus demand, see William Chapman as discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 101; Chapman as discussed and cited in Pappas, “Boswell Hospital Filled Big Void”; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 47, 148. For those mentioning Glendale specifically, rather than Phoenix, see Sturgeon, 101; Freeman and Sanberg, 148. For both, see Chapman, quoted in Pappas, “Boswell Hospital Filled Big Void”; Freeman and Sanberg, 47. For other mentions of Glendale, though not or not necessarily within broader disconnect here, see Edgar Deissler, interview by Melanie Sturgeon, October 10, 1991, C211, partial transcription by author of cassette tape, and description first consulted in SCAHS, “Oral History Project,” bk. 2, SCAHS; Friske, interview. Meeker discusses a disconnect as well, whether in relation to Sun City or the hospital or not: Meeker, interview, 8. There was, however, a small such facility in Youngtown by 1965: Sturgeon, 101; Deissler, interview; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 34. For similar evidence from elsewhere, in “Fun City,” see Jacobs, *Fun City*, 33. Although not necessarily identical to the case of Sun City, there is seemingly similar evidence of same or similar thinking in terms of *Youngtown*, as Elmer Johns also wrote in 1959: “The site must be near a large community offering facilities that will be required by the senior citizens such as good doctors, hospitals etc. Most people at the retirement age do not want to live too far from medical facilities.” See Johns to Giraldo, 5. For additional discussion in this document, though not discussing facilities for “medical” functions specifically, see also 2. And, for broader trend and context, if not also in relation to other facilities that I discuss later, see those discussed in my Chapter 2. To be clear, Sturgeon’s account—which I utilize above in discussing DEVCO’s shift in approach—discusses the above evidence from Chapman on this disconnect, although the relationship to this part of her discussion to the rise of the hospital in relation to DEVCO is another matter—one I return to later.

Meanwhile, that this was particular to aging is suggested by the preceding sentence of the quotation in the text. Here, this account seems to address not only the quantity but also the quality of such a community: “It became more and more obvious that it was time to consider the feasibility of building a hospital to care for the many health needs of the rapidly increasing number of residents of retirement age.” See again Loudon and Leisy, 1053. In terms of other accounts, Sturgeon writes of “aging residents”: Chapman, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 101. Another account referred to “the many health needs of retirees.” See Pappas. Finally, two other accounts might offer additional evidence. Chapman himself says that “older people require a lot better services than younger people” in discussing the hospital. See William A. Chapman, interview by Melanie Sturgeon, September 13, 1991, C204, transcript, 14, SCAHS-OHP, bk. 1, SCAHS. And here, he also goes on to make a point presumably about demographics by citing Maryvale—another community I address in the following chapter. See again Chapman, interview, 18. Additionally, see again “at the retirement age” in Johns to Giraldo, 5.

571 On rise of cemetery, Sunland Memorial Park, see, for example, Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 19, 27, 29. On cemetery, though not named, see also Meeker, interview, 23. Sturgeon does cite and discussion opposition to but does not address—like the hospital—that DEVCO did, in fact, include, or otherwise essentially allow for, one. See again Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 102. And for more specific evidence, see “DEVCO official” cited in Sturgeon, 102. Additionally, I note later how DEVCO included—but not directly—related facilities here as well.

(ULI) that Webb consulted that year about “size and location.”⁵⁷² “The cemetery designated on the Master Plan as being in the section of Marinette Ranch south of Sun City as now built should be relocated because of possible adverse effect on the sale of retirement homes,” the panel stated.⁵⁷³ Jacobson, for example, agreed with the panel, as he would say, “I think it is safe to say that any kind of cemetery will have a bad effect on

For another account, that of FitzGerald, discussing a cemetery but not seemingly addressing that of Sunland Memorial Park, or what became this, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 244. And for Freedman, again perhaps drawing on FitzGerald, see again Freedman, *Prime Time*, 61.

⁵⁷² For quotation here, see ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 35. The specific question, as it appears in document here, was: “What size and location should a cemetery be?” See again ULI, 35. Note: This, and any other material from this section of the document, appear in that titled “THE PANEL’S FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS” in ULI, 15-39 (quotation 15). And for elsewhere, see also that in “THE SPONSOR’S QUESTIONS” elsewhere: ULI, 69 (quotation), 70. This appears in the document’s “APPENDIX A.” For ULI event and background, see discussion in the following chapter.

⁵⁷³ For quotation, see ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 13. For point about “adverse effect” elsewhere, see this context of the full prescription here, which as the document elsewhere stated: “It is suggested that the cemetery be relocated on the highway, preferably in the northwest section of the Santa Fe Ranch property, in a location that is more or less isolated so that it is not adjacent to any new residential area, because of its possible adverse effect on the sale of homes to retired people.” See ULI, 20. On this idea, as well as apparent mention in context, see also statements of Angus Wynne, Jr., and J.W. York, appearing in context of conversation with Ashton, see Wynne, Jr., and York in ULI, 40. For prescription involving “the Santa Fe Ranch” elsewhere, see also ULI, 35. However, it does not appear that Webb took the specific advice calling for “the Santa Fe Ranch property,” as details in a Meeker account suggests: Meeker, *A Look Back, 1959-1981*, 19. Here, Meeker writes of this as “located north of Grand Avenue on 107th Avenue,” but which—according to the “Location Map” in the ULI document—would have put this within the Marinette Ranch. See, in order here, Meeker, 19; “Location Map” in ULI, n.p. [“Frontispiece?”], 9 (quotation here). Meanwhile, for broader context of idea, see trend of “developers” discussed in FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 244.

Finally, in case of Sun City, Arizona, that this involved concern about proximity is suggested by language of “more or less isolated,” for example, in the quotation above in this note: ULI, 20. More specifically, this involved—suggested by the above statement and by material elsewhere in the document—the Santa Fe Ranch. See relevant material, including statement of one expert, John P. Mathews, in this document. See, for example, ULI, 20, 41 (Mathews). For other evidence perhaps relevant here—both addressing this ranch and also making point reflecting anxiety—see conversation between Ashton, Wynne, Jr., York, and Ashton again in ULI, 40. For a mention of elsewhere, see ULI, 35. For a visual perspective of this, see “LOCATION MAP,” in ULI, n.p. [“Frontispiece?”], 9 (quotation here). And although Webb did not seize upon the Santa Fe Ranch, in relation to the panel’s advice, Meeker also wrote—continuing from his quotation earlier in this note: “107th Avenue was a dirt road at that time.” See again Meeker, 19. Elsewhere, he also speaks of “Del Webb Boulevard, which was a dirt road, north of Grand Avenue.” See Meeker interview, 23. The ostensible undeveloped nature of this part of the Marinette Ranch thus could have—but not necessarily—suggested an attempt to maintain a safe distance. To be clear, additional evidence would be needed to more fully establish such a hypothesis. This thus might parallel my discussion in Chapter 2 about concerns involving space and aging—and that might mark a difference with DEVCO’s discussion of various amenities as “right up the street.” For “right up the street,” see again that quoted in “The philosophy of Retirement” in DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Active Living for America’s Senior Citizens*, n.p..

anything we do in Sun City.”⁵⁷⁴ Perhaps evidence of the serving both of what Meeker elsewhere would describe as “need” and of anxieties at hand, Ashton suggested earlier in the conversation here—in response to Dallas developer Angus Wynne, Jr.—a strategy of triangulation of sorts, in which—as he put it—“we could maintain a majority interest but we could get some professional cemetery person to front for us and keep the thing under wraps.”⁵⁷⁵ A cemetery, it seemed, was bad for business—if linked overtly to Webb.

574 For quotation, see comments of Jacobson in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 41. And for Ashton, who seems to be responding affirmatively to one expert, earlier in the dialogue, see also Ashton and J.W. York in ULI, 40. And immediately preceding J.W. York here is Angus Wynne, Jr., who speaks of “an adverse influence” here as well. See Wynne in ULI, 40. However, whether, Ashton is agreeing with this principle *only* here—rather than on this *and also* the specific prescription—or not is not entirely clear. His statement here suggests agreement on this point, but the preceding conversation does address specifics to “location,” and at a later point, Ashton himself clarifies that “I fully agree with the area you selected.” First, for context of conversation of Ashton first statement quoted here, see that involving Ashton, Wynne, York, and Ashton again in ULI, 40. And for qualifier point here about geography, see again Ashton statements in ULI, 40 (first quotation), 41 (second quotation).

575 For quotation from Ashton, see Ashton in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 40. And for context here, see also York in ULI, 40. For quotation from Meeker, an account to which I return below as well, see Meeker interview, 23. On shift in approach, Meeker explains, in relation to initial question from the interviewer, Sturgeon: “It was a money making venture yet it provided a good service when Webb had it.” See question from Sturgeon and answer—quotation—from Meeker in Meeker, 23. For Sturgeon on approach as having “changed,” see Sturgeon in Meeker, 23. And that this involved a financial motive might be suggested further, for example, by Jacobson’s reference to “an investment” at one point. See Jacobson in ULI, 41. And this did not necessarily mean—if at all—that concerns on DEVCO’s part faded, as Meeker’s account suggests as he continues. See again Meeker, 23.

Here, however, evidence suggests that DEVCO might not have followed Ashton’s strategy, at least entirely; while DEVCO did have an ownership role—it was the sole owner, a document from at least as early as 1973 suggests—it was linked publicly and also served as both “Owner and Operator,” according to the same document. First, newspaper coverage linked Webb with a cemetery representative—in citing and writing of “Richard Dodson, Sunland general manager for the *Del E. Webb Development Co.*,” useful assuming that DEVCO knew of and approved this public linkage. See “Sunland Memorial Park to Open Early ’63,” *News-Sun*, November 29, 1962 (emphasis added). For Webb and Dodson appearing in coverage elsewhere, though Dodson though not identified—at least as explicitly as above—as linked to Webb, the coverage itself nonetheless offering a foothold date for locating the article above, see also “Memorial Park Planned Near Sun City,” *Sun Citizen*, December 12, 1962,” in “CEMETERY – SUNDLAND MEMORIAL PARK” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. And for Dodson elsewhere, see Meeker, *A Look Back, 1959-1981*, 27. Finally, in terms of Webb as both, see the document mentioned above here in note, where the following appears: “Sunland Memorial Park, Inc., a wholly-owned subsidiary of Del E. Webb Development Co. - Owner and Operator.” See [Del Webb Corporation or Del E. Webb Corporation?], “Sunland Memorial Park,” in “CEMETERY – SUNDLAND MEMORIAL PARK” folder, SCAHS. The title here appears under what might be the heading “SUN CITY, ARIZONA.” And here, I have attempt to date based on a reference to 1973 within the document. The same document also apparently dates DEVCO’s ownership to 1964, though—if significant here—Meeker provides dates of events surrounding its early history as 1962 and 1963. For Meeker, see Meeker, *A Look Back*, 19, 27. And in terms of management role, the coverage of Dodson in November 1962 might suggest that DEVCO involved in this role—if not also as ownership—all along. See again “Sunland Memorial Park to Open

Preoccupation with aging extended to elsewhere. “We have many pending things to work out with church groups for developing life-care homes and nursing homes,” Tom Breen explained at one point in response to a question from one member of the ULI panel. “The only reason we haven’t gotten into it to date is that we have their presence initially would prohibit sales.” Stepping into the conversation here, Joe Ashton elaborated, “There is a complete absence of permanent care or any reference to geriatrics in the Sun City you see today. This is an active way of life. It is punched all the way through our promotion.”⁵⁷⁶ In a later conversation and after Jacobson further voiced his belief about incompatibility, stating, “I don’t think that a nursing home is conducive to the active new way of life that we advertise for Sun City,” Raleigh, North Carolina, developer J.W. York suggested an approach with a dynamic perhaps similar to that aired with regards to the cemetery—one of effectively externalizing the supply function via a third party, regardless of the or any actual engagement on Webb’s part here, while maintaining a safe distance of sorts at the same time: “Let somebody else initiate them. We don’t want you to sponsor them.”⁵⁷⁷

Early ’63.” It did, however, go third-party on other, related services—whether reflective of the Ashton-discussed approach or not. See Meeker, *A Look Back, 1959-1981*, 29. Whether Webb’s role or roles changed over time or not, DEVCO also would advertise the cemetery, as I discuss below.

576 Useful in understanding Webb’s position here, Ashton continued: “We have deliberately held off on this second phase until we get the first one established. But we are negotiating with some of the church groups to take over the management of a permanent care home.” And: “Though a decision has not been made, a nursing home is definitely in our program.” See statements of Breen and Ashton in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 88. On background of this section, “APPENDIX B,” in which this conversation and that involving other issues appears, see ULI, 72. This, again, is in “APPENDIX B.” The contribution of another DEVCO participant elsewhere in the document also reflected this tension—as well as, based on the mention of “hospitals” in the following, providing evidence perhaps relevant to earlier discussion: “Some of us feel that we are going to need at least a nursing home at Sun City in the near future. And therefore I wonder if putting nursing homes or hospitals in the commercial area of Marinette Ranch along the highway isn’t going to have the same psychological effect as putting a cemetery in the area?” See statement of Bacheller in ULI, 60. For additional evidence of such idea, see also example quoted/cited in note below. And on history of such facilities in Sun City, see following paragraph.

577 For quotations, in order, see statements of L.C. Jacobson and J.W. York in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 61. And York himself reaffirmed the thinking voiced earlier by Breen and Ashton, and prior to Jacobson here: He stated, for example: “Right or wrong, we do not want to see anything in the present Sun

What ultimately was Sun City's first such facility might have followed a path along these lines—or one, at least, in which another, non-Webb party took the lead—in addressing demand.⁵⁷⁸ “While we were organizing the church in 1960, we realized that there had to be a provision made for those who some day would need a place like a nursing home in Sun City,” the local religious leader who spearheaded the effort, remembered.⁵⁷⁹ And, while Webb did not undertake such projects itself, it did—whether

City that is even the least bit suggestive of poor health, or anything like that, because you have a good thing going and we think you should keep it going as long as you can.” See statement of York in ULI, 61. For additional evidence, see just below in conversation York in ULI, 61. And for Breen and Ashton again, see their statements in ULI, 88. In terms of the overall tension here, it does not appear to be clear in York's statement in the quotation here the exact extent, if any, of Webb's role in such efforts according to York or even as more directly involved as suggested by Ashton in case of the cemetery—of whether any such simultaneous inclusion was to be promoted deliberately by the developer, or if Webb simply was *not* to have any role, the allowance for nursing-type accommodations thus more the result of defaulting the position. York might have been assuming that Webb would assist with this given Webb's own mention of then-current engagement. For example, see statement of Ashton—in its respective context, of course, in ULI, 88. And at the very least here, this might have been allowance by way of not opposing, or opposing outright, as York did mention such a facility as included by the panel—according to York. See York in ULI, 60. Additionally, earlier conversation—statements by Breen and Ashton—might reflect this tension as well, at the very least in entertaining a facility in this vein. However, the issue of timing here that they each address in their statements—whether the same exact issue or not—might amount more to opposition. See again Breen and Ashton in ULI, 88.

578 On Sun Valley Lodge and basic historical background of, see, for example, Sturgeon, “‘It's a Paradise Town,’” 130; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 160; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 30, 34; also Thelma Heatwole, “Retirement Project Opened,” *Arizona Republic*, October 24, 1965, in “SUN VALLEY LODGE” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. Note: Here, Sturgeon does clearly address this “long-term nursing facility,” although she does not discuss it within the framework of her work earlier, which I utilize in my work. For her earlier work, see again Sturgeon, 101-102. Below, I cite these and other accounts in terms of the particular trajectory of its rise. And, in terms of Sun Valley Lodge as the first, I discuss and cite another facility developed later below in this chapter.

Also, for the rise of such a resource, among others, in the case of the Florida Sun City development, see those that FitzGerald does go on—in her previously cited discussion—to address: FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 240-241.

579 First, for quotation, see Walter Witt quoted in Jacque Pappas, “Pastor Opened Health Care” *Daily News-Sun*, January 12, 1990, in “SUN VALLEY LODGE” folder, SCAHS. Second, for accounts on rise of what ultimately was Sun Valley Lodge, featuring Witt, see again Sturgeon, “‘It's a Paradise Town,’” 130; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 160; Witt also quoted in Pappas; discussion in Pappas; Julia Jones, “Sun Cities' 1st Retirement Home Celebrates 25 Years,” *Arizona Republic-Phoenix Gazette*, September 21, 1990, “SUN VALLEY LODGE” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. For Witt and hospital here, see again, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, 160; Pappas. On position of Witt, see also Sturgeon, “‘It's a Paradise Town,’” 128; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 160. On Witt's other efforts, see Sturgeon, 128; Freeman and Sanberg, 47. And, elsewhere, he was quoted similarly: “You could look around and see that the area was fine then, but at the same time most of those people were already retired, and you could see that some day soon, they would need some other kind of accommodations.” See Witt quoted in Jones, “Sun Cities' 1st Retirement Home Celebrates 25 Years.” For another account on rationale,

or not illustrating the evolution of efforts mentioned by Breen, the taking of the advice of J.W. York, or both—work with third parties in different ways, selling or leasing them land on which they established facilities and otherwise served aging residents.⁵⁸⁰

see Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 160. And for others, of change as happening, see Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 130; Trillin, “Wake Up and Live,” 159. As Trillin writes: “Since so many Sun City residents moved in more or less at once—and at about the same age—the average age of the whole population is increasing, and the community is gradually facing more problems of the less active aged” (159). For FitzGerald on context in Florida, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 240. Such issues already had surfaced in Youngtown, meanwhile: “We are approaching the appalling age of 80 years when we must also give consideration to the more serious side of life, necessitating such need as adequate medical facilities, transportation services, merchandising shops, etc.” a resident was quoted in the local newspaper in 1959. “We were led to believe from the advertising matter and brochures we received that all these facilities would be found here. However, to date none of these promises have materialized, and... we regret that it becomes necessary for our best interests to leave.” Quoted in Sturgeon, 63 Witt elsewhere clarified the identity of the project prior to its 1965 opening in the following way: “It is not a nursing home. Neither is it a rest home. It is a retirement home with health care facilities available.” See Witt quoted in “Sun Valley Lodge Appoints Austin; Sept. 1 Opening Set,” *News-Sun*, July 1, 1965, “SUN VALLEY LODGE” folder. For additional example here, see also Witt as cited in Jones. The accommodations offered in the facility did, in fact, offer nursing service: Thelma Heatwole, “Retirement Project Opened,” *Arizona Republic*, October 24, 1965, “SUN VALLEY LODGE” folder; *Sun Valley Lodge: A Retirement Housing and Health Care Center*, brochure (n.d.), “SUN VALLEY LODGE” folder. For earlier coverage, however, though the focus of the project might have changed, for example, “Questions, Answers Given on Proposed Nursing Home,” *News-Sun*, December 21, 1961.

580 For Webb working with the organization backing Sun Valley Lodge, see Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 160; “Drive Underway to Establish Sun City Nursing, Rest Home,” *News-Sun*, December 7, 1961; “Nursing Home Corp. to Organize Friday,” *News-Sun*, January 25, 1962; “Progress Made on \$750,000 Sun City Nursing Home Plans,” *News-Sun*, April 19, 1962; “Nursing Facility Obtains Site Opposite Post Office,” *News-Sun*, July 19, 1962; “New Nursing Facility Now Incorporated,” *News-Sun*, August 2, 1962; “Thelma Heatwole, ‘Del Webb Company Gives Option on Sun Valley Lodge Apartments,’” *Arizona Republic*, December 1, 1962, “SUN VALLEY LODGE” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS; “Nursing Home Takes Option on 20 Acres,” *News-Sun*, November 8, 1962; “Sun Valley Lodge Progress Reported,” *News-Sun*, October 3, 1963; “Groundbreaking for Vast Sun Valley Lodge Project Set for Tuesday,” *News-Sun*, April 2, 1964; “Construction Work to Begin Soon on Sun Valley Lodge,” *News-Sun*, November 26, 1964. Webb did make a practice of what Meeker recalled as: “We sold them the site cheap enough so they had build money to build their churches. Instead of letting the accountants say oh you are going to make money building these. Yeah, but the churches sell houses and we used it as a sale tool, same with the golf courses.” Meeker, interview, 11-12. For different version of practices, see Boswell, interview, 11.

For Webb working, in the 1970s, with a California-based organization active in the for-profit nursing-home market after efforts by Webb to address, see, for example, Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 53, 73, 84, 94, 98, 106; Boswell, interview, 11; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 161; Hunt et al., *Retirement Communities*, 79; “Beverly Manor Due for 1977 Completion,” *News-Sun* [?], July 12, 1977. More specifically, according to Meeker: “DEVCO agreed to subordinate land lease so Beverly Enterprises could get financing.” See Meeker, 94. A similar arrangement was made in 1978 as well. Elsewhere, Meeker spoke of offering “a very attractive land deal” to one company, although he does not state if this was Beverly Enterprises or another group: Meeker, interview, 13. On history and rise of Beverly within the industry, see Thomas Moore, “Way Out Front in Nursing Homes,” *Fortune*, June 13, 1983, 142, 144.

Amenities for Aging

DEVCO's efforts in Sun City in the 1960s might have amounted, in certain ways, to a strategic obscuring of aging. But such facilities in Sun City were more than something the developer sought to manage or even for which it simultaneously *allowed*. In her discussion of the rise of the hospital in the community, Sturgeon explains that it essentially was an *amenity* of sorts, citing a source who—as she writes—“claimed that once the plans for a hospital were announced, more retirees began to move to Sun City.”⁵⁸¹ For its part, and despite any opposition or ambivalence at different points in

Additionally, in the 1980s a “life care retirement center” on land DEVCO sold, see Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 161 (quotation); Steve Yozwiak, “Long-Term Health-Care Complex to be Built in Sun City,” *Arizona Republic*, May 20, 1981, “CARE/RETIREMENT CENTERS” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS; Steve Yozwiak, “Care-Complex Financing Awaits OK on Study,” *Arizona Republic*, June 2, 1982, “CARE/RETIREMENT CENTERS” folder; Meeker, interview, 13; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 115; Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities*, 83. Similarly, DEVCO was involved with a Sun City organization loaning medical equipment to residents in the retirement community: Meeker, interview, 14; Meeker, “Overview,” 8; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 21, 34, 72; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 144-45; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 129; Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities*, 79.

Finally, it is worth noting that DEVCO's position here might have been a function of other factors. Although neither Boswell nor Meeker identify specific dates in their accounts of DEVCO's yielding the establishment of these types of facilities to third parties, they suggest various reasons: Boswell suggested that this was tangential to Webb's endeavors; Meeker seems to have explained what was a concern about a potential financial issue otherwise shouldered by Webb; and, after all, Breen and Ashton statements as part of the initial meeting with the ULI group suggest that they were considering utilizing third parties *aside* from the related image issues. See Boswell, interview, 11; Meeker, interview, 13; Breen and Ashton in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 88. Another Webb participant mentioned something involving “church affiliation,” suggesting another possible factor. See Wesley G. Mohr in ULI, 61. Nor was DEVCO—by the time they actually made and contributed to such arrangements—necessarily *not* address aging. Like the cemetery and maybe also the hospital, DEVCO did come to embrace—and thus presumably at the same time check its opposition—such resources more openly. This, as I discuss below, could even take the form of *advertising*.

581 Here, see Sturgeon's excellent and highly useful work here involving William Chapman, in particular: Chapman discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 101. Specifically, Sturgeon utilizes evidence from Chapman, whom she interviewed for the SCAHS: Chapman, interview, cited in Sturgeon, 101. She explores this in relation to discussion of a broader trend, of the later growth of Sun City. See again Sturgeon, 101. And for other point, see also Sturgeon 103. Here, on p. 101, she also cites, for example, an interview she conducted with DEVCO's Jerry Svendsen—perhaps for purposes of the hospital, given the content of her interview with him that I used directly. See Svendsen cited in Sturgeon, 101. And for Svendsen directly, see Svendsen, interview; Svendsen, interview description, 2. This perhaps was the

time, Webb called attention to and incorporated not only the hospital but other Sun City resources into its advertising.⁵⁸²

main, overriding point of her discussion of the hospital, within the broader apparent context she discusses that I cite earlier. In other words, it appears that the discussion I cite earlier dealing with the rise of the hospital, and again its apparent context, thus is connected to her discussion and point here; the order of discussion in Sturgeon in context of the order of discussion suggests that the point about the hospital-as-amenity is her main point, with this appearing first and then that involving the rise and history of the hospital serving as backstory. For hospital as amenity, see again discussion in—including Chapman, for example, cited in—Sturgeon, 101. And for rise of hospital, and again the apparent context of opposition, see again Sturgeon, 101-102, 102, 102-103. Perhaps reaffirming this is a Meeker account, where he includes “Walter O. Boswell Hospital and medical offices” among “successes that were beneficial to the growth of Sun City” that he lists: Meeker, “Overview,” 28. On the other key factor in the growth of Sun City, which I return to in Chapter 6, see Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 101, 103-4. And, on apparent rationale here, as Sturgeon suggests drawing on Chapman, see Chapman discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 101.

Meanwhile, as other sources discuss, another benefit involved the practicalities of developing the next major wave of Sun City, “Phase II.” First, for quotation here and on rise of “Phase II” and background of, see also Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 186; Sturgeon, 101. Next, for role of here, see Boswell, interview, 12; Boswell comments during question-and-answer session of 1987 SCAHS event; Boswell’s comments from SCAHS event, cassette tape labeled “C-104 Sun Cities Area Historical Soc. Fall Meeting, November 8, 1989,” partially transcribed by author, SCAHS. For description of, which I perhaps viewed first and which also is identified differently as “C-101,” see description with corresponding date in “Index to Misc Audio Tapes,” binder, SCAHS. Continuing, see also an account from Meeker, which stated: “The Boswell Foundation came up with its \$1.2 million offer in 1967 of a matching fund donation for a state-of-the-art hospital, and DEVCO had its anchor to cross Grand Avenue and the existing railroad tracks.” See Meeker, “Overview,” 6. For events in narrative of Loudon and Leisy, see also Loudon and Leisy, “History of the Walter O. Boswell Memorial Hospital,” 1053-54. Possibly relating to or even shaping DEVCO’s handling of the move across the highway and railroad tracks was a suggestion of J.W. York on the ULI panel spoke of “a chance to build an attractive entrance job into this northern part of the Marinette property.” See York statement in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 60. On rise of “Phase II,” see Findlay writes on the role of the hospital, related or not to the point here: “The construction of Boswell Memorial Hospital, a five-story building, gave Sun City its sole high-rise, a focal point that stood out from the otherwise flat terrain and one-story homes.” For quotation and context of discussion here, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 203.

582 My work in the balance of this chapter expands upon that of Sturgeon here in two general ways. First, Sturgeon does not appear to address Webb’s role or agency in relation to the apparent demand on the part of Sun City residents or prospective residents that she does appear to address—if Webb, for its part, understood and sought to capitalize on the significance of the hospital in light of such demand. In other words, why Webb embraced the hospital does not appear to be addressed or explained. For Sturgeon here, see again Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 101. And, to be sure in terms of demand, see again Sturgeon on “aging residents,” in which she cites Chapman: Chapman cited in Sturgeon, 101. The particular research itself discussed by Chapman is not further identified here, although a previously cited DEVCO document includes a “questionnaire.” See, in order, Sturgeon, 101 (first quotation); Kohl, “Dear Sun City Resident” (second quotation) and accompanying untitled “questionnaire” document. And, even if it was DEVCO who “announced,” in the quotation in the text, Sturgeon’s account does not explain if this was deliberate, in terms of any strategic motivation, let alone the rationale of engaging here—of how and why if deliberate. See again Sturgeon, in citing Chapman, in Sturgeon, 101. While evidence from prior to 1968 shows that this was on Webb’s radar, whatever the underlying rationale, evidence from its advertising efforts—explored below suggests its place as an amenity. For Webb and earlier discussion, see again, for

Perhaps not surprising in light of what was an acknowledgement of Tom Breen of “medical facilities” in the retirement community, coverage of Webb in 1959 indicated that “medical facilities” would be present in the new development, and the advertising that ran in the *Arizona Republic* on New Year’s Day, 1960, listed “medical offices” with other amenities.⁵⁸³ Nor necessarily surprising either, “Sun City has a major hospital, the Walter O. Boswell Memorial Hospital,” Webb material read, along with a color photograph. “Its design and equipment are the finest. It offers 24-hour emergency

example, “Boswell Memorial Hospital History”; ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 36-37; Trillin, “Wake Up and Live,” 159. And although not dated, see also the letter from DEVCO’s Kohl stated: “Very frankly, the Webb firm believes Sun City is growing at a rate that makes such a facility a very definite necessity in the near future.” See Kohl, “Dear Sun City Resident.” Note: I return to this in the following chapter in discussing the development process of the community. Second, “announced” was not necessarily the same as *advertised*. Efforts explored below were an extension, a matter of greater degrees, if not a fundamentally different action based on intent. Another account, however, does appear to account for Webb’s engagement and, even more, treats engagement as deliberate and as strategic, writing that “DEVCO saw that an excellent medical facility would also be an important selling point.” For quotation and context, see Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 85. Yet even here, my work at the very least seeks to expand upon this—and also Sturgeon’s account—by looking at actual efforts and the medium through which such an agenda was carried out.

583 First, for Breen, he stated, more fully: “While other retirement communities or projects may emphasize complete medical care and security, we continue to spotlight ‘activity.’ This doesn’t mean we don’t have medical facilities at Sun City – we have, in fact, a 10-unit medical center.” See again Breen quoted in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 102. For this evidence viewed directly in the course of my research, see also Breen quoted in Hernandez, “Sun City Recounts 3 Years’ Progress.” Although this quotation, and actually a slightly broader one, appears in Sturgeon’s account, the citation appears incorrect and/or incomplete: Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 102, 113n76. On “clinic,” as well as first physician Webb recruited, see Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 102 (quotation); Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary*, 47, 147-48; Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 159; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 10, n.p. (photo in “1960” section). On physician Robert Stump, also see “Dr. Stump to Open Office in Med Center Next Week,” *News-Sun* [?], September 16, 1960. Next, for second and third quotations, and their respective sources, see the following. For second quotation, see, for example, “Webb Maps 1,000-Home Retirement Town,” *Arizona Republic*, September 4, 1959. And for third, see DEVCO, “Presenting Del Webb’ Sun City,” 5, 9. For a similar example from 1960s, of the “Medical and Dental Building,” see DEVCO, “Retired Living is Full of Life.” One DEVCO informational booklet explained, “Sun City has its own medical building with a number of specialists as well as general practitioners.” Del E. Webb Development Co., “Answers to Questions Most Frequently Asked about Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona” (1964), n.p., no folder [?], “SUN CITY MARKETING ‘HANDOUTS’” drawer, SCAHS. For examples of later evidence from the 1960s and 1970s, see DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Homes, Duplexes, Garden Apartments & Patio Homes*, n.p.; DEVCO, *Visit the Country Club World of...Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona*, n.p. On later medical facilities, see Meeker, 57, 63, 75, 79, 96, 103.

service, intensive care and all the normal facilities and services in a major hospital.”⁵⁸⁴

And according to a script for another film in the early 1970s, *The Story of Arizona and Sun City* as told by U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater, DEVCO addressed the hospital in this material as well.⁵⁸⁵

Such was the case elsewhere—although coverage across amenities was not equal.⁵⁸⁶ In terms of nursing, or nursing-type, resources, one booklet not only listed Sun Valley

584 Del E. Webb Development Co., *Visit the Country Club World of...Del Webb's Sun City, Arizona* (n.d.), n.p., copy in Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 2, app. 18. Typing on the document dates as 1973. 585 For document here, see Harvey Shahan, [*The Story of Arizona and Sun City*], film script, directed by Shahan ([Phoenix, Arizona?]: Del E. Webb Development Co., [1970?]), “SUN CITY SEQUENCE,” 1, folder 30, box 509, Series V. Administrative, 1953-1986, Personal and Political Papers of Barry M. Goldwater (BGP), Arizona Historical Foundation (AHF). Thank you to Linda Whitaker, then of the Arizona Historical Foundation, who alerted me to and provided me with a copy of this during the reprocessing of the Goldwater Papers. In terms of citation information for document itself, specifically see Shahan, “SUN CITY SEQUENCE,” 3. For title elsewhere, see also James H. Handley, Jr., of Del E. Webb Corporation, to Barry M. Goldwater, May 5, 1970, folder 30, box 509, BGP [?]. This section dated as “rev. 4/20/70”: Shahan, “SUN CITY SEQUENCE,” 1. And for Webb/DEVCO, also see Handley, Jr., to Goldwater. And, in terms of the citation information for the particular location of the document, the specific collection information above (folder, box, etc.) is from the finding aid of the since-reprocessed collection.

Meanwhile, in terms of film script and film themselves, see the following. In terms of the hospital in the film, underneath “Camera Shots,” it states: “Aerial of cotton field to Long shot of hospital, Closeup of hos. sign. Double expose sign on hospital” (1). And underneath “Copy,” it said: “In 1960, where cotton was farmed there now stands the Walter O. Boswell Memorial Hospital and . . .” See again Shahan, “SUN CITY SEQUENCE,” (1). For film and background of, see also Meeker, “Overview,” 18; Meeker, interview, 25. However, apparently incorrect date and no date, respectively: Meeker, “Overview,” 18; Meeker, interview, 25. For Goldwater and film, see Meeker, interview, 25. And for Goldwater’s role as indicated elsewhere, see the following, for example: Handley, Jr., to Goldwater; Harvey Shahan, of Del E. Webb Development Co., to Barry Goldwater, October 9, 1970, folder 30, box 509, BGP [?]. DEVCO apparently utilized Goldwater for the following reason, according to a Webb employee, who wrote: “The major problem facing us now is to find a narrator who would be identifiable with Arizona wherever the film is shown. All of our discussions on this subject lead to the wish that Senator Goldwater would serve as the narrator, and we finally decided that the only way to find out would be to ask.” See Handley, Jr. to Goldwater. And suggesting that this appeared in the film itself, whether addressing in the above or another way, one advertisement for the film described it: “Now available, a new movie providing a guided tour through Sun City. This 16mm color film shows everything about Sun City: homes, apartments, recreation, arts-crafts, golf, the hospital and how residents live in this sun-drenched community.” See “See the Exciting New Color Film. . . ‘The Story of Arizona and Sun City’: Narrated by Senator Barry Goldwater,” n.d., in “National Advertising 1968 - 1975” scrapbook, SCAHS. Stamping or typing identifies date as July 13, 1973.

And one advertisement for yet another film in the 1970s referred to “the medical facilities” as well. First, for this film, see Meeker, “Overview,” 18; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 78. For advertisement itself and the quotation in this note, above, see Del E. Webb Development Co., “Arizona Double Feature,” *Retirement Living*, October 1974, 49, in “National Advertising 1968 - 1975,” SCAHS.

586 For example, Sun Valley Lodge—discussed below—does not appear to have received coverage as full in some of the advertising in the 1970s as that of Boswell hospital and physicians. For examples

Lodge amongst its “Medical Facilities” but also included a color photograph in an array of images depicting the various “Community Facilities” of Sun City.⁵⁸⁷ It also appeared on various maps produced by DEVCO in the 1960s and distributed to visitors, suggesting that even if DEVCO did not build entire advertising campaigns around it, Webb did not

supporting this apparent difference in 1970s advertisements, see DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona*, n.p.; Del E. Webb Development Co., *Galleria ’74: A Collection of 22 Exciting New Model Homes* (n.d. [?]), n.p., in “Model Home Info, Alpha – By Name, Series – 1960-76” binder,” SCAHS; Del E. Webb Development Co., “It’s All Here Now,” n.d., in “1970 - 1973 Newspaper advertising” scrapbook, SCHAS, with handwriting appearing to date as *Arizona Republic-Phoenix Gazette*, January 8, 1973, among other dates; Del E. Webb Development Co., “Visit Del Webb’s Sun City,” brochure (n.d.), n.p., in “VISIT SUN CITY __ Aug. 1976” folder, “SUN CITY MARKETING ‘HANDOUTS’” drawer. Additionally, there were maps that did *not* include Sun Valley Lodge but *did* include Boswell and medical center, thus suggesting a prioritization of some over others. See Del E. Webb Development Co., *Sun City Scenic Tour Map* (Sun City, Arizona, n.d.), in “TOUR MAPS” folder, “SUN CITY MARKETING ‘HANDOUTS’” drawer. As additional evidence, see also Del E. Webb Development Co., *Souvenir Tour Guide* (Sun City, Arizona, n.d. [1972]), in “SOUVENIR TOUR GUIDE” folder, “SUN CITY MARKETING ‘HANDOUTS’” drawer. This was despite what very well could have been strong demand. On demand for Sun Valley Lodge, according to one account: “By 1980 the waiting list so long that the board of directors agreed it wasn’t fair to continue selling memberships.” See Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 160. Advertising of Sun City West, developed in the 1970s, further suggests a privileged sorting of such facilities, including the presence of Boswell hospitals and its physicians, along with the several medical centers in Sun City, over the two Sun City facilities with nursing services. For example, see Del E. Webb Development Co., *Sun City West, Arizona*, ([Sun City West, Arizona?], [1979?]), n.p. and also photograph on outside back cover, in Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 2, app. 18. Then again, one possibility is that DEVCO did not advertise the existence of the facility because of the substantial demand and its implications for one’s chances of actually gaining access.

If a real and significant difference did exist between the DEVCO’s promotion of Boswell hospital and facilities offering nursing services, it might be explained by the following distinction. Although purely speculative and thus merely suggestive in nature—and perhaps something future research in the case of Sun City or facilities in other settings might explore—this perhaps was due to perceptions that nursing-type facilities represented a means of addressing more perhaps permanent, and involved, conditions and thus themselves represented housing perceived as more permanent, while the hospital possibly was linked to isolated incidents or routine requirements involving temporary and/or more easily managed conditions. Shaping my thinking and useful in further developing this point, for example, is John Findlay’s work, which addresses a representation of Sun City at a broader, more macro level. He writes, in relation to changes pertaining to Sun City in the later half of the 1960s: “Advertising that portrayed retirement as a vacation and Sun City as a resort probably proved effective because it did less to remind buyers that they were getting older.” For quotation and context of discussion, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 190. Although he does not explain how he saw this as potentially working, one way in which this linkage might have operated was in a re-directing of the attention of prospective homebuyers elsewhere. Another way, involving the “vacation” theme or both the “vacation” and “resort” themes, might have relied on a temporary/permanent distinction and dichotomy, too.

587 For Sun Valley Lodge specifically, see DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Homes, Duplexes, Garden Apartments & Patio Homes*, n.p. For additional mention of nursing facility, see DEVCO, *Visit the Country Club World of...Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona*, n.p.

erase its presence entirely from the Sun City landscape.⁵⁸⁸ Beverly Manor, listed as “BEVERLY MANOR NURSING HOMES,” also appeared on a map in the late 1970s.⁵⁸⁹ And while the cemetery might not have received the same, more prominent treatment of the hospital and even other facilities, it did appear in at least one advertisement and on one map.⁵⁹⁰

Such amenities, furthermore, represented various *kinds* of amenities, some of which appear to have involved well-being on different fronts.⁵⁹¹ The highlighting of the hospital’s offering of “24-hour emergency service” might have appealed to some prospective homebuyers or homeowners, in light of the geographical landscape.⁵⁹² Nursing care, however, was another issue. “He was the only one who thought we would grow old,” an early resident of Sun City remembered of Witt. “The rest of us were too

588 One listed it among other “Points of Interest” as part of a planned driving portion and parenthetically described it as “Nursing Home”: Del E. Webb Development Co., “Here is Your Tour Guide to Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona,” 1964 [?], “1960-64 Models 1-8” file folder, file cabinet no. 1, drawer “a,” SCAHS. For other example, see Del E. Webb Development Co., “Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Tour Map of Points of Interest,” in “Tour Maps” folder, “SUN CITY MARKETING ‘HANDOUTS’” drawer. For maps including but not identifying as nursing, see Del E. Webb Development Co., “Tour Del Webb’s Sun City,” n.d. [1974?], “SUN CITY Proofs 1973” scrapbook, SCAHS; Del E. Webb Development Co., “Schematic Map of Sun City” (n.d.) in “LOCAL ADVERTISING - 1978” scrapbook, SCAHS. Here, handwriting identifies as “Spring 1978 Baseball Pgm.”

589 DEVCO, “Schematic Map of Sun City.”

590 See DEVCO, “It’s All Here Now”; DEVCO, *Sun City Scenic Tour Map*. For additional evidence, also see DEVCO, “Schematic Map of Sun City.”

591 In the balance of this chapter, I order my discussion and analysis of evidence along the lines of groupings from the dichotomy between “safety” and the “convenient” from my Chapter 2. See discussion there, specifically from the work of George Beauchamp.

592 On geography and disconnect, see again, for example, Loudon and Leisy, “History of the Walter O. Boswell Memorial Hospital,” 1053. Whether or not this point was tied to aging, other material directly addressed aging, with one booklet mentioning a focus on “geriatrics” at the hospital. See DEVCO, *Visit the Country Club World of...Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona*, n.p. (first quotation); DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Homes, Duplexes, Garden Apartments & Patio Homes*, n.p. (second quotation). Another advertisement explained of Boswell hospital, “Its equipment—the latest available—was chosen with particular attention to the medical needs of the retired.” See Del E. Webb Development Co., “Now! Sun City Has a Major Hospital,” *Arizona Republic*, November 8, 1970, in “1970 - 1973 Newspaper advertising,” SCAHS.

busy having too much fun.”⁵⁹³ At least a few, however, did apparently think ahead about future requirements and welcomed the option Sun Valley Lodge represented. One future Sun City resident explained her financial support of the facility in the early 1960s in the following way: “We realize that we may be in need of nursing home care for her one of these days,” she said of her mother-in-law who likely would accompany her and her husband, “and of course we no doubt will need it ourselves sometime, too.”⁵⁹⁴

Evidence suggests that, in another respect, DEVCO approached and advertised amenities in terms of the development’s desirability from the standpoint of the consumer-resident. In text under the heading of “METROPOLIS in miniature” that praised Sun City’s “Big City Convenience and Services,” one booklet stated: “Everything you could want for daily needs in Sun City’s own Shopping Center... a supermarket, druggist, variety store, laundry and dry cleaner, beauty and barber shops, furniture, carpet and appliance stores, television repair shop, bank, gift shop, health food store, a complete

593 Margaret Diggs quoted in Pappas, “Pastor Opened Health Care.” For similar idea discussed in Otis, see also Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 113. Offering a similar framework of sorts here—though not necessarily identical to the evidence on Sun City, Arizona, in the text—Findlay writes in his study: “Purchasers who first looked upon Sun City as a vacation resort perhaps paid little attention to the prospect of getting older, because DEVCO sold the town as a kind of fountain of youth.” Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 198. First, if play and—in Findlay’s words—this “fountain of youth” were not the same thing, then they might have been related from the standpoint of being interdependent—that to have the capacity for play would require a particular, perhaps age-defined physical state and vice-versa, in the context the brand of retirement Sun City represented and entailed. Second, his writing of “a vacation resort” is part of a broader shift in Sun City that he discusses over the course of the 1960s—something I return to in a later chapter—and thus might not necessarily line up with the resident quoted above, who is identified as a “pioneer.” For quotation here, see Pappas. And for Findlay here in the meantime, see, for example, Findlay, 190.

594 Letter by Grace Maddux quoted in “3 Out-of-State Readers Contribute \$100 Each to Proposed Nursing Home,” *News-Sun*, February 1, 1962. For additional evidence, see also case and quotation of James Fitzpatrick in Lue Leisy, “Lue’s Scrapbook” column, *Sun Citizen*, September 30, 1965, “SUN VALLEY LODGE” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. For another account on anticipating demand, see also Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 48. Here, this account provides another specific example. See that of “one gentleman” as quoted in Freeman and Sanberg, 48. For an example elsewhere involving what FitzGerald discussed was a “life-care center,” though seemingly in a different context, see Art Rescorla discussed and cited in FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 240.

nursery and fully-equipped service station. Sun City also has its own Post Office and Dental and *Medical Building*.⁵⁹⁵

And when discussing the Sun City cemetery in an interview years later, John Meeker treated a cemetery as a matter of practicality—thinking that had changed over time in light of concern that ultimately proved to be unfounded, whether or not his experience informed efforts during the ongoing development of the retirement community. “To me, I would put one in without any hesitation today,” Meeker said. “Again because it is part of the cycle,” he said, seemingly referencing his view—and one that the California study in the 1960s seems to have voiced—that “as you get older and you have been to a lot of funerals of your friends you accept death has a part of life and those people had already accepted that but we didn’t.” *“It is needed as much as a shopping us [sic] needed – as much as a church is needed.”*⁵⁹⁶ And if such thinking

595 First, for idea and/or language of “metropolis in miniature” in Findlay, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 178. Second, for quotation in text, see, for example, see Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, 14 (emphasis added).

⁵⁹⁶ For quotation and discussion in which this appears, see Meeker, interview, 23 (emphasis added). In terms of concern as unfounded here, I mean in terms of what appears to be so on what seemingly was such concern as recounted by Meeker on two different levels—from a sales standpoint and in terms of opposition on the part of Meeker and/or Webb behind such concern that apparently were not carried out or otherwise displayed by residents. On concern and what happened, Meeker writes: “I was in my 30’s and I thought that was terrible, because younger people didn’t understand death as older people did. We thought it would be a terrible problem to overcome sales lines [*sic?*] to build homes next to it. Not one problem at all. We put a fence around it and sold those houses. In fact they wanted to live next to the fence” (23). For “too young” elsewhere here, see again Meeker, 23. In fact, DEVCO’s homebuilding activities around the cemetery might have occurred later, in the 1970s, given that it was located in Phase II, which itself was not started until the late 1960s. Evidence seems to confirm this: Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 56. Also, slightly later in the discussion here, he explains: “But today it wouldn’t bother me at all. Matter of fact, I would put one out there and make it a focal point. If one of the mate [*sic?*] passes the other one is still there and they are so they can go see them” (23). For context, in the California study, it stated: “Death is a persistent reality to older people who by the nature of their position in the life cycle are continually losing friends and relatives through death. They must, and do, accept death as a part of their everyday lives.” Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 85. For overall point, also see 84. And yet for limits, or potential limits, see 85. And, for evidence from elsewhere useful here in illuminating this overall trend, see discussion see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 244-45. Here, this includes both “Dr. Gingerly” cited in and “Bess Melvin” quoted in FitzGerald, 244, 245. Finally, in terms of *when* this change in thinking occurred and if it shaped his or DEVCO’s efforts—pertaining to the cemetery as an amenity of

reflected a logic of and approach to the retirement development as a *residential development*, then Sun City might not have been so different from ideas and practices elsewhere shaping mid-century metropolitan America.

Conclusion

Del Webb capitalized on and helped to further propel a new market for retirement housing in the 1960s. In selling homes to aging Americans based on promises of changing retirement as they knew it, Sun City foregrounded the idea of an “active” existence in residents’ and prospective residents’ years after having cycled through stages of life long defined by other identities and interests. In doing so, it unfolded on different levels in the development of the community—from advertising to the built environment of the home and of the amenities available. And while DEVCO tried to keep Sun City’s antithesis—aging—at bay, it also saw and seized opportunities for converting potential detriments into residential supplements, obscuring aging to the extent that it was not readily apparent while in other instances advertising resources whose very functions were to accommodate it. Intentionally or not, DEVCO’s brand of retirement also was very much political.⁵⁹⁷ And ultimately, various amenities shaping the Sun City experience—real or imagined—would, in different ways, serve as sources and sites of debate and negotiation.

sorts—is not necessarily clear from this account here. But whether this understanding took shape, and if it translated into DEVCO’s approach, in the midst of the development of the community or if this point was a product of or became clear after the fact, it offers evidence in relation to another resource from someone who was connected, at the very least at some point in time, to Sun City via DEVCO.

⁵⁹⁷ See again Blechman, *Leisureville*, 129.

Chapter 4 “A Special Suburb”

“In many ways Sun City looks like any other middle-class suburb,” a 1974 piece in the *New York Times* on Webb’s Arizona retirement development began. After offering evidence representative of various apparent hallmarks of such residential landscapes, the article next shifted to striking dissimilarities. “But then a visitor notices some strange things,” it explained, going on to itemize a series of features, several—or all—of which helped to paint a picture of what ultimately might have amounted to retirement distinctiveness: “There is no rush hour. There are no basketball hoops over garage doors. No toppled tricycles in driveways. Many lawns have no grass at all, just green gravel. And the two-car garages contain one car and one golf cart.” And there was a reason for it all, the piece continued: “Sun City is a special suburb, a relatively new breed of community built with one kind of person in mind—the elderly.”⁵⁹⁸

The characterization of Webb’s initial retirement community as a “special suburb” reflects the different, simultaneous strains constituting the built environment of Sun City, Arizona, that DEVCO developed. On one hand, as this chapter shows, Sun City overlapped in important ways with suburbia in the housing and amenities it sold to retired Americans.⁵⁹⁹ On the other hand, while also modifying and swapping out altogether different spaces across the suburban environment, it reached out to retired Americans, and in his study, John Findlay points out that “in contrast to Levittown, Sun

598 Andrew H. Malcolm, “Leisure Suburb for Elderly Thriving at Sun City, Ariz.,” *New York Times*, March 24, 1974.

599 In addition to the different primary and secondary sources I draw upon in this and the following chapter, see the article by Zonn and Zube—useful in terms of specific points on the Sun City-suburb comparison and, overall, in terms of offering a framework raising the suburban comparison: Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 19-25. And for language, if not framework, similar to the above, see also Ball, *Livable Communities for Aging Populations*, 12.

City had from the outset a conscious thematic orientation.”⁶⁰⁰ The community Webb developed in Arizona could fit within frameworks of larger developments—of “new towns” and “new communities”—challenging the *status quo* undertaken in the postwar decades, from the standpoint of a “self-conscious creation of difference,” as Nicholas Bloom puts it.⁶⁰¹ And, in writing of the history of residential development in Phoenix, Philip VanderMeer explains—his discussion here including Sun City—that “other builders began pursuing a more specialized housing market, but one that also required a rethinking of suburban design.”⁶⁰² At the same time, even if Sun City—or similar forms or communities of retirement development—fit within what Bloom calls “a ‘reform suburb’ tradition,” it nonetheless falls, then, within an identifiable framework of development, however distinctive the environment, culture, or politics in the community.⁶⁰³

600 And, to be sure, this revolved around *retirement*, as he continues here: “The developer designed it exclusively for the elderly, a small fraction of the home-buying public, and assured prospective residents that the town would provide them with ‘Active Retirement’ as a new ‘Way-of-Life.’” See Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 160. Later in his case study, Findlay again refers to “a thematically organized landscape,” although the sweep of discussion here seems to deal more with Sun City as defined in relation to *other retirement* housing than *suburbia*. See Findlay, 173. And for full context, see also 172-174. And, below, I turn to Zonn and Zube’s work again in terms of the way in which it seems to acknowledge such suburban subtlety.

601 While I return to language of first quotations—as well as more in-depth discussion, drawing from various studies and accounts, of such developments—later in this chapter, for Bloom’s quotation, see Bloom, *Suburban Alchemy*, 4. If “conventional suburbs,” again in Bloom’s words, were antithetical to Webb’s brand of retirement, then Sun City very well might embody this trend in some ways. For Bloom quotation here, see Bloom, 5. In addition to any relevant discussion and evidence in my Chapter 3, I cite VanderMeer below on the apparent appeal of Sun City.

602 For quotation, along with context of “features” to which he was referring, see VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 210. For point elsewhere, see VanderMeer, 215. And on appeal, here, for example, he writes: “The retirement communities included some of these features but added an involved and involving system of social activities and recreation facilities to foster interaction and social relationships that addressed the specific needs of mobile retirees” (215). For “interests and needs of retirees” earlier, see also 210. And, if involving shortcomings, for discussion also of appeal, of that of “active,” see also 214. And, finally, here is also another apparent factor, of “vital support services,” as well, see again 214. Later in this chapter, I return to VanderMeer’s account here, citing the broader sweep of discussion.

603 Bloom, *Suburban Alchemy*, 283.

Focusing on Sun City from the standpoint of the built environment, this chapter explores the relationship between retirement and suburbia—in terms of the product DEVCO sold, which kinds of housing and amenities were offered, and how such spaces were developed and joined, while considering and incorporating the context of Webb’s broader business agenda. Sun City drew upon broader development ideas and practices. In the process, it did so for and in relation to a particular market, the ideas and efforts that this entailed resulting in a residential environment that was “special” indeed—or, perhaps, that amounted to “a unique suburban landscape,” as a pair of researchers put it in an exploration of the retirement development published in the 1980s.⁶⁰⁴ And yet, while actual or end product itself might have demonstrated the distinctiveness of DEVCO’s brand and particular built environment of retirement, Sun City’s overlap with suburban practices and forms was most evident in the *process* of developing a community for a specific market.⁶⁰⁵

604 Providing a framework for understanding cumulative import, even if context of defining Sun City against retirement housing rather than *suburban* housing, Findlay also writes: “Few of Sun City’s special features were entirely new, but taken together they added up to something altogether different from what had gone before. Sun City provided the elderly with an unprecedented degree of self-sufficiency and segregation by offering them a complete, predictable, and isolated landscape.” Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 173. Next, for Zonn and Zube—whom I quote in the text above—first see, for quotation, Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 20. For their discussion, which seems to emphasize suburban overlap while also accounting for variation, to whatever extent, see Zonn and Zube, 19, 19-20, 25. Perhaps illustrating this dynamic, they write, for example: “The more general features reflect broad-based characteristics of American Culture that necessitate a modern suburban environment, *while* a more detailed examination of the landscape and community reveals a distinct and unique human-environment relation that includes a specific *subset* of this culture.” See Zonn and Zube, 25 (all emphasis added). Note: I return to Zonn and Zube in the following note as well, seeking to explain my particular focus and argument in relation to their important framework. Additionally, my thinking about culture as cumulative and simultaneously absorbing or featuring multiple or different components is in part shaped by work from twentieth-century cultural history. For example, see Cohen, “Encountering Mass Culture,” 99-158; George Sanchez, “Familiar Sounds of Change: Music and the Growth of Mass Culture,” and Andrew Heinze, “From Scarcity to Abundance: The Immigrant as Consumer,” in *Consumer Society in American History*, ed. Glickman, 170-89 and 190-206, respectively.

605 My argument in this chapter follows the lead of Jason Brody’s assessment at one point of the application of the work of Clarence Perry from a broader analytical or theoretical standpoint, which—in my work—takes the shape of Sun City not necessarily as a suburb but as bearing suburban features. For Brody here, see again—previously noted in my Introduction my own dissertation—Brody, “Constructing Knowledge,” 110. Another important framework, and one dealing with Sun City, Arizona, specifically,

Thinking Big

However important the role of retirement in Webb’s vision and efforts, it existed as one ingredient in an overall development recipe it followed in the 1960s. While “retirement” apparently was on L.C. Jacobson’s radar during his touring of Boswell’s acreage in 1959, according to Boswell, Jacobson recalled that “one thing in particular I remember was I mentioned well maybe we could get a farm team from the New York Yankees since Del Webb was half owner.”⁶⁰⁶ By 1961, DEVCO was engaged with retirement via the particular brand of retirement housing it developed and sold but, at the same time, was thinking even bigger. “We are convinced,” Webb’s Joe Ashton explained to a group of experts through the Washington, D.C.-based ULI that Webb had consulted involving what the document that resulted at one point called “the Del E. Webb Corporation’s inventory of land known as Northwest Phoenix Properties,” “that our long-range program should embrace all of the development elements of a complete city,

again is that of the work of Zonn and Zube. Their discussion draws on the work of Peter Muller apparently to identify and locate Sun City in relation to a suburban spectrum, as they write, for example: “Suburbs had been previously defined primarily on the basis of standard variables of race, stage in life cycle, and socio-economic standing, but the newer and more specific enclaves as seen by Muller have elements of lifestyle as additional distinguishing characteristics.” In other words, this thus might have represented an elaboration—if not, as I discuss in my Chapter 5, an amplification or hyper-izing—of suburbia. See discussion in Zonn and Zube, engaging Muller: Peter O. Muller, *Contemporary Suburban America* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1981), 67, 70, as discussed and cited in Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 19; Muller discussed in Zonn and Zube, 20-21, esp. 20, 25; and Zonn and Zube, 19 (quotation), 20-21, 25. Their work can serve as a framework for my own work and argument here in that one level on which I explore *process* involves residential markets within a context of development—perhaps akin to such “lifestyle” if it involved simultaneous, multiple communities representing variations on suburban themes. On “intentional homogeneity created by CID builders” discussed in work of Evan McKenzie, perhaps applicable here, see also McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 57, 191 (quotation). I discuss this idea of *process* in relation to demographics later in this chapter, as well as in my Chapter 5.

606 See Boswell, interview, 3 (first quotation); Jacobson in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 1-2 (second quotation). Jacobson, just before this quotation, mentions “Las Vegas” as well: Jacobson in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 1. Based on the similarity of the events and their sequence as described in each of the above, they might be referring to the same day: Boswell, interview, 3; Jacobson in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 1. Regardless, in other words, retirement development apparently—at least as of the late 1950s—was not the only idea on the table.

including industrial, commercial, normal residential, retirement residential, educational institutions, tourist attractions, resorts, and so on.”⁶⁰⁷ Webb’s activities in the 1960s provide evidence of overarching aims and aspirations, ultimately suggesting that Sun City, Arizona—at least earlier in the decade—represented a form of both retirement development and development *more broadly*.

At one point, for example, DEVCO discussed—and ultimately pursued—an amusement park, having solicited the ULI group’s expert opinion on “a Knott’s Berry Farm western town,” to which the panel responded favorably.⁶⁰⁸ And here, Webb and

607 For quotation that appears within the larger, surrounding one, see ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 4, in “Foreword.” For Ashton quotation, see Ashton, “The Phoenix Area – Factors in Its Present and Prospective Outlook,” 75. Note: I utilize the paragraph which this quotation constitutes—the second-to-last one—and the subsequent, last paragraph of this document, which I quote in full in the last paragraph of this section of this chapter. Both help to frame this section, illustrating two main ideas that I seek to explore here—the latter, as I will explore throughout, providing an underlying *modus operandi* for Webb. See Ashton, 75. For similar evidence—of “every type of development”—in Webb’s land-development strategy more broadly, see Webb Corporation, *First Annual Report*, 9. And for mention of “conventional development” as well, see Jacobson, “The Corporation.” 73. In Arizona, this, more specifically, was spread over four separate ranches, each of which was intended—at the outset of the ULI event—to have its own use: Charles A. Everson, “The Master Plan” in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 81. For his position, see that identified under “THE SPONSOR OF THE STUDY” in ULI, 6. And, for the ULI event, see the following. First, for accounts discussing event and from which my work has departed, see again Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 80; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee, 1960-1985*, 19-20. For accounts from Webb and DEVCO personnel, see Jacobson and Breen, interview, 4-5; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 2-3. On event, including background and details of here, see, for example, see again Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 80; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee, 1960-1985*, 19; Jacobson and Breen, interview, 4-5; “Urban Land Institute Planners Study Webb Company’s Holdings,” *Webb Spinner* 15, no. 4 (April 1961): 15; ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 4, in “Foreword.” However, the chronology provided or otherwise suggested by the other accounts above do not appear to sync with the actual date of the event as indicated in the period accounts—including the document itself—I have utilized in my own work suggests, which actually took place in 1961 rather than in what is indicated—whether directly or whether in the respective contexts of particular discussions—as 1959. For these other accounts and the chronology they use, see again Sturgeon, 79-80, 83, 83-84; Freeman and Sanberg, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25; Meeker, 2-3. Although less explicit, chronologically, but perhaps suggesting as 1959, see Jacobson and Breen, 3-5, 5. And for golf course, for example, here, see Meeker, 4. And, after all, Sturgeon uses this last source, the oral history: Jacobson and Breen, interview, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 80. Finally, see again Brody on practice of by UL and that—in writing of “reports of what were essentially charrettes in which a group of development experts would assemble in a particular city either to evaluate a proposed scheme or to suggest solutions of their own”—presumably applies here, see again Brody, “Constructing Professional Knowledge,” 96. And, as evidence of this, see again ULI on “panel service” in document itself: “Foreword” to ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 5. 608 ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 13, 35-36 (quotation 35). And it pointed to effects seemingly serving Webb’s interests on different levels. “Such an installation offers an opportunity to establish traffic patterns and acceptance of the area,” the report recommended. “It further offers the Corporation a community relationship vehicle in that it benefits the entire Phoenix area” (36). At some point, Webb

the ULI also addressed issues involving “Industry.”⁶⁰⁹ The Webb company might have followed the ULI group’s call, in part, for “an industrial park type development” pursuing the necessary zoning for roughly 700 acres from Maricopa County in May of 1961 and later releasing promotional material for, as the title and subtitle of the document pitched it, *Del Webb’s Sun City Industrial District: An Integral Part of Nationally Famous Sun City, Arizona, in the Valley of the Sun*.⁶¹⁰

explored partnering with entertainer Roy Rogers: “‘Frontierland’ Due Here,” *News-Sun*, February 16, 1961, 1; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 15; “Disneyland-Type Park Is Planned,” [*Phoenix Gazette*], February 17, 1961, “Ariz. – Cities + [?] Towns [-Sun City?],” CF, PPL.

609 For specific issues raised grouped under this, see ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 70 (and quotation). For issues as presented elsewhere, also see 21, 23, 24. For panel’s input here, see 12-13, 16, 19, 21-25. For Webb’s “preliminary Master Plan” as having included land for “industrial uses for the Santa Fe Ranch,” see Wesley Mohr, “Details of Development,” in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 81 (first quotation); Everson, “The Master Plan,” 81 (second quotation). For background, including a visual, of, see ULI, 72; Mohr, 80; untitled map, also in ULI, n.p.. To be clear, this visual is referred to by the preceding two sources here. Later in this section I examine Webb and the ULI group discussing this in relation to *retirement*. Meanwhile, falling within “Industry” (ULI, 70), for example, was “how best to attract industries” raised by Webb and addressed by the ULI group and in discussion. See, for example, ULI, 12-13 (quotation 12), 23-24, 70 (also quotation); conversation of—in alphabetical order—Ashton, Breen, Drachman, Nahas, Maurice G. Read, Wartes, Wynne, Jr., York, and Robert L. Yowell in ULI, 50-53. Other discussion, presumably related here—despite under a different heading—in overlapping with some or all of points cited by group, dealt with General Electric, whose presence in the Phoenix area scholars have discussed. For discussion in ULI document, see, for example, ULI, 12; conversation of Breen and Yowell in ULI, 65; Yowell in ULI, 66. And Yowell, in fact, is identified as “Manager, Real Estate and Construction Operation, General Electric Company,” as well as “President and General Manager, The General Electric Realty Corporation.” See ULI, 7. For historical scholarship, see Shermer, *Sunbelt Capitalism*, 250-55; Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier*, 64. For other companies and broader efforts, see again Shermer’s excellent work as cited in the Introduction of my dissertation.

610 For quotation and ULI position here, first see, for example, ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 13 (quotation), 19, 21, 23. For visual presumably including this, see ULI, n.p., “Map C – Marinette Ranch” [18]. For reference to visual, see 19. For ULI on other, see also, for example, ULI, 13, 22, 22-23. On zoning, see “Webb Seeks Cemetery, Industry, Trailer Zoning,” *News-Sun*, May 4, 1961; “Industry, Cemetery Zoning Okayed,” *News-Sun*, May 25, 1961; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 16. Meeker, however, identifies this as located north of Grand Avenue but seemingly on the other side of Marinette. For document identified and cited in text above, see Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City Industrial District*, copy again in Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” app. 19. Note: again see note later in this chapter where I address and cite relevant sources for the dating of this document. And for location according to this, see visuals of roads in Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City Industrial District*, n.p.. Additionally, there is a slight difference between the size of the land recommended by the ULI as industrial—600 acres—and that actually requested/approved—690 acres. For example, see ULI, 13, 19, 21; “Webb Seeks Cemetery, Industry, Trailer Zoning”; “Industry, Cemetery Zoning Okayed.” And for Meeker and document, above, here, see again Meeker, 16; Webb Corporation, n.p.. For lower, later figure, see also Del E. Webb Corporation, Planning and Research Department, *Sun City, Arizona: General Plan* ([Phoenix, Arizona]: Del E. Webb Corporation, n.d. [1963 or 1964?]), 23, copy in John W. Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 2, app. 19, Sun Cities Area Historical Society (SCAHS), Sun City, Arizona. And note: a reference to “fall of 1963” might suggest produced in late 1963 or 1964. See Webb

Released by the Webb Corporation in perhaps late 1963 or 1964, *Sun City, Arizona: General Plan* laid out a vision that placed Sun City within a larger development, which it described as “ultimately a combined retirement and working population of about 80,000” (Figure 4.1).⁶¹¹ Nor was this limited to Arizona, as materials pertaining to other “Sun City” developments indicate.⁶¹² After all, as Meeker recalled,

Corporation, 3. And here, compared to geography of sources above, this seems to have migrated to the other side as well—like Meeker’s account (23). On history of “Industrial Park” in following years, see also Meeker, 21, 30, 40, 45. For background of what this perhaps represented, see accounts offering historical context and various issues. For example, see O’Mara, *Cities of Knowledge*, 63, 63-65; Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 267; Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 119-120. And for evidence from Webb materials for Webb ideas perhaps illustrating issues discussed in O’Mara and Findlay, see the following. For Webb: Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City Industrial District*, n.p.; Webb Corporation, *Sun City, Arizona: General Plan*, 23. And for the scholarly framework-accounts here, see O’Mara, 63, 65; Findlay, 119, 120. 611 First, Findlay’s account is foundational to my discussion here in terms of retirement development, in the form of Sun City, in relation to other development and thus the contingency involved. And the document I discuss and quote above and cite below in this note presumably is, or at least involves, the moment Findlay discusses in his study. For Findlay here, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 181. Additionally, a more recent, popular historical account describes this as “Plan B,” although—as noted below—details might differ: “Sun City: ‘Plan B’” in Craig Collins, *Reshaping Retirement in America: Sun City, Arizona, 1960-2010* (Tampa, Florida: Faircount Media Group, 2010), 17. For quotation and other evidence in document from which this comes, see Webb Corporation, *Sun City, Arizona: General Plan*, 3 (quotation), 19-23, 24. And for both elsewhere in document, see, for example, that it pictured—as a figure I utilize below illustrates—both “RETIREMENT COMMUNITY” and “WORKING COMMUNITY”: Webb Corporation, 21 [fig. 21, “General Plan for Sun City”]. At least in my copy of the document, this is not labeled as such directly—but what presumably was this appears under “LIST OF FIGURES” towards the beginning of the document for p. 21. For this “LIST,” see Webb Corporation, n.p.. And for “industry” of here, see, for example, discussion of in Webb Corporation, 23. For visual appearance, of “INDUSTRIAL PARK,” see Webb Corporation, 21 [fig. 21].

612 For documents and relevant pages referred to in my text, see the following, at least for the Sun City projects in Florida and California. For Florida, see Del E. Webb Corporation, prepared by Planning and Research Department, *Sun City, Florida: General Plan* ([Phoenix, Arizona]: Del E. Webb Corporation, n.d.), 3, 6, 25-28, copy in Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” app. 20. Although no specific date appears to be provided, it might have been 1963 or 1964—after 1962, before 1965—given the citing of data for 1962 that presumably meant it was *through* that year and also a mention of “is constructing the U.S. Pavillion [*sic?*] at the 1964 New York World’s Fair,” which presumably here had not yet occurred. For example of evidence involving 1962, see Webb Corporation, 9, 10. And as additional evidence here, see mention of “a 1962 total” in one case. See 9. And for quotation involving 1964 and thus suggesting this, or leading up to, see Webb Corporation, 6. Next, for California, see Del E. Webb Corporation, *Sun City, California: General Plan* ([Phoenix, Arizona]: Planning and Research Department, n.d.), 1 (quotation), 3, 29-36, copy in Meeker, app. 21. And for dating here, see the following as possible evidence of what might have been as early as some point in 1962 but before 1965. For 1962, the document at one point, for example, refers to “mid-1962 total” in one case: Webb Corporation, *Sun City, California*, 12. Yet, for possibly late 1962 or after, see discussion mentioning and involving “By the end of 1962” elsewhere. See Webb Corporation, *Sun City, California*, 3 [?]. And for 1964 or earlier, see mention of “will build the United States Pavilion at the 1964 New York World’s Fair.” See Webb Corporation, *Sun City, California*, 3[?]. Additionally, though no date cited, a Meeker account refers to what might have been this: “A master plan was prepared by an in house planning group and showed 5,163 acres retirement, 5,781 conventional housing and 914 acres industrial.” See Meeker, “Overview,” 4. For document cited above as actually

“Response to this new active retirement community concept was far beyond the expectations of management,” he said in reference to its Arizona project. “It was like Webb had unlocked the door to the mint because management immediately began

specifying these figures, thus presumably further confirming that this in fact was the document of which Meeker writes, see those appearing in Webb Corporation, *Sun City, California*, 30, fig. 19, “Future Land Use & Planning Unit Tabulation.”

For DEVCO’s developments here, see the following. On DEVCO’s expansion in the 1960s, see, in particular, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 176, 205. For other useful accounts, see also, for example, Meeker, “Overview,” 3; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 11, 12, 22, 23; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 103. To be clear, although I refer to “Sun City” developments in the text, the above accounts also include another development that paralleled Sun City as—at least according to this source—“a retirement community patterned after Sun City.” For quotation here, see Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 11. And in terms of these accounts, Findlay does not identify this, which was Kern City, others—by name, that of Kern City. For inclusion and name of, see Meeker, “Overview,” 3; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 11. For umbrella mention, while similar to Findlay also more on process of, see that of “land in California and Florida” in Meeker, “Overview,” 2. Next, for additional discussion of, see the following. First, for fate of the others, versus that of Sun City, Arizona, and factor behind discussed in Findlay, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 204-5. For discussion of “Location” elsewhere, in a Meeker account, see Meeker, interview, 15-16, 16 (quotation). And for background and history of—including fates of and apparent factors behind—all of these projects, see the following, which include some or all of the above, as well as additional period accounts for specific projects, see the following. On Kern City, including rise of, see Meeker, “Overview,” 3; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 11-12; “Webb Company Launches 6,000-Acre Development,” *The Webb Spinner* 14, no. 5 (May 1960): 1, 7; “Stockdale Plan Ties in Community with Modern Industrial Park: Development for Retirees Will Be Patterned After Arizona’s Sun City Project,” *The Webb Spinner* 15, no. 4 (April 1961): 4; “Kern City, Newest for Retirees, Opens October 7: California Locale Is at Bakersfield,” *The Webb Spinner* 15, no. 9 (September 1961): 1-2; “Kern City Opening Attracts 55,000,” *The Webb Spinner* 15, no. 10 (October 1961): 1, 8; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 103-104, 137. On Florida, see Meeker, “Overview,” 2, 3, 4; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 12, 17, 22; Meeker, interview, 4, 16; Jacobson and Breen, interview, 19; “Webb Corporation Begins Planning for Development of 12,000 Acres of Newly-Acquired Florida Property,” *The Webb Spinner* 15, no. 4 (April 1961): 4; “Third Webb Retirement City to Open in Florida,” *The Webb Spinner* 12, no. 15 (December 1961): 1, 3; “Opening of Florida’s Sun City Attracts 41,000: Webb Retirement Cities Now Provide Choice of Climate,” *The Webb Spinner* 16, no. 1 (January 1962): 1; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 104, 137. And on Sun City, California, see Meeker, “Overview,” 3, 4; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 12, 17, 23-24; Meeker, interview, 4, 15-16, 16; Jacobson and Breen, interview, 19; “Top Land-Packaging Job Produces Prime California Sun City Site,” *The Webb Spinner* 15, no. 10 (October 1961): 2; “Newly-Acquired 14,000 Acres to Become Site of Del Webb’s Sun City in California,” *The Webb Spinner* 15, no. 10 (October 1961): 1, 3; *The Webb Spinner* 16, no. 1 (January 1962): 3 (bottom caption); “Webb Builders to Open Fourth Retirement Community,” *The Webb Spinner* 16, no. 6 (June 1962): 1-2; “Newest Sun City Proves Sensation in California,” *The Webb Spinner* 16, no. 7 (July 1962): 1; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 104, 137. In terms of fates of, Meeker in one account—cited above—points to “carrying costs” for the other Sun City developments here: Meeker, interview, 16. The Finnerty account points to this, too: Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 137. For challenge facing large developments in general, see discussion of in relation to federal policy in this area in Booz, Allen & Hamilton, Llewelyn-Davies Associates, and New Communities Administration, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *New Communities: Problems and Potentials: Appendix C: An Assessment of the Causes of Current Problems* ([Washington, D.C.: New Communities Administration, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1976), II-3. For a scholarly account of tension of project scope and land and other costs, see Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 18, 19. For discussion of by contemporary account in 1960s, see Frank Lalli, “New Towns: Are They Just Oversized Subdivisions with Oversized Problems?” *House & Home* 29, no. 6 (June 1966): 94-95. Note: I discuss the more specific trend this involved, along with some of the sources, later in my discussion in this section on “new towns” and “new communities.”

thinking of taking the concept nationwide before other developers could pick up on it.”⁶¹³

And reflecting Webb’s perspective more broadly in the early 1960s, Del Webb stated in a message to company stockholders opening Webb’s 1961 corporate report, “The Company’s land holdings provide the base for its future growth and development. We are situated to fully capitalize on the anticipated population explosion in the West, Southwest and Southeast. Our carefully selected inventory of land and our organizational capacity to plan, design, construct, finance, manage and merchandise our products places us in a position to lead the nation in a new growth industry.”⁶¹⁴

⁶¹³ On causal relationship here on expansion, first see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 176. Second, for others accounts, including that of Meeker, quoted in text, see Meeker, “Overview,” 2 (quotation); Meeker, interview, 4; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 103-104. For various figures cited by Meeker in these accounts, see the following. In addition to various sales—or otherwise sales-related—figures cited in both, the latter also cite attendance, presumably as evidence, along with the above, of what he goes on to discuss, quoted in the text: Meeker, “Overview,” 2; Meeker, interview, 4. For Findlay’s account which cites and describes things, in terms of attendance: “Thousands showed up during the first long holiday weekend, creating traffic jams two miles long and the road from Phoenix.” See Findlay, 174. This count might differ from that of the former Meeker one, above, as well those in period newspaper coverage, which colorfully wrote: “And the developers’ three-day opening exceeded expectations by attracting more than 100,000 visitors. This included an estimated 57,000 who yesterday jammed the Phoenix – Wickenburg highway as far as two miles distant from Sun City, and flowed into the community in a steady stream from noon until after dark.” See “237 Sun City Homes Sold,” *Arizona Republic*, January 4, 1960. For similar evidence, see another Meeker account: Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 8. For another, small figure—of “an estimated 25,000 visitors at its official opening yesterday,” according to other coverage, see “25,000 View New Sun City,” *Arizona Republic*, January 2, 1960. And not least, for sales at points in 1960 and/or for 1960 at large—which the latter Meeker account, above, does at the level of 1960—see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 174; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 89; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 30; Meeker, interview, 4; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 79. For statistics elsewhere, for 1960, see also Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 13; “Summary of Earnings” and “Average Sales Price by Year” in Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” bk. 1, app. 7. For newspaper coverage here, see figures as cited in “237 Sun City Homes Sold”; Fuller, “Elder Citizens Communities Fill Gap in Arizona Picture.” And for pre-1960, see again Meeker, “Overview,” 2. For what presumably was pre-1960, see also figures—according to Breen—cited in “Retirement Village to Open Today,” *Arizona Republic*, January 3, 1960. More generally, one DEVCO official and future corporate executive recalled: “That first year our sales were so far ahead of what we thought we were going to do, we just couldn’t believe it.” Owen Childress quoted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 79. For information on roles of Childress, see, for example, Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 4, 37, 82, 83; Meeker, interview, 17; Boswell, interview, 5-6. And for other accounts discussing apparently surprising results, with relevant figures, see also Sturgeon, 88-89; Freeman and Sanberg, 30.

⁶¹⁴ Del E. Webb “To Our Shareholders,” April 27, 1962, in Webb Corporation, *1961 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 2. To be clear, that this presumably is referring to something beyond only retirement-related development is suggested by his mention of involvement in a Houston development. See again Webb, 2. And for relevant discussion later in this document, including retirement, under “HOUSING AND LAND,” see 5-7. And Jacobson in one document stated, in relation to “Housing and Land Development,” for example: “Land development is fast becoming one of the most important facets of our operation.” For

In his study of Sun City, Arizona, John Findlay offers one explanation of development imagined in broader or other terms. “In 1964,” he writes, having laid out a causal context of what soon had become slowing sales, “DEVCO gave serious thoughts to building a conventional community on lands that had been projected as an extension of Sun City.”⁶¹⁵ Evidence also suggests that contingency surrounding retirement—along

quotation and discussion that follows, see Jacobson, “The Corporation,” 73. Here, he continues, citing—for example—specific acreage amounts. For 60,000 figure elsewhere, see that referred to in previous year’s report: Webb Corporation, *First Annual Report*, 9.

615 For quotation and broader discussion here, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 181. Note: I obtained a copy of and viewed for myself the source that Findlay cites here, and I have utilized it in discussing various points in chapters in Part II of my dissertation. For this newspaper account, from the Phoenix Public Library collection I also first saw in Findlay’s work and have drawn upon, as I note elsewhere, see again that identified in note (350n71) as *Phoenix Gazette*, June 15, 1964, cited in Findlay, 181. For rest of citation information from account itself, see again Taylor, “Here’s Tale of Two Sun Cities,” *Phoenix Gazette*, June 15, 1964. For mention of what presumably was this in another account, which dates as leading up to January 1960, see again “Sun City” in Collins, *Reshaping Retirement in America*, 17. Additionally another account perhaps offers similar evidence. “There wasn’t really a great deal of confidence in the early ‘60s,” one recalled in 1984, in relation to his work for another firm at that point in time conducting “a planning study on conventional housing north of Grand Avenue” for Webb, “it would ever be what it is now as a retirement community.” See Tom Ryan quoted in Mike Garrett, “Devco’s Master Planner Has Grown Right Along with Sun Cities Growth,” *Daily News-Sun*, September 19, 1984, account first cited—although no author or title given—in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 171. For citation here, see 348n45. And to be clear, I located and reviewed this piece myself after seeing the citation in Findlay. For sales context, see also Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 23. Findlay also cites California sales, too, though does not appear to link to strategic shift as quoted in text: Findlay, 181. Meanwhile, for sales context in *Arizona* as cited by Findlay, see figures in Findlay, 181. For figures elsewhere, for these and years, see also, for example, “Summary of Earnings”; “Sales Traffic and Vacation Special Sales” in Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” bk. 1, app. 9; “Sun City, Arizona: New Sales” [?] in Meeker, app. 9. And for figures also elsewhere across first half of the 1960s, see Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 13, 18, 25, 28, 31, 35. As additional evidence of trend here, a same or similar series of events appears to have taken place in Webb’s California Sun City development, thus perhaps bolstering this explanation in regards to the Arizona development. According to Webb: “In an effort to increase sales, the Company has started a conventional housing program at Sun City, California.” See Del E. Webb Corporation, *1964 Annual Report to Stockholders* (Phoenix, Arizona, 1965), 9. And to be sure, for what presumably was broader context here of “reduced sales,” see 8. And on broader context of “sharp decline,” including here, elsewhere, see also L.C. Jacobson and Del E. Webb, “To Our Stockholders,” March 30, 1965, in Webb Corporation, *1964 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 2.

At the same time, the contingency of retirement development as a function of sales might be viewed from another angle—a reversal of trend in the mid-to-late 1960s and an allocation of *all* land, or at least no distinction made, as part of expansion in document from late 1967, cited below, for retirement and also an allocation well under 100 acres for industrial. While I return to history of Webb and Sun City by 1965 and after later in dissertation, for relevant sources here see the following. According to Webb: “Sales activity continues to look so favorable at Sun City, Arizona [*sic*] that plans have been announced for beginning of Phase II, in which the community will ‘leap-frog’ U.S. Highway 60-70-89 (Grand Avenue) for a new and enlarged Sun City concept to begin in 1968.” Del E. Webb Corporation, *1967 Annual Report to Stockholders* (Phoenix, Arizona, 1968), n.p.. First, for sales in late 1960s, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 190; “Summary of Earnings”; Meeker, “Overview,” 10. On impetus for, see Webb Corporation, n.p.; Meeker, “Overview,” 10. Although it does not appear to make a causal relationship—the

these or other lines—existed earlier. “It must be remembered that in this Master Plan any part of the area can fit retirement construction in,” one Webb representative explained in a document as part of the ULI event. “If it isn’t economically feasible,” he continued, whether or not such a determination involved sales, “then it goes into conventional construction.”⁶¹⁶

title and accompanying image might do so, however, in their juxtaposition with text, which itself discusses sales—see also “Arizona’s Sun City Explodes Northward in New Growth Phase: Public Interest Rivals First Announcements,” *Webb Spinner* 22, no. 3-4 (March-April 1968): 3, including [DEVCO?], “Sun City General Plan, Maricopa County, Arizona” (n.p., 1967). The date here, more specifically, is December 1967. And for comparison with vision in 1963 or 1964, see again Webb Corporation, *Sun City, Arizona: General Plan*, [21] [fig. 21]. On rise of, see, for example, Meeker, “Overview,” 10; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 45, 48; “Lagoon, Circular Housing Area Feature Plan for Huge Sun City Expansion to North,” *News-Sun*, December 14, 1967. And for description of, see also, for example, Findlay, 186-187; Meeker, “Overview,” 10; “Lagoon, Circular Housing Area Feature Plan for Huge Sun City Expansion to North.” For industry that was present in Sun City by mid-1960s, see “Activity Rush in Industrial Districts Foretells Busy ’65,” *The Webb Spinner* 19, no. 1-2 (January-February 1965): 4; 5; “Arizona’s Sun City is Lively Six-Year-Old,” *The Webb Spinner* 20, no. 1 (January 1966): 7; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 37.

616 Everson, “The Master Plan,” 81. As possible context here, earlier in the document he identifies “four areas”: Everson, 81. And that this thinking applied to all of the ranches might be suggested by, for example, discussion following this document—specifically, Everson speaking of “through retirement construction.” See question by Robert Nahas and Everson’s answer—quoted here—in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 82. And that Findlay’s discussion involved contingency pertaining to retirement housing seemingly is suggested by the sentence following the quotation from Findlay in the text above: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 181. In terms of the relationship between the evidence here and Findlay’s above discussion, the latter does not necessarily reperiodize the former; when viewed within broader chronology of Webb’s efforts going back to the ULI event and also whatever ideas they already were formulating prior to the panel itself, the sales context thus might fit within this context as *impetus* of ideas-in-progress.

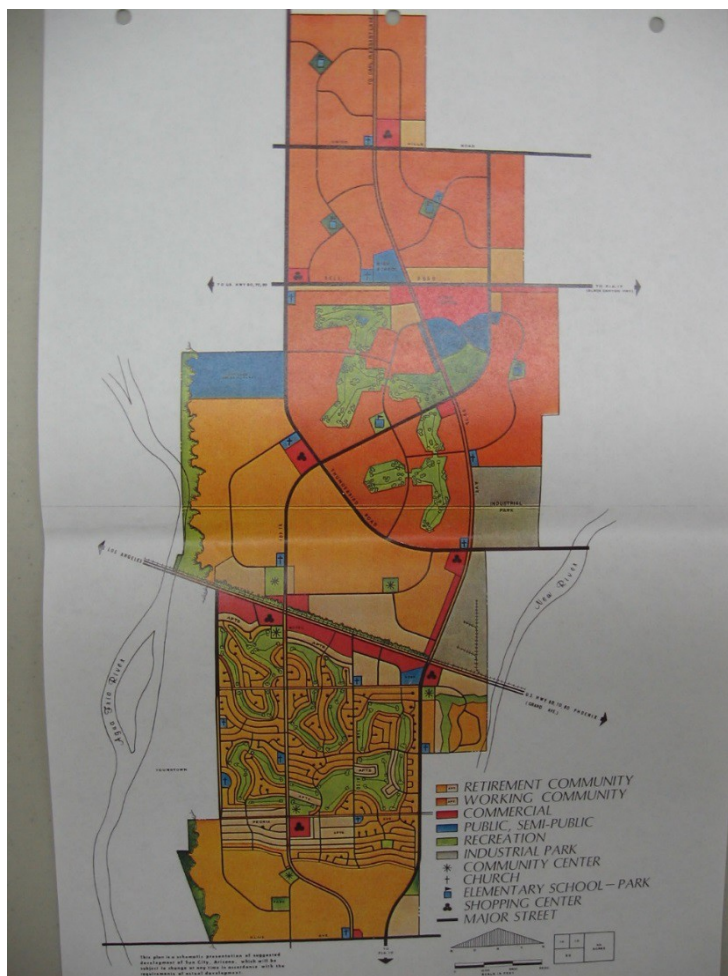


Figure 4.1. Another vision of Sun City, Arizona, area: Del E. Webb Corporation, Planning and Research Department, *Sun City, Arizona: General Plan* ([Phoenix, Arizona]: Del E. Webb Corporation, n.d. [1963 or 1964?]), 21 [fig. 21, “General Plan for Sun City”], copy in John W. Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 2, app. 19, Sun Cities Area Historical Society (SCAHS), Sun City, Arizona.

Webb discussed retirement and non-retirement housing elsewhere prior to 1964. Ashton spoke, of course, of “normal residential,” among other “development elements of a complete city” in 1961.⁶¹⁷ In *Del Webb’s Sun City Industrial District*, it explained that “SUN CITY, THE MASTER-PLANNED COMMUNITY WILL HAVE:,” among the features—the first, in fact—laid out, “Homes for all age groups—from moderately priced

⁶¹⁷ See again Ashton, “The Phoenix Area – Factors in Its Present Prospective Outlook,” 75.

to custom-designed and built.”⁶¹⁸ And, the *1962 Annual Report to Stockholders* recounted in relation to what was the first of Webb’s two California developments undertaken in the early 1960s, “In addition to the continued development of retirement housing at Kern City near Bakersfield, California, the Company recently opened Park Stockdale, a *conventional housing project* with recreational and community facilities for families with children.”⁶¹⁹ If not having existed within a context of retirement contingency—in which *non-retirement* housing was a fall-back of sorts—these documents might be seen as illustrating the existence of other approaches and also, perhaps, overarching agendas.⁶²⁰

618 Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City Industrial District*, n.p.. My dating of this document as pre-1964—as early 1960s, as 1961 or 1962—is based on various approaches here. One is that Meeker recounts something that perhaps was this—“A 690-acre plan was devised by the Corporate Planning and Research Department,” he writes—as having occurred in 1961: Meeker, 16. Another is that of linking a population figure indicated in the document in one point to population data provided by Sturgeon’s account. For document, which speaks of “more than 4,000 residents,” see Webb Corporation, n.p.. For figures for 1961 and 1962, which were roughly 3,400 and 4,600, respectively, see *The Chapman Report*, June 3, 1974, 8, cited [reproduced?] in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 117, table 1, “Homes Constructed, New Residences, Total Population, Sun City, Arizona, 1960-1978.” For figures elsewhere see also those provided in “Sun City, Arizona: Home Key Deliveries and Population,” October 10, 1969, in Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 1, app. 7. For other figures and/or estimates of, which nonetheless would reaffirm a pre-1964 dating, see, for example, those provided in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 174; “Opening of Florida’s Sun City Attracts 41,000,” 1; “1961: Arizona’s Sun City Grew in Size and Renown,” *The Webb Spinner* 16, no. 1 (January 1962): 2 (top caption). And to be clear, the same page in the above Webb addressed “retirement” prior to that addressed above in text: Webb Corporation, n.p..

619 For quotation, see Webb Corporation, *1962 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 5 (emphasis added). And, it continued: “National concerns have acquired sites in Kern’s new industrial park and two buildings are nearing completion” (5). And as Meeker recounted: “The development also included a conventional housing lot sale program and a 900-acre industrial park.” For this, and its context, see Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 11. And for discussion of elsewhere, see Webb, “To Our Shareholders” in Webb Corporation, *First Annual Report for the Year 1960*, 4; Webb Corporation, *1961 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 5; “Stockdale Plan Ties in Community with Modern Industrial Park,” 4; “Kern City, Newest for Retirees, Opens October 7,” 1, esp. 2. Also, for mention involving “the addition of conventional housing at a later date,” see Meeker, 12. On Kern City, see again sources cited in earlier note involving Webb’s other—multiple—Sun City developments. And to be clear about chronology here involving California, see, for example, Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 103-104, 104.

620 The evidence here in this paragraph could possibly fit within Findlay’s framing explanation here—that, even though occurring prior to 1964, Webb could have been attempting to limit its exposure in the retirement arena *already*. Given that there does not appear to be additional evidence here within these sources helping to make such a linkage, additional examination and evidence would be needed to further affirm such a connection to the approach addressed and explained by Findlay. Suggesting how these cases were not necessarily the same, multiple housing types appear to have factored into Kern City, at least, from the outset. For example, see again—in particular—Webb, “To Our Shareholders” in Webb Corporation,

Evidence, furthermore, suggests that such efforts were not simply simultaneous with retirement. Rather, retirement—at least in developments outside of Arizona—might not have been the priority, or at least the only kind of development entertained, all along. In *Sun City, California: General Plan*, Webb asserted that its “dynamic start has *set the stage* for the total development of the 14,000-acre Sun City, California property,” while Del Webb himself further suggested such a relationship, explaining in an unrelated 1965 Associated Press story in the *Los Angeles Times* that “the retirement areas are sort of a gimmick to get a city started.”⁶²¹ Further still, it does not appear to have factored into

First Annual Report for the Year 1960, 4; “Stockdale Plan Ties in Community with Modern Industrial Park,” 4; “Kern City, Newest for Retirees, Opens October 7,” 2. And whether or not having taken place in “1960,” in Meeker’s account, see Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 11. And, to be clear, in Sun City, Arizona, even if not addressed and/or intended from the outset, there nonetheless was discussion of industrial development within the first couple of years—as evidence from Webb in 1962, to which I return later in this section, indicates: Webb Corporation, *1961 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 5. In terms of issue here in relation to Kern City, even this, however, would not necessarily preclude the possibility of having non-retirement housing as a fall-back. But again, confirmation of relationships either way would require further investigation and/or material to investigate. At the same time, other evidence suggests that interest engaging in development on other fronts, and more broadly, might have existed independent of contexts revolving around sales. On one level, Webb’s seeking out of other options beyond retirement—or in addition to retirement—might have taken place or existed simultaneously, although further evidence and study would be needed here to better or more fully ascertain such roles. On another level, if not true for the evidence above in this note, evidence below—in the paragraphs that follow and, in the case of Sun City, Arizona, later in this section—suggest the existence of other, various interests.

In trying to understand these two general ways of defining and explaining Webb’s embrace of retirement development, development in other respects, and the relationship between them, they were not necessarily antithetical to each other—in the case of Sun City, Arizona, and across the various developments Webb undertook in the 1960s. Within the trajectory of Sun City, Arizona, Webb’s engagement in development beyond retirement housing might have emerged and grown over time, if not having existed all along. But, whether in Arizona or elsewhere, development on different fronts—in terms of type and geography—might not have cancelled each other out; they were not necessarily mutually exclusive. And, retirement itself even might have been an important—or central—focus of Webb’s efforts, as evidence from Jacobson in relation to Arizona that I utilize later in this section suggests and that might apply to efforts elsewhere, although other evidence—such as that in the next paragraph in the text, along with material from Webb’s Ashton, also at the end of this section—seems to present another perspective on the question of the role of retirement. In the end, the important point is that—whether Findlay’s framing, that of Webb of thinking bigger all along, a combination of both perspectives, and/or other explanations—retirement must be viewed in relation to other development visions and efforts underway. And whether as contingent or as existing alongside other development, retirement development was a part—even if the primary one—of broader ideas and efforts. In terms of the connection of this section to my broader focus and argument in this chapter, it was “suburban” in this sense.

621 For evidence for California, specifically this quotation and the context of discussion in which it appears, see Webb Corporation, *Sun City, California*, 1 (emphasis added). Perhaps contributing to a perspective of the California development as having a broader scope, beyond just retirement, as the above account seems to do, Meeker recounts various waves of development as intended from the outset: “When

Clear Lake City, Texas—“Included in the plan,” the *Webb Spinner* reported “are homes,

the Sun City, California, land assemblage was put together, Webb management envisioned a totally new community development, including but not limited to a retirement community, conventional housing, shopping centers, industrial parks, trailer courts and hospitals.” See Meeker, “Overview,” 4. And, for example, for “*working community*” in document itself—on same page as evidence above, thus providing evidence of broader context of agenda—see again Webb Corporation, *Sun City, California*, 1. Other accounts, however, suggest that retirement was the focus—although one possible explanation could be that discussing retirement did not preclude efforts intended to be implemented, specifically per the strategy suggested above. For such accounts, see “Newly-Acquired 14,000 Acres to Become Site of Del Webb’s Sun City in California,” 1; “Webb Builders to Open Fourth Retirement Community,” 1; “Newest Sun City Proves Sensation in California,” 1. And elsewhere, Meeker himself seems to frame what presumably became the development—and, next, that of Florida—in such terms: Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 12. For both as “retirement community” elsewhere, see also Webb, “To Our Shareholders” in Webb Corporation, *First Annual Report for the Year 1960*, 4. Whether related to the above or whether explained otherwise, such as Webb as having had intention earlier in relation to a broader vision and thus perhaps fitting within the framework the document for this development itself suggested of leading with retirement housing, the *Spinner* mentioned “conventional housing for families, all apart from the retirement community” in 1963: “There’s Hardly an Idle Moment” [?] *The Webb Spinner* 17, no. 3 (March 1963): 13 (bottom-left caption). And, for evidence from Webb in the *Los Angeles Times*, see Del E. Webb quoted in “Del Webb Sees Gambling as Good Business,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 6, 1965. And if this “city” was like Ashton’s “complete city,” then it, too, would have entailed multiple “elements” as in the broader framework of which Ashton spoke as part of the ULI event. See again, in order here, Webb quoted in “Del Webb Sees Gambling as Good Business; Ashton, “The Phoenix Area - Factors in Its Present and Prospective Outlook,” 75.

For evidence, perhaps, of such a role played by retirement in *Arizona*, see the following. Webb might have been suggesting such a relationship in an issue it raised before the ULI experts: “Should the retirement communities be kept in one area, or used to start development in the other Ranches?” See “Question I. (b)” in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 26. For this elsewhere in document, see also 69. If by “development” Webb meant something *other than* or *in addition to* retirement, then this might illustrate a causal relationship culminating in broader aims on Webb’s part, similar to the evidence in the cases in the text, above. For “trigger development” and “trigger for development” in the ULI’s assessment, see—in order—ULI, 10 (first quotation), 30 (second quotation). And further still, the ULI referred at one point in the same discussion, under “Arrowhead Ranch,” to “retirement communities as *units* in commencing development in both the Arrowhead and Santa Fe Ranches.” See ULI, 26 (first quotation), 27 (second quotation). Here, if “units” involved—by definition—multiple or other entities, then this could be seen as expanding the preceding evidence and, even more, as painting a picture of intent that involved a broader agenda. And finally, in discussion under “Revised Land Use Plan for Arrowhead Ranch,” spoke of “*School and church sites*,” the former of which—as I discuss in greater length later in this chapter—was *not* part of the Sun City recipe, thus suggesting development efforts in another, broader vein. See ULI, 29 (first quotation), 30 (second quotation). For land as included and identified in the ULI document, see “Location Map” in ULI, n.p. [“Frontispiece”], 9; Everson, “The Master Plan” in ULI, 81. Quotation of “Frontispiece” again from ULI, 9. On background of this land, see again Meeker, “Overview,” 1; Boswell, interview, 3; “Del Webb and Chicago’s Henry Crown Team in \$5 Million Purchase of Arizona Ranch,” 1. Finally, evidence involving Kern City might provide evidence of the staggered timing of development efforts here, although—to be clear—the following accounts do not appear, at least as explicitly as the above sources suggest, to address or reveal intent or strategy in terms of their relationship. For example, see previously cited statement on Kern City, particularly discussion of “continued development”: Webb Corporation, *1962 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 5. Perhaps also illustrating this, another account explained of 1961: “In October the Company in association with Kern County Land Company opened its Kern City development near Bakersfield, California. *Phase I* of this project consists of a retirement community patterned after Sun City, Arizona. A planned industrial park and a custom home area are under development.” See Webb Corporation, *1961 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 5 (emphasis added). For discussion of “first phase” elsewhere, see “Kern City, Newest for Retirees, Opens October 7,” 2.

schools, shopping centers, parks, and all other facilities to make up a community of 150,000”—nor Oak Brook, Illinois, where “The potential offered by industrial development is perhaps the most exciting aspect of this project,” as the report for 1964 put it.⁶²²

622 Finnerty’s account makes this point as well—and also goes on to cite these specific developments: Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 104-105. In terms of this point, the account explains: “Webb’s Residential Land Development projects were not all retirement communities” (104). Jacobson also suggests in one document: “In addition to retirement communities, we have conventional development.” See again Jacobson, “The Corporation,” 73. The cases he cites here, however, are the above developments. For Clear Lake City, Texas, here and other background of, including partnership behind, see Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 105, 137; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 24; Meeker, interview, 4; Meeker, “Overview,” 3; “Webb Company Joins Humble Oil in Huge Project: Development Near Houston to Create Complete New City,” *Webb Spinner* 16, no. 2 (February 1962): 1, 3; “Wes Mohr to Direct Project at Houston,” *Webb Spinner* 16, no. 5 (April-May 1962): 1 (quotation), 7; “Webb-Humble Project First-Phase Plans Revealed: Construction Begins Early This Fall on \$11 Million Increment,” *Webb Spinner* 16, no. 9 (September 1962): 1, 6; Webb Corporation, *1962 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 7; “Clear Lake City Welcomed by Texas Governor: More Than 50,000 Visitors See New Houston Community,” *The Webb Spinner* 17, no. 10 (October 1963): 1, 8; Del E. Webb Corporation, *1963 Annual Report to Stockholders* (Phoenix, Arizona, 1964), 9. And to be sure here about retirement, or the lack of, Meeker wrote: “It was a *conventional housing community* along with light industrial development.” Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 24 (emphasis added). And further, description did not mention retirement—at least not specifically: “The first area of development, comprised of 11 separate projects totaling \$11 million, is already underway and scheduled for completion in the summer of 1963. Work has begun on a motor hotel complex, a mobile home park, an office building complex, model homes, apartment units, community shopping center, recreation center, country club and elementary school.” See Webb Corporation, *1962 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 7. And here, the visual accompanying “WEBB-HUMBLE PROJECT AT HOUSTON” further illustrates this; the “LEGEND” only includes and identifies “Residential,” thus not distinguishing— if any was incorporated here—involving retirement. For overall material here, including first quotation, see Webb Corporation, 6-7 (quotation 7). For visual, and second quotation, see 6. On fate of, and why, see Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 24; Lalli, “New Towns,” 94, 95, 96, 98, 100, and “Clear Lake City: An Unhappy Mixture of Instant Sprawl and Builder Problems” in Lalli, “New Towns,” 100-1; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 137; Webb Corporation, *1964 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 8; Del E. Webb, “To Our Stockholders,” March 28, 1966, in Del E. Webb Corporation, *1965 Annual Report to Stockholders* (Phoenix, Arizona, 1966), 1. On Clear Lake City, see other accounts below.

For Oak Brook, along with such background as partnership behind here, see Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 105, 142-43; Jacobson and Webb, “To Our Stockholders” in Webb Corporation, *1964 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 3; Webb Corporation, *1964 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 8-9 (quotation 8); “Webb, Butler Firms Join Forces in Huge, Chicago-Area Development,” *Webb Spinner* 18, no. 11 (November 1964): 1, 4. On Butler, see William Barry Furlong, “Man with 14 Polo Fields,” *Sports Illustrated*, October 22, 1962, <http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/vault/article/magazine/MAG1074225/index.htm> (accessed December 18, 2012). For context of Webb’s efforts with “industrial districts” by mid-1960s, see “Activity Rush in Industrial Districts Foretells Busy ’65,” *Webb Spinner* 19, no. 1-2 (January-February 1965): 1, 4. On efforts and events during Webb’s involvement, see, for example, Webb Corporation, *1965 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 8; Del E. Webb Corporation, *1966 Annual Report to Stockholders* (Phoenix, Arizona, 1967), n.p.; Del E. Webb Corporation, *1967 Annual Report to Stockholders* (Phoenix, Arizona, 1968), n.p.; Del E. Webb Corporation, *1968 Annual Report to Stockholders* (Phoenix, Arizona, 1969), n.p.; Del E. Webb Corporation, *1969 Annual Report to Stockholders* (Phoenix, Arizona, 1970), 8; Del E. Webb Corporation, *1971 Annual Report* (Phoenix, Arizona, 1972), 6-7; Del E. Webb Corporation, *1974 Annual*

Webb's efforts in the retirement arena overlapped with a broader development logic and methodology, particularly in terms of the engagement with different "elements" across landscapes imagined and enacted by and through industry thinking and practices. More specifically, the rise of so-called "new towns" and "new communities"—in which, as planning scholar Ann Forsyth puts it, "developers and the professionals that they employed embarked on the construction of communities that differed in many ways from the prevailing pattern of suburban development"—contributed to the context in which Webb operated.⁶²³ "In the late nineteenth century, Howard," historian Nicholas Bloom

Report (Phoenix, Arizona, 1975), 10; "McDonald's Announces Oak Brook Headquarters," *Webb Spinner* 23, no. 11 (November 1969): 1; "Annual Meeting in Oak Brook – Exciting Chicago Suburb," *Webb Spinner* 24, no. 4 (April 1970): 2. To be clear about Webb's involvement here, the Finnerty account—for example—describes as "already an incorporated village," and Webb stated, "The Company is not pioneering in the field of community development here; Oak Brook is a well-established and highly successful residential, commercial and industrial development." See, in order here, Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 105; Jacobson and Webb, "To Our Stockholders," 3. For state of, also see Webb Corporation, *1964 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 8-9, esp. 8. And, for Webb on its role here, see 9. 623 First, for such "new towns" and "new communities" overall, see the following. For quotations in text and here, see Bloom, *Suburban Alchemy*, 2; Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 27. For scholarship on history of, see the following. For book-length scholarly studies, see Bloom, *Suburban Alchemy*; Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*. For other scholarly accounts, see Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 284-285, esp. 285, 290-91; Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 192-193; Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias*, 204-5. And for additional work on Irvine, also see Schiesl, "Designing the Model Community," 55-91. Second, for broader idea behind, see the following. For quotation from Forsyth in text, see Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 1-2. More specifically, she explains shortly later, of which I provide an albeit lengthy quotation here for its usefulness as background: "In the 1950s and 1960s, early post-World War II suburban expansion was criticized for its ugliness, cultural conformity, social isolation, and environmental problems. From the 1950s through the 1970s, some real estate developers and part of the planning and design professions responded to these complaints. They proposed master-planned new communities throughout the United States related to the new town programs then active in Europe. Ranging in projected population from ten thousand to five hundred thousand, these communities were planned to be phased, coordinated, socially balanced, environmentally aware, and economically efficient. Their developers wanted to create whole communities rather than simple subdivisions. By avoiding many of the problems of uncoordinated incremental growth—or sprawl—they imagined both improving urban areas and creating a real estate product that would sell." See Forsyth, 2. For discussion of context and resulting focus in this vein, see also, for example, Forsyth, 23-25; Bloom, *Suburban Alchemy*, 1-2, 9-13, 277. For overview of "the shortcomings of postwar suburban subdivisions," also see McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 80. And for "dissatisfaction" as interpreted by developers, see 97. On "new towns" and/or similar developments also see McKenzie, 82, 96, 98-100. For another important book-length study on these developments that I utilize, see Eichler and Kaplan, *The Community Builders*, study first, or also, cited in Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 192. For specific discussion of rise of here, see, for example, Eichler and Kaplan, 1-2, 4, 7, 8-9, 21, 22, 34-35, 37. And for discussion of in their study, see Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 40, 47. For an excellent discussion of rise of development, and taking a seemingly broader view of efforts tied, for example, to "criticisms of isolation, unimaginative design, and auto dependence" see VanderMeer's study of Phoenix: VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 184, 188 (quotation), 207, 208, 210,

writes of the British Ebenezer Howard, “first conceived of the new town, or garden city, as a solution to the problems of urban society. His garden city was a complete community, not just a bedroom community like American suburbs, and included residential, agricultural, commercial, and industrial areas.”⁶²⁴

215, 217, 220, 227-228. And here, he writes, making an important point: “While it is useful to discuss those communities in their separate categories—retirement, or new town, or planned subdivision—in reality, such divisions were porous: some builders produced each of these types, and all builders observed and copied the innovations. Thus, curvilinear streets, mixed housing, access to shopping, various amenities, and some type of neighborhood organization became increasingly common in new subdivisions of various sizes.” VanderMeer, 228. For additional discussion relevant to broader sweep of discussion, see also 184, 208-210, 215-221.

Next, and to be sure, various accounts have classified or otherwise defined Sun City, Arizona, in such terms in different ways. For Findlay and other scholarly accounts, see the following. For Findlay, see, for example, Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 285. And for discussion of Sun City as, more implied and/or at least in relation to, in his case study, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 192-193, esp. 192. For others, see again Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities*, 58, quoted in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 160; Hunt, et al., 12, study again first cited in Findlay, 160. For yet another important account, see also Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier*, 68. For study of Eichler and Kaplan, written closer to the period, see Eichler and Kaplan, *The Community Builders*, 185, app. 1, “New Community Developments, 1964.” For example elsewhere, see inclusion in Murray Jr., “New Towns for America,” 125, figure—more specifically “table”—under “HERE ARE THE FACTS AND FIGURES ON 50 WIDELY VARYING BIG NEW TOWNS, first cited in Richard D. Ahern, *Proposal for a New Town Near Ann Arbor Michigan* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1964), n.p. [under “Proposal: A New Town to be Located Near Ann Arbor”]. And for another Webb development treated in such ways, see that of Clear Lake City in Texas in, see—for example—the following. For mention, including discussion of in terms of *range* of, in Bloom, see Bloom, *Suburban Alchemy*, 19, 66. For Forsyth, see Forsyth, 330n10, 333n22. And for classification in Eichler and Kaplan, see Eichler and Kaplan, 186, app. 1, “New Community Developments, 1964.” Finally, for identification as such of in trade press see, for example, Robert W. Murray Jr., “New Towns for America,” *House & Home* 25, no. 2 (February 1964): 125 (figure). For discussion elsewhere, see ULI, *The Community Builders Handbook* (1960), 30, 32, 83; ULI and McKeever, ed., *The Community Builders Handbook* (1968), 37, 252-258. For discussion also of “large-scale communities,” also see, for example, ULI (1960), 33. And for 1968, see also 37.

624 Bloom, *Suburban Alchemy*, 19. First, on Howard and ideas and efforts in the United States, see Bloom, 19-20, esp. 19; Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 29, 29-30; Eichler and Kaplan *The Community Builders*, 2-4; Carol A. Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1986), 45. For another useful scholarly account, whether discussion of rise of as direct or not, see McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 2-3, 7, 9-10, 96. Second, for key features of Howard’s model, particularly the different functions it would include, see, for example, Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977), 40-41; McKenzie, 3-6; Christensen, 47-51. According to one account: “His vision was not anti-urban: the garden city was to be a self-sustaining precinct, not just an enclave of suburban residents. Nor was he harking back to some nostalgic view of agrarian life in the pre-industrial era. Howard believed that the new planned communities would draw residents precisely because they offered the benefits of *both* town and country.” See Susan L. Klaus, *A Modern Arcadia: Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. & the Plan for Forest Hills Gardens* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 34. For a succinct overview of concept and how it was to work, also see 33-34. On this point, also see McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 2. And for Blakely and Snyder on origins in Howard, in relation to what I cite below, see Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 169. For same or similar idea discussed in Robert Self’s

Meanwhile, as a piece in *House & Home* in 1964 stated, among other points, “*The new towns are the best answers yet to the problems of urban sprawl.*” Pointing to a broad net cast over everyday life, it continued: “Nearly all have been planned for a better living-working-playing environment than can be found in almost any other built-up areas, new or older.”⁶²⁵ And the ULI specified what constituted such a development. “While

work, including mention of Howard, see also Self, *American Babylon*, 9. And for discussion of what presumably was this idea as it unfolded in his study, see also, for example, 8-9, esp. 8, 25-26, 31. 625 Murray Jr., “New Towns for America,” 123. In addition to scholarship cited above on context of rise of, for evidence from period industrial materials, including efforts on Webb’s part, see the following. Perhaps similarly, for Webb referring to “sprawl” in writing in relation to one Sun City development of “a satellite city that is safe from being devoured by suburban sprawl and comfortably removed from the increasing frustrations of metropolitan living.” See Webb Corporation, *Sun City, California: General Plan*, 1 [?]. And, in the case of the Arizona development, Webb also spoke—perhaps similar to the above—of “the frustrations and high-cost of close-in urban living.” See Webb Corporation, *Sun City, Arizona: General Plan*, 3. Although not invoking a “new towns” framework as in the text above—at least not explicitly here—an account from the ULI might provide context of period thinking, whether or not fitting within the framework or any such classification of the above, explaining at one point: “Metropolitan growth problems, including transportation between home and work, lead to consideration of large-scale real estate projects in which employment and shopping facilities are provided along with residences of varying types.” See Community Builders’ Council of Urban Land Institute, *The Community Builders Handbook* (1960), n.p. [ill. 2, “Master Plan—Hillsdale, California” (caption)?]. The text here appears under heading of “URBAN GROWTH.” And here, according to other text, this apparently was developed by David Bohannon, who was one of ULI experts advising Webb in 1961: ULI (1960), n.p., ill 2 (text); David D. Bohannon under “THE MEMBERS OF THE PANEL” in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 7. On Bohannon and Hillsdale, see Richard A. Walker, *The County in the City: The Greening of the San Francisco Bay Area* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 85. Elsewhere, this document features similar, if not essentially the same, language—and in doing so, it appears to connect to “new town.” For language itself, see ULI (1960), 83n83. For connection, see “new town” as quoted in ULI, 83. And for additional discussion, see also 83, 85n83. Meanwhile, in 1968, the ULI explained: “Elsewhere residential development took place subdivision by subdivision, mostly with the single-family detached house as the universal pattern in the new areas. Frequently community facilities and amenities were missing. Other shortcomings—such as inadequate open space, crowded schools, lengthened journeys between home and work over congested highways, and rising tax payments—produced disillusionment with the stereotyped suburban environment.” See ULI and McKeever, ed., *The Community Builders Handbook* (1968), 36. For “sprawl” elsewhere in this volume, see also 37. And, in relation to “new towns” at one point, see also 256.

The text under “URBAN GROWTH,” above, also refers to “A ‘satellite community’” in its next paragraph—a similar term, or at least language, that appears in two Webb documents. And for this—“complete new *satellite* communities” elsewhere, see also ULI (1960), 30 (emphasis added). See, in addition to the same material above, Webb Corporation, *Sun City, California*, 1[?]; Webb Corporation, *Sun City, Florida: General Plan*, 3. For background of possible context here, in relation to Ebenezer Howard, for example, see Robert Lewis, “Satellite City” in *Encyclopedia of American Urban History*, ed. David Goldfield, vol. 2 (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2007), 705. And on “complete,” language used—for example—by the ULI (1960) document above, see also references elsewhere in this chapter, particularly of Webb’s Ashton: ULI (1960), 30; Ashton, “The Phoenix Area – Factors in Its Present and Prospective Outlook” 75; Bloom, *Suburban Alchemy*, 19. As yet additional language used the ULI that appears in material related to Webb, see that of “balanced”—and also, something evidence in the following section illustrates that of “self-contained.” See both here as quoted in ULI (1960), 83n83. For

the definition of a ‘New Town’ is discretionary and open to debate, there is a distinguishing factor,” it explained in *The Community Builders Handbook* in 1968. “A ‘new town’ requires the element of an employment base within the community.”⁶²⁶

Webb on “balanced,” see Webb Corporation, *Sun City, Arizona: General Plan*, 24. On “issue of balance” also discussed in Forsyth, see, for example, Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 220-221 (quotation 220). Note: I discuss material using “complete” and other terms cited by the ULI in the following section as well. In terms of background of such developments—in relation to the histories of housing and particularly homebuilding—see the following. In Eichler and Kaplan, see, for example, Eichler and Kaplan, *The Community Builders*, 20, 21, 23, 36-37. On the rise of, also drawing on their study, see also discussion by Forsyth: Eichler and Kaplan, 20-21, 36, cited and quoted, respectively, in Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 33. And for Forsyth here, see Forsyth, 33. For VanderMeer’s excellent history discussing and providing a useful account here on evolution of the industry, for Phoenix and more generally, see VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 184, 192-193, 207, 207-208, 208. On the ULI’s explanation of the rise of such “builders,” see, for example, Urban Land Institute, Community Builders’ Council, *The Community Builders Handbook* 3rd ed., 3rd rev. print (Washington, DC: Urban Land Institute, 1954), n.p. [pt. 1 “Introduction”]. The title page here also identifies this as “THE MEMBERS EDITION.” Also see ULI, *The Community Builders Handbook* (1960), 2. And, as another put it of postwar changes: “The creation of lots merged with the building of houses.” ULI and McKeever, ed., *The Community Builders Handbook* (1968), 1. For growing “scale” of homebuilding, also see McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 8 (quotation), 10-11. And the idea of “community development” was discussed in the real-estate industry at least as early as 1947, when the Urban Land Institute spoke of “the field of community development” in the first edition of *The Community Builders Handbook*. See Newton C. Farr, “Foreword” in Urban Land Institute, Community Builders’ Council, *The Community Builders Handbook*, prepared by the Community Builders’ Council (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1947), vii. Finally, for accounts discussing origins in “ranches” and thus—although not naming Sun City specifically here—offering possible context for Boswell and what became Sun City, see Murray Jr., “New Towns for America,” 124; ULI and McKeever, ed., *The Community Builders Handbook* (1968), 36-37; Mike E. Miles, Gayle Berens, and Marc A. Weiss, *Real Estate Development: Principles and Process*, 3rd ed. (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 2000), 167. The last two do cite Arizona and, for example, “Sunbelt climates,” respectively: ULI and McKeever, ed., 37; Miles, Berens, and Weiss, 167.

626 ULI and McKeever, ed., *The Community Builders Handbook* (1968), 253. And for further discussion, of “definition,” see 253n52. And here, this note refers back to a previous one: 37n61, first cited in 253n52. At the same time, although discussion on p. 37 includes “the true new town incorporating all the elements of community living including industrial employment,” it also asserts, preceding this: “Whether all of the new large-scale development projects are truly ‘new towns’ or whether they are merely satellite extensions to existing development is academic.” For this and the rest of the text that follows, including that citing “the special purpose community such as retirement or recreation-oriented villages for year-round enjoyment,” see 37. For scholarly accounts on this point, or otherwise discussing of “jobs,” see Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 16 (quotation), 17, 28. And for context here, see also 27-28. Although not appearing to discuss it within a definitional framing, at least here, Eichler and Kaplan also refer to such a presence, writing—for example—that “there are two existing or proposed land uses for almost every new community which have rarely been a part of other operations: industrial parks, [*sic*] and regional shopping centers.” See Eichler and Kaplan, *The Community Builders*, 42-43 (quotation 42). In explaining his positioning with relevant literature, Greg Hise perhaps makes a similar point useful here—even if applying to suburbanization more broadly or generally—in pointing to this presence as well, writing that “we must set aside the accepted wisdom that housing production, not employment, led and continues to lead urban expansion. Excluding industry from our explanatory schema violates one of the basic principles advanced by each generation of community builders, who knew that all raw land is not *prima facie* subdividable. Although lower land costs, mobility, and attractive financing were significant factors, community builders thought more broadly and synthetically. Their objective, advocated by planners and endorsed by home buyers, was the creation of complete communities with a mix of uses, planned for internal coherence and

Practitioners and voices within the development industry discussed how different forms of development, particularly residential development, could play off and capitalize on others. “When properly located and carefully developed, industrial parks are definite assets to the community because of the stimulating effect they have on the local economy,” the ULI advised readers in an earlier edition of *The Community Builders Handbook*. “Interests in industrial development, once largely confined to area development groups, railroads, industrial realtors, has spread to private land developers. This interest should not be so much in the profit potential of such venture, but *in housing and commercial demands which an industrial park can be expected to stimulate.*”⁶²⁷ As

with the requisite connections to an urban region.” See Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 4. And for “an employment base for wage-earning home buyers,” see also 5. And for example and discussion of it opening his “Introduction” here, see also 1-2. On history of shift in “jobs,” see, for example, Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias*, 195, 195-196, 196-197 (quotation 197); Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 266-267. Meanwhile, for discussion of in other period industry accounts, whether—or completely framed—or not in the above terms, see ULI, *The Community Builders Handbook* (1960), 83, 83n83, 85n83; ULI and McKeever, ed., *The Community Builders Handbook* (1968), 253, 255. Finally, on limits of, however, see Eichler and Kaplan, 24; Carlos C. Campbell, *New Towns: Another Way to Live* (Reston, Virginia: Reston Publishing Company, 1976), 20; H. Whyte, “The New Towns” in *New Towns and the Suburban Dream: Ideology and Utopia in Planning and Development*, Irving Lewis Allen, ed. (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1977), 188-207. For discussion by Findlay involving “economic self-sufficiency—and, if connected to “industry” per Eichler and Kaplan, for example—thus presumably presents this idea, too: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 290-291 (quotation 291). For another account providing overview of overall tension, see against Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 2. On “industrial” in Levitt efforts and developments—in whatever form or however related—in the postwar years, and thus perhaps further suggesting a broader context, see Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement*, 96-97, 99 (quotation), 100, 101-102; Longstreth, “The Levitts, Mass-Produced Houses, and Community Planning in the Mid-Twentieth Century,” 148, including fig. 6.12, “Community plan for Landia, near Hicksville and Jericho, New York, Levitt & Sons, designers and builders, 1949-1951; project.” On Landia, see also Longstreth, 147-149; Christensen, 96-99. However, in terms of the particular form discussed above, Eichler and Kaplan did not identify the Levittowns that were realized as such in their study. For example, see Eichler and Kaplan, *The Community Builders*, 185-186, app. 1. And, no less important is again the work of Robert Self, particularly in his discussion of idea of “a ‘balanced’ suburban landscape.” For example, see Self, *American Babylon*, 100, 121 (quotation). For earlier discussion of what presumably was this idea, see again 25, 31. On “balance” elsewhere, see again Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 220-221 (quotation 220). Clarifying that such relationships in his study were not in context of “new towns”—or “community builders,” as he quotes it—he writes: “Nonetheless, city-builders set out to create and maximize two kinds of property markets, one in industrial land and the other in residential.” First, see “community builders” as quoted in Self, 98. Second, for main quotation here, see also 98. And for key point of significance for taxes, see, for example, again 100, 121.

627 ULI, *The Community Builders Handbook* (1960), 184 (emphasis added). Several pages later, it added that “the land developer needs an active interest in planned industrial district developments, regardless of

House & Home put it, “Industry is the cornerstone of the new-town concept: It represents both land profits *and a potential source of buyers and renters.*”⁶²⁸

Webb appears to have entertained, if not employed, such thinking in relation to its efforts in Arizona.⁶²⁹ Elaborating in the ULI document from the Webb-backed event in 1961, Angus Wynne, Jr., explained, “When you have industries coming in,” he explained in an exchange with Joe Ashton, “you then have people for your residential

whether or not he plans to build such district, since the widened economic base created by new industries means increased demands for residential and commercial developments” (188). The organization made a similar point and, even more, included a section on industrial areas later: ULI and McKeever, ed., *The Community Builders Handbook* (1968), 449-67, esp. 449.

628 Lalli, “New Towns,” 95 (emphasis added). For scholarly overview seemingly explaining this point as well, in relation to such developments, see again Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 18-19. And for discussion of this point in relation to specific case of Columbia, Maryland, see 139. Additionally, various accounts have suggested how a similar logic appears to have existed between residential and *commercial* development. In addition to the evidence involving the ULI and Webb, in the following paragraph, here see the following. Assuming that it was residents who would frequent local shopping, the discussion of the new-town movement by *House & Home* pointed to this linkage while also illuminating undermining complications in the development process: Lalli, “New Towns,” 95. Other accounts offer useful frameworks here. For example, Eichler and Kaplan write: “Some of them have developed neighborhood shopping centers to capture the increased value they have created by their own housing or lot sales.” See Eichler and Kaplan, *The Community Builders*, 24. Although they might be referring to “subdividers and merchant builders” specifically here, this particular point might apply to those developers upon which the study is focused, in light of reference to this group and the context of the paragraph in which this quotation appears. See again 42. And further suggesting this application is discussion elsewhere in the study of amenities to which the preceding line addresses as well. In addition to the above, see also 100. As Forsyth explains in her study: “The mixtures of uses in new communities can attract larger firms and businesses to these relatively remote suburban location, allowing profitable commercial and industrial land development as well as increased home sales to workers.” Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 19. Whether or not in relation to development in the vein above, see also Christine L. Fry, “The Community as a Commodity: The Age Graded Case,” *Human Organization* 36, no. 2 (Summer 1977): 117. Another study perhaps makes this general point as well—though not from the standpoint of chronology and/or level of efforts as above—in writing, for example: “The company introduced shopping centers to serve residents, to increase community cohesion, and to provide the company with revenues from residents long after the original houses and lots had been sold.” See William S. Worley, *J.C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City: Innovation in Planned Residential Communities* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 7-8 (emphasis added). Clarence Perry, who I discuss later in this chapter, seemingly addresses the residential-commercial connection as well: Clarence Arthur Perry, *Housing for the Machine Age* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939), 72, [account first?] cited in Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles*, 32. Additionally, if pertaining to this point, VanderMeer writes, in reference to homebuilder John Long, of point “that constructed related facilities would be *profitable.*” VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 209 (emphasis added).

629 To be clear, on Webb and “industry” more generally, see again discussion and material cited earlier here.

development.”⁶³⁰ And later in the conversation, he further stated, “Industries will help move other development and you can’t help but make a profit on the development. But industrial land development is not something that would be your primary objective.”⁶³¹ Whether inspired by the ULI experts or not, what might have been a strategy along these lines appeared on Webb’s part in the early 1960s. “A concerted effort is being made to locate a major industry in the project,” it explained in its *1961 Annual Report to Stockholders* in regards to the state of Sun City. “This, of course, would permit the immediate development of conventional housing and additional commercial facilities and further enhance the value of the Company’s substantial land holdings in the area.”⁶³² In the end, Webb’s role as a developer checked its engagement with retirement. In Arizona, Webb did embrace retirement—and even might have privileged it. Perhaps

630 See Wynne, Jr., in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 48. Breen might be making this point, or at least addressing this idea, and more broadly—in terms of “a market for residential, commercial, and other construction”—in questions that follow: Breen in ULI, 48. As additional evidence of what seemingly was such a linkage elsewhere in the document, the “CONCLUDING STATEMENT,” for example stated: “If you were able to bring an important industry to the Santa Fe area, there would be an immediate market for housing, of course.” See ULI, 37 (first quotation), 39 (second quotation). For other evidence, see also 33. And, later in the discussion first cited in this note, another expert—Robert T. Nahas—explained: “But then you build your houses, and I submit that the payoff, if there is a payoff, comes in the small commercial center.” For this, see Nahas in ULI, 49.

631 For this quotation, as well as quoted material included in its entirety, see Wynne, Jr., in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 49. And for full context and sweep of discussion here, involving Wynne, Jr., and others, see discussion in ULI, 48-49. As additional evidence from the ULI group and document—and *within* particular “elements,” per Ashton—the experts suggested that Webb employ existing practices, thus illustrating a continuity in *process* even while embracing “retirement.” As the ULI stated: “There are stratifications in retirement communities just as there are in conventional communities. Assuming the market continues, the Sponsor should take advantage of this fact.” ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 11. For same idea and similar language elsewhere in the document, see also ULI, 31. This material also underneath discussion of “Arrowhead Ranch”: ULI, 29-32 (quotation here 29). The first-cited material—the preceding quotation in this note—also involves this as well: ULI, 11. And for slightly earlier discussions involving “Arrowhead” in both spots in this document, see—in order in which they appear, defined by the above—ULI, 10 (quotation), 27.

632 Webb Corporation, *1961 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 5. One Webb document explained that “these lands will provide nearby employment opportunities for the working community,” thus providing evidence of a linkage made between the two to at least some degree—even though apparently not explaining the same causal relationship nor lay out the specific benefit to Webb. See Webb Corporation, *Sun City, Arizona: General Plan*, 23. And, in the case of Clear Lake City, for instance, for accounts suggesting a causal relationship, whether the same or whether otherwise, pursued there, see, for example, Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 105, 137; Lalli, “New Towns,” 94, esp. 95. Webb Corporation, *1963 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 9; Webb Corporation, *1964 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 8.

reflecting such a position, L.C. Jacobson said at another point in the same conversation, “We will be tickled to develop all of that land for retirees. But we think it is too much land over too long a pull.”⁶³³ Nonetheless, evidence also points to other, seemingly overarching and enduring interests. “In summary, our company’s object is not to build monuments or to pioneer any new radical ideas of pipe-dream planning; but rather, though good long-range planning, to attain the highest and best use of this land,” Webb’s Ashton put it in 1961, at the outset of the ULI event. “Or, put another way real short, we are here to make money.”⁶³⁴

633 See L.C. Jacobson in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 85. In terms of the context here, it appears to be one in which Jacobson is responding to Nahas and explicating Webb’s position here. Specifically, Nahas says immediately before Jacobson: “So it seems to me two ideas are opposed somewhat: that you have an infinite pool of potential customers; yet you are just as desirous to bring an industrial tax base into the community - presumably for a different type of population.” See Nahas in ULI, 85. Additionally, while Nahas refers to “the retirement communities”—something perhaps broader in scope—for Jacobson’s part, he—in making the above statement—goes on to cite a figure of “3,200 acres,” which, coincidentally or not, roughly corresponds to that of “3,180 acres” in the Everson document and *not* for that which he identified as for “retirement living.” If significant, see—in order here—Nahas in ULI, 81; Jacobson in ULI, 81; Everson, “The Master Plan,” 81. And yet, as evidence both of how the acreage of which Jacobson speaks did not necessarily preclude the function for that of the Marinette acreage *and also of* a privileging of retirement in that even if retirement was contingent in Webb’s efforts going forward, it departed—real or as considered as possibility—from retirement. For Findlay on shift, which meant that things originated with retirement, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 181. And for evidence from Webb, see again Everson, “The Master Plan,” 81. Finally, coverage from *House & Home* in 1964 provides evidence similar to that from Jacobson in the text—at least from the standpoint of the idea of impossibility: “Even the big retirement cities like Webb’s later Sun Cities, General Development’s Port Charlotte and other Florida developments are not planned solely for retirees. A Webb spokesman points out that 14,000-acre Sun City, Calif. is planned for 52,000 dwelling units, ‘and we could never fill it with 52,000 elderly families.’” See “Is Retirement Housing Today’s Best Bet for Boosting Sales and Profits?” 112. Here, however, the case of these “later Sun Cities” here might reaffirm the overall argument that Webb had bigger plans—of efforts in other markets *and all along*. And, no less importantly, I discuss another important way in which Webb might displayed a distinctive merging of retirement and development in the last section of this section that, even if it did not materialize the way in which Webb might have imagined it at the outset, nonetheless reflects thinking that very well could have departed from existing templates and approaches. And yet, if including the discussion that I cite later pertaining to this idea, evidence from Joe Ashton—quoted at the end of this paragraph in the text—seems to point to a trend in which Webb was thinking bigger.

634 Ashton, “The Phoenix Area,” 75. For explanation of this particular document and discussion within the overall document, see again ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 72. For additional evidence of “highest and best use” elsewhere, per Webb’s *First Annual Report for the Year 1960*, see Webb Corporation, *First Annual Report for the Year 1960*, 10. Various studies have made important and excellent points about the tension in development in this vein and that and how the interests of the developer in their respective accounts ultimately triumphed. In his study of Sun City, Findlay offers an important and useful framework engaging same or similar tensions—and what might have been an overriding concern with performance. He writes, for example: “Planning was shaped less by ideals about community than by market research.” Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 192-93 (quotation 193). And, he

address the issue of distinctiveness, referring to “societal ideals about the welfare of the elderly” near the end of this passage (193). For tension in Carl Abbott’s account, see again Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier*, 70. As Eichler and Kaplan wrote in their study: “A new town is an attempt to break the pattern of urban growth, and at the same time to shift development to different places and to control it. A new community is a way of ordering the business of land development at the fringe of American metropolitan areas.” Eichler and Kaplan, *The Community Builders*, 24. For additional relevant discussion, see that immediately preceding this: Eichler and Kaplan, 24. McKenzie features this quotation, within its broader quotation, in his discussion as well: Eichler and Kaplan, 24, quoted/cited in McKenzie, 96. And as John Findlay puts it: “New Towns in the postwar United States were often simply suburbs glorified by a greater degree of planning than others.” Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 291. For additional discussion here, see also 291. And for McKenzie again, whose discussion as it continues is perhaps relevant, see McKenzie, 96-97. Here, he further cites Eichler and Kaplan. See Eichler and Kaplan as discussed and cited in McKenzie, 97. For specific pages, see those from Eichler and Kaplan, cited in McKenzie, 216n40. And for later discussion of McKenzie, which included utilizing the work of Christensen, see Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement*, 128, discussed and quoted in McKenzie, 104; McKenzie, 104. For Christensen, see also 127-128. And for his part, Findlay himself cites this study, perhaps overlapping with McKenzie. Here, see Eichler and Kaplan as cited in Findlay, 193. For Forsyth on “profitability” in her study, see also Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 18, 19 (quotation). At the same time, for what perhaps served as qualification here, see also Forsyth, 18. And Eichler and Kaplan elsewhere do perhaps offer explanatory nuance here, at least *within* the industry, writing, for example, that “it seems clear that community builders, reacting to the urban-development critique, have entered the field with a special sense of mission which few merchant builders hold.” See Eichler and Kaplan, 36.

Additionally, McKenzie himself in his study writes, for example, at one point: “These corporations began to build hundreds, then thousands, of houses at a time for *short-term profit*, not for *long-term social transformation*.” See McKenzie, 8 (emphasis added). For more complete context of this here, see again 8. And for broader context of discussion at hand, involving “American privatism,” see 7-8 (quotation 8). And in relation to Howard directly, he writes slightly earlier here: “Yet his ideas did not lead in the benign and cooperative direction he anticipated when they started to become popular in the United States in the 1920s. Howard’s ideas came to be absorbed into an important stage in the intellectual heritage of a form of private housing known as common-interest developments (CIDS), a category that includes planned-unit developments of single-family houses (PUDS), condominiums, and cooperative apartments. Some aspects of Howard’s utopian vision were retained, others excised, and new elements added as a new kind of residential construction evolved throughout the twentieth century.” See McKenzie, 7. For his continuing discussion here, as well as later, on tensions in relationship, see 7, 7-8, 175-176, 177. For McKenzie’s explanation of “*privatopia*,” see also 12. And, for important scholarship on tensions, whether in relation to Howard or more generally, see, for example, Stanley Buder, *Visionaries and Planners: The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 84-92, 94-95, 101-2, 103-5, 154, 159-60, 164-65; Carolyn S. Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular: Developers’ Subdivisions in the 1920s* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 173; Klaus, *A Modern Arcadia*, 34-36, 154; Howard Gillette, Jr., *Civitas by Design: Building Better Communities, from the Garden City to the New Urbanism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 42-43; Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement*, 45-46, 127. For additional accounts, previously cited, also dealing with Webb’s apparent overarching interest and/or agenda, see again Tom Austin, quoted in Calvin Trillin, “Wake up and Live,” [n.p.?], quoted/cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 207; Breen as cited in Freedman, 61; Freeman and Sanberg, 22; Jacobson [?] in Jacobson and Breen interview, 7; McLain, interview, 16; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 131; FitzGerald, *Cities on a Hill*, 20. And for Webb in terms of both role prior to Sun City and of previous work, see again the following previously cited accounts—which further helps to contextualize Webb: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 171, 171-172, 177; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 74-76; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 34, 35, 59-60; Roy Drachman quoted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 56; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 17, 19; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 31; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 56. And for important account offering context in which Webb might be seen as well, see again Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 29-30, 42-43.

Sun City as Subdivision

The hybrid nature of Webb’s Arizona retirement community was evident at the level of the built environment more directly—at the level of the development itself. Indeed, as Calvin Trillin described in his account in the 1960s, “One’s first impression of Sun City is that it looks like any other attractive real-estate development.”⁶³⁵ From the community’s specific housing stock to the amenities accompanying housing, just as significant—if not more so—as the development’s retirement orientation was its *residential nature more broadly*.

Various accounts have suggested that Sun City homes were not necessarily unique to Sun City—or DEVCO’s brand of retirement. In addition to another Marc Freedman book, in which he writes of Sun City’s “five model homes, tiny Levittown-style houses,” Calvin Trillin’s description cited its “ranch houses.”⁶³⁶ And, from the standpoint of Webb’s own existing efforts, there was a literal connection, as one later Webb document noted, in fact, “the first Sun City homes were designs Webb was selling in other Phoenix locations.”⁶³⁷ Zooming out, a report by the American Society of Planning Officials in the early 1960s stated, in reference to Sun City and similar

635 Trillin continued: “There are two palm-lined boulevards, palm trees along the crisscrossing golf- course fairways that are visible from almost everywhere, and pastel one-story ranch houses and winding streets, sufficiently varied to avoid total monotony; moreover, it is an often cited point of pride at the Del E. Webb company that even before the first house was built Sun City had a large shopping center, a motel, a medical building, a golf course, and a Community Center, and that these facilities had to be expanded almost immediately.” For quotation and following description here, see Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 123. His description here also served to set up what he would next describe as the distinctive nature of the community, including Sun City as a *retirement* community, discussed in the previous chapter. See Trillin, 123-24.

636 For Freedman, see again Freedman, *Encore*, 51. For Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 123. And for the Sun City development in Florida, see again FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 204. And here, for suburban context of “the ranch style,” see Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 238-241, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 87; Jackson, 239-240 (quotation 240).

637 Del Webb Corporation, “Sun City Homes Capture Dramatic 30 Year Evolution of Adult Housing,” press release, n.d., 2, in “HOUSING” folder, VF-SC, SCAHS. Markings on this document date it as 1990.

developments: “In their simplest attire, retirement villages are nothing more than large subdivisions with anywhere from one hundred to fifteen hundred small, dispersed single-family homes (sometimes including duplexes and garden apartments) located in the suburbs.”⁶³⁸ And, if suburbia and *owning* such homes were largely synonymous, then Sun City reflected suburban similarities in this regard as well.⁶³⁹

Sun City overlapped with suburbia at large in the arena of amenities, too.⁶⁴⁰ And after all, as the *New York Times* piece from 1974 observed: “There are shopping centers

638 Kaufman, “Planning and an aging population,” 11. Elsewhere, it spoke of Sun City’s “somewhat standardized layout,” illustrated by a DEVCO-supplied aerial photograph of early Sun City. See 12 (quotation), 13, figure 2 (and caption). For same or similar points, see Sturgeon utilizing Jackson, writing, for example, that “detached dwellings sat on individual lots.” See Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 238-241, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 87 (quotation); Sturgeon, 87. For Jackson directly here, see Jackson, 239. For Findlay on “single-family,” to which I return below, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 202. And for broader context of here, see also 201-202. On role of “the single family dwelling” in Sun City, see also Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 21 (quotation), 22, 25. Here, on p. 22, they go on to mention a change here. See again Zonn and Zube, 22.

And, whether or not necessarily involved in the document in the text writing of “located in the suburbs,” see Sturgeon again utilizing Jackson: Jackson, 238-241, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 87; Sturgeon, 87. And for Jackson directly here, see also “peripheral location” in Jackson, 238.

As additional evidence, the editors of a series in which the study of “Fun City” also wrote: “Its wide streets, spaced houses with separate lawns, and lack of transportation facilities, except for the private automobile, are direct extensions of middle class suburban communities throughout the United States, and it is not merely the material structures and use of space that are the same. The people inside the houses are separated from each other and lonely, like the people in ordinary suburban communities, but the weakness of old age makes some of them even lonelier.” Spindler, “Foreword” to Jacobs, *Fun City*, vi.

639 As Findlay explain in his study: “Compared to other retirement new towns, with their townhouses, apartments, and condominiums, Sun City had a disproportionately high share of both homeowners (95 percent) and single-family houses (70 percent).” For quotation, and its context, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 202. And, in discussing aging-related “accoutrements” as well, they decide, for example: “The visitor who enters a Sun City home is clearly challenged to find elements of its internal landscape distinguish it as clearly designed for the elderly.” Zonn and Zube, 23 (quotation), also 25. For Jackson on homeownership, overall, see, for example, Jackson, 7, 11. Finally, Findlay here also raises a theme discussed in Part I: “The more private housing probably heightened residents’ sense of autonomy.” See Findlay, 202. And elsewhere, he writes of “a heightened sense of independence” more broadly. See 161. As the California study reported, on complications: “However, in achieving this preference, the elderly necessarily preclude some of the other preferences, which they hold, e.g., ‘good public transportation’ and ‘minimum amount of maintenance.’” For quotation and also figure of, although lower than Sun City, according to Findlay’s account, see Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 42.

640 Offering a longer, historical view—and citing Sun City specifically—Bloom in work elsewhere writes: “Del Webb’s master planned communities, such as Sun City, Arizona (1960), have spawned many imitators and feature some garden city ideals (master planning, aesthetic controls, social planning, extensive community facilities) even though they are restricted to affluent retirees.” Nicholas Bloom, “New Towns” in *The Encyclopedia of Housing*, ed. Andrew T. Carswell (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, second edition, 2012), 512.

nearby, swimming pools down the street and barbecues in many backyards.”⁶⁴¹

Accompanying housing in the retirement development and in other developments, facilities fit within a broader context—and ultimately within a broader framework and formula.⁶⁴² “Despite the absence of a master plan, however, the first Levittown clearly demonstrated Levitt’s intent to provide more than mere housing in his communities,” one scholarly account has pointed out.⁶⁴³ As William Levitt, of Levitt & Sons, later explained, “The veteran needed a roof over his head and instead of giving him just a roof we gave him certain amenities.”⁶⁴⁴ According to *American Builder* in 1961, explaining a

641 See again Malcolm, “Leisure Suburb for the Elderly.”

642 As noted in my previous chapter, see again relevant discussion of amenities and Sun City, Arizona, in my Introduction for more general citation of.

643 Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement*, 96. For same or similar point—including “more than a subdivision”—see, for example, Alfred Levitt as discussed and cited in Kelly, *Expanding the American Dream*, 36. And for same or similar idea in another account that I quote and cite for the following note, see Rybczynski, *Last Harvest*, 160.

644 This material immediately follows that of which I cite immediately above. For here, see William Levitt quoted in Rybczynski, *Last Harvest*, 160-61. Quotation itself from 160. And, this material continues, with him discussing and citing specific amenities. Here, see Levitt quoted in Rybczynski, 161. On history of the Levitts, including William, see Longstreth, “The Levitts, Mass-Produced Houses, and Community Planning in the Mid-Twentieth Century,” 123-24, 126, 127-128; 172-74; Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement*, 102; Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 234. For facilities, see Longstreth, “The Levitts, Mass-Produced Houses, and Community Planning in the Mid-Twentieth Century,” 144; Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 236; Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement*, 96; Hunter, *Ranches, Rowhouses, and Railroad Flats*, 298-99; Kelly, *Expanding the American Dream*, 36. And for discussion involving various “amenities” in their subsequent Levittown development, see Longstreth, 149 (quotation), 155. And whether these or others, see also 155-158; Jackson, 237. For other useful scholarly accounts on various amenities as accompanying housing, see Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 2. Note: I return to Weiss, citing Levitt, later in this section. And for schools in homebuilding for younger families elsewhere, see again Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 941. And here, it is worth pointing out that the Levittown model itself very well might have been the exception, even though this development approach—of tying housing to various facilities, or facilities to housing—was a growing trend. Herbert Gans, in *The Levittowners*, his study of the third “Levittown” development, in New Jersey, notes an apparent dichotomy of what presumably was this model as “a prototype of postwar suburbia”: “Actually most of the suburban building had taken the form of subdivisions on the fringe of established communities rather than new communities, so that Levittown was in many ways atypical. It was a prototype largely because it had become the symbol of modern suburbia among the critics, journalists, novelists, and moviemakers concerned with the subject.” Gans, *The Levittowners*, xvii (first quotation), xxviii⁹ (second quotation). But elsewhere, Gans offers context in noting one scholar or observer: “Clark has called these ‘packaged’ suburbs because their builders provided at least some of the community facilities that go with the house.” See S.D. Clark, *The Suburban Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 5-6 quoted and cited in Gans, *The Levittowners*, 149ⁿ¹. For developments, or development, apparently referring to, see Gans, 124. In terms of Sun City, Findlay describes DEVCO as offering a “package”: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 173. The importance—or the *imperative*—of having facilities for residents might have been a function of the new

recent shift in the residential market, “The homebuyer suddenly changed from a buyer who simply wanted a roof over his head to a buyer who demanded with a house status, charm, livability, a self-contained community.”⁶⁴⁵

Amenities appeared in the case of Sun City, Arizona, as well.⁶⁴⁶ Here, DEVCO’s development appeared as “A Complete City Within Itself” in an early 1960s advertisement, and as DEVCO explained during discussion of a Sun City hospital, “The Webb Company, with its construction of shopping centers, hotel, medical center, professional building and recreational facilities, is endeavoring to help Sun City become a self-contained community.”⁶⁴⁷ Yet DEVCO’s merging of amenities and housing first

look of homebuilding in the postwar years, a relationship the ULI perhaps had implied in the 1968 edition of the *Handbook*. “The subdivision, not the lot, became the unit for land development,” it stated of the methods practices characterizing postwar housing development. “The change to larger dimensions in land development brought with it the neighborhood principle, long-range values and relationships to community surroundings.” ULI and McKeever, ed., *The Community Builders Handbook* (1968), 1. And on broader import of breadth, see again VanderMeer, who writes at one point of “the increasing scale of subdivisions gave them more opportunities to design neighborhoods.” See again VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 184. For my purposes, such developments and trends—exceptional or not—nonetheless provide contexts in which practices in Sun City might be viewed, thus helping to explain that what transpired and took shape in the Arizona retirement community presumably were connected, or at the very least paralleled, other frameworks of developing and providing new housing.

645 See “Offer Your Buyers a ‘Way of Life’ along with a House,” *American Builder* (June 1961): 99. For broader discussion of shift here, see 98-99. To be clear, while dating this shift as “about two years ago,” it also points out idea of “more than just a home” in discussion of this shift. See 98. And, back in metropolitan Phoenix, efforts connecting housing with amenities were underway prior to Webb’s Sun City, Arizona—specifically that of Maryvale, developed by John F. Long. On amenities in Maryvale, see, for example, VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 210. On Maryvale and history of, see VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 39; VanderMeer, “John F. Long,” 94; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 209-10. For VanderMeer’s excellent discussions of broader context of the transformation of residential development in the Phoenix area, including what involved “a rethinking of suburban design,” see VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 39, 65; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 206-221 (quotation 210). For Maryvale, for example, see again 209-10. And for Sun City here, see 210-15, 215; also VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 65, 67. And, on Long, see again VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 197; VanderMeer, “John F. Long,” 94-95.

646 For accounts on Sun City mentioning amenities, see, for example, the following: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 183.

647 For framework and also of “complete community,” see language quoted in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 178. For evidence quoted in the text from my research, see the following. For first quotation, see Del E. Webb Development Co., “The Fairways Wind All Around...,” in “1961 March 26 - Dec. 31 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. Handwriting identifies as *Arizona Republic*, June 11, 1961. For evidence including language of “complete,” see also another advertisement, which cited a “complete city where a Commercial Center offers everything for *daily needs* . . .” in 1960. See Del E. Web Development

appeared in its own efforts in Pueblo Gardens in the 1940s—efforts Melanie Sturgeon points to while explaining how Webb’s earlier work there and elsewhere laid the groundwork for Sun City.⁶⁴⁸ “Designed along modern lines and latest-type community planning, this will be a self-contained residential development, with its own shops, parks and playgrounds, a school and churches—virtually a city in itself,” the *Spinner* described the Tucson development.⁶⁴⁹ And in the 1960s, in terms of Webb efforts in Texas, the

Co., “America’s Senior Citizens are on the Move...to Del Webb’s Sun City” (emphasis added), in “1960 - March 1961 Newspaper advertising & proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. Here, handwriting dates as June 30, 1960, with no other publication information provided. For seemingly similar evidence, though not within “complete” language and/or framing, from my Chapter 3 and that also illustrates what might have been this particular role amenities could play. See again Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, 14. And for language of “metropolis in miniature” in Findlay, see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 178. For evidence elsewhere in the above document, though it does not use “complete” either, see also Webb Corporation, 1. For second quotation, see T.P. Kohl to “Sun City Resident.” And, in continued: “However, Sun City cannot become completely self contained without a hospital.” As advertising in the 1970s asserted, “Sun City is a self-Sufficient community, complete with churches, shops, services and recreational facilities.” DEVCO, *Visit the Country Club World of...Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona*. For facilities in Sun City Center, Florida see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 204, 215. And, as evidence of linkage with the evidence at the end of the preceding paragraph of my subsection here, the piece in *American Builder* writes of “shopping centers, swimming pools, and golf courses.” See again “Offer Your Buyers a ‘Way of Life’ Along with a House,” 98.

648 For Sturgeon here involving Pueblo Gardens, see Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 75. And for Sturgeon on amenities elsewhere, see also Sturgeon, 75-76, esp. 76. For Finnerty’s account as relevant here as well, see also Drachman quoted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 56; Finnerty Blanc, and McCann, 59-60. For discussion from Jacobson and Breen interview making point, and citing “shopping center” in context of previously cited discussion, see again Jacobson and Breen, interview, 8-9 (quotation 9). And on the following page, perhaps reflecting—from Webb’s perspective—what might have been a precursor to Webb’s later emergent development template, according to Webb, see discussion involving the Japanese internment camp in Arizona: Jacobson and Breen, interview, 10. And for Meeker on San Manuel, relevant here in terms of facilities, see also Meeker, interview, 2.

649 First, for accounts cited above as relevant here on Pueblo Gardens, see again Sturgeon, “It’s Paradise Town,” 75; Roy Drachman, quoted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 56; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 59. Second, for quotation in text from my research, see “Tucson to Get Huge Housing Development,” 1, 4 (quotation). On Pueblo Gardens, also see previously cited accounts in my Chapter 3. And for amenities in relation to housing—specifically, of “a complete community of 1,150 homes and shopping facilities”—later, in the 1950s, in Cedar Rapids, see, for example, “Webb Company Ready to Start Project of 1,150 Homes at Cedar Rapids, Ia.,” 8; “Development Designed to Offer Housing for Industrial Expansion,” *The Webb Spinner* 10, no. 6 (June 1956): 4. And Webb’s practice of undertaking broader development efforts, such as in Cedar Rapids, might be read in Tom Breen’s view of Youngtown—he said, for example, “I had already been out and seen Youngtown, it amazed me that all you had really was the concept, an exclusive community for elderly people with no kids, etc. no facilities other than just sell houses”—given that Breen was involved here. For Breen on Youngtown, see again Breen in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 2-3 (quotation); also Breen in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 3. And for Breen and Cedar Rapids, see, for example, “Webb Company Ready to Start Project of 1,150 Homes at Cedar Rapids, Ia.,” 8.

Webb Spinner referred to “a *complete* new community near Houston known as Clear Lake City” in one article in 1963.⁶⁵⁰

The use of golf, for example, followed a similar pattern, crossing developers and developments—including Webb and Webb projects. In Sun City, the fictional Ben Huggins and other residents could play copious golf—and without having to travel far from home.⁶⁵¹ But even here, golf—as both a sport and an amenity—was particular neither to Sun City nor to retirement more generally. As the contrast drawn between life prior to and *in* retirement in Webb’s positioning of such facilities—for example—necessarily suggests, Huggins *already* was a golfer, the difference in the retirement thus more an issue of degree in the consumption of *more*—and more *accessible*—golf.⁶⁵² Furthermore, there is the broader—industry—context. “The increased growth of the average family’s leisure time and discretionary income ... has created a tremendous demand for golf courses and other recreational facilities at home and in the immediate community,” according to the 1958 “Developing Golf Course Subdivisions” in the ULI journal *Urban Land*. “The thought of recreation close at hand, or living next to a golf course, has proved highly tempting to many prospective homeowners.”⁶⁵³

650 See “Webb Corporation Folks Look Back on 35 Busy Years of ‘Building a Better America,’” *The Webb Spinner* 17, no. 8 (August 1963): 8 (emphasis added). And at the level of “facilities,” it stated elsewhere: “Like Sun City retirement communities developed by the Webb company, Clear Lake City had complete community facilities established before even a first visitor toured the ‘model’ town.” See “Nation Watches as ‘Model’ Clear Lake City Opens Adjacent to Booming Houston, Texas,” *The Webb Spinner* 17, no. 9 (September 1963), 1. For identification and description of amenities here, see also 1, 6. For amenities elsewhere, see, for example, “Wes Mohr to Direct Project at Houston,” 1; Wesley G. Mohr quoted in “Webb-Humble Project First-Phase Plans Revealed,” 6. For another account perhaps relevant here, see also description in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 105. On facilities-first in Sun City, Arizona, see again sources cited in note in my Chapter 3.

651 See again relevant discussions in my Chapter 3.

652 See again, too, relevant discussion on these points as evidence in my Chapter 3. And yet, this was not true for all, as discussion in another account suggests. For this, to which I return later, in the following section, see Whitman, *A Brighter Later Life*, 163.

653 G.H. Crabtree, Jr., “Developing Golf Course Subdivisions,” *Urban Land* 17, no. 8 (September 1958): 3, account first cited in ULI, *The Community Builders Handbook* (1960), 177n130. On history of golf in

But while such ideas and the events on the ground the *Urban Land* coverage here captured suggests that Sun City thus was not alone in engaging with golf, an early 1960s piece in *Golfdom* suggests that Sun City was not alone even within *Webb*, in that it pointed to the cross-over capacity of golf.⁶⁵⁴ “With a backlog of course experience and association with ‘names’ in the golf world,” it declared, having told for example, of Sun City, Arizona, “the Webb firm is in an excellent position to continue to develop entire

postwar period, see again Kirsch, *Golf in America*, 128-145; Wood, *Retiring Men*, 198-99. For Kirsch citing Del Webb specifically, see also Kirsch, 129. I return to the passage in which this appears below. For golf in “lifestyle developments,” including—but also not limited to—retirement in Blakely and Snyder, see, for example, Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 46-47. For retirement-related distinctiveness, however, and to which I return later, see also 55.

654 First, in terms of the piece in *Urban Land*, see the following. For piece in its entirety, see Crabtree, Jr., “Developing Golf Course Subdivisions,” 3-7. More specifically, for cases it cited in discussing different points, one involved John F. Long—whose work I cited in my Chapter 2 and also cite again in this chapter. See 6. And for illustration on cover of this issue, identified as “A golf course subdivision, Phoenix, Ariz., as proposed by John F. Long, Home Builder, Inc.” See front cover and caption, in part, accompanying illustration, under title and authorship of article itself, of *Urban Land* 17, no. 8 (September 1958). And for longer historical context—addressed here—see also Crabtree, “Developing Golf Course Subdivisions,” 3-4. Meanwhile, in terms of broader point of industry context, the very definition and inclusion of a separate category of golf in industry materials suggests the extent to which this form took on an increasing prominence and presence within the world of real estate; for example, discussion involving golf appeared as and under particular segments or sub-headings in the 1960 and 1968 editions of *The Community Builders Handbook*: ULI, *The Community Builders Handbook* (1960), 176-77; ULI and McKeever, ed., *The Community Builders* (1968), 218-22. In terms of golf as broader than Sun City, Kirsch, however offers another view at the same time in his discussion, in the passage in which he goes on to cite Webb as relevant here, that might qualify the evidence above and beg further future consideration: “During these years new waves of suburbanization also contribute to the growth of golf, but even more important were the expansion of resort and retirement communities whose developers recognized the values of courses to attract tourists and to see homesites to season or full-time residents.” See again Kirsch, *Golf in America*, 129. And importantly, a useful framework for understanding the role of such amenities, Eichler and Kaplan wrote in their study: “Large subdividers and merchant builders often have put in swimming clubs, golf courses, and parks to improve the marketability of their lots or houses.” For quotation, see Eichler and Kaplan, *The Community Builders*, 42. For this strategy perhaps as involving others based on context of discussion at hand, see 42-43. And for earlier context here as well, see also 19. And for later in the twentieth century, see, for example, Patrick L. Phillips, *Developing with Recreational Amenities: Golf, Tennis, Skiing, Marinas* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Land Institute, 1986), 2, 3, 4-5, [book? first cited in Robert Christie Mill, “Resort Management” in *The SAGE Handbook of Hospitality Management*, ed. Bob Brotherton and Roy C. Wood (Los Angeles, California: Sage Publications, 2008), 506. Second, in terms of the piece in *Golfdom*, see the following. My reading of this piece is based on the quotation I utilize below and cite in the note immediately following this one. See Kemp, “Golf is a Must in Webb’s Retirement Cities,” 115. For piece in its entirety, see Kemp, 21-22, 24, 112, 114-115. And, furthermore, Webb apparently was not alone within *retirement* development, as VanderMeer’s account points to an even earlier example: “Dreamland Villa differed, then, by virtue of its expansion, but also because Farnsworth followed new development strategies. Most significantly, he built his subdivision next to a golf course, the first instance of what would become a crucial element of community building in Phoenix.” VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 211. And even if Ross Farnsworth was not the course developer—or if not tied to the housing—nonetheless still shows an important, and earlier, configuration of residential and recreation.

towns and housing developments which include golf courses.”⁶⁵⁵ While the piece continued, citing what would become Clear Lake City in Texas along with another, golf appeared elsewhere—in other, non-Sun City undertakings.⁶⁵⁶ In fact, in the 1960s and

655 For quotation, see again Kemp, “Golf is a Must in Webb’s Retirement Cities,” 115. On Sun City, Arizona, and discussion of, including that to which the quotation perhaps was referring as relevant to Arizona, see 22, 24, 112. Although not identified as Arizona but perhaps relevant, see also 114-115. That p. 114 refers to Arizona is suggested by the population provided, which falls between those for 1962 and 1963: Kemp, 114; “Sun City, Arizona: Home Key Deliveries and Population” in Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 2, app. 7. Meanwhile, the reference to “second 18” appears to match up with that of Arizona on pp. 22 and 24. See, in reverse order here, 22, 24, 115. And for other Sun City developments, also including discussion perhaps relevant here, see, for example, 22, 24. And for Webb and efforts more generally, see 21-22.

Additionally, golf courses could be viewed in terms of dollars and cents. Whether referring to Sun City developments specifically or to industry thinking and practices more generally, the piece in *Golfdom* explained: “Golf is an important part of community planning. A well designed, well maintained course can make readily salable property of some desolate areas. The cost of course construction is more than paid for by the premium selling price of land adjoining the course and the overall value of the course to the community.” See Kemp, “Golf is a Must in Webb’s Retirement Cities,” 22; Kirsch, *Golf in America*, 129. Given the apparent similarity in material here, the latter could be drawing on the former. Kemp, or at least someone named “Richard Kemp,” worked for the Webb in the early 1960s. For example, see “Webb Spinner Named Outstanding Arizona Industry Publication: State Newspaper Group Awards Plaque for 1960,” *The Webb Spinner* 15, no. 3 (March 1961): 8. Although not an account from the actual period when Webb first developed Sun City, Arizona—for which I cite evidence below—but nonetheless explaining what apparently were then-contemporary practices, one ULI publication later wrote: “In the flush of the 1960s, residential and resort developers often included golf as a matter of course, paying little more than passing attention to the long-term costs. The premium prices attained for fairway frontage and the marketing advantage of a golf course community usually greatly exceeded the course construction and operating costs, at least after the first few years.” For quotation and particular context of discussion in which this appears, see Phillips, *Developing with Recreational Amenities*, 28. And as discussion of broader context here, this account also explains: “Since the late 1950s, booming demand for golf facilities has attracted developers anxious to capitalize on the mutually supportive relationship between golf and real estate.” See again Phillips, 28. And as another—and later—account even more recently has explained, for example: “In the 1960s, the cost of developing a golf course was easily recouped through the premium prices charged for fairway frontage and the general marketing appeal of the amenity.” For quotation and its context here as well, see Robert Christie Mill, *Resorts: Operation and Management* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2001), 194. Meanwhile, other ULI materials from the late 1950s and 1960s—although not laying out, at least not explicitly, the financial dynamic of the above—nonetheless discuss things in the vein of one account, which explained: “The golf course is an asset to the real estate subdivision in many ways. Its aesthetics qualities not only heighten the initial value of the land immediately adjacent to and in the general vicinity of the course, but also tend to maintain heightened property values and to stabilize them over a long period of time. Because of this ‘linkage’ between residential lots and a golf course, the course creates additional value for such lots and increases their marketability.” See Crabtree, “Developing Golf Course Subdivisions,” 3. For additional evidence that might reflect this in general, see also, for example, the following evidence involving the ULI. As the ULI group stated in relation to the Webb event in one instance: “In the opinion of the Panel, golf courses are highly desirable adjuncts to subdivisions in the Phoenix area, *increase the value of the adjacent properties*, and add an important recreational facility to the overall community life.” See ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 28-29 (emphasis added). For “adjunct to residential subdivisions,” see also ULI, 11. And for overview of “purposes” of, as the ULI—immediately above—also provides in the process, see also Crabtree, 3. Meanwhile, for additional evidence elsewhere, see also ULI and McKeever, ed., *The Community Builders Handbook* (1968), 219. For evidence

1970s, it would factor—in different ways—into Webb efforts in Phoenix and San Jose, and in a later project in Michigan undertaken by Webb and Chrysler.⁶⁵⁷

from the 1960 edition perhaps reflecting both this point, as well as another addressed above, see also ULI, *The Community Builders Handbook* (1960), 176.

In terms of Sun City, the oral history of Jacobson and Breen perhaps indicates that and how Webb operated within a broader, industry context such as this: “We really ripped them off for the golf course sites - \$500 for the golf course sites. But even at that that really cracked the nut on that first nine holes at least on construction costs. We wanted to get the cost of the golf course out of it.” It is not indicated in the transcript at this point if this is Jacobson or Breen: Jacobson and Breen, interview, 6. Whether connecting back to the strategy surrounding Sun City or not, the document involving Webb’s Michigan development explained for its part: “GOLF COURSES are priced golf course home sites.” See Vilican-Leman & Associates, Inc., *Wabeek: A Joint Venture of Chrysler Realty Corporation and Del E. Webb Corporation in Bloomfield and West Bloomfield Townships, Oakland County, Michigan* (Southfield, Michigan: Vilican-Leman & Associates, 1970), n.p.. In terms of Sun City, for what discusses as “extra,” see indirect discussion of in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona, 203. And for discussion of, as well as a specific—and different—figure, see also, for example, Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 88. Finally, for ULI and Webb again, although Sun City was underway by the time the event had taken place, see ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 28-29. Findlay’s account of Sun City addresses issues surrounding golf as well—and that might reflect an industry context, too: Findlay, 203. For example, if his discussion of that of “DEVCO tried to offer as many lots as possible bordering golf courses” meant this was strategic, then see the following ULI accounts, which speak—according to one—of “built to provide the maximum number of adjacent residential lots”: Findlay, 203 (first quotation); ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 11 (second quotation); Crabtree, 5; ULI, *The Community Builders Handbook* (1960), 176. As the Crabtree account continued, from the full quotation in which the material above appears, citing “a highly desirable view.” See again Crabtree, 5. And elsewhere the ULI cites “view” in continuing from the above: ULI, *The Community Builders Handbook* (1960), 176. Another issue was that involving “open spaces,” in Findlay’s account, that—if involving strategy on Webb’s part, in either his account or elsewhere—industry materials then addressed. First, for Findlay, see Findlay, 203. Whether on the level in Findlay—if specified—or not, the Crabtree account pointed out: “What could be more pleasant than to have a vast, well kept open space at one’s doorstep!” See Crabtree, 3. And whether on this level or not, one edition in the 1960s of *The Community Builders Handbook* stated: “The course provides open space and natural beauty.” ULI, *The Community Builders Handbook* (1968), 219. Finally, if—or however—related to his point cited/quoted above, see those on “view,” noted above: Crabtree, 5; ULI, *The Community Builders Handbook* (1960), 176. And for mention of cost of in Sun City—in context of discussion of another point—see also Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 155.

656 More specifically, the account continued here: “Already planned are courses for complete cities to be developed near the retirement communities, for a 4,100-acre ranch the Webb firm is developing at Santa Barbara, Calif. in association with Henry Crown, and for the 15,000 acres to be developed as a complete city in association with the Humble Oil and Refining Co. near Houston, Texas.” Kemp, “Golf is a Must in Webb’s Retirement Cities,” 115. For background of Clear Lake City, see previously cited accounts. For Clear Lake City and golf in another accounts, see, for example, “Lockheed Buys Land in New Clear Lake City,” *Webb Spinner* 17, no. 1 (January 1963): 1, 3; “Nation Watches as ‘Model’ Clear Lake City Opens Adjacent to Booming Houston, Texas,” *The Webb Spinner* 17, no. 9 (September 1963), 6; “Curious Houston Folks Came by Thousands for First Look at New City” in *Webb Spinner* 17, no. 10 (October 1963): 3 (caption of second-from-bottom photo). Finally, for the others, see those discussed and cited immediately below.

657 For Phoenix and San Jose, see “Phoenix to Get New Multi-Million Dollar Homes Development,” *Webb Spinner* 14, no. 8 (August 1960): 1, 6, including caption of photo; “Ideas for Ideal Living: Moon Valley Homes Attract Thousands,” *Webb Spinner*, 15, no. 4 (April 1961): 6; “Moon Valley Homes Offer Ideal Living” in “1961,” *Webb Spinner* 16, no. 1 (January 1962): 13 (caption); “‘Valley of the Moon’ Residents Offered Golf, Relaxed Suburban Setting,” *Webb Spinner* 18, no. 4 (April 1964): 7; “Webb Begins \$45 Million Custom Homes Project: Almaden Program is Joint Venture with Henry Crown,” *Webb*

And that amenities were more a function of residence than retirement alone held true to some extent beyond golf. Specifically, this dynamic further is illustrated by coverage in the *Webb Spinner* in one case. “If America’s retired like the idea, *why wouldn’t citizens of all ages?*” one article posed in reporting in its March 1963 issue. “That’s the premise on which Park Stockdale, *a housing development build around recreational facilities much as is Del Webb’s retirement communities*, was opened to an estimated 25,000 first-day visitors last month on the site of the huge Stockdale development near Bakersfield, California.”⁶⁵⁸

Spinner 14, no. 9 (September 1960): 1, including caption of photo, 3; “Camera Portrays Beauty of Almaden,” *Webb Spinner* 14, no. 9 (September 1960): 5 (caption of top photo); “Almaden Country Club Stimulates Active Way-of-Life,” *Webb Spinner* 17, no. 11 (November 1963): 8. On these and others, the *Spinner* reported: “Moon Valley, Almaden Country Club Estates in San Jose, Calif., and Stockdale Estates and Park Stockdale at Bakersfield, Calif., represent Webb Corporation custom home developments associated with, or adjacent to, fine country club and golf facilities.” See “Valley of the Moon’ Residents Offered Golf, Relaxed Suburban Setting,” 7. And for development in Michigan, see, for example, Vilcan-Leman & Associates, Inc., *Wabeek*, n.p. and enclosed “Development Plan.” This document also mentions Almaden and Moon Valley in Phoenix (n.p.). For additional sources for the Michigan development here, see also “Choice Chrysler Property New Detroit Development,” *Webb Spinner* 24, nos. 607 (June-July 1970): 1, 5; “Wabeek Scores Best Quarter since Opening,” *Webb Spinner* 28, nos. 5-6 (May-June 1974): 10. The “new town” of Reston, Virginia, for example, featured golf as well: Murray, Jr., “New Towns for America,” 126, 127, figure apparently identified as “RESTON MASTER PLAN” at beginning of caption. 658 “Thousands View New Park Stockdale Homes and Recreational Facilities,” *Webb Spinner* 17, no. 3 (March 1963): 1 (all emphasis added). For evidence elsewhere, of as “built around recreational facilities much as are Webb company retirement communities,” also see “1963 in Review,” *Webb Spinner* 17, no. 12 (December 1963): 11 (middle caption). For specific amenities as listed in the first account here, see “Thousands View New Park Stockdale Homes and Recreational Facilities,” 1. Although golf is not mentioned for Park Stockdale in the above, it is elsewhere in a previously cited account: “Valley of the Moon’ Residents Offered Golf, Relaxed Suburban Setting,” 7. Also, for background, for Park Stockdale as “fourth phase,” see “Thousands View New Park Stockdale Homes and Recreational Facilities,” 10. On Stockdale, including rise of, see, for example, Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 11-12; “Webb Company Launches 6,000-Acre Development,” 1, 7; “Engineering Work on Webb’s 6,000-Acre Stockdale Project Proceeds on Schedule,” *The Webb Spinner* 15, no. 3 (March 1961): 7; “Bakersfield Citizens Join in Celebrating Start of Work on Stockdale Development,” *The Webb Spinner* 15, no. 4 (April 1961): 1; “Stockdale Plan Ties in Community with Modern Industrial Park,” 4; “Kern City, Newest for Retirees, Opens October 7,” 2; again “Thousands View New Park Stockdale Homes and Recreational Facilities,” 10. And as additional evidence of point in the text about a broader universality of recreation, the authors of *The Retirement Trap* (1965) wrote: “Builders were quick to see that the grown children of the seniors who came to look at the retirement towns were as taken with *money magnets* as their parents. A quick look at the real estate section of any large Sunday paper will convince anyone that the young adults also means to have all, or most of all, of these accouterments of country-club living.” See Cooley and Cooley, *The Retirement Trap*, 14-15. For definition of “*money magnets*,” including golf, see 12-13. On Webb in terms of the rise of “Lifestyle Communities” in the United States, see Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 46-47 (quotation 46). On Sun City in terms of subsequent development, see McHugh, “These White Walls,” 252. And for Philip VanderMeer on frontloading of facilities elsewhere, see

Furthermore, the relationship between housing and amenities—in which the latter supplemented the former—took place on a collective level that, in the process, seemingly was spatial in nature. As various accounts—both scholarly and period—have explained, the positioning of housing and amenities in relation to each other factored into the development in the case of Webb’s efforts in Arizona.⁶⁵⁹ According to Sturgeon, “The community of curved streets was laid out as a series of neighborhoods each built around its own recreation and shopping centers.”⁶⁶⁰ And, more directly, as John Meeker later explained of Webb’s two Arizona retirement developments, “Based on Phase I planning and use, a *neighborhood village concept* was used in Phase II and Phase III of Sun City and Phase I of Sun City West.”⁶⁶¹

VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 219. Even more, VanderMeer points out: “Some nonretirement projects drew directly on lessons of retirement communities, for builders of the latter, like Webb and Farnsworth, used those designs and some of the social planning in their nonretiree projects.” VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 215. Although not specifying Webb here, see also 210. And on Farnsworth, see 211. And *his* development might be one Findlay cites in his study, although chronology could differ between the two: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 211; VanderMeer, 211. In my work, particularly in this chapter, I attempt to explore the context of Webb’s efforts more broadly, which includes subsequent work. But whether causal or whether a culmination, Sun City must be placed in relation to Webb’s overall development template and efforts—along, of course, with the context of the industry itself.

659 In addition to the specific accounts that follow, for a framework for thinking about such relationships—for example, what Christensen refers to as “siting” in relation to her work on Levitt efforts, in terms of connection amongst amenities—see Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement*, 98, 99 (quotation).

660 Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 87. However, although Sturgeon at the end of this paragraph cites the work of Kenneth Jackson—as I discuss and note earlier in this section—and presumably so for the middle and last sentences of the paragraph based on the material in both Sturgeon and Jackson, she does not cite specific source material for the point here in my text, nor does she explore this point in depth, as the analysis below does. See, in order here, Sturgeon, 87; Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 238-241, quoted and cited in Sturgeon, 87. More importantly, in terms of Sturgeon and the point in the text above, one study published in the 1980s similarly explained: “In contrast, Sun City was designed as a series of neighborhoods, each with its own shopping and recreation center.” For quotation and context here, in regards to Sun City West, see Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities*, 89. For this elsewhere, see also Hunt, et al., “Sun City, Arizona” in *A Detailed Look at 18 Retirement Communities*, 42. Note: I return to the Sun City-Sun City West difference in the note immediately below.

661 Meeker, “Overview,” 15 (emphasis added). Continuing, Meeker seems to define this in writing: “The village concept with the shopping center and recreation center as neighborhood hubs was a very effective sales tool” (15). Here, however, he does not elaborate on how and why this worked—if, for example, it enticed prospective homebuyers from a quality-of-life standpoint or in addressing other issues of importance. But, perhaps offering insight, elsewhere—to which I return below—he speaks of “a little inconvenient” in discussing shopping, whether in Sun City or Sun City West: Meeker, interview, 10. And

Meeker's description, for example, appears to share linguistic—if not also substantive—overlap with two different frameworks discussed at mid-century. One involved “the Sponsored Neighborhood Village Plan” laid out in the 1950s by the head of the Florida State Improvement Commission, described—along with other features—as: “The community center would literally hold the neighborhood together. It would contain a shopping center, in which would be located a super market, a service station, drug store, laundromat, barber and beauty shop, shoe repair shop, laundry and dry cleaning shop. It would contain the community building, which might be termed the heart of the whole neighborhood.”⁶⁶² Directly or indirectly, the work of Clarence Perry is another possible

in this interview, he also speaks of “a neighborhood concept,” presumably in relation to Sun City West: Meeker, interview, 20. For evidence of early Sun City West, an early document explained, for example, that “neighborhood identities of 3,500 to 4,500 homes will tend to develop around focal points of commercial areas and recreation centers.” See Henningson, Durham & Richardson, *Sun City West, Phase I: Development Master Plan*, prepared for and with the Del E. Webb Development Company (1977), 10 (quotation), 18, SCAHS. And here, in terms of Sun City West, Meeker also spoke of the “neighborhood village concept”: Meeker, “Overview,” 15. For discussion of what would take place later in Sun City West, however or not, specifically “a main ‘hub’ area,” see Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities*, 89 (quotation); Hunt, et al., “Sun City, Arizona” in *A Detailed Look at 18 Retirement Communities*, 42; Meeker, interview, 10-11, 20.

⁶⁶² First, it is important to point out here that Sturgeon's work does make a connection to some extent—even if not connecting the dots from pp. 52 and 87, then nonetheless offering discussion setting up that involving Sun City, and, even more, in pointing out the influence of Walter Keyes: “Unions did not embrace Keyes' idea of building communities for retired people, but commercial developers did.” Sturgeon, “‘It's a Paradise Town,’” 54. While Webb presumably would have fallen underneath her umbrella of “commercial developers” here—and the very structure of her discussion, with her second chapter on “origins” prior to her third and fourth chapters on Sun City, Arizona, might suggest a relationship, perhaps causal or otherwise as influencing—her discussion of Sun City, above, does not connect, at least explicitly, back to Keyes. For structure of Sturgeon, see “TABLE OF CONTENTS” in Sturgeon, v. And for Sturgeon on Keyes—which I cite in full below—and then Sun City, again, see Sturgeon, 52, 87.

Second, for scholarly accounts first discussing and citing Keyes on retirement communities as disseminated in different places, see the following. For Sturgeon on Keyes, see, for example, Walter E. Keyes, “A New Concept of Community Housing for Retired People in Florida” in *Living in Later Years*, 2nd Annual Conference on Gerontology, ed. T. Lynn Smith (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1952; 1967), 64-65, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “‘It's a Paradise Town,’” 52. For another account, see also Keyes, discussed and cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 202. For coverage of work, and which is one source Calhoun cites for his account, above, see also “Neighborhood Villages for the Aged Proposed,” *The American City* 66, no. 12 (December 1951): 163, cited in Sturgeon, 53, and Calhoun, 202. For source that I use in my work here, see Walter E. Keyes, “State Planning for the Aged,” *Planning: 1951: Proceedings of the Annual National Planning Conference held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, October 14-17, 1951* (Chicago, Illinois: American Society of Planning Officials, 1951), 96-105. And, last but not least, in terms of Webb in relation to the genealogy of this idea and accompanying

influence—and one, scholarship has shown, that took root in a particular context. As Jason Brody has written, “ULI’s *Community Builders Handbook* (1947), a manual for suburban real estate development, was based upon Perry’s Neighborhood Unit concept.”⁶⁶³ And as this specific edition stated, for example, “A complete and self-

issues, see Keyes on efforts of “several interests” underway: Keyes, “State Planning for the Aged,” 103-4 (quotation 103). Unlike others, my discussion returns to Keyes later in this chapter in relation to the employment dimension discussed, although I do discuss—like my reading of Sturgeon here in relation to amenities and space—Keyes and the issue of age segregation, which is something both Sturgeon and Calhoun first explored in their work.

Third, and finally, for idea discussed in text above, see the following. For Sturgeon describing Keyes—differing from that above but perhaps more explicitly and effective in capturing the spatial nature of this environment as envisioned—she writes: “He envisioned villages of five hundred or more mixed units of houses, apartments and dormitories which would ‘radiate outward’ from the community center. This center would be the seat of various programs ranging from recreation and hobbies to adult education.” See Sturgeon on Keyes in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 52. Specifically, this again comes from previously noted piece: Keyes, “A New Concept of Community Housing for Retired People in Florida,” 64-65, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 52. For Keyes in my work, specifically the quotations in text, see Keyes, “State Planning for the Aged,” 101 (first quotation), 102 (second quotation). For these and other features, see Keyes, “State Planning for the Aged,” 102-3. For Otis on work of Keyes, see also Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 60.

⁶⁶³ For Brody’s excellent work showing that and how the work of the Regional Planning Association of America-affiliated Clarence Perry shaped ULI efforts, see then following. For quotation and immediate discussion of relationship to ULI thinking here, see Brody, “Constructing Professional Knowledge,” 92, esp. 92-93, including figure 5.4, “Neighborhood Unit principles in the Urban Land Institute’s *Community Builders Handbook* (ULI 1947)” (93). And, for additional discussion of, in general and in relation to this and subsequent works, see also, for example, 81, 95, 97-99, 100-108, 109. And on NAHB, see also 93-94, 94. And for additional discussion, including the ULI but more broadly as well, see also, for instance, Brody, 1, 68-75. For discussion of a relationship perhaps similar to tension surrounding the actual application of Ebenezer Howard, or Howard-type or –derived ideas cited earlier in this chapter, see, for example, Brody, 59. Also, perhaps connecting back to discussion in previously cited accounts—of Eichler and Kaplan, and VanderMeer, for example—of changes within industry, see also in Brody, for example, Brody, 151-152. For other work suggesting or making connection, see discussion, including the ULI’s Hugh Potter quoted, in Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles*, 7. See also Tridib Banerjee and William C. Baer, *Beyond the Neighborhood Unit: Residential Environments and Public Policy* (New York: Plenum Press, 1984; New York: Spring Science and Business Media, 1984 [sic?] [2013?]), 25. Although I note—using Forsyth’s study—how the case of Columbia, for example, differed later, for discussion of Columbia relevant here, see Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 123. While I also return to aspects of this later in this chapter, for description and discussion of this model, including different facilities of and their positioning within the neighborhood, see, for example, Buder, *Visionaries and Planners*, 174; Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, 169; Gillette, *Civitas be Design*, 63-64, 65; Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles*, 31-33; Klaus, *A Modern Arcadia*, 150-51; Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 30-31; Clarence Arthur Perry, *Housing for the Machine Age* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939), 51, 56-57, 60 62-64, 65-69, 71-72, 75, illustration, “NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT PRINCIPLES,” account first, or also cited, in Hise, 27, 32 (illustration); Brody, 33, 34, fig. 3.1, “The most well-known of the Neighborhood Unit diagrams that Perry developed for the RPA monograph. (Perry 1929b),” 36, 52, 54-55, 56, 58, 59. For discussion in Robert Self’s work of “community-planning theory,” see Self, *American Babylon*, 31. Also, I utilize Clay Howard’s work on schools in the following section as I further explore such ideas in relation to the work of Clarence Perry and the ways in which Sun City, Arizona, differed. For material directly from own reading of the following, see ULI, *The Community Builders Handbook* (1947), 38, 39-40, fig. 7, “Neighborhood

contained neighborhood unit of sufficient population should have its own local shopping center, elementary school and recreation facilities.”⁶⁴ But, while Sun City, Arizona,

Unit Principles” (40). The relationship however, was not always a one-way street; Perry himself was shaped by the practices of developers already underway, according to Brody: Brody, “Constructing Knowledge,” 38, 48-51. For impact of those such as Nichols on the industry, see Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, 131-32. Finally, on relationship with the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA), and influence on the group, see William Peterman, *Neighborhood Planning and Community-Based Development: The Potential and Limits of Grassroots Action* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2000), 15; Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement*, 55. Others, however, treat this as a less permanent or official relationship: Mark Luccarelli, *Lewis Mumford and the Ecological Region: The Politics of Planning* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1995), 153; Gillette, *Civitas by Design*, 53. On membership of the RPAA, see Buder, *Visionaries and Planners*, 165-66, 167-68. On RPAA and its relationship to original garden-city ideas, see Buder, 165, 166, 170, 179, 180. Finally, on Perry’s impact, see Peterman, 15-16; Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, 167, 169; Gillette, *Civitas by Design*, 63, 64-68. What follows is an attempt on my part to make sense of Sun City form here, as described by Meeker, in relation to Keyes and Perry—by way of the ULI—in order to understand and explain how, assuming it did, Webb’s development fit within existing frameworks, particularly in terms of industry ideas and practices. Given uncertainty on my part about the function of certain streets and roads, and their specific order and relationship to each other, my reading of Sun City and interpretation in relation to the above may not be accurate and, I presume, not the final say. However, in an effort to contextualize Meeker and also in light of possible overlap between Sun City and Keyes and Perry, I do try to account for my own lack of clarity concerning specific relevant roads and streets by I try to lay out possible points of overlap between Sun City and the above models. Future research, however, could return to and further explore and explain the Sun City system and its overlap or relationship otherwise to the above.

Sun City might have fit one, the other, or both of the frameworks of Keyes and Perry—again, by way of the ULI in *The Community Builders Handbook*. In terms of the former, Sun City shared overlap in language, as well as in some specific spaces and amenities, previously outlined in my text. Furthermore, spatially there was possible overlap, too, as it does appear that—whatever the reason or reasons—the pairing and placement of amenities could vary across the development. Overall, Keyes’s speaking of “radiated outward” could parallel Meeker’s speaking of “hubs,” both of which presumably involved centrality. See, in order here, Keyes, “A New Concept of Community Housing for Retired People in Florida,” 64-65, quoted in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 52; Meeker, “Overview,” 15. Assuming that the roads or streets crossing them were not arterials—accounts identify what might have been Grand Avenue and Bell Road as those criss-crossing the community and 99th Avenue as the only such road moving perpendicularly—perhaps illustrating this were, for example, the second commercial and recreational areas, at Peoria and 107th Avenues; the third recreation facility, free-standing south of the second site/s; the commercial area surrounded by Units 11 and 12; also, perhaps, the recreation area, north of Grand but south of Bell and west of 99th Avenue; and the religious facilities south of Bell and bisected by what presumably were collector streets or roads. For accounts offering frameworks of streets and roads in Sun City, as well as the framework of interstate, arterial, collector, and residential street” in Forsyth, see Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 21; Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 223 (quotation here). However, something I discuss again below in this note, see also Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 1, 47. And for “plan” perhaps here, see “Sun City General Plan, Maricopa County, Arizona” (1967), in “Arizona’s Sun City Explodes Northward in New Growth Phase: Public Interest Rivals First Announcements,” *Webb Spinner* 22, no. 3-4 (March-April 1968): 3. For facilities and their locations discussed here, see the following: Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 1, 14, 18, 33, 44, 46, 62, P-1 (1971), 72; “General Plan for Sun City” in Webb Corporation, *Sun City, Arizona: General Plan*, 21, fig. 21; “Sun City General Plan” (n.d.), in Meeker, vol. 2, app. 2. I also have utilized Google Maps online to clarify and/or confirm locations and street/road identities:

<https://www.google.com/maps/place/Sun+City,+AZ/@33.6160596,-112.3523381,12z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x872b4255be4b0dad:0x2c2dfa70427a8a91!8m2!3d33.5975393!4d-112.2718239> (last accessed May 7, 2016). And, if 99th was not, in fact, an arterial road, then

other spaces and amenities located along it might suggest centrality and thus overlap with Keyes. See, for example, “Sun City General Plan.” Additionally, another account suggesting noting: “Circular neighborhood pods are oriented toward their centers, where specialized recreational amenities and care services are provided.” See Ball, *Livable Communities for Aging Populations*, 12, fig. 1.5 (caption). And they might have helped make of “suburban forms,” if this is the connection meant: Ball, 12.

At the same time, a language and framing of “village” does not necessarily preclude connections to Perry. For connections based on discussion in Forsyth, see Forsyth, 32, 73. And Forsyth cites Perry in relation to “the developer village unit”: Forsyth, 218. In terms of Keyes directly, if the “community center” was central in his model, then this might have represented specific point of overlap, in light of the form of Perry and, too, of the ULI—at least at of 1947. In addition to Keyes, previously cited, see, for example, Perry in Brody, 34, fig. 3.1; Perry, 75; Brody, 107, fig. 5.13, “Consistency and Change in the Six Principles of Perry’s Neighborhood Unit concept”; ULI, 40, fig. 7, in Brody, 93. And for Perry and transformation in the latter, see Brody, 92-93, 100-108, 109. More likely, shopping in Sun City followed in the footsteps of—or least paralleled in some cases—Perry. See, for example, the development’s first shopping center, as well as those north of Grand—along Bell, in particular, as well as the two on 99th, assuming that this was indeed an arterial. For example, see Brody, 56-58, esp. 58, 107, fig. 5.13; Perry, 75; ULI, 40, fig. 7, in Brody, 93, fig. 5.4; “Webb Maps 1,000-Home Retirement Town”; “Sun City General Plan” in Meeker. Meanwhile, Meeker writes of “off section line major arterial roads” in one phase, which—since apparently multiple—might have included 99th and perhaps at least one another, such as Del Webb Boulevard. See Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 47. And for plan to which he might be referring here, see “Sun City General Plan, Maricopa County, Arizona” (1967), in “Arizona’s Sun City Explodes Northward in New Growth Phase: Public Interest Rivals First Announcements,” *Webb Spinner* 22, no. 3-4 (March-April 1968): 3. Thus, this might have meant that the commercial facilities by Units 11 and 12 then could have been less Keyes and more Perry. See again “Sun City General Plan” in Meeker. On shopping in relation to neighborhoods in Sun City, see again Meeker, “Overview,” 15; Meeker, interview, 10; DEVCO, *Sun City West*, 10, 18; Hunt, et al., *A Detailed Look at 18 Retirement Communities*, “Sun City, Arizona” 42. And as Findlay writes: “DEVCO situated shopping centers prominently in each section of town. By 1980, when malls outnumbered golf courses, they served to tie together the blocks of tract housing.” See Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 203. The “Fun City” study also raised the issue of aging: “Because of infirmities and the hot weather, only those who live within a few blocks of the shopping center are able to walk there. This excludes many from easy access, since the center is not located in the geographical center of town but on the periphery.” Jacobs, *Fun City*, 14-15 (quotation at 14), 41. And on “center of the community,” though not apparently connecting to aging, at least per the above, see also Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 37. Whether or not these cases applied to Sun City, Arizona, the Arizona development did accounts for pedestrians to at least some extent. “The commercial center, fronting on the main highway, will be modern in every respect and will place shops and medical facilities within walking distance of all homes,” the *Spinner* reported in September 1959. [“Arizona Retirement Community is Webb Project,” 6. For coverage, also see “Webb Maps 1,000-Home Retirement Town.” For one issue posed to the ULI panel, see also ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 18, 70. Future research might explore such issues further. Finally, even if the commercial was not central in Perry—and Sun City—this nonetheless might have fit the “hubs” shape discussed by Meeker, if zooming out and looking at how commercial existed in relation to other, particularly areas, as at the next level up the scale. See again, for example, Meeker as cited earlier; “Sun City General Plan” in Meeker. Among a handful of accounts discussing Perry’s ideas and that might apply and thus illustrate this—if such a “district” fit within a “hubs” framework—Greg Hise writes: “In Perry’s diagrams, retail shops were placed at select intersections; the implication, in plan, was that contiguous, interlocking units would form a commercial district.” Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles*, 33. And in discussing one case, Brody, for example, points out—suggesting a collective capacity—that “several neighborhood units are grouped together into a single *Handbook* (1947), 39. This quotation comes from my own reading of this document. Questions of location development.” Brody, 101-102 (quotation 102). In the case of Sun City, if this involved a spatial relationship akin to the above, see again Findlay on “tie together the blocks of tract housing”: Findlay, 203. Also, for background framework—of “street hierarchy of arterial, collector, and local roads,” see, for example, Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 223; Brody, 106 (quotation).

664 See ULI, *The Community Builders* aside for such spaces and amenities, important is their place—their existence—within the development template, *as connected to residential development*. Even more, in

might have followed in the footsteps of such prescriptions of subdivision development, Webb would skip—and deliberately so—a key ingredient of such residential recipes in relation to retirement.⁶⁶⁵

Senior Suburbia

“In switching to retirement communities,” a 1960s study of retirement developments in California reported of those with “long records of building the traditional tract type housing geared to the needs of younger families,” “the developer naturally retained as much of his previous success formula as he conceivably could. Usually he had only to add a few community recreation facilities, a distinctive name like Leisure Paradise, and some kind of age limit.”⁶⁶⁶ But in neither form nor fashion did Sun City replicate its development contemporaries. Despite points of overlap, such similarities did not preclude a Sun City distinctiveness predicated—in different ways—on retirement. The differences that existed extended beyond the selling of Sun City in the vein of retirement remedies outlined in DEVCO’s 1960s advertising; in the built environment, not to mention the population itself living in this environment, Sun City might have departed from industry ideas and practices at large but also turned them into something else.⁶⁶⁷

discussion perhaps providing a framework here for proportionality more generally, Brody writes, for instance, of Perry: “Spatial size was not his primary concern here, however.” For this and discussion that follows, see Brody on Perry in Brody, “Constructing Professional Knowledge,” 54-55 (quotation 54), 59. 665 Here, I am referring to schools, and I discuss this—utilizing various accounts—in the section of this chapter that follows.

666 For quotations, which was part of broader discussion here involving an apparent disconnect between aging and environment, see Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 42-43. More specifically, for primary quotation, see 43. And for quotation identifying such “developers,” see 42-43.

667 And, to be sure, such an “age limit,” as spoke of in the California study at the beginning of this paragraph, did matter. As later chapters explore, it further set Sun City apart from suburbia and was an important political issue in the community.

DEVCO was very much in step with development efforts more generally in the postwar decades in certain ways. And yet, in the scope of development it entertained, Webb's bigger thinking also infused this development cocktail with retirement-tinged distinctiveness—and, more specifically so, in raising the issue of a “possible labor pool of ‘retirees’ attracting some industries” in the questions it formally posed to the ULI experts.⁶⁶⁸ “With the retirement community at Sun City, we are collecting some

668 ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 24, 70. Efforts apparently already were underway on this front, Breen explained a few months later: “The Webb executive disclosed that his firm has been working for the past nine months ‘to interest industry to come to into the area and utilize the labor pool we have, which is a part-time labor pool.’” Breen quoted in “Webb Seeks Cemetery, Industry, Trailer Zoning.” In the end, however, as the ULI document that resulted stated in one place: “A labor pool of retirees is not a sufficient factor of itself in attracting new industries; however, keep an up-to-date survey of technical, professional, and other talents available from retirement communities for making such information available to prospective industry.” For quotation, see ULI, 12. This appears “HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PANEL’S REPORT” (10). For discussion elsewhere, under “THE PANEL’S FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS,” see 15 (quotation here), 24-25.

But, perhaps suggesting that the ULI group did not entirely rule out a connection—in whatever way or to whatever degree—is the following. For example, material from “THE PANEL’S FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS”—which might be the expanded version of the quoted material immediately above in this note, from p. 10 in the ULI document, and thus offers seemingly more elaboration than what appeared earlier in the “HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PANEL’S REPORT”—included: “Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly true that employment for a number of such persons would be available to such industries as might locate in the immediate area. To this extent, the presence of such talents would be an added factor.” For this quotation and what appeared earlier—relevant from this standpoint, too, if it illustrated an allowance for a connection of sorts—see again, in order in which they appear in the document, ULI, 12, 25 (quotation). As an additional example, this document stated elsewhere: “It would be expected that here there might be located manufacturing plants dealing in products which would derive particular advantage from the professional and technical talents available among the retired residents of Sun City.” ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 21-22. Perhaps reflecting this position, as taken by Webb, *Today’s Health* in early 1963 quoted Del Webb: “These parks are not designed to attract industry for our senior citizens. However, because of the range of skills and dexterity represented among our retired, certain businesses may want to utilize the residents. And some residents may desire part-time work.” See Webb quoted in Howard Earle, “Where Retirement is Fun,” *Today’s Health* 41, no. 1 (January 1963): 34. Furthermore, the placement of the “industrial park-type development” called for by Webb, above and earlier in this section, might suggest an attempt to forge such a relationship—in other words, that this location, per the ULI group, could have involved more than coincidence and factored in retirement. Although I have not been able to determine with greater certainty the reasoning here, see the following evidence. For example, see specific language of “here” by the ULI group: ULI, 21. Lending support to the first is the fact that Webb defined Marinette’s function at the outset, prior to the ULI making this call—that the ULI group thus presumably were aware of it. See, for example, Everson, “The Master Plan,” 81. Additionally, for Webb’s part, in its post-ULI efforts involving zoning, local newspaper coverage spoke in its coverage—quoting Breen—of “industry establishments ‘to complement the developments of Youngtown and Sun City.’” See Breen cited and quoted in “Webb Seeks Cemetery, Industry, Trailer Zoning.” Then again, in addition to no mention of retirement in other places in the ULI document on Marinette, transportation might have played a role as well, given discussion of “portions adjacent to the railroad tracks” and “Santa Fe rail-served sites.” See, in order, ULI, 13, 19; Breen cited in “Webb Seeks Cemetery, Industry, Trailer Zoning” (first quotation);

outstanding doctors, physicists, chemists, and other electronic-age people,” a Webb representative said at one point during the event. “If we can set up an industrial area in the north section of Marinette where industries can employ these retired people on a part-time or consulting basis, we think we can provide a great reservoir of trained industrial people for industry to draw upon.”⁶⁶⁹ In another instance and context, Joe Ashton suggested how such a set-up would serve the interests of Sun City residents. “They are people who want to satisfy their feeling of usefulness,” he explained. “They would like to have part-time employment, or in some cases full-time employment. They are

Webb Corporation, *Del Webb's Sun City Industrial District*, n.p. (second quotation). But to be clear, not all industry efforts discussed or undertaken involved retirement. Even if the retirement community was the initial or the only focus, evidence by 1963 suggests that it such efforts existed independently, or at least not solely predicated on, the retirement demographic in Sun City, Arizona—thus furthering the broader-agenda argument in understanding Webb’s role as a developer in the 1950s and 1960s *as context*. For example, see again Webb on “nearby employment opportunities *for the working community*” in Webb Corporation, *Sun City, Arizona: General Plan*, 23 (emphasis added). For additional evidence, see again Webb on “not designed to attract industry for our senior citizens” in *Today's Health*, as above. See Webb quoted in Earle, “Where Retirement is Fun,” 34. And even if the only intended demographic in 1961, Webb at the very least—if not exploring all along—did raise the idea, hypothetical or otherwise, of something else: “If we put on a normal housing operation, made it for a normal market as opposed to retirees, and did a firstclass [*sic*] job of facilities, including all the best things we could come up with for young families with children; wouldn't this be the best way we could go about attracting industries and high-caliber personnel to the best living climate in the country?” See Ashton in ULI, 50. And at the bottom of this page and the top of the next, Yowell continues—from his statement stated above in this note—including speaking of “available employees of all ages”, see Yowell in ULI, 50-51 (quotation 51). And coincidence or not, *Del Webb's Sun City Industrial District* document again listed at one point “Homes for *all age groups*—from moderately priced to custom-designed and built.” See again Webb Corporation, *Del Webb's Sun City Industrial District*, n.p. (emphasis added). In terms of Ashton’s comment here, this could have reflected a shift in Webb’s position *during the event*, given that this—unlike discussion that I cite here in this paragraph in my text—took place later, as part of “DISCUSSION OF THE PANEL’S REPORT.” For conversation here, and timing of, see ULI, 9, 40 (quotation); Ashton in ULI, 50; Yowell in ULI, 50-51. And for conversation that took place earlier—and that I return to and cite below—see ULI, 72; Everson in ULI, 82; ULI, 83; Ashton, for example, in ULI, 85. And for orienting involving overall document, see “CONTENTS” of ULI, 3.

Lastly, and providing yet additional evidence of discussion of work and its role in retirement for Sun City residents, see the following. Continuing from the material quoted in part and cite earlier in this note, the ULI document continued: “In this connection, it is further suggested that some consideration be given to the development at one of the neighborhood shopping center sites of a retail farmers market-type of operation, which could utilize some of the skills and abilities of the people of Sun City, together with the possibility of their operating small shops of various sorts in this development.” See ULI, 25. For same or similar point earlier in document, see also ULI, 11-12. And, in fact, Webb had stated the following back in 1959. “The shopping center will include space for retail outlets for products made within the community,” the *Spinner* reported, “which takes such activities out of the hobby class and makes them constructive.” “Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders,” 2.

669 See Everson in discussion in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 82.

economically situated so that they are not concerned with making a lot of money. And in many cases, supplementary income is all they want.”⁶⁷⁰

Webb does not appear to have been the first party to conceive of such a relationship. “Many retired people are happiest when they are working,” the Florida State Improvement Commission official explained in relation to “the Sponsored Neighborhood Village Plan.” “Being productive helps them feel that they are still valuable citizens. To this end considerable thought has been given to the role of part-time employment in the neighborhood village. We feel that the occupants of the village development will provide an excellent labor force for certain types of light industry.”⁶⁷¹ Nonetheless, that this approach was not standard among developers—at least among developers for-profit housing—is suggested by conversation at one point during the ULI event. “This is an experiment,” Angus Wynne, Jr., for example, described it, presumably referring to the idea discussed for Sun City, Arizona, “but it will work.”⁶⁷² Connecting

670 For quotation itself, see Ashton in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 85. In his broader statement here, Ashton begins by referring back to a statement of Robert Nahas, which appears before that of Jacobson—the latter of which I return to at the end of this section. For this context, see Nahas in ULI, 85. Whether or not he was suggesting such a linkage, both actually and intentionally so, discussion by another developer—following Ashton here—might have involved the dynamic discussed above: “It seems to me that you have a unique opportunity, if you can get the kind of industry that can utilize these developments, to augment and accelerate your retirement volume through in-migration.” See David D. Bohannon in ULI, 86. For full context of, see 85-86. For account indicating that Webb maintained an interest, post-ULI, in supplying work for Sun City, although specific benefit/s of were not specified, see, for example, again Webb quoted in Earle, “Where Retirement is Fun,” 34.

671 For primary quotation here, see Keyes, “State Planning for the Aged,” 103. For “the Sponsored Neighborhood Village Plan,” see again 101. And for other discussion, see also 101-104. Here, meanwhile, for earlier—perhaps contextual—discussion involving “work,” see 92-93 (quotation 92), 93. And for broader context of experts addressing this post-retirement that perhaps applies here, see the following. For example, for Tibbitts, writing that “more opportunities for tapering off and for part-time work may have to be developed,” see Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 303. For Tibbitts elsewhere, see Tibbitts, “National Aspects of an Aging Population,” 20-21. Addressing another means of doing so, Buckley wrote in *The Retirement Handbook* (1953): “It may mean a chance for higher income because you can collect a salary plus a profit or return on your investment. You will experience a pride of ownership. You will achieve great satisfaction and a sense of usefulness to the community. You will not be bored by having nothing to do.”

672 For this specific quotation and context of his complete statement here, where he refers to another case, see Wynne, Jr. in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 86. And immediately before, L.C. Jacobson in part stated, although his words here could have been self-serving in promoting the distinctiveness of the project:

industry to retirement and retirement to industry, Webb brought together development and aging in ways that perhaps contributed to the reshaping and expanding of boundaries in the respective worlds of both.

In the arena of housing, the particular market Webb pursued set it apart from suburbia at large. Writing of the roles played by various participants with different agendas, historian Clayton Howard ultimately demonstrates in his sexuality-based analysis how “their efforts helped concentrate straight families in new residential areas and helped mass produce a new physical landscape that specifically addressed the concerns of parents with young children.”⁶⁷³ In Sun City, however, the intended market revolved around *retirement* and the residents that came with it—rather than other suburban populations.⁶⁷⁴

“It has always been my thinking that if we could devote all of that land to retirement living, and if industries could use that type of labor; this would be, as we say, a unique thing in the country.” See Jacobson in ULI, 86. On fate of idea and efforts here, accounts do indicate continued discussion. For example, see Webb’s Wesley Mohr cited in “Industry-to-Pants Features Lively Town Hall Discussion,” *News-Sun*, March 1, 1962. And, see again Webb quoted in Earle, “Where Retirement is Fun,” 34. And for discussion of in 1964, see Taylor, “Here’s Tale of Two Sun Cities.” For apparent mention of involving 1965, see Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 21.

673 Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 940 (quotation), 941, 941-42, 943. And for his discussion of the FHA, see 935, 937-38, 938-39, 940. Indeed, as one report pointed out: “Like the post-war housing boom, the approach to community development and planning has been child- or family-centered. Most significant advances in school and recreational planning, in subdivision design, and even in neighborhood planning, sprang originally from a conception of the needs of the young family with children.” But this report, however, was not necessarily endorsing Sun City-styled retirement housing: Jerome L. Kaufman, “Planning and an aging population,” *Information Bulletin No. 148* (Chicago, Illinois: American Society of Planning Officials, 1961), 1, accessed April 11, 2013, <http://www.planning.org/pas/at60/pdf/report148.pdf>, first quoted/cited in Ball, *Livable Communities for Aging Populations*, 1. And for same or similar idea in relation to the efforts of Levitt, see Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement*, 97.

674 On the “retirement” emphasis of Webb’s development, see again my discussion of the brand of retirement DEVCO sold in my Chapter 3 and also mentioned below, and of the age-segregated nature of Sun City discussed in my Chapter 5. For additional discussion, of perhaps broader context of “lifestyle” in varying suburbia and suburban themes, and thus perhaps providing a framework for my discussion of *process* as it relates here. See again discussion in Zonn and Zube, including the work of Muller: Muller, *Contemporary Suburban America*, 67, 70, as discussed and cited in Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 19 (cited pages), 20-21, esp. 20, 25; and Zonn and Zube, 19 (quotation), 20-21, 25. At the same time, see again discussion in an earlier note of mine regarding the ULI on “stratification,” thus suggesting the triumph of process more generally: ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 11 (quotation), 31.

In terms of Sun City in relation to a “new town” or “new community” framework, DEVCO sought to right the wrongs of suburban or other environments against which it defined and gave shape to its own residential offering. But even if the process was much the same, an overriding philosophical weight driving something new and improved, the ultimate product was not necessarily so. “New towns: are they just oversized subdivisions with oversized problems?” *House & Home* asked in 1966. “On the whole, yes,” it answered. “Regardless of the press, which has tended to hail new-town development as a religion rather than a business, few of today’s giant subdivisions meet the planning standard inherent in the new-town concept: a self-sustaining community that offers both employment and the best in urban and suburban living to people of all economic levels.”⁶⁷⁵ At least in terms of the former, however, John Findlay cites the factor that “most residents did not need to commute to work daily” at one point in his discussion, perhaps applicable here, while one popular account in the 1970s suggested how Sun City broke from the pack, an equation in which “it sidesteps some of the worst pitfalls that stymied other new communities,” the factor of “the need for job opportunities” the first among several.⁶⁷⁶

675 Lalli, “New Towns,” [first?] 93, cited in Jack B. Fraser, *New Towns: What Architects Should Know about Them* (Washington, D.C.: The American Institute of Architects, 1969), 18. On role—or lack—of employment locally, see again McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 96, 104.

676 In terms of Findlay, for quotation see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 204. Although he does not appear to invoke a “new town” framework here, at least explicitly, he does suggest what at least might well have been a more dynamic, complex urban positionality in the following. At the beginning of the section here, he writes: “Over the years Sun City remained self-sufficient; residents usually did not need to leave it to find health care or supplies or recreation.” And, after the first quotation in this note, he writes—for example: “It was suburban without being subordinate.” For the above here, see again Findlay, 204. For mention of elsewhere in his case study, see also Findlay, 161, 211. And for what might have amounted to this, see also 208. Meanwhile, in terms of the popular account in the text above, for quotation see Patricia Barnes, “Sun City, Arizona, U.S.A.,” *Arizona Highways* 50 (June 1974): 31 (emphasis added), copy in “AZ. HIGHWAYS JUNE 1974” folder, “MAGAZINES” drawer, SCAHS, and Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 2, app. 14. And for slightly earlier mention of “new communities,” see also Barnes, 31. For accounts using same or similar definitional framings for Sun City, see my note earlier in this chapter. For those incorporating or folding in “retirement”—and thus perhaps gesturing towards a hybridity of

In the arena of amenities, such amenities themselves reflect further Sun City distinctiveness. More specifically, DEVCO built distinctiveness into the recreational environment, for example, according to different demands of the retirement demographic. “This choice,” Marc Freedman further writes of golf in Sun City, “was part of a whole variety of amenities that balanced activity with a sensitivity to the potential physical limits of men and women who would be growing older. Golf was a low-impact sport that could involve either walking or carting about the course.”⁶⁷⁷ The author of *A Brighter Later Life* told readers in the early 1960s: “The Sun City golf course was designed like any other championship course, except for two concessions to older people. There are no ‘cardiac climbs’; the course has nothing more than a mild slope to challenge aging hearts and muscles.” Perhaps suggesting that golf was particular to retirement if retirement meant added time for added consumption, the account continued, explaining that “most of the holes are designed to dog-leg to the right. This is to accommodate the slices, and since many of Sun City’s oldsters are learning golf from scratch, and since most beginners tend to slice, this is an accommodation indeed.”⁶⁷⁸

The distinctiveness of amenities extended up to the development templates used. And here, suburbia and Sun City were not one and the same. As Barbara Kelly writes in her historical study of Levittown, “The community facilities provided by the builder were focused on the assumed needs of women and children” living in the community; ‘village

sorts—see again, for example, Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities*, 58, quoted in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 160; Hunt, et al., 12; Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier*, 68.

677 Freedman, *Prime Time*, 64. For mention of point previously discussed—“status appeal”—immediately preceding this quotation, see again 64.

678 Whitman, *A Brighter Later Life*, 163. In terms of the first point, for discussion involving limitations or issues among older golfers apparently particular to aging in ULI material that appeared in the 1970s, see also Rees L. Jones and Guy L. Rando, “Golf Course Developments,” *Technical Bulletin* no. 70 (Washington, DC: Urban Land Institute, 1974), 37-38, 38, [account first?] cited in Phillips, *Developing with Recreational Amenities*, 28n1.

greens’ provided shopping areas with playgrounds, pools, and – later – schools.”⁶⁷⁹ But, if development revolving around retirement sought out and served another demographic, as the California study from the 1960s explained to readers, “Table 8,” which was titled “Land Use Split for ‘Typical’ California Retirement Community and ‘Typical’ Residential Neighborhood,” “dramatizes *both the emphasis retirement communities put on recreational facilities and the total absence of schools.*”⁶⁸⁰ In terms of the former here, DEVCO cited—among the particularities to which it called attention—what it described as “over four times the amount of park and recreational area normally devoted to any development” in a version of the company’s “Philosophy of Retirement.”⁶⁸¹ The case of Sun City, Arizona, conformed to this trend in the case of the latter as well.⁶⁸²

On one hand, schools—scholars have shown—played an important role in housing more generally.⁶⁸³ “The generative element in Perry’s scheme for neighborhood units was the elementary school,” Carolyn Loeb writes.⁶⁸⁴ “It was to act as a neighborhood social center,” Stanley Buder explains in his account. “Most important, the

679 Kelly, *Expanding the American Dream*, 70.

680 For quotations here, see Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 37 (emphasis added), including table 8, “Land Use Split for ‘Typical’ California Retirement Community and ‘Typical’ Residential Neighborhood.” For data—percentages—directly, see 37, table 8. And here, he utilizes—in part—ULI material for his part. He identifies this as: “Source: Survey of retirement community developers and Community Builders Handbook, p. 87” (37, table 8), which is named in the text that follows: See *The Community Builders Handbook*, as cited in text in Barker, 37. And it is specifically identified as the ULI’s 1960 edition in the citation for the footnote: Urban Land Institute, Community Builders’ Council, *The Community Builders Handbook* (Washington, DC: Urban Land Institute, 1960), 87, cited in Barker, 37n4. For full discussion here, see 36-37.

681 See “The philosophy of Retirement” in Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona*, n.p. [25?].

682 I return to the following, in relation to Webb, below in this section.

683 In addition to the accounts I cite below, for schools in residential development more broadly, in relation to the FHA and homebuilders, see the excellent work of Clay Howard here.; Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 939, 941. And in terms of the positioning of schools within the suburban landscape, among other points, in his work: Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 942, 943. And for elsewhere, see, for example, Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 133, 157, 158, 166-168, esp. 166. For Howard on amenities in suburbia in his work, see also 133, 156, 157-158, 158, 166-168, 174-176. Also in terms of suburbia, for case of Levittown here, see again Kelley, *Expanding the Dream* 33. And, for Jack Dougherty’s work, see again Dougherty, “Shopping for Schools,” 205-224, esp. 206, 207. 684 Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, 169. For Howard on such schools, see again Howard, “Building a ‘Family-Friendly’ Metropolis,” 942.

desired enrollment of the school provided a guide to the neighborhood's size and population."⁶⁸⁵ In terms of industry efforts, Clayton Howard quotes a late-1950s edition of the NAHB's *Home Builders Manual for Land Development*, which stated, "The presence of elementary schools is one of the greatest drawing cards in new residential development, for it is the family with children of school and pre-school age which forms a substantial part of the prospective home-owning market."⁶⁸⁶

On the other hand, Sun City also drifted from the mainstream. The ULI stated in one instance that "communities including recreational and commercial facilities—but *not schools*—have been built to cater to the retirement market."⁶⁸⁷ Drawing an important comparison within a "suburban" framework, two scholars studying Sun City in the 1980s explained that "the nature and character of recreation facilities, churches, banks, Boswell Hospital, and the wide wall-lined roads interact with housing to provide a physical infrastructure of a community that resembles a prototypical American suburb, or at least the image of a suburb. *Schools* and industry are the only features lacking from such a

685 Buder, *Visionaries and Planners*, 174. And, he continued: "By this device, Perry offered an intellectual and design coherence to neighborhood design many viewed as previously lacking in residential planning." For quotation and point in broader context here, see again Buder, 174. For Loeb on function/s of, see again Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular*, 169. For other scholarly accounts on schools used elsewhere in this chapter, see Gillette, *Civitas by Design*, 63-64; Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles*, 33. For Brody, on Perry, on schools, see, for example, 33, 52-53. For Perry himself on the place and logistics of schools, see Perry, *Housing for the Machine Age*, 51, 52-53, 55, 62-64.

686 See National Association of Home Builders, *Home Builders Manual for Land Development* (Washington, D.C., 1958), 204, quoted in Howard, "The Closet and the Cul de Sac," 167. And for broader discussion in which this appears, see Howard, 166-167. For same or similar material by the ULI, see also ULI, *The Community Builders Handbook* (1954), 35. For Brody on in ULI and NAHB materials, see Brody, "Constructing Knowledge," 92, 94, 94-95, 98, 99, 100, 101-2, 103, 105, 107.

Meanwhile, although he does affirm the significance of schools as part of the quest for suburban homebuyers, thus suggesting perhaps how schools were amenities, Dougherty offers and addresses evidence that might present a different picture, at least in terms of evidence from later in the 1950s: Dougherty, "Shopping for Schools," 206. Specifically, he draws on evidence from Gans's study, entailed in the following pages: Gans, *The Levittowners*, 31-41, 86-103, discussed and cited in Dougherty, 206.

687 ULI and McKeever, ed., *The Community Builders Handbook* (1968), 251. For discussion to which he presumably is referring at the beginning of the complete quotation from which this comes, see ULI and McKeever, ed., 250. For Howard on opposition to various "spaces," see again Howard, "The Closet and the Cul de Sac," 176, 177-178 (quotation 177).

model.”⁶⁸⁸ Calling attention to this itself, DEVCO pointed out that “no provision was made for schools” in the same “The philosophy of Retirement.”⁶⁸⁹ And in its *Sun City, Arizona: General Plan*, while Webb did discuss and depict schools for the “WORKING COMMUNITY,” it did *not* allow for such facilities in the equivalent text and relevant visuals for the “RETIREMENT COMMUNITY,” thus suggesting that Webb break with existing practices—in relation to its own, non-retirement efforts, if not the subdivision *status quo* in general.⁶⁹⁰

Conclusion

Sun City in the 1960s and 1970s demonstrated suburban influences and overlap, as DEVCO operated within a broader development strategy and template in building homes and amenities. But no matter how much alike, the retirement community Webb developed in Arizona never was entirely identical to the efforts of Webb and others elsewhere in residential undertakings, any relationship between suburbia and Sun City ultimately having existed as one in which they shared a similar process but that culminated in divergent products. And if this characterization holds true for any aspect

688 Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 25. For “no schools,” see also 23. Whether taking framing of what it refers to as an “independent community” in the preceding paragraph or of another point of comparison, an early-1980s case study of the Arizona development wrote: “There is one notable exception to the long list of facilities provided in Sun City by the developer: no elementary schools exist within Sun City.” Hunt, et al., *Appendix B: A Detailed Look at 18 Retirement Communities*, 22. And doing so within a perhaps same or similar framing, see also FitzGerald on “no school” as well: FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 215.

689 See again “The philosophy of Retirement” in Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, n.p. [25?].

690 See again Webb Corporation, *Sun City, Arizona: General Plan*, 19 (quotations), including fig. 19, “School Site Design Standards,” 21 [fig. 21], 22, fig. 22, “Planning Unit Schedule” (visual only). After all, as one portrait from *Arizona Highways* in the 1960s described Sun City and its agenda, vis-à-vis another residential vision—whether distinctly suburban or not: “Sun City was built for this – to provide a complete little city in a grand climate where recreation would be as close to the senior citizen as the elementary school is to the child’s home in the more usual community.” See Joyce Rockwood Muench, “Sun City, Arizona - U.S.A.,” *Arizona Highways* 43, no. 11 (November 1967): 7, copy in “AZ. HIGHWAYS NOV. 1967” folder, “MAGAZINES” drawer, SCAHS.

of the built environments of the two, it might well have been that involving amenities; both paired housing with such residential resources, but those in Webb's retirement development suggested a sort of Sun City distinctiveness revolving around retirement in terms of which amenities were ingredients in the development formula in the first place and which were *not*—in particular, educational facilities. And if this involved—or was *because of*—a lack of children, such a lack was not merely reflective of different types of housing demand, and thus different housing markets, but also would be pursued and achieved through means serving a key component of the vision underlying Sun City.

Chapter 5

Segregating Sun City

The distinctiveness of Del Webb's Arizona retirement development extended beyond the built environment to the demographics of the community. On one hand, Sun City was suburban from the standpoint of its social make-up—that, for example, as scholarly and other accounts have shown, it was racially segregated.⁶⁹¹ In 1970 and 1980, Sun City was almost entirely all-white—at roughly 99 percent of the population.⁶⁹² And, as John Findlay explains at one point in his study, “While Sun City itself remained

691 For Melanie Sturgeon again connecting the case of Sun City to Jackson's suburban framework—here, in terms of “racially and economically homogenous”—see Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 238-241, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “It's a Paradise Town,” 87; Sturgeon, 87. And for Jackson directly here, see Jackson, 241. Presumably making this connection as well, see also Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 19, 20. I return to class considerations later, in my Chapter 6 in relation to Sun City.

692 In particular, and for 1980 evidence, see again Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 20. For 1970, see U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. I, *Characteristics of the Population*, pt. 4: Arizona (Washington, DC [?]: U.S. Government Printing Office [?], 1973), 27, table 16, “Summary of General Characteristics: 1970,” 51, table 27, “Race by Sex, for Places of 10,000 to 50,000: 1970.” For accounts offering other data furthering this view, see Sturgeon, “It's a Paradise Town,” 118; Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 210. And for idea and data—of not significantly different—later, see also McHugh and Larson-Keagy, “These White Walls,” 245. For another, more generally, see Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 110.

fairly homogenous (only 0.2 percent of Hispanic descent, according to the 1980 census), relatively impoverished Mexican Americans dominated the nearby small towns of El Mirage (80.2 percent) and Surprise (71.7 percent).”⁶⁹³

On the other hand, setting it apart from postwar suburbia was another type of segregation. Central to the seeking out and preservation of the interests of Sun Citizens, Sun City broke with suburban norms in relation to variables of age and life cycle. If suburbia and young families—specifically families with young or younger children—were synonymous, then Sun City was, in this sense, strikingly *not* suburban.⁶⁹⁴ Gary Cross writes that “Sun City was a suburban paradise – minus the sometimes hell of kids and jobs.”⁶⁹⁵ And Jon Teaford writes that “Sun City, Arizona, was Levittown for the

693 For Findlay’s quotation and particular context of discussion in which this appears, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 209-210 (quotation 209). For a similar comparative angle at a metropolitan level and for later, see again McHugh and Larson-Keagy, 245. While not as stark as the figures above, for percentage of Latino population in Phoenix nonetheless higher than Sun City, see also, for example, figures discussed and cited in VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 254. And for 1970 as well, see also Bradford Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American Communities, 1860-1992*, paperback ed. (1994; Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2015), 65.

On race and racial disparities taking other forms in Sun City, see also the following. Although not taking positions as Levitt apparently had in the postwar years, Webb apparently did not encourage black homebuyers either. See Trillin on this, as discussed in various subsequent accounts: Breen, quoted in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 176, quoted, for example, in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 118. Freedman, too, features this quotation, among other material from Trillin, in his account: Freedman, *Prime Time*, 65. On Levitt, see Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 241; Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 217. For different position of Joseph Eichler, see 217-18. For discussion of various research and observations of elsewhere, on both “widespread racism and anti-Semitism,” see, for example, work of Maurice Hamovitch and—on the latter issue—FitzGerald, *Cities on a Hill*, quoted/cite and cited, respectively, in Freedman, 66. And for perhaps FitzGerald here, directly, see FitzGerald, 221-222. For racial discrimination in mobile-home developments in Otis’s work, see Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 82-83. For segregation in the above accounts, see also FitzGerald, 217, cited in McHugh and Larson-Keagy, 246. And for FitzGerald directly here, see FitzGerald, 218.

694 On suburbia here, see excellent work of Clay Howard. See, for example, Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 151-152, 158. In case of Levittown, by way—again—of “facilities,” see Kelley, *Expanding the Dream*, 70. And in his study, Howard Chudacoff also identifies forces of suburbanization: Chudacoff, *How Old Are You?*, 169.

695 Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 189.

elderly, a mass-produced housing project from which the young couples and ubiquitous children of the Long Island community would be excluded.”⁶⁹⁶

Whereas some experts and observers in the 1950s, and later, argued against age-segregated housing for older and retired Americans, discussed in Chapter 2, Sun City represented a reversal of such thinking. Rather, as this chapter explores, Webb’s brand of retirement advanced and naturalized ideas about residential age segregation and the supposed advantages it offered to persons seeking shelter from the perceived storm of children *and also* the exclusion or marginalization apparently sensed by some retired Americans in the midst of younger families with whom older persons were out of sync socially. In the process, the matter of age segregation revolved around dollars and cents, as age segregation connected back to *schools*. DEVCO, in fact, marketed this particular feature of the retirement community—that a smaller presence of children translated into lower costs for schools—to prospective homebuyers and others, while this selling point helped to drive a broader logic of retirement development as economic development. And in doing so, it sowed seeds of political struggles that increasingly would surface by the 1970s.

Breaking New Ground

Although gerontological thought and industry generally disapproved of age-segregated housing in the postwar years, universal opposition faded by the 1960s. Some experts, rather than viewing age-segregated social environments as fundamentally flawed

696 Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 109. And, although not explicitly addressing the residential exclusion of children in making his own “Levittown” comparison/s, see Findlay on “exclusively for the elderly” perhaps making this point, again in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 160.

and detrimental to the well-being of older persons, now offered differed assessments.⁶⁹⁷ “Growing awareness of this evidence from research,” the Brookings Institution report from the early 1960s explained, “has begun to force a re-examination of the traditional viewpoint in this matter. It would appear that there is presently a swing underway toward the opposite pole -- the belief that segregation should be actively encouraged.”⁶⁹⁸ It was, to be clear, more perhaps a matter of segregated substitutes as having found growing support. For example, one event from a conference in the early 1960s concluded, “There is no one answer to the question of whether the elderly prefer being together in ‘retirement villages’ or special developments against being ‘integrated’ into communities where there are children and young people. In developing a supply of housing which meets the diversified requirements of the elderly flexibility appears to be the best approach.”⁶⁹⁹

Evidence suggested that such demand existed, as one survey from Florida in the early 1950s revealed.⁷⁰⁰ Such demand, real or imagined, translated into different

697 Several secondary sources dealing with the history of Sun City, Arizona, again provide important discussions and explanations of this broader context of shifting thinking. See discussion of in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 169-170, 170-171 (including limits of, 171), 198; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 12, 14-17, 154; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 98, 115-16, 116-18, 201-2, 211-12. And on Sun City Center, Florida, also see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 212-13. For caveats, or possible caveats, see also Findlay, 171; FitzGerald, 213. However, for both potential and limits to such research, see Frances M. Carp, “Housing and Living Environments of Older People” in *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, ed. Robert H. Binstock and Ethel Shanas (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1976), 258-62. Thank you to Andy Achenbaum for pointing me to the Binstock versions of this.

698 Grier, “Part I,” 51. For broader discussion here, including caveat, see 49-51. Perhaps more dramatically, it referred to “a bombshell” at the beginning here. See 49. And for discussion of “traditional position” discussed and cited in my Part I, see also 48-49.

699 “Workshop Proceedings on Physical Planning for Older People,” 5W. For similar evidence, also see “Summary of Three Housing Clinics on Environmental Planning,” 3k; Burgess, “Unresolved Issues in Retirement Village Planning,” 145. Roughly a decade later, one report from the 1971 WCHA’s *Background and Issues* series dealing with aspects of housing similarly stated that “the problem is not to decide whether age segregation or integration is better, but to establish policies which will provide for as wide a choice as possible by the older person.” White House Conference on Aging, *Background and Issues: Housing the Elderly* (Washington, D.C., 1971), 36-38 (quotation 38).

700 On survey, see Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 201, 202; “Neighborhood Villages for the Aged Proposed,” *American City* 66, no. 12 (December 1951), 163, cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’”

retirement developments, as Wilma Donahue's work suggested. "That older people themselves are less sensitive to the implied segregation and isolation of special housing developments for their use than is believed by many is shown," Donahue told a Senate subcommittee in the late 1950s, "by the long waiting lists for grouped accommodations like those found in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Ohio, and elsewhere, and their willingness to purchase homes in retirement villages such as Youngtown, Ariz., in Washington, and Florida."⁷⁰¹ Clark Tibbitts even had raised this point earlier, in 1954. "Villages for the retired which provide housekeeping and health services, workshops, and recreational facilities are dispelling the notion that all older people are unwilling to live in more or less segregated neighborhoods or communities," he wrote.⁷⁰² Roughly a decade later, the piece in *House Beautiful* on "Retirement Cities" reported the following. "An amazing new trend in housing has been developing in the last four years: the building of large communities (or large buildings) which require that all residents be of a certain minimum age," it went. "Segregation based on your birthday, you might call it."⁷⁰³

Sun City was part of this broader movement and, even more, appears to have helped to further it. "It backs up the claim that retired people want to be active," *House & Home* reported, in reference to "retirement-housing experts," in 1961. "Webb's buyers have already formed more than 30 clubs and are making extensive use of Sun City's swimming pool, golf course, and other recreation facilities." On the other hand,

53. There was, however, push-back to the concept presented by Walter Keyes, presumably in response to demonstrated demand: "Should the Aged Without Families Be Segregated?" *The American City* 66: 12 (December 1951), 7, cited in Sturgeon, 53. For potentially similar evidence, though expressed another way, from survey results published later, see Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 18-19. For similar, additional evidence, see Fischer, *Growing Old in America*, 149.

701 See Donahue, statement to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging, *The Aged and the Aging in the United States*, 275.

702 Tibbitts, "Retirement Problems in American Society," 308.

703 Siegel, "The Pros and Cons of Retirement Cities," 218. See 248-49 for discussion of different views on age segregation.

Webb broke with existing theory and practice in terms of the latter. “It contradicts the claim,” it also explained “that a retirement community cannot succeed unless it has a leavening of young families with children.”⁷⁰⁴ John Meeker, writing years later, would assert, “Many sociologists and gerontologists decried the separation of older people from family living, but simply did not understand how strong the feeling of seniors living around children fulltime were.”⁷⁰⁵ One Webb official, either Tom Breen or L.C. Jacobson, recalled the questioning of this element of the Sun City formula in the work with the ULI panel in the early 1960s—the position “that old people didn’t want to be together, they wanted to be with young people.”⁷⁰⁶ “In my opinion, what you are doing

704 For quotations here, see “You Can Even Create a Retirement Town” in Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market.” 108. For various scholarly and other accounts pointing out DEVCO’s engagement with and debunking of “experts” on this point, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 173 (quotation here); Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 82-83, 106 and also, perhaps relevant here, 78-79; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 210, 211, plus 212 for broader trend; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 34; Arax and Wartzman, *The King of California*, 305; FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 212-13, esp. 213. Here, Calhoun is drawing on Trillin, who in part is drawing on Breen here. In order, first see Trillin, “Wake up and Live,” 120, cited and quoted in Calhoun, 211. Second, see Breen, quoted in Trillin, 172, cited and quoted in Calhoun, 210. For discussion from Trillin directly, see also Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 120, 171-172. Also, for at least from standpoint of “research” pre-Sun City, see Blechman, *Leisureville*, 31-32. For Rothman on significance perhaps making this point, too, see again Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 155. Meanwhile, for other period accounts, for similar framing in industry press, also see “Is Retirement Housing Today’s Best Bet for Boosting Sales and Profits?” 112. For this in coverage of *Time*, previously cited elsewhere, and including growing out of Youngtown and age segregation, see “The Family,” 47-48. 705 Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 1, 10. For same or similar point, see, for example, Meeker, interview, 19, 25. On opposition, see also Fischer, *Growing Old in America*, 149n51.

706 Jacobson and Breen, interview, 4-5 (quotations 5). Opposition, this account recalled, also stemmed from what the panel viewed as the “cannibalism” in the Sun City market stemming from home resales—and something exacerbated by the very nature of Sun City as a development of older homeowners. As J.W. York told Webb, “you are going to be in competition with the very people you are selling to, which is going to absorb a good part of this market.” When Joe Ashton acknowledged this “competitive problem” but questioned whether or not Sun City really differed from “a normal market,” York stated that “You get into competition with your own customers quicker. You pointed out yourself when you said a lot of them died. That would be true in conventional communities. But there would not be as big a percentage of those, I believe.” To be sure, Findlay first discusses issue as well, though not in relation to ULI: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 181-82. For sources on the above from my own research and reading—and related to the ULI here—see Jacobson and Breen, 5; discussion between York and Ashton in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 62-63. On various, related issues also see Trillin’s discussion in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 169.

Although the Jacobson and Breen interview, for example, portrays the ULI’s input as less than encouraging, the final product itself does suggest overall support with some qualifications: It concluded, for example: “The Panel members are greatly impressed by the success which the Sponsor is enjoying in his nationally known and publicized development, known as Sun City. The Panel feels that a continuation

there doesn't solve the vast problem for the vast numbers of people," one expert stated during the event, though nonetheless recognizing Webb's efforts. "The uprooting of people from long-established associations, churches, relatives, and so forth, is not the final answer to the problem of the aged. I think Sun City is only part of the answer."⁷⁰⁷

But in doing so, Sun City was not only age-segregated but, more formally, "age-restricted."⁷⁰⁸ In realizing the favorable conditions segregated living was believed to have generated, the use of certain methods would be necessary in creating and upholding segregation.⁷⁰⁹ The retirement community was "Reserved exclusively for those who have reached the age of fifty or more (and partners of any adult age), who are retired, semi-retired or planning retirement and are interested in actively enjoying those wonderful years ahead...the best years of their lives," one brochure booklet stated.⁷¹⁰

Whether or not such restrictions worked, there were striking contrasts between Sun City and the communities surrounding it; according to Census data, Sun City's median age as

of this concept of a community devoted to the needs and desires of retired people should be accelerated as the market permits in order to be ahead of competition through imitation, which, in the opinion of the Panel, will be sure to develop." ULI, 16-17. For additional evidence, see discussion between Ashton, York, Jacobson and others, 63-64. Finally, a note about the place of the ULI meeting in the chronology of Sun City. Although various accounts suggested that this occurred in the early stages of Sun City, it actually appears to have taken place in 1961. For example such views, see, for example, Meeker, "A Look Back, 1959-1981," vol. 1, 2-3; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 19-20. For background on ULI event, as in 1961, see again sources previously cited earlier in this dissertation.

707 See Nahas in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 62. For same or similar idea and language as part of group statement, see ULI, 26. Elsewhere, in the document, Nahas expresses opposition to age segregation, whether in relation to nursing facilities specifically or housing more broadly: Nahas in ULI, 88.

708 For an example of language in industry material, from the 1990s, see, for example, Douglas R. Porter, et al., *Housing for Seniors: Developing Successful Projects* (Washington, D.C.: ULI-the Urban Land Institute, 1995), 28.

709 One scholar seemingly makes this linkage in a 1970s study: Heintz, *Retirement Communities*, 8.

710 First, on restrictions, see, for example, Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 176, 202; again Chudacoff, *How Older Are You?*, 180. Second, for the quotation in text, see the following. "Children of any age may, of course, visit in Sun City," it added, "but they cannot become residents until they are out of high school." See Webb Corporation, *Del Webb's Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, 1. Other material put it: "Children are welcome as visitors any time, but permanent residents must be over 18. Homeowners must be 50 years of age or more, but other household members can be of any adult age." DEVCO, "Answers to Questions Most Frequently Asked about Del Webb's Sun City, Arizona," n.p. And for discussion of elsewhere, see also Howard Earle, "Where Retirement is Fun," *Today's Health* 41, no. 1 (January 1963): 33. For restrictions in Sun City Center, Florida, for example, see also FitzGerald, "Sun City—1983," 219-20.

of 1970 registered 67.5 years old, while that of the state was 26.3 and the Phoenix metropolitan area was slightly higher, at 27.0 years of age.⁷¹¹ Even more, minor children were essentially non-existent as residents in Sun City; the recorded population of persons under 18 years of age in the retirement community, out of an overall population of 13,670, was just 65 persons—well under half of one percent—while metropolitan Phoenix, for instance, featured a population balance in which more than one in three persons was under 18 years of age.⁷¹²

More specifically, as the establishment of “50” years of age indicated, Sun City relied on age restrictions set at a specific level—a threshold around which the community’s population, based on information from the 1970 Census, seems essentially to adhere.⁷¹³ In 1950s and 1960s among the National Association of Homebuilders and the Douglas Fir Plywood Association, for example, such cut-off points were tied to certain objectives. As Breen explained, it was tied to Sun City’s aging-conscious brand of retirement, discussed in Chapter 3, suggesting that sufficient age for residential eligibility had to fulfill a requirement for sufficient *youth*: “We also felt that with a 50-year minimum, we would not be identifying the community as an old folks’ development—which might have occurred if we had set the limit at 60 or 65.”⁷¹⁴ And, he

711 Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. I, pt. 4: Arizona, 53, table 28, “Age by Race and Sex, for Places of 10,000 to 50,000: 1970,” 31, table 20, “Age by Race and Sex: 1970,” 43, table 24, “Age by Race and Sex, for Areas and Places: 1970. For age of Sun City residents in the 1970s in Sturgeon’s excellent work, see also figures discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 138.

712 Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. I, pt. 4: Arizona, 53, table 28, 43, table 24.

713 While the number of persons in age groups between 15 years old and 44 years old varies amongst different sub-groups between 30 and 65 individuals, the population suddenly more than doubles at the 45-to-49 group, more than triples at the 50-to-54 group, and increases markedly in older age groupings until begin to decline by the 70-74 age group: Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, vol. I, pt. 4: Arizona, 53, table 28.

714 On this overall point involving the tension between such age and relative youth, and among many others throughout my project, I am indebted to Matt Lassiter. For Breen, see Breen quoted in Earle, “Where Retirement is Fun,” 33. For another example of age restrictions doing similar work, see “This Man Has \$18,000 Cash, and He’s Looking for a Place to Live—Sell Him Something,” 55 [?]. A more recent

continued, it accounted for retirement trends—and perhaps reflected a strategic enlargement of DEVCO’s market, similar to discussion in Chapter 2 and what the study of retirement developments in California in the 1960s referred to as “market elasticity”: “We recognized, too, that there are a great number of people retiring at an earlier age nowadays in view of the activation of pensions, retirement plans, and profit sharing among other things.”⁷¹⁵

account seems to make this linkage as well: Ball, *Livable Communities for Aging Populations*, 136. For useful framework in helping to understand the dynamics of this market or space is again Blechman’s previously cited discussion: Blechman, *Leisureville*, 34.

715 For Breen, see again Breen quoted in Earle, “Where Retirement is Fun,” 33. And for the quotation from the California study, see Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 29. And, importantly, Freedman in his account writes that “the age restriction would be lowered a decade from Youngtown’s sixty, to the age of fifty, to broaden the market and take into account increases in early retirement.” See Freedman, *Prime Time*, 35. While Freedman perhaps is connecting the two here, the California study clarified: “The trend to early retirement only partly explains this curious situation, and the more revealing explanation must be couched in terms of market elasticity. In mining the retirement market, developers have attempted to expand the number of households in that market, particularly those in the age bracket that are increasing the fastest and have the most income--the 45 to 55 group. If a developer chooses to restrict his market to those California households with head over 65 and with annual income of \$5,000 or more, his market potential will be about 160,000 households. However, by lowering the age requirement to 50, the developer increases his market to about 315,000 households.” Barker, 29 (emphasis added). Also, he noted, some were still working: Barker, 30. On factors of income and employment in this downward adjustment of market by age, also see Cooley and Cooley, *The Retirement Trap*, 24. In addition to other accounts cited in my dissertation Introduction and in Part I, see also Blechman, *Leisureville*, 69-70. Also in Blechman, for discussion of “an entirely new life stage” in Blechman, 34.

Evidence suggests that DEVCO also marketed Sun City to retired military to some degree, speaking to them directly in advertisements in the 1960s while running seemingly more general material in certain, military-oriented publications. See Del E. Webb Corporation, “This is Ideal Retired Living: Plenty to Do and People to Share it All.” n.d. Label indicates that this ran on January 19, 1963, in “ARMY, NAVY, AIR FORCE JOURNAL” and/or possibly another publication; Del E. Webb Corporation, “Retirement Just around the Corner?” n.d. Label identifies in part as running June 16, 1965 in “Family Magazine - Army Times, Airforce Times, Navy Times”; Del E. Webb Corporation, “Del Webb’s Active Retirement is Waiting for You in Four Happy, Friendly, Lively Towns,” n.d. Handwriting dates as July 1962 and as having run in “Army-Navy-Air Force Register”; Del E. Webb Corporation, “Del Webb’s Active Retirement is Waiting for You in America’s Happy, Friendly, Lively Towns,” n.d. Label here dates as running in January 1962 in “RETIRED OFFICER,” all of the above in “1959 - 1967 National Advertising.” And although speculative since no evidence on hand suggests a direct relationship, if Webb’s community had a similar experience as George Beauchamp’s Orange Gardens, Florida—*House & Home* noted that in Sun City “residents include many relatively young military retirees”—then DEVCO might have arrived at the exact setting of the age restriction based on this prospective market or, more likely, advertised to this population knowing that such persons would be likely candidates given their retirement age and eligibility for residence in Sun City. For quotation immediately above, see “You Can Even Create a Retirement Town” in Murray Jr., “Today’s Neglected Retirement Market,” 108. As one of the above advertisements also stated: “There’s a major, active military base within a few miles of each Sun City with the obvious advantages of PX, Commissary and military medical and dental facilities.” See again Webb Corporation, “Retirement Just around the Corner?” Future research might explore whether or not such locations were a

And for those who had not yet crossed over to retirement, “Many developers insist that they are not building ‘retirement communities,’ but ‘adult communities’ because of this strong desire to keep working among many people who have reached retirement age,” a 1964 piece in *House Beautiful* said of the differing, though sizeable, number of such residents in two Western developments.⁷¹⁶ “Becker argues for calling it an ‘all-adult’ rather than a retirement community because some buyers are not yet retired, others only semi-retired, and most are active,” *American Beautiful* said of New Jersey consultant William Becker.⁷¹⁷

In DEVCO’s efforts, at least one advertisement in the 1960s seems to have addressed this or a similar market, featuring a “far-from-retired real estate appraiser with offices in downtown Phoenix.” His double life was illustrated, in print and pictures, through the title “WORKING AT FIVE...RETIRED AT FIVE-THIRTY (everyday)” and the juxtaposition of two photographs, one featuring him dressed in his work attire, briefcase in hand, the other showing him in a Sun City swimming pool, tossing his hat to side, where his clothing and briefcase sat poolside.⁷¹⁸ Further suggesting how DEVCO might have tried to market Sun City more broadly, another refuted various “myths,”

coincidence or, for example, were part of a Webb development strategy. Webb Corporation, “Retirement Just around the Corner?” Regardless, the case of Sun City, Arizona, does seem to conform to a pattern of “military retirees” more broadly identified by Abbott in the transformation of the West that his study cited earlier explores. See again Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier*, 68. And for Otis, see again Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 52-53.

716 Siegel, “The Pros and Cons of Retirement Cities,” 249-50. For similar language moving away from certain associations, though not mentioned in relation to employment, see discussion of a Schmertz development in New Jersey: Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities*, 115.

717 “This Man Has \$18,000 Cash, and He’s Looking for a Place to Live—Sell Him Something,” 51 [?].

718 Del E. Webb Development Co., “Working at Five...Retired at Five-Thirty (Everyday)” in “1963 - 1964 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. Label dates as *Arizona Republic*, July 12, 1964. Another advertisement took the form of a mock map of metropolitan Phoenix with a legend indicating the driving time between such locations as area companies—General Electric, Motorola, and Goodyear, for example—and destinations in Sun City, perhaps to appeal in part to prospective homebuyers commuting to such local employers: Del E. Webb Development Co., untitled advertisement. Label dates as *Arizona Republic*, July 26 and, in handwriting on label, August 30, 1964, also in “1963 - 1964 Proof sheets.” For possible context of Webb’s interest and efforts here, see again that involving home sales and what might have been the formulation of Sun City alternatives discussed in my Chapter 4.

including that “Sun City is Just for People Who Have Retired,”: “These are people 50 and over who, after careful consideration, decided that Sun City offered them more value in a home and more facilities for fun and happiness than any other residential area in the Valley.”⁷¹⁹

A market organized along lines drawn by age restrictions could have another important goal, Breen’s comments indicated. “It was felt that the minimum age limit of 50 for residents would logically eliminate children of school age and yet not narrow our market excessively,” he explained.⁷²⁰ While DEVCO thus kept its eye on the ball of what might have been an overarching concern with maintaining adequate—if not advantageous—market breadth, such a threshold would serve a more specific function, in

And, for material perhaps revolving around idea of eventual retirement, for which the way would be paved by settling in Sun City, see also, for example, Del E. Webb Development Co., “Business AND Pleasure... . NOW!” in “1963 - 1964 Proof sheets” scrapbook, SCAHS. Label identifies as *Arizona Republic*, August 16, 1964. For additional evidence, see Del E. Webb Development Co., “It’s Easy, Inexpensive and Fun to Stay Fit Living in Sun City” in “Advertising Proofs, 1965-66” scrapbook, SCAHS. Typing identifies as having run in *Arizona Republic*, October 11 [or 31?], 1965. And for part-time retirement, see Del E. Webb Development Co., “Formula for Happy Living...” in “1963 - 1964 Proof sheets.” Label identifies as *Arizona Republic*, August 9, 1964.

⁷¹⁹ Del E. Webb Development Co., “5 Myths that May Have Kept You from Living in Sun City” in “Advertising Proofs 1965-66” scrapbook, SCAHS. Typing on print identifies as *Arizona Republic*, December 5, 12, 1965. Calvin Trillin makes an important observation during his Sun City sojourn that in part has shaped my thinking: “Some,” he writes of Sun City residents who did not partake in the cult of Sun City, “obviously do nothing—behaving no differently from the way they would behave in a town that did not have an Active New Way of Life, but, on the whole, satisfied with what they consider decent weather and a pretty good bargain in housing.” Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 147. At yet, it is important to call attention to, the above advertisement did accommodate retirement in a sense, as DEVCO nonetheless intended Sun City for a less-than-general market in selling to a somewhat defined, however broad, still was not all-ages but rather “people over 50.” See again DEVCO, “5 Myths that May Have Kept You from Living in Sun City.” Nonetheless, its comparative angle here and citing of amenities might illustrate an emphasis more on *housing* than on *retirement*. Furthermore, suggesting that, in at least one instance, DEVCO appears to have bypassed retirement, or retirement-related language, altogether, another explained: “Sun City’s country-club atmosphere and social and recreational activities make it the perfect Valley of the Sun residential area.” See Del E. Webb Development Co., “Dealing at 5:00... *Wheeling at 5:30*,” in “1963 - 1964 Proof sheets.” Label dates as *Arizona Republic*, July 19, 1964.

⁷²⁰ Breen’s quotation here appears preceding previous material in the same paragraph. See again Breen quoted in Earle, “Where Retirement is Fun,” 33. The actual number of Sun City residents who adhered more closely to this threshold or to other, older ones is again another matter. In Sun City Center, Florida, FitzGerald notes the following change over time: “In the beginning—that is, in the early sixties—most of the people who bought houses were around sixty-five years old. But in recent years people have been coming here in their early sixties and in their late fifties.” See FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 229. This is one point that future investigation might explore.

meeting the demand of a distinctive market of consumers whom sought to avoid children, at least in the residential environment at hand.

A More Perfect Neighborhood

Behind the agenda of keeping out kids were reasons of its own. On one hand, there were those dealing with inherent flaws of age-integrated environments that prompted a seeking out of alternatives. On the other hand, there were those involving the advantages found in age-segregated ones. And ultimately, such forces were related; as integrated environments failed aging persons, segregated environments—as age-*homogenous*—offered shelter from the different storms engulfing Americans in retirement. In terms of the former, just as environments for retirees were—as thinking went—lacking from the standpoint of amenities, for example, they were equally lacking from a social standpoint.

Youngtown provides an early example of these ideas in action.⁷²¹ In 1956, the *Journal of Housing* told of the initial idea driving the development of the community. “What retired people want, he decided,” it said of the community’s founding figure, “was a place to live among themselves away from the distractions of family-raising and the activities of young people.”⁷²² Writing of “main points in developing a successful retirement community” several years later, one Youngtown Land and Development official stressed the significance of any such development as age-restricted in realizing a

721 Marc Freedman, for example, states the significance of the early development at hand: “Although some cities in Florida—most notably St. Petersburg—were become de fact retirement havens as more and more older adults from the Snowbelt gravitated there, the first community to bar residents from the younger and middle generations was Youngtown.” Freedman, *Prime Time*, 33-34. On significance of, see again Blechman, *Leisureville*, 28; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 57, 66.

722 “Housing for the Aged—Recognition of Need Is Growing,” *Journal of Housing* 13, no. 2 (February 1956): 49.

segregated climate. “The community must be continually guarded against people not in the senior age group from establishing residence,” he explained. “Children residing in such a community would destroy its chance for success.”⁷²³

Similar thinking about parallel residential environments for older and younger Americans shaped the making of Sun City.⁷²⁴ “Many retirees enjoy the company of younger people and children,” *Spinner* coverage of the unveiling of the Sun City concept in 1959 quoted Tom Breen, “yet in our surveys we frequently heard the comment: ‘I have reared my own children and don’t care to rear someone else’s.’”⁷²⁵ Webb picked up and embedded such ideas in promoting Sun City. In *The Beginning*, for example, the Huggins’s Sun City host points out the age-segregated nature of the retirement

723 See Johns to Giraldo, 5. On age segregation in Youngtown specifically, see, for example, Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 66; Schleifer, interviewed by Garroway, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 76; also comments of narrator and a female resident, viewed and noted by author, in—previously cited—*Today* segment; Schleifer, quoted in Blechman, *Leisureville*, 29, 30; Paul Metchik, quoted in Blechman, 30; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 34. And for restriction in Youngtown, real or imagined, specifically, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 172; Freedman, 34; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 210.

724 On influence of Youngtown on Sun City in the area of age segregation, see the following accounts—some or all of which were previously cited in Chapter 3 and which, whether or not making connection directly, still of value in terms of more general framework: Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 76; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 34; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 15, also cited in Sturgeon, 76; Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 120; “The Family,” 47-48; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 1; Meeker, interview, 3; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 71; Breen [?] in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 13-14. If Breen nonetheless in the process was validating and not dismissing the idea, see also Breen in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 2-3, 3. And if this involved idea of age segregation, see discussion in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 172-173.

725 For Breen, see Breen quoted in “Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders,” 2. And on Sun City also, *Today’s Health* reported in early 1963: “A survey of residents in Sun City, Arizona, explains why many of them move to communities designed for the retired. The survey shows that, almost universally, retired citizens want to locate in a true retirement community, restricted to folks in their own age bracket.” Earle, “Where Retirement is Fun,” 35, 65-66. More specifically, DEVCO appears to have encountered this idea both in Florida and in Youngtown. See, for example, Silverstein discussed in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 80; Silverstein discussed in Freedman, *Prime Time*, 35; Silverstein discussed in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 73; Silverstein, as described by Breen, in Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 19; Jacobson and Breen, interview, 13; evidence of DEVCO quoted in coverage of *Youngtown Record*, September 8, 1959, discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 84; “questionnaire” of Youngtown as discussed in “Retired Persons Like to Garden.” The latter stated of Webb’s findings, among others, from residents there: “Almost universally, the senior citizens want to locate in a true retirement community, restricted to folks in their own bracket.” *Spinner* coverage from September of 1959 also mentions efforts but does not relay results in same detail: “Arizona Retirement Community is Webb Project,” 6. And if efforts or observations involving Florida dealt with age segregation, see again discussion in Findlay, 172-173.

community, along with what it delivered to those who lived there. “Notice you haven’t seen any young kids around,” he says at one point. “That’s because there are no young families with children here. Of course, we love ‘em and enjoy their visits, but after you’ve raised your own you deserve a little peace and quiet.”⁷²⁶ Part of the discourse and politics surrounding retirement and retirement communities, the idea that “after you’ve raised your own you deserve a little peace and quiet,” for example, suggested not just a right of retirement citizenship but, more particularly, one characterized by a shift in priorities over the life cycle. And, exhibiting and operating on a logic perhaps parallel to that of social insurance in the form of Social Security, this spatially defined right was brought about and justified by cycling through child-rearing—of having paid into a system of sorts of cross-generational contact.⁷²⁷

Additionally, thinking went, generations inhabited parallel worlds, age segregation explained away as a simple matter of fact or inevitability. As one Sun City woman explained it, “I love my children. I love having them visit with us with their

⁷²⁶ See again DEVCO, *The Beginning*. Nor was segregation-making simply the domain of Webb and its marketers—whether Webb really had done their homework or whether residents fully bought into the company’s promotionalism. In fact, as Calvin Trillin, noticed: “The viewpoint of just about every Sun Citian I spoke with about children seemed to be composed of quotations from the Del E. Webb market research—statements like ‘I raised my kids, but I don’t feel like raising anybody else’s’ and ‘When you’re my age, you lose some of your patience with children; I’m happy to see my grandchildren, but after a couple of days I’m happy to see them leave.’” Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 152-53. Same or similar version of the former from Trillin also quoted Freedman, *Prime Time*, 66. For similar evidence for Palm City in California, as well as Sun City, Arizona, see “Nels Severin Sells Way of Life,” 86-87; “Built to Older People’s Taste,” 50. And for evidence of similar construction from Sun City Center, Florida, see Carolyn Tuttle discussed and quoted in FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 235, esp. 236. And for other evidence from this study affirming apparent demand for separate spaces in retirement, see also FitzGerald, who writes elsewhere: “With the exception of Rescorla, the Sun Citians I talked to had not come here because the town was for older people. On the other hand, they did not seem to object to the age restrictions. When I asked people how they liked living in an age-segregated community, a few said they missed seeing children around. (Some of them then went on to explain that they meant this quite literally: What they missed was seeing children—they didn’t miss having them around all the time.)” FitzGerald, 234-35. On Art Rescorla the resident she mentions in this quotation, see 232-34. And on “age restrictions” as not main attraction, also see 220. For idea expressed in Ryderwood, Washington, see again Worden, “The Town that Wants Only Old Folks,” 34.

⁷²⁷ See again my discussion of relevant literature involving Social Security in my Introduction to this dissertation.

children. But they have their own lives and interests just as we have ours.”⁷²⁸ Even more, there was an idea that the presence of children actively undermined a positive retirement experience, threatening an apparent right to age segregation in retirement. “In the average community there certainly is no way of controlling the age bracket of our neighbors of the number of their children,” Breen elaborated in his 1959 articulation of the rationale helping to drive Webb’s concept. “This we can control, thus avoiding the problem of mixing conflicting living patterns and, in many cases, forcing social contacts that actually constitute for our senior citizens an invasion of privacy.”⁷²⁹

Such an “invasion” was one side of the coin of an overall disconnect between retiree and residential neighborhood. In DEVCO’s *The Beginning*, Ben Huggins sits on the front porch with his wife, reading but ultimately out of place in retirement. “The neighborhood seemed to be growing away from us—lots of new young people moving in, lots of new children,” he narrates, an ice-cream truck having pulled up with children

728 Hazel Meyer quoted in Muench, “Sun City, Arizona,” 32. Webb himself was quoted in one instance in the 1960s further suggesting that generational exclusivity as natural: “I decided that older people often feel uncomfortable around younger couples. I think mainly it’s because their interests are so different and they don’t want children underfoot.” Del Webb quoted in Earle, “Where Retirement is Fun,” 33. And in Youngtown, Blechman’s account quotes Schleifer, for example, saying: “Nature divides the generations.” See Schleifer, quoted in Blechman, *Leisureville*, 30. For discussion of generational parallelism in case of Sun City Center, Florida, and that shares similarities with that in Part I in terms of residential politics in particular, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 241, 241-42, 242-43. Here, one resident expresses an understanding of residential politics in terms of racial politics: “Other people—Negroes and Cubans—all live together, but we’ve reached the point where we don’t have to do it.” See Art Rescorla as quoted in FitzGerald, 241.

729 Breen quoted in “Overcoming Problem of Inactivity is Goal of Builders,” 2. An identical quotation is attributed to Webb himself in a 1970 DEVCO press release: Del Webb quoted in Del E. Webb Corporation, “The Town That Changed America’s Viewpoint on Retirement, Sun City, Arizona,” press release, June 1970, 5, “Sun City - History 1960-1976” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. For another mentions of “mixing conflicting living patterns,” see again 2; “Retirement Town Planning in Brief,” 2. And for same or similar quotation, also attributed to “Webb” elsewhere, see Webb quoted in Blechman, *Leisureville*, 32-33.

The idea and language here of children as detrimental to older persons—or homeowners—might share overlap with the politics of homeownership more broadly. As Tom Sugrue writes in his study of Detroit: “Civic associations cast their demands for racially segregated neighborhoods in terms of entitlement and victimization.” See Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 218. And, explaining the broader context here, he continues; “Homeowners’ groups were by no means alone in couching their political demands in the language of rights. They were part of the post-World War II rights revolution that empowered other groups, including African Americans, trade union members, and military veterans, to use rights talk to express their political discontent and their political visions.” See Sugrue, 218-219.

running to it, and two boys throwing a football. “I felt guilty about resenting their fun,” he says. Next, one boy runs into Huggins’s bird bath—one of the projects he undertook earlier in the film, and in the retirement arc itself—as he attempts to catch a football, knocking over and breaking the bath’s bowl. After they flee, Huggins inspects the scene. “Boys will be boys I guess,” he resignedly concludes.⁷³⁰

The scene raises two important points, both of which involve tensions inherent age-integrated environments from the perspective of such retired Americans. The relative youthfulness of the Huggins’s neighborhood signaled a disconnect between individual and environment—and a disconnect that could have been particularly pronounced in light of the lopsided demographics of postwar suburbia.⁷³¹ Perhaps addressing this as well, the Barry Goldwater-narrated *The Story of Arizona and Sun City* explained in 1970: “Retired people in a regular neighborhood oftentimes lack friends. Their children grow up and their careers take them away. Old business friendships are severed by retirement. Many personal friends move to milder climates.”⁷³² Meanwhile, if Huggins and others in such a predicament looked closer to home, then shifting thinking noted by Rosow—that “viable friendships do not spontaneously develop between age

730 See again *The Beginning*. As Svendsen recounted the idea here: “See what happens is if you retire in Des Moines you’re the only one on the block who is retired, everybody else is going off to work and all these young housewives are raising their kids and that’s wonderful but you want to be with your own age.” Svendsen, interview.

731 As historian Howard Chudacoff has written: “Housing policies not only responded to the baby boom but also furthered age segregation.” For this and discussion, see Chudacoff, *How Old Are You?*, 169. In discussing housing with his readers in 1956, Thomas Collins noted: “Many towns and suburbs have sprouted since the late 1940’s and these are usually filled with younger parents and babies. Collins, *The Golden Years*, 41-42. And for more concrete evidence of, the data and observations from the 1950s collaboration between Henry Sheldon and Clark Tibbitts compared the size of different age groups in metropolitan Chicago: Sheldon [and Tibbitts], *The Older Population of the United States*, 32-33, including table 11, “Population by Age, for Chicago, Forest Park, and Park Forest: 1950.” For other accounts, see also Sheldon, “Who are the Aged?” 8; Sheldon “The Changing Demographic Profile,” 54-55; WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 22-23.

732 See Shahan, [*The Story of Arizona and Sun City*], “SUN CITY SEQUENCE,” 2. On at least as related to work in earlier work, see, for example, Pollak, *Social Adjustment in Old Age*, 151. For additional discussion, see Otis on relevant literature in Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 74.

groups, but are confined almost exclusively within them”—might have yielded discouraging results as well.⁷³³

The other form, as made obvious by DEVCO in *The Beginning*, showed the very real consequences of unchecked cross-generational relations. While members of Huggins’s “neighborhood” could be distant, living parallel lives, they could—even more—actively and aggressively compromise his. The bird bath, in short, might have represented retirement dreams literally destroyed—and, importantly, by members of the population apparently dominating the residential environment. Here, what perhaps were two visions of the American Dream—distinctive in the particular stages of the life cycle they occupied—collided, that of retirement damaged and in need of repair.⁷³⁴

Those actually living in Sun City sometimes voiced this idea as well—specifically in opposition to public critiques of a child-less retirement community. Although age-segregated retirement housing might have been a growing phenomenon, praise was not

733 If applicable to residential environments in the mold of those along the lines of Huggins’s, for Findlay first on Rosow, see Rosow, *Social Integration of the Aged*, 78, 324, discussed and cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170. For quotation from Rosow here in my work, see Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 335. For discussion of evidence from studies, see 334-335. Furthermore, for broader practice of “age-grading,” a trend Rosow discusses, see 334-35 (quotation 335). And again, work by same name (Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration”), and though in relation to another point, first cited in Findlay, 198. For another useful accounting of this idea, and citing work of Rosow, see also Rosow, *Social Integration of the Aged*, as discussed and cited in Bultena and Wood, 210. And this last account (Bultena and Wood) first cited—although not in relation to this point specifically—in Findlay, 170. Additionally, for overview of relevant literature and related issues, also see, for example, discussion in Grier, “Part I,” 49; Breen, “Housing for the Aging,” 242-43. For another, related discussion questioning opposition to segregation, see Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 80-81.

For important and useful overviews of thinking, see Findlay, 170; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 201-202. And for overall, see also Findlay, 169-170, 198-199; Calhoun, 201-202, 210, 211-212. Finally, on broader trend of different generations’ formation of “distinct peer cultures,” see brief discussion in Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 187-88 (quotation 187).

734 For additional evidence advancing a same or similar theme, in one brochure DEVCO referred to “the neighbors’ children with attendant skates and bikes and torn-up flower beds.” One resident told *Time*: “The fact that you can have your own flowers and yard without worrying about children traipsing through is appealing.” Trillin mentioned “flower beds” as well. See, in order above, “The philosophy of Retirement,” in DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Active Living for America’s Senior Citizens*, n.p. [inside back cover]; “The Family,” 48; Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 153. And for evidence similar to that of DEVCO, above, from FitzGerald’s study, see again Tuttle quoted in FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 236.

universal. In response to that of one “syndicated columnist” who “hankers for senior citizenship with daily contact with friends in all age groups,” an editorial in a Sun City-area newspaper pointed out, for example, “As one ‘quarantined’ Sun Citian remarked laconically, ‘If so many folks came out here, things must be worse where they came from.’”⁷³⁵ Later the same year, another resident cited problems associated with children specifically, when a letter to the editor of a Phoenix newspaper criticized the retirement community, writing, for example, that a “truly ‘complete city’ is not a defined area containing a prescribed set of physical amenities but is rather a mixture of people of all ages, colors and creeds living, playing and working together in an individual but also cooperative life.”⁷³⁶ In response here, the Sun City woman concluded in another letter to the editor, “We older people feel we should have the right to at least one small place in the world that is not overrun with these little monsters.”⁷³⁷ And another Sun City resident, refuting yet another published account questioning of retirement, Sun City-style, raised the factor of physiology: “Grandparents love their children no less, but the process of aging takes a certain toll. Noise - a natural thing to children - becomes very wearying to an older person; the irrepressibility of children is difficult to cope with, when grandparents are not vested with authority for discipline, old limbs being less agile than a child’s.”⁷³⁸

735 Editorial, “We’ve been Robb-ed,” *News-Sun*, March 2, 1961.

736 Wm. F. Shortall, letter to the editor, *Phoenix Gazette*, October 25, 1961. For account that presumably made me aware of the episode at hand here and assisted in re-tracing the chain of letters/events, see editorial, “One Man’s Meat,” *News-Sun*, November 16, 1961.

737 Rose Barron, letter to the editor, *Phoenix Gazette*, November 1, 1961. And, for first mention and citing of Barron, see again editorial, “One Man’s Meat,” *News-Sun*, November 16, 1961.

738 Immediately preceding this, she wrote: “It would be more a service to your readers, in attempting to stem the tide, if you would address yourself to the younger generation, who - to a great extent - are responsible for the exodus of old people to retirement communities.” See Lilian S. Munson, letter to the editor of Fort Myers (*FL*) *News-Press*, printed in *News-Sun*, June 4, 1964. For context of article to which this is responding, see editorial, “The Old Folks at New Home” from *Fort Myers (FL) News-Press*, April 10, 1964, reprinted in *News-Sun*, May 14, 1964. And, this initial article from the Florida newspaper was

But the assignment of blame is critical to understanding the rationale for Sun City. Although “boys” might have been responsible for the destruction of Huggins’s bird bath, *more* responsible was the environmental disconnect at hand—the context in which it took place. After all, if the behavior of such “boys” was both inevitable and long-standing, the social structure of the neighborhood—in both theory and practice—had *not*.⁷³⁹ And Ben Huggins did not want to feel guilty—nor, as the thinking underpinning the Sun City model of retirement perhaps went, should he have *had* to experience such feelings. Age-integrated environments thus were the underlying cause of conflict; new ones—more conducive to retirement not only excluding children but also ceding the former space to younger generations—were the answer.

In changing environments, Sun City changed the rules of the game. As the author of *A Brighter Later Life* reported of his visit to Sun City, “The swimming pool was theirs; it was not commandeered by youngsters racing and diving madly about and executing frenzied gyrations off the diving board. It was their own. All of the sports—the golf, the bowling, the riding, and even the record player and the TV in the Recreation Center—might quickly, they feared, be taken over by kids and young people, and then they would be right back where they started in their home communities: rejected oldsters in the back seat.”⁷⁴⁰ And the marginalization of retired Americans extended beyond facilities,

based on what very likely was Trillin’s piece in the *New Yorker*. See “EDITOR’S NOTE” to “‘The Old Folks at New Home.’” Note: I return to and cite sources involving discussion of “noise” later in this section.

739 My thinking here in this paragraph is shaped, in part, by the frameworks involving “adjustment” among older Americans and the politics of environment in disability politics. See again discussion of relevant literature in my Part I.

740 And, immediately preceding this, he explained: “They felt, as many explained with considerable emotion, that they had raised their own children and they had no great desire now to go on raising grandchildren—especially somebody else’s grandchildren. On closer examination, one could see what the real objections of these older men and women were. Here, at Sun City, was, at least, one place where they weren’t shoved into the background.” See Whitman, *A Brighter Later Life*, 160. This account also reported on the disconnect between myth and reality in the matter of age segregation. See 158.

including the role of sheer space. “He found,” advertising said of Webb’s supposed exploration of the roots of retirement duress “that many older people didn’t have too much social life because their contemporaries lived clear across town or were busy baby-sitting when attempts were being made to get up a bridge-game. So he created a community whose unique concept would draw together people who shared the same interests and ideas . . . [sic] a community where your ‘best friends’ are right next door.”⁷⁴¹

The environments for retirement that Webb would encourage and develop, however, did share overlap with existing ideas and practices surrounding housing for older Americans; they were new but, at the same time, rooted in mid-century retirement more broadly, discussion of generational incompatibility present even before the study by the Brookings Institution relayed what it had described as “a bombshell.”⁷⁴² In the case of public housing in Cleveland, despite efforts involving cross-generational community, age integration did have limits as families with *older* children. “When the children are about five years of age, the family is asked to move into a nearby two story building located in the same estate which contains a large number of three and four-bedroom units,” Ernest Bohn also explained in the early 1960s. “It is admitted that some children can disturb some oldsters,” he continued.⁷⁴³ Indeed, as the study headed by Cornell’s

741 “The philosophy of Retirement,” in DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Active Living for America’s Senior Citizens*, n.p. [inside back cover]. On discussion of baby-sitting elsewhere, see also Whitman, *A Brighter Later Life*, 159; Freireich, interview; Munson, letter to the editor. For additional discussion of, more generally, see again my Chapter 1.

742 See again Grier, “Part I,” 49.

743 And, he added, explaining how such an approach extended to younger residents—and reflecting thinking about a broader relationship between life cycle and particular environments: “Further, we believe that children should not be raised in elevator apartments but in dwellings with a yard where they can dig.” For Bohn and quotations, in above text and in note here, see Bohn, “Current Types of Housing and Living Arrangements,” 2F (quotations). On Cleveland case, also see Jacobs, “Housing for the Independent Aged,” 88, 90; PHA, *95,000 Senior Citizens*, 4 [?]; Bevis and Bing, *Senior Housing Golden Age Center Program*, 3, 4. Tensions between aging tenants and older children apparently had led to the present configuration, according to one account: “Special housing was considered desirable because it had been learned by experience that frictions abound when elderly persons occupy dwellings in apartment entrances which are

Alexander Kira stated, “The general feeling is that children tend to cause the aged the greatest concern and annoyance and that they should, therefore, be kept out of the immediate path of the aged.”⁷⁴⁴

And in the private sector, homebuilders took steps to guard against the perceived negative impact following the inroads of younger families. “To meet this demand and still maintain quiet for those who desire it,” the NAHB’s *Correlator* told of one Florida

heavily populated by teenage children.” Bevis and Bing, *Senior Housing Golden Age Center Program*, 3. If what followed differed from this, then even the above approach underwent revision to some extent, as another Bohn account suggested—if not indicated. “We are also conducting an experiment unlike that at the pioneering Cedar Apartments,” he said, in relation to two new projects, “to see how the situation works out with residents with no children except perhaps babies in a crib in the high rise building.” For this and additional discussion, see Bohn, again, in Senate Special Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, *Housing Problems of the Elderly*, 26. And assuming that the “high-rise mixture” to which she refers involves that revolving around the age cut-off like the above, see also discussion by Jane Jacobs, for example, citing “three forthcoming projects”: Jacobs, “Housing for the Independent Aged,” 90. Additionally, for example, another account published after Bohn and Jacobs, above, did not mention younger tenants in the high-rises—either a simple omission or perhaps indicating a change upon or after their completion: Glenn H. Beyer and F.H.J. Nierstrasz, *Housing the Aged in Western Countries: Programs, Dwellings, Homes and Geriatric Facilities* (Amsterdam and New York: Elsevier Publishing Company, 1967), 40, 87.

For other evidence of how space was used to protect older tenants in other ways, see the following. For “separate buildings or separate stairhalls” [*sic*], see John P. Dean, “Public Housing for the Aged” from September 1946, reproduced in *Toward Good Housing*, 37. For “separate wings,” see “press release” by State of New York as quoted in Churchill, “Some Random Thoughts on Housing for the Aged,” 43. And for “section where they will have the quiet they desire,” see Ray O. Edwards, “The Jacksonville Housing Authority” in *Living in the Later Years*, ed. Smith, 63.

⁷⁴⁴ Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 67-68. For accounts on ostensible threats, see also, for example, Beyer, *Housing and Society*, 436-37; Weiss, “Basic Considerations in Physical Planning of Housing for Older People,” 3U; DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, sec. III, 3. The HHFA’s Albert Cole offered a caveat in the 1950s about generalizing about *all* older Americans, explaining in part “that there are marked differences in taste and temperament among the elderly, just as there are among members of other groups. A small retirement house in a community of young people, for example, might be fine for one elderly couple but unbearable for another because of noise from children.” Cole, “What the Aged Need in Their Homes.”

In terms of sources of “noise” such as children and how and why different sources were incompatible with aging or older persons, the Kira study explained earlier: “Dwelling units should, insofar as is practicable, be insulated from sources of excessive noise both within and without the building. These sources commonly include neighbors, public corridors, garbage chutes, elevators, heavily trafficked streets, and playgrounds. There is evidence, however, that the aged find excessive noise far more disturbing than do younger people. This appears to be particularly true with respect to immediate and recognizable sounds. Distant and impersonal noises are not as annoying and may actually be desirable in that they tend to be reassuring. It has been suggested that the former, however, may be linked to a feeling that their sense of privacy is being invaded. This is quite likely since the desire for privacy increases with age. There is a strong desire on the part of the aged to protect their sedentary preoccupations and to be assured of quiet during their nap periods and in the event of illnesses. It seems essential, therefore, that the walls and ceilings between apartments be constructed so as to minimize both direct impact noises and air-borne sounds.” See Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, 55.

development, “Rosati has separated the young group from the retirees.”⁷⁴⁵ Such was the case with Beauchamp’s Orange Gardens as well. “Families with children are assigned to adjacent lots,” the NAHB explained, “and elderly couples or families with no children are placed near one another.”⁷⁴⁶

The specific means and logic underlying such social configurations spatially achieved via the residential built environment reflected an emergent political culture of retirement communities. “Although there is some difference of opinion with respect to the desirability of planning projects for a mixture of age groups,” a 1965 publication of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, “the preponderant experience at present is that the elderly wish to live among other older persons, with access to younger families and activities ‘on their own terms,’ permitting their choice of association or withdrawal.”⁷⁴⁷ In explaining James Rosati’s position on this brand of generational relations, the *Correlator* described the arrangement as “optional segregation system,” and Beauchamp similarly described the configuration of Orange Gardens as one in which “retirees may be nearer or further away according to their preference” and also as one in which “retirees could *choose* to live near them or further away,” as he described it elsewhere.⁷⁴⁸ The significance of this idea and language perhaps is illustrated by Kevin

745 See “Orange Lake Village” in “What Florida Builders Have Learned,” 96 (quotation), 97 (bottom caption). It also explain a division in facilities followed that in housing: 96. For such segregation in Rosati’s development, see also “What Florida Builders Have Learned,” 78. For a related practice by Mitnick, see “Mitnick Likes Big City Areas” in “The Retirement Market,” 59.

746 “Orange Gardens” in “What Florida Builders Have Learned,” 88. And here, then, was a parallel with other forms of housing. Citing a Florida development that included a percentage of younger families, one account drew this very comparison: “In some respects this plan is similar to the plan of public housing in creating a wing for older people.” “Summary of Three Housing Clinics on Environmental Planning,” 2k.

747 “A Statement of Principles in Management of Public Housing for the Elderly” in *Management of Public Housing for the Elderly*, 88.

748 See, in order as above, “What Florida Builders Have Learned,” 78; Beauchamp, “Trailer Courts and Retirement Towns,” 6G; Beauchamp, “Use of Private Capital,” 124 (emphasis added). And as Beauchamp suggested yet elsewhere, it was the best of both worlds, creating a new reality in which “older people can mix with youngsters *when they wish*, but still maintain their cherished privacy.” See again Beauchamp in

Kruse's discussion at one point of racial segregation in Atlanta, in which he explains that "the whites who invoked 'freedom of association' did not define the concept *positively*, in terms of what outside groups they could join, but *negatively*, in terms of what groups of outsiders they could shun."⁷⁴⁹ If an overall ability to "choose" thus entailed flexibility to pursue certain goals, in the case of retirement communities such a framing could distract from, if not naturalize and normalize, the inherently political nature of age segregation carried out by retired residents seeking a particular relationship with younger persons defined in terms of space.⁷⁵⁰

Whether at the level of buildings or broader developments, social—and, more specifically, generational—relations took spatial form. At the same time, the extent of segregation varied, and varying *degrees* of segregation could have added up to important differences, quantitative ones ultimately becoming *qualitative* ones. Rosow laid out an integration spectrum of sorts in his work—he differentiated between the "segregated" model, which "insulates rather than separates," and the more extreme, comprehensive "isolated" forms, which were predicated on sheer space—while Arizona State University geographer Patricia Gober, in summing up literature on the subject, has explained, "Size or scale is a critical factor in the study of age-segregated settings like retirement

Summary Report on "Housing Our Senior Citizens," 18 (emphasis added). And for language elsewhere, see PHA, *95,000 Senior Citizens*, 17. For discussion of how the Rosati case, for example, worked more specifically, see again "What Florida Builders Have Learned," 78.

⁷⁴⁹ For quotation here, see Kruse, *White Flight*, 163.

⁷⁵⁰ In addition to Kruse, above, see also my discussion of scholarship on "choice" and similar rhetoric in my dissertation Introduction—perhaps applicable here as well in terms not just of the inherently political nature of such framings but of identifying means and points of discursive manipulation in pursuing different agendas. And as additional of same or seemingly similar idea and language the Sun City-area newspaper praised Barron's retort and made an argument in defending retirement-community life: "It seems odd that non-residents can not [*sic?*] appreciate this fact and realize that in this country, everyone has a right to his own way of life. Especially is this true of our senior citizens, who have worked many years to become financially independent and live as they so choose." See again editorial, *News-Sun*, November 16, 1961.

communities, because it affects the extent of contact with other age groups.”⁷⁵¹ Even as public housing in Cleveland—for example—refined its approach to cross-generational inter-habitation, Bohn nonetheless noted that “we retain the concept of mixing older and younger persons, *as well as adults and children*.”⁷⁵² And, even in seeking out segregation as a sort of collective generational self-defense, the HHFA reported that “the elderly residents are being ‘insulated but not isolated’” in a set-up in Minneapolis, and—as one consultant put it—“These people want to be *around* young people, but not *in with* young people.”⁷⁵³ But such was not the case with the Sun City model of retirement, the

751 For Gober, see Gober “The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 189. More specifically, here she cites work by Golant: S.M. Golant, “Locational-Environment Perspectives on Old Age-Segregated Residential Areas in the United States” in *Geography and the Urban Environment*, ed. D. Herbert and R. Johnston (New York: John Wiley, 1980), 257-94, cited in Gober, 189. And again, Gober’s account itself again first cited, for example, in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170. For Rosow, see Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 329 (quotations), 330. Here, the functionality of “isolated” projects did not depend necessarily—or at least exclusively—on generational relations but to “whether an isolated setting is a full-fledged, self-contained community” (330).

752 For quotation and relevant discussion here, discussed and cited in an earlier note in this section, see again Bohn in Senate Special Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, *Housing Problems of the Elderly*, 26. For accounts also relevant, see also Bevis and Bing, *Senior Housing Golden Age Center Program*, 19; Loring, “Housing for the Elderly,” 108. What might have been a same or similar approach already was underway in the case of Cedar Apartments Extension; while accounts detailing efforts there do not seem to directly state it, high- and low-rise housing had a particular spatial relationship, in which the building for older tenants was “surrounded by low buildings for younger families,” for example, and the building also “adjoins a playground,” if significant. See Jacobs, “Housing for the Independent Aged,” 87 (top caption), 90. As additional evidence, another document reported of “a multistoried building with 104 units, *surrounded by low buildings for younger families*.” See PHA, *95,000 Senior Citizens*, 4 (emphasis added).

753 For first quotation, see HHFA [?] as quoted in “The Housing and Home Finance Agency and Its Role in the Field of Housing for the Aging” in “Statement of Henry O. Talle, Assistant Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency; Accompanied by E. Everett Ashley III, Director, Statistical Reports and Development Branch” in Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging, *Federal Programs for the Aged and Aging: Hearings*, 86th Cong., 1st sess., July 23, 24, 28, 29, and 30, 1959, 297. For second quotation, see Becker quoted in “This Man Has \$18,000 Cash, and He’s Looking for a Place to Live—Sell Him Something,” 51 [?]. As additional evidence, *How to Provide Housing Which the Elderly Can Afford*, for example, described the balancing act to which housing was to aspire: “The watchword is: *integrate but insulate them*. That is, integrate the housing in a normal neighborhood, but insulate it from the noise.” New York State Division of Housing, *How to Provide Housing Which the Elderly Can Afford*, 5 (emphasis added). One scholar from the period makes an important distinction that, applied here, emphasizes the point at hand: “It isn’t so much that we don’t want older people to be segregated, I think, but we don’t want them to be isolated, and we must separate these notions of segregation and isolation.” Leonard Z. Breen, “Where to Live” in *Housing for an Aging Population: A Report of the Conference, October 10, 1961*, by New Jersey Division on Aging ([Trenton] [?] New Jersey: New Jersey Division of Aging, [1962] [?]), 19. For same or similar distinction, see also

accounts of Findlay and Frances FitzGerald suggest. “Residents of a retirement new town never needed to leave their special community or have contact with the ‘integrated’ population outside,” Findlay writes. “The choice of virtually complete segregation was within their grasp.”⁷⁵⁴ And as FitzGerald described it, “In the normal course of a week, they rarely see anyone under sixty.”⁷⁵⁵ By definition, everyone else thus was “sixty” or older, and this would have a logic of its own.

Strength in Numbers

Del Webb’s brand of retirement was more than a refuge or merely remedial in nature. Rather, experts and others argued that age segregation offered a means of cultivating community. One ingredient in the recipe making up Sun City community was age itself—or a collective identity generated by and grounded in common bonds of aging. “A subculture like this,” the WHCA’s *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications* spoke of the potential of a trend underway, “will be made up of older persons with time, energy, and money at their disposal, who have sought out their age-peers and who work out new patterns of shared activities with age-peers. This life style is most clearly seen today in the retirement communities of the South and the

Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 329, 330. In this project, I use “segregation” rather than “isolation” but make distinctions as needed—as at the end of this section.

754 Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 168. And earlier in the same paragraph in which this appears, he writes—also suggesting how the development fell into the latter: “‘Retirement new towns,’ pioneered by Sun City, represented the ultimate in residential segregation by age.” Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 168. And for Findlay’s account again, in which he draws on the Hunt study, see Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities*, 212-16, 253, 255, cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 168.

755 FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 215. Furthermore, for the context of the passage at hand here, presumably discussing this in terms of an overall trend in which Sun City existed in a parallel universe in light not only of the community’s comprehensive nature with on-site facilities but also of the relative spatial and social distance separating the development from the metropolitan area, see again 215.

Southwest, but it is not limited to these areas.”⁷⁵⁶ Whether or not informing the above, sociologist Arnold Rose promoted the “subculture” idea in the 1960s, in which—as he defined it, in more general terms—“(1) The members have a positive affinity for each other on some basis (e.g., gains to be had from each other, long-standing friendships, common background and interests, common problems and concerns). (2) The members are excluded from interaction with other groups in the population to some significant extent.”⁷⁵⁷

And in her study, FitzGerald connects this idea to Florida. “The Sun Cities and Leisure Worlds are without precedent; no society recorded in history has even had whole villages—whole cities—composed exclusively of elderly people,” she writes, engaging—and perhaps redeeming—Rose. “These communities are not just places where the elderly happen to find each other, as they do in certain rural communities and certain inner-city neighborhoods after everyone else has moved out. They are deliberate creations—places where retired people have gone by choice to live with each other.”⁷⁵⁸ In the process, the creation of community for older Americans inherently was spatial. As Irving Rosow

756 WHCA, Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications, 13-14 (quotation 14).

757 Rose, “The Subculture of the Aging,” 3-4, account again first cited in Otis, “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,’” 153; FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 211. And for discussion by Rose in relation to aging specifically, see 3, 3-4. This language and framing might be placed and understood within the context of evolving gerontological thought—thought that was shaped, one of gerontology’s scholarly genealogists explains, by an infusion of theoretical tools and concepts from sociology in the postwar decades. Specifically, Stephen Katz writes: “Sociological notions of social role, social status, subculture, senior citizen, stereotype, generation, and (eventually) class, ethnicity, and gender...found their way into analyses of old age.” Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, e. See again 119-20 for context of shift towards the social in gerontology. Meanwhile, as Liz Cohen explains: “Over the course of the 1950s and 1960s, sociological categories of analysis—‘social class’ and ‘status hierarchies,’ ‘reference groups’ and ‘subcultures,’ ‘opinion formation,’ ‘pressure groups,’ and ‘cognitive dissonance’—entered the world of marketing, much of it theory aimed at explaining social differentiation.” See Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 299-300 (emphasis added).

758 For quotation from FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 212. And for broader discussion of Rose, see again discussion—including Rose discussed and quoted—in FitzGerald, 211-212. And, Rose himself on “self-segregation” in a same or perhaps similar vein, see also Rose, “Subculture of the Aging,” 5. For mention of “built-in social life” in Blakely and Snyder’s on one development, see Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 55.

explained in the early 1960s, “The *concentration* of people with common status and problems, with similar life experience and perspectives, maximizes the opportunity for new friendships.”⁷⁵⁹ What resulted perhaps was a sort of integration *within* segregation—the former *made possible* by the latter.⁷⁶⁰

759 Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 337 (emphasis added). Findlay cites work by Rosow on presumably same or similar idea/s here, although the article and/or location of publication differs. See Rosow as cited in Findlay, 198. And furthermore, that this dealt with *space* specifically, is further indicated or suggested by Rosow in discussion prior to his concluding points. “This may be basically why segregated retirement communities,” Rosow explained, drawing a contrast with “normal neighborhoods,” “are successful—they concentrate rather than diffuse the field of potential friends and support, thereby maximizing the conditions of social integration.” See Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 336-337. To be clear, Rosow points to “major social class differences” and how—for the above—this might have applied more so to “the working class.” See Rosow, 336. However, even if Sun City as evidence I discuss below also suggests, if Sun City fit a different demographic profile, as evidence in my Chapter 6 indicates, space still seemingly mattered; DEVCO evidence spoke of concerns at the level of the “neighborhood” and, more generally, perhaps, Sun City had a capacity to “concentrate” persons *in Sun City*, regardless of moving-related motivations. For “middle-class residents” in Sun City, first see Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 20. For another account on class in Sun City, defined in relation to Youngtown, for example, see also Bultena and Wood, “The American Retirement Community,” 212. On same or similar advantages indicated by Rosow and others as well, also see Rosow, 330, 330-31; Grier, “Part I” in *Housing the Aging*, 49; Breen, “Housing for the Aging,” 236-37; Clark Tibbitts, “Alternatives to Retirement Villages and Areas of Research” in *Retirement Villages*, Burgess, ed., 129-30. For discussion of various advantages, whether paralleling those of Rosow or not, in relation to the “retirement village,” see Vivrett, “Designing a Retirement Villages,” 13, 16-17. For early mention of “social contacts,” see Pollak, *Social Adjustment in Old Age*, 152. For additional discussion of research, see Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 74-75. For overview of, see also Bultena and Wood, “The American Retirement Community,” 209, 210, first cited—for first half of overview—again in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 169-170. And, to be sure, I return to Bultena and Wood’s work immediately below. Suggesting the value of some degree of a sort of a collective culture of built around age, even if not endorsing or applicable to the Sun City style of age segregation, Leonard Breen wrote: “It isn’t so much that we don’t want older to be segregated, I think, but we don’t want them to be isolated, and we must separate these notions of segregation and isolation.” See Breen, “Where to Live,” 19.

Rosow further explained, for example: “By clarifying expectations and appropriate behavior, especially in dealing with the leisure of retirement, older people provide each other with new norms.” Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 337. And, later in the same paragraph, he also write, suggesting the overall dynamics: “They may no longer need to cling to youthful standards which they cannot meet and for which the necessary life conditions have withered away” (238). For overall discussion, see 337-338. On this idea, see also Rosow as discussed and cited in Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 212. And, if referring to this point, see Rosow, for example, cited in Findlay, 198. In light of Rosow’s mention of “leisure,” above, in particular, similar discussion took place in the work of Bultena and Wood in their study. They wrote, for instance, suggesting how a sort of strength in numbers worked: “The retirement communities, with their relatively permissive atmospheres, served to insulate their residents from a set of normative expectations commonly operative in regular communities in which instrumental or productive functions are emphasized. The retirement community residents, in effect, comprised a reference group which legitimized behavior which was compatible with their own orientations with regard to appropriate and desirable conduct in old age.” To be clear, I am not the first to cite this material; the following accounts helped direct me to it. See Bultena and Wood, “The American Retirement Community,” 213-14, 215 (quotation), 216, first cited (213-214) on this point—along with other work by the pair and Bultena alone—in Findlay, 199; article by same name but from another publication, Wood and

While researchers pointed to such evidence in Sun City—and framed in relation to work by Rosow—even if with a caveat, DEVCO certainly promoted ideas in this vein.⁷⁶¹ Perhaps illustrating this and the trajectory of rehabbing retirement of which it

Bultena, in *Social Problems of the Aging*, ed. Seltzer, Corbett, and Ashley (Belmont, California: Wordsworth Publishing Company, 1978), 66-73, initially cited and quoted in part—in terms of the above material in this note—in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 15-16, (quotation 16), 154. Work by Bultena and Wood also is used by Calhoun: Bultena and Wood, article from *Journal of Gerontology* (1969): 208-217, discussed and cited in Calhoun, 212. Additionally, FitzGerald also cites 1969 work by Bultena and Wood, which might have been this, whether or not on or dealing with this point. See Bultena and Wood, cited in FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 213. For perhaps evidence of this earlier, see again—cited earlier in my project—Hoyt, “The Life of the Retired in a Trailer Park,” 370. In my review of Sun City-related material, evidence from an oral history of Jerry Svendsen might provide evidence of the overall dynamic at work: Svendsen, interview (quotation); Svendsen, “Synopsis,” 2. For seemingly similar idea, see also, for example, discussion by Brangham, “The Retirement Community” 20. And for yet additional evidence seemingly illustrating this overall idea, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 235. On background, of “status of age,” see also Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 83-84 (quotation 84).

760 Overall, various accounts seem to treat the dynamic here as one of—as Bultena and Wood, for example put it—“interaction *growing out of* age-grading.” See Bultena and Wood, 216 (emphasis added). As Gary Cross writes: “By prohibiting permanent residence to anyone under the age of 50, Sun City became a community of shared values. It created an elder peer culture consisting of people who had devoted their younger years to raising families in affluent suburbs.” Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 189. Findlay, meanwhile, writes of having “reversed the process of disengagement” and, even more, that “Age-segregation perhaps made the elderly less tolerant toward others but more accepting of themselves.” Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 198 (first quotation), 199 (second quotation). And as FitzGerald writes in concluding her discussion of this point: “Paradoxically, the effort at despecialization seemed to work better in an age-segregated community.” For quotation, and context in which she posits idea of “attempting to despecialize old age,” see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 234-235 (quotation 235).

The strength in numbers represented in age segregation yielded “gains” of another kind as well—involving economies of scale for “various services,” for example, as Rosow summarized. See Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 337. For other relevant accounts, see also Kira, Tucker, and Cederstrom, *Housing Requirements of the Aged*, 67; Vivrett, “Housing and Community Settings for Older Persons,” 600. Vivrett, however, described this in relation “Proximate housing” as taking place only “in limited degrees of concentration,” thus suggesting an commitment to integration overall. On “Retirement villages,” see, for example, 601. Those such as the DFPA addressed this point as well, which stated: “Large numbers of older people can support more specialized facilities such as nursing and medical clinics, delivered meal service, specialized recreational facilities. Big developments can support community recreation centers and centralized [?] swimming pools.” See DFPA, *Builder’s Guide to the Retirement Home Market*, section III, 2. Leisure World developer Ross Cortese very well might have been making this point on housing, facilities, or everything, when he said in relation to his Maryland development: “Community groupings make it possible for us to share costs and to enjoy a standard of living we could not otherwise afford.” Cortese quoted in John B. Willmann, “Proposed Community Seen as Area Test of Yen for Adult Togetherness,” *Washington Post*, January 11, 1964.

761 See Bultena and Wood, “The American Retirement Community,” 213. And here, in terms of the caveat they offer, they write: “This is not to say that migrants to the regular communities were isolate socially, for nearly one-half reported as many close friends now as when they were living in their home communities, and three-fourths expressed satisfaction with their current level of friendship interaction” (213). And shortly after, they write: “However, social disengagement with advancing age may not occur as early in the planned retirement communities as elsewhere” (213). Like Rosow’s discussion of the role of class, this might qualify assumptions about or weight given to marginalization in the existing

was a part, Ben Huggins told the audience in *The Beginning*, “I was sort of lonesome” and, back at home, that their “neighborhood seemed to be growing away from us.”⁷⁶²

Syncing older persons to a new social community—unlike environments in which they

“neighborhood” for Sun Citizens and others. Nonetheless, this did not preclude Sun City as fostering friendships, for example. And these very well might have been issues—in evidence provided below, the framing around “neighborhood,” in particular, and also an emphasis on “friends,” which thus might have involved space since living in same residential development—that DEVCO addressed. See below for such DEVCO evidence. And for overview, drawing on the work of Rosow, but dealing with Sun City, see, for example, again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 198.

In their own contexts, other accounts discuss a seemingly similar dynamic surrounding segregation—that, depending on how it was defined, segregation was not necessarily antithetical to integration. As William Graebner suggests in relation to the “Golden Age Clubs” of mid-century, specifically how such organizations combined the following: “The clubs were premised on disengagement theory in the sense that traditional work was not considered essential to a healthy existence; they relied on activity theory, however, to the extent that their sponsors believed that complete disengagement was socially and individually destructive.” Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 269-70. And as Melanie Sturgeon, student of Sun City, astutely observes in her review of literature on age segregation in retirement housing, “these studies seem to support both disengagement and activity theory.” Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 16-17 (quotation 17). For accounts suggesting models incorporating aspects of both theories, see, for example, Gordon F. Streib and Clement J. Schneider, *Retirement in American Society: Impact and Process* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1971), 180-83, cited in Graebner, 228; WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Economic and Social Implications*, 14, 15. Meanwhile, one scholar writing at the time suggested: “While these debates go on, housing developers seem to have parlayed aspects of both theories to sell the public on the concept of ‘active retirement,’ capitalizing on the disengagement side of the controversy by appealing to older people to remove themselves from society into age-segregated housing, but at the same time countering this by an appeal to a life full of activities.” This account added: “Publicity brochures refer to the country club atmosphere, golf, swimming, arts and crafts, bridge, planned trips, etc. But they also refer to leisure, peace, quiet, and security.” Hamovitch, “Social and Psychological Factors in Adjustment in a Retirement Village” in *The Retirement Process*, Carp, ed., 116-17. On background and basic idea of these theories, see Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 226-30, cited in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 11-12; Graebner, *A History of Retirement*, 215, 227-28; Sturgeon, 14-15, 15, 21; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 111, 115-22, 123-24, esp. 117-18; Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 69; WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Economic and Social Implications*, 13; Katz, *Disciplining Old Age*, 121-25. On timing and influence on each other, see Katz, 124; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 14. For a good overview by Otis, see also Otis, “Everything Old is New Again,” 39-40. The attributes of cited by the Hamovitch account likely involved the absence of children. As the California study identified different “preferences” in retirement housing overall, including one involving and ideally mitigating “the particular discomfort that the elderly associate with the noise of *children playing*, *teenage hot-rodders*, and heavy traffic.” See Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 21. On housing and disengagement, also see Beyer, *Housing and Society*, 435. Additionally, Sturgeon might be making, or moving towards, this point or a related one dealing with the combining of different approaches: “An emerging theory, that activity was necessary to compensate for the loss of work, made scholars and other experts fearful of isolated communities. Despite scholars [*sic*] dire predictions that many of the elderly would be unhappy in such an environment, the Del Webb Company, especially Tom Breen, sized on the same theory to promote age-segregated lifestyles.” See Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 106. Sturgeon’s discussion here might also be read within the point I discuss earlier about homebuilders engaging other experts.

⁷⁶² See again DEVCO, *The Beginning*. As additional evidence, see the following. “At our former home we had little in common with our neighbors,” one Sun City woman put it. “They were younger and still working, rearing families. In Sun City we have made many friends with the same interests, desires, and abilities.” Opal Mammen quoted in Earle, “Where Retirement is Fun,” 66.

were decidedly *out* of sync—DEVCO promised to rectify retirement, illustrated by a 1960 magazine advertisement—featuring images of residents chatting pool-side, cooking out, and gathering around and enjoying artwork—asserting that “No One Is ALONE in DEL WEBB’S Sun City ARIZONA.”⁷⁶³ A playful print advertising presenting viewers with a “Quiz” intended to highlight retirement Sun City-style tested readers on a variety of issues. One was this: “Do you have all the friends you desire in your age bracket of memories and interests?”⁷⁶⁴ In Sun City, one could answer in the affirmative: “Whatever your ideals, your interests or your dreams, there are countless contemporaries ready to share them, to enrich them, to give them a special importance.”⁷⁶⁵ Recreation could a common language putting older persons into conversation with each other. As one advertisement declared, “Whatever you enjoy doing most – golf, swimming,

763 Del E. Webb Development Company, “No One is Alone in Del Webb’s Sun City Arizona” (n.d.), in “1959 - 1967 National Advertising” scrapbook, SCAHS. What appears to be typing identifies as appearing in the September 1961 issue of *Ladies Home Journal*. On “loneliness,” also see Brangham, “The Retirement Community,” 20. Otherwise, real consequences again lurked in the shadows. Quoting one “English geriatrician,” the report also pointed out that “loneliness in old age is a heart rending and terrible thing (and when they are lonely, there is no question but that (their) physical health deteriorates more rapidly than it would otherwise, and there is no question but that their mental health deteriorates.” J.F. Sheldon quoted in WHCA, *Background and Issues: Housing the Elderly*, 34. The specific author identified as Ira S. Robbins, as well as contribution from “The Technical Committee on Housing.”

764 DEVCO, “Senior Citizens...Can YOU Score 100% on this Quiz?”

765 Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, 7. See Findlay’s excellent analysis of evidence on the capacity and horsepower of collective memory. “Sun City, Arizona,” 198-99. For her work on Florida, perhaps paralleling that of Findlay here, see also Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 71-72. In Sun City, one would encounter, DEVCO claimed, “People who watched John Barrymore and Ann Harding, listened to Caruso, remember going to the airport just to watch the planes, whose eyes will twinkle at the mention of rumble seats and roadsters, who met the challenge of the Depression, helped win our nation’s wars, and have had a part in the work and achievements which have given America her greatest era.” Webb Corporation, *Del Webb’s Active Retirement*, n.p. For similar evidence and discussion of it from late-twentieth-century Sun City, see again McHugh, “Generational Consciousness,” 293-306, esp. 296. Other evidence in this piece also emphasizes the appeal of an age-segregated Sun City, although McHugh also points out the “ambivalence” at hand: 301-2 (quotation 302). On “peer culture” of Sun City, also see Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 189. However, Suggesting how generational bonding also was defensive to some extent at the same time, and perhaps akin to Rose, DEVCO perhaps implied that those facing a similar situation might have sought ways to offset their very marginalization in a rush-rush world, characterizing the residents of Sun City as “interesting, active, friendly folks who always have time to exchange a wave, a smile . . . to listen to the news of your family or your opinion on the events of the day . . . and anxious to tell you of theirs.” Del E. Webb Development Co., “Your Best Friends Live Right Next Door in Del Webb’s Sun City,” *Arizona Days and Ways Magazine*, September 17, 1961, 19, in “1961 March 26 - Dec. 31 Proof sheets” scrapbook,” SCAHS.

shuffleboard, painting, square dancing, or just sitting and visiting – you’ll find wonderful, active friends at Sun City who thoroughly enjoy the same things!”⁷⁶⁶ And as one advertisement explained, perhaps parallel to the recreational amenities within immediate reach in Sun City, “YOUR BEST FRIENDS ARE RIGHT NEXT DOOR.”⁷⁶⁷

But communities glued together by age alone could run the risk of giving members *too* much in common. In 1959, Webb had sponsored what the *Webb Spinner*, described as “a national contest to name the retirement community,” but—as Calvin Trillin recounted of the eventual decision of its winner—“Britton and wife lived for six months in the city he had named, and then went back to Oregon. He explained not long ago in a letter to the *Phoenix Gazette* that although he and his wife appreciate the friendliness of the Del E. Webb Corporation and the other residents, they could not stand the lack of old friends, the presence of only old people, and the heat.”⁷⁶⁸ While the first reason echoed a point emphasized by housing developers in the 1960s and later who did not pursue more national markets—as Webb did—but rather grouped interested older persons together in developments allowing access to one’s already existing relationships, the former retirement-community resident himself amplified his rationale on the second:

766 Del E. Webb Development Co., “Try Active Retirement...for a Change” (n.d.), in “Advertising Proofs 1965-66” scrapbook, SCAHS. Label identifies as several dates in 1965.

767 See DEVCO, “Nobody’s on the Sidelines.”

768 First, on the “contest,” see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 25; in particular, indicating both DEVCO’s role and timing of, identified by date and also as having run in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Del E. Webb Development Co., “Name This Active Arizona Retirement Community, [?] Win a New Way of Life,” [*Saturday Evening Post*], November 28, 1959, in Freeman and Sanberg, 27; *Jubilee*, quoted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 78; Meeker, *A Look Back, 1959-1981*, 5; Boswell, interview, 14; “National Attention is Focused on Webb Retirement Community Rising in Arizona,” *The Webb Spinner* 13, no. 11 (November 1959): 1 (quotation); “Name Retirement Home Contest Advertises Valley to Nation,” *Arizona Republic*, November 22, 1959; Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 168. For another account presumably addressing such areas, see also Jacobson and Breen, interview, 28. For identification of winners, “The E.A. Brittons of Eugene, Oregon,” see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, 28 (quotation here); Meeker, 5; Trillin, 168. And for as having left, including the particular framing of Trillin’s account here, see Trillin, 168-169 (quotation 168). Trillin goes on to quote this letter in Trillin, 169. For copy of letter itself, see E.A. Britton, letter to the editor, *Phoenix Gazette*, January 23, 1963, “Ariz. - Cities + Towns - Sun City,” CF, PPL.

“IT WAS VERY depressing to me to see so many in a small area with disabilities—all were in our age bracket. We missed having middle age folks, the young people and children.”⁷⁶⁹

No matter how suburban Sun City was, in terms of the built environment or the community attracted to the homes and the amenities helping to make it up, there were—for example—no “young people and children,” at least as DEVCO intended it.⁷⁷⁰ But process remained a potential point of overlap. As the UC-Berkeley study pointed out, perhaps suggesting how—overall—industry practices might have operated on a broader

769 In terms of such developers, this was more the emphasis, for example, of Cortese and Schmertz. See Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 195; Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities*, 27-28, 67, 115, 116; Cortese quoted in “Is Retirement Housing Today’s Best Bet for Boosting Sales and Profits?” 109-110, plus discussion on 112; Becker, “All-Adult Market Grows Strong,” 66; Calhoun, *In Search of the New Old*, 209; Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 86; statistics discussed in “Questions to Mr. Brangham and His Answers” in Brangham “The Retirement Community,” 24. As Calhoun puts it, for instance: “Schmertz Leisure Village in the New Jersey swamplands, for example, offered everything that Sun City, Arizona did (except the climate) and was 3000 miles closer to home” (209). According to the Hunt study, and illustrating the influence on and concept of Schmertz: “The corporation was formed nearly 20 years ago by a New Jersey builder who initially was inspired by Rossmoor Leisure World retirement community in Seal Beach, California. He envisioned a scaled-down version of the Rossmoor community and saw the possibilities for marketing in the New Jersey, New York City, and Philadelphia regions with their relatively large Jewish and Italian populations. The rationale was that the groups tended to have strong family ties and many of the older persons would seek to live in an active adult community in close proximity to children and grandchildren.” See Hunt, et al., *Retirement Communities: An American Original*, 114-115. For another example of this trend in New Jersey, see William Robbins, “Jersey Draws Clusters of Retirement Villages,” *New York Times*, June 2, 1968. Webb even might have embraced a closer-to-home market as well in the efforts to appeal to working prospective homebuyers in the mid-1960s, for example, as discussed earlier. For possible linkage made between “metropolitan areas” and employment, see Siegel, “The Pros and Cons of Retirement Cities,” 249. While such communities offered age-segregated living a la Webb, there very well might have been differences between the two in terms of contact with their families—specifically in terms of frequency. For example, one official involved with the Leisure Worlds reference to “any weekend” in discussing contact might reflect this. See Brangham, “The Retirement Community,” 19. For discussion of evidence from later in the 1950s and in the early 1960s, see relevant material from my chapter 2. On migration and significance, see again FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 209.

For Britton, see again Trillin on Britton, in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 168, 169. For Britton here and directly, see Britton letter to the editor (quotation). For evidence from Part I on this point, as well as the experience of a couple in Florida, see again Davidson, “Thistles in Paradise,” 24.

In another episode, and perhaps involving physiology, a columnist for a newspaper in Minnesota, stated of Sun City, “Without even a glimpse of anyone younger than themselves, I have a hunch they’re going to grow decrepit in a hurry.” Gerrie Anderson, “MY SAY...,” column, Barnesville, Minnesota, *Record-Review*, November 15, 1962. For coverage of the Anderson affair in Sun City, see Mr. and Mrs. A.K. Tice [?], letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, December 6, 1962; “Columnist Pans Sun City, Draws Ire of Readers,” *News-Sun*, December 13, 1962; “Svendsen Points out Beauties of Sun City,” *News-Sun*, January 3, 1963; “Publicist Jerry Causes Gerrie to Change Tune,” *News-Sun*, January 17, 1963.

770 Partial quotation here from the end of preceding paragraph.

logic privileging not necessarily the make-up of given markets but rather the fact that multiple markets existed or could exist, “California retirement communities are segregated, specialized housing packages for the elderly subculture, just as single family tract subdivisions are segregated, specialized housing packages for the child rearing subculture.”⁷⁷¹ Historians have pointed to broader trends of age-related segregation that also extended beyond retirement development. “Not only were young families with children migrating to suburbia,” Teaford also writes, “but by the 1960s senior citizens were headed for the fringe and seeking to stake out a section of the metropolitan turf for their own exclusive use.”⁷⁷² And Gary Cross writes that “these geriatric ghettos were really no different than the new apartment complexes that catered to singles or young married couples but excluded families with children. They were part of the larger cultural trend—splitting into amiable, like-minded cohorts.”⁷⁷³ Normalizing the appeal of age segregation—not just amongst older Americans but as a truism of human nature—was the *News-Sun* in Sun City, which asked in response to criticisms of the retirement

771 Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 80.

772 Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 108. See also Findlay here on broader reach of age segregation: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170. Another respect in which retirement development could be suburban involved *class*—and not just age. For suburbia and what presumably was class here, see Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 238-241, as discussed and cited in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 87; Sturgeon, 87. In terms of retirement, Rosow might have been addressing this when he wrote, for example: “The most important is that residents be of basically homogenous social composition, of broadly similar background, social class, and life experience, whether the mechanism of selection be the market, self-selection, or tenant-selection policy.” For quotation and specific context here, see Rosow, “Retirement Housing and Social Integration,” 338. For additional evidence, if involving class, see, for example, discussion from FitzGerald, *Cities on a Hill*, 217, first cited in McHugh and Larson-Keagy, “These White Walls,” 246. For subsequent page to which the text of the preceding might be referring, see also FitzGerald, 218. And for “class” a few pages later, see also FitzGerald, 220. And for Zonn and Zube on Sun City, see also Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 20.

773 Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 189. Perhaps relevant here as well, see again discussion involving “intentional homogeneity created by CID builders” in McKenzie: McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 57, 191 (quotation). And on role of “lifestyle,” see again discussion in Zonn and Zube: Muller, *Contemporary Suburban America*, 67, 70, as discussed and cited in Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 19 (cited pages), 20-21, esp. 20, 25; and Zonn and Zube, 19 (quotation), 20-21, 25.

community at one point, “Should they feel guilty because they prefer to socialize with their contemporaries? Doesn’t everyone?”⁷⁷⁴

The Price of Retirement, Revisited

Age-segregated housing engendered political tensions and political struggles.⁷⁷⁵

In Sun City, the ability to restrict housing was connected to the broader political culture of Sun Citizenship. And the issues animating this political culture—and, in different ways, achieved through age restrictions—involved property and property taxes, defining and defending the autonomy of Sun City residents in relation to DEVCO, each other, and members of the metropolitan community.

In Sun City, age restrictions and amenities could go hand in hand. As Trillin reported as part of Sun City sojourn in 1964, “One summer, several residents told me, the swimming pools had just about been taken over by young people home from college and grandchildren making summer visits. The Community Center,” he explained of Sun City’s first recreation complex, “quickly made a rule barring children under sixteen from the pool except between twelve and two in the afternoon.” And of the second such facility developed in the retirement community in the early 1960s, he wrote, “Town Hall permits children in the pool between eleven and two but considers anyone under twenty-

⁷⁷⁴ Editorial, “Maybe They Should Bleed,” *News-Sun*, May 7, 1964. The editorial made this and other comments in the wake of several published pieces, one of which was Calvin Trillin’s piece in the *New Yorker*. See

Charan Singh, column (Sonoma, California) *Index-Tribune*, April 2, 1964, reprinted under title “Children on Grandparents’ Knees” in *News-Sun*, April 23, 1964; Lue Leisy, “Glorified Sitter? Not this Granny,” *News-Sun*, May 7, 1964; Amelia D. Lewis, letter to the editor of the *New Yorker*, reprinted as “Magazine Article’s Views Elicit Demurrer,” *News-Sun*, May 7, 1964. Meanwhile, for evidence in relation to suburbia among another demographic perhaps suggesting parallels with Sun City, see Howard, “The Closet and the Cul de Sac,” 152, 155.

⁷⁷⁵ On political nature, or at least experience, of Sun City, see again Blechman, *Leisureville*, 129. And the last item he cites “restrictions on guest” might be those involving age. See again 129.

five in that category; the rest of the time, it posts monitors from the Swim Club to make certain all bathers are of age.”⁷⁷⁶ Recreational amenities thus were political, the issue of access spurring residents to action.⁷⁷⁷

Politics in Sun City also revolved not only around community control but also dollars and cents.⁷⁷⁸ Such concerns permeated, for example, the question of incorporation in the retirement community. “With a population of over 40,000 in 1980, Sun City was the fifth-largest ‘city’ in the Valley,” Philip VanderMeer has explained, but since it was not incorporated and had no municipal government, it was not formally a ‘city.’”⁷⁷⁹ While several elections held at different points in the 1960s and 1970s failed to lead to an incorporated retirement community, debate included the move’s perceived potential ultimately to result in higher taxes.⁷⁸⁰

The issue of schools would generate considerable conflict as well. And schools connected back to age segregation. Another perceived advantage of age segregation, in fact, was lower taxes in the arena of public education.⁷⁸¹ One Youngtown resident commented, for example, that “a residential district with families having children of

776 See, for example, Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 153.

777 And in the 1970s and later, control over amenities would factor into campaigns for steps for regulating the community itself. See my Chapter 7 in Part III.

778 Among sources I cite in my Introduction, see in particular on this point Freireich interview.

779 VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67.

780 On history of incorporation—or unincorporation—in Sun City and issues involved, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 205-6, 208; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 225-26; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 155-56. For overview, also see Blechman, *Leisureville*, 130. On incorporation—. For examples of coverage of early discussion of, and role of taxes specifically, see “Tax Argument Draws Reply from Incorporation Sponsor,” *News-Sun*, October 15, 1964; “Rebuttal Offered to Incorporation Opponents,” *News-Sun*, November 12, 1964. For another account, specifically on the role of taxes in relation to incorporation, in what presumably was a later account, given the year of publication of the larger book in which it appeared, see also Garreau, “Phoenix,” 184. On incorporation politics not just Sun City, see—in addition to relevant sources cited in the Introduction to this dissertation, Findlay, 355n150.

781 As major impetus for the exploration of the debate over school taxes in Sun City in this dissertation comes from John Findlay’s excellent case study. For Findlay on schools again, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 179, 206-8. Additional accounts cited in the following chapter.

school age would mean more taxes for schools.”⁷⁸² And after pointing to the advantage of “a little peace and quiet” that came with an age-restricted Sun City, Ben Huggins in DEVCO’s *The Beginning* told of another one flowing from segregation, adding: “And of course, no kids, no schools, easy on the taxes.”⁷⁸³ DEVCO specifically addressed taxes in Sun City in comparison to other Phoenix-area communities.⁷⁸⁴ The company also advertised the tax savings inherent in the development due to its *retired* demographic—and how and why it worked. “Outstanding among the advantages of an adult community,” sales literature explained it, “are the taxes, as a result of the increase in tax revenue to the area without increasing with need for school facilities, and a desire of adults for the elements of a community designed exclusively for them.”⁷⁸⁵ In fact, eligibility requirements for those who otherwise would have failed to meet the age criteria might have been established specifically to address taxes involving children of school age—and, along the way, suggesting how Sun City diverged from suburbia.

782 Quoted in “Retired Persons Like to Garden,” *Arizona Republic*, September 4, 1959. For seemingly identical quotation, see “former government postal employee from Oregon” quoted in Earle, “Where Retirement is Fun,” 66.

783 See again *The Beginning*. For Findlay on DEVCO and school taxes specifically, see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 179, 207. And for Youngtown here, see again Blechman, *Leisureville*, 29. As Blechman writes: “The philosophical underpinnings of Schleifer’s preference for age segregation were more practical than purposefully discriminatory: children cost money. A community without kids is a community without schools and with no high taxes to pay for schools” (29).

784 See, for example, Del E. Webb Development Co., “Sure Get Your Nickel’s Worth,” n.d., in “1959 - 1967 National Advertising” scrapbook, SCAHS; Del E. Webb Development Co., “Live It up... While Taxes Go Down,” n.d. in “TAXES - GENERAL” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. Typing identifies print as having run in *Arizona Republic*, April 14, 1965.

785 DEVCO, “You’re Just 3 Steps Away from Your Beautiful Home in Del Webb’s Sun City Arizona,” n.p. [outside back cover]. This or a similar version also cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 207. For similar evidence, see Webb Corporation, “ANYONE Who Can Retire CAN AFFORD Full-Time Living in Any of Del Webb’s Beautiful Cities,” n.p.. And, as another advertisement explained, life in Sun City was affordable on several fronts: “You’ll like the happy people who live in thrift-conscious Del Webb’s Sun City, where homes and cooperative apartments are sensibly-priced . . . schools do not have to be maintained and taxes are lower . . . and residents have full use of facilities for the low cost of \$20 per person *per year*, except for the golf course, which they played at greatly reduced rates.” Del E. Webb Corporation, “Vacations Last a Lifetime in Del Webb’s Sun City,” n.d., in “1959 - 1967 National Advertising” scrapbook, SCAHS. Typed label or other attachment dates this as 1964 as running in numerous newspaper in the eastern United States, A seemingly identical print appears earlier in the scrapbook, but no year is provided.

“Children are welcome visitors any time, although they cannot become permanent residents of Sun City until they are out of high school,” DEVCO stipulated.⁷⁸⁶

Webb officials, meanwhile, would play up the variable of schools—or the lack of them—in relation to the political economy of the Phoenix area. Paralleling the homebuilding industry’s strategic positioning of retirement housing in the 1960s, the developer’s characterization of the retirement community here suggested that Sun City would be, in effect, a net gain, injecting money into the economy—different voices and interests held—at the local and state levels while treading lightly on the communities in which retirees settled.

Enthusiasm surrounding retirement-related business in Arizona took root more broadly in the postwar period. While acknowledging potential pitfalls, including ways in which the economic and medical demands of an increased retired population could result in strains on relevant resources, a 1951 University of Arizona study touted the “economic advantages” accompanying such a group.⁷⁸⁷ Furthermore, a study done the following decade addressed one aspect of retirement as an engine of economic growth in particular. “When a resident of Maricopa County finances any part of his local consumption

786 DEVCO, *Del Webb’s Sun City, Arizona: Designed Exclusively for Active Retirement*, n.d., in “1960-64 Models 1-8” file folder. Identified on front cover in handwriting as “1963-1966 #11-18.” Tom Breen’s point that “that the minimum age limit of 50 for residents would logically eliminate children of school age” very well might have operated on this connection as well, in that children in this stage of the life cycle attended schools, which were funded through school taxes. And further, it would “logically eliminate” this population from the community presumably because persons at and above this cut-off would no longer have children in local schools. While it is possible that Breen was not making a life-cycle-based point here—that this threshold simply did not allow for children—then it might not have had to make the stipulation concerning “high school,” discussed above. As further evidence, coverage of Palm City, a California retirement development, explained in relation to an age threshold of fifty years old—and a prohibition of “children under 18”—that “Many couples in their fifties have children of college age, but they have no need of school facilities.” See Breen quoted in Earle, “Where Retirement is Fun,” 33; “It’s 50 Plus at Palm City” in “The Retirement Market,” 55.

787 John Shirer, *Retirement and Disability in the United States: An Economic Challenge to Arizona*, no. 3 (Tucson, Arizona: Bureau of Business Research, College and Business and Public Administration, University of Arizona, 1951), 7.

expenditures with money which was earned outside of Maricopa County, his spending has the same effect as increasing local exports,” it explained. “Thousands of Maricopa County’s older citizens are doing just that.”⁷⁸⁸ And well before Webb devised plans of its own, Arizona Governor Howard Pyle praised Youngtown in a letter to Ben Schleifer at the end of 1954. “I venture to say that the new way of life which Youngtown opens up to older people from all over the country will have an important, beneficial effect on the economy of our state in years to come,” he wrote.⁷⁸⁹

By the 1960s, various interests—including Webb—spoke of the positive, seemingly ideal role of Sun City’s residents in contributing to economic growth. “The type of retiree that would be attracted to a Sun City is generally of the upper middle class and above type of citizen, who is relatively independent economically and as such, he takes nothing from the community by way of competing for business, jobs, dollars, etc.,” Breen asserted in a document to the ULI group. “He merely brings income into the area and does not impose any particular burdens.” And here, Breen continued, suggesting how the political economy of retirement communities, from the perspective of its promoters and supporters, revolved around the demographics of the residential population at hand, of those who occupied a particular stage of life: “*In this respect there*

788 Western Management Consultants, *The Economy of Maricopa County, 1965 to 1980: A Study for the Guidance of Public and Private Planning Made Possible by the Financial Support of Government and Business Sponsors* (Phoenix: Western Management Consultants, 1965), 3-4. Later in the study, it identifies such sources more specifically as coming from Social Security and elsewhere, as well as explaining that this applied to both migrating retired persons and such non-migrating persons: 47. However, the study pointed out that older residents did not necessarily equal only gains, explaining that “it should be recognized that the expenditures of government and community agencies within the County can be expected to rise to provide the hospital and other special services required by the elderly as their number increases” (48). On consumption and changes across aging, see 50, 52. Thanks again to Ellie Shermer for recommending this source and pointing out that it addressed retirement, as well as involved the Webb corporation—which was listed as one among other sponsors. On the group authoring this study, see Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, “Creating the Sunbelt: The Political and Economic Transformation of Phoenix, Arizona, Ph.D. dissertation, 2009, University of California, Santa Barbara, 356-57.

789 Howard Pyle to Ben Schliefer [*sic?*], December 31, 1954, box 11, YHS, ASALPR.

would be the illustration of the school burden, which is, if anything, lessened by the presence of retirees in a segregated community by virtue of the fact that they increase the total taxable base of the area without bringing about the proportionate increase in school tax, due to creation of a greater demand for facilities.”⁷⁹⁰ The distinctiveness of Webb’s brand of retirement meant gains for local communities.

Similar praise of Sun City also circulated in media accounts and political contexts, suggesting the creation of a broader, celebratory discourse of the political economy of retirement and retirement communities. There was, apparently, some degree of concern voiced in the early stages of Sun City, which, according to one account, included the ultimately mistaken view “that many of the elderly citizens of Sun City doubtlessly would end up ‘on the city’”—of Phoenix—which perhaps paralleled concerns in the University of Arizona study and in other locales in the eastern United States discussed Part I. “No such thing happened there or will it,” it asserted, however. “If there has been any effect on adjacent towns it has been generally good, not only through increased publicity for the general area but also in increased revenues of all sorts.”⁷⁹¹ Highlighting Youngtown, Sun City, and other retirement developments, a piece in *Arizona Days and Ways Magazine* in 1962 read: ““They require no additional schools, they bring in a payroll of social security, pensions and investment incomes, pay taxes,

790 Breen, “Retirement and Retirement People,” 93 (emphasis added). For similar point involving Sun City and school taxes, see Breen, “Problems in Development” in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 77. For similar idea expressed in a local newspaper, see editorial, “Bonanza Boomerangs?” *News-Sun*, June 23, 1966.

791 Cooley and Cooley, *The Retirement Trap*, 148-49 (quotations 149). For discussion of broader, national context and concerns generated, see 148. And for elaborations focusing on case of Cortese’s Laguna Hills development, see 149-54. Additionally, in terms of Sun City here, for background of what perhaps this involved—politics over “water and sewer service”—see Meeker, interview, 3; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 3-4 (quotation 3).

and their housing is a lot more attractive than most factories,' one zoning official says."⁷⁹²

And in a speech for Sun City residents in 1967, Arizona Governor, Jack Williams praised the retirement community, stating, for example, that "we can say that Sun City is one form of 'economic development.'" Continuing, he suggested how Sun City specifically represented a near-perfect package: "It has all of the desirable qualities we seek in new industry...it is a boon to our economy....it brings to Arizona a vast reservoir of talent from a wide range of business and professional backgrounds....it adds significantly to the cultural and intellectual composition of our State...and it helps feed the State Treasury. Yet it has none of the undesirable qualities that we attempt to avoid."⁷⁹³ On this point, and in addition citing pollution, he addressed the issue of

792 Vivien Keatley, "Retirement in the Sun" in *Arizona Days and Ways Magazine*, "This is Arizona: Fiftieth Anniversary" edition, February 11, 1962, 87, copy viewed at Mesa Public Library, Mesa, Arizona. Although this document might be part of a collection or in a folder, I did not note this in the course of my research. Meanwhile, a few months later, a piece in the *Phoenix Gazette*, drawing heavily on insight provided by Tom Breen, cited similar points. This piece, with the exceptions of the below pieces from the *News-Sun* are from the "Arizona" materials in various clippings files in the Arizona Room at the Phoenix Public Library: Jay Brashear, "Valley Retirement Developments House 12,000 Senior Citizens," *Phoenix Gazette*, April 18, 1962. On logic of school taxes in particular, see discussion in editorial, "Bonanza Boomerangs?" *News-Sun*, June, 23, 1966. For good historical overview, see again Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 210-11. On the idea of the positive economic presence of retired persons, including Sun City, also see, for example, Thomas Kelland, "Towns for Elderly Boost Economy" [column?], *Arizona Republic*, January 11, 1961, "Ariz. - Cities + Towns - Sun City," CF, PPL; Mal Hernandez, "Sun City Dollars Aid Valley," *Arizona Republic*, May 12, 1968, "Arizona - Cities + Towns - Sun City," CF, PPL; First National Bank of Arizona, *Profile of Arizona*, Marketing and Research Department (May-June 1969): n.p., "Arizona - Retirement [?]," CF, PPL; "Bank Publication Cites Retirees' Impact on State," *News-Sun*, June 25, 1969.

793 For quotation and context of material preceding it, including reference to "a wide variety of taxes," see Jack Williams, "Speech to Sun City," 2, "SUN CITY SPEECH" folder, box 567, Governor John (Jack) R. Williams Papers, RG 1, SG 20, ASALPR. Williams's comments here, in relation to Sun City, very well might fit within and reflect the context of economic efforts more broadly in Arizona discussed by Elizabeth Shermer. See again Shermer's work, previously cited in the Introduction to my project here. See, for example, Shermer, "Sunbelt Boosterism," 42-43, 48, 57; Shermer, *Sunbelt Capitalism*, 1-2, 7, 225, 227-28, 229, 231, 232-33, 258, 259, 268, 268-69. And on "the retirement industry" in the late twentieth century in Arizona, see again McHugh, "The 'Ageless Self?'" 107-109.

schools: “Another example of how Sun City is a -- quote, ‘desirable industry’ unquote-- is that it does not make our already difficult predicament in education more acute.”⁷⁹⁴

Growth-by-retirement, however, could have a darker side—one that the sunny optimism of this type or style of development might have blinded converts. Retirement communities, in short, presented a “devil’s bargain” of sorts in which the gains—real or imagined—ran the risk of subordinating the concerns and priorities of surrounding or adjacent communities to the interests and agendas of older residents.⁷⁹⁵ Communities embracing this approach could be made beholden, politically and economically, to retirement developments, particularly those that wielded substantial electoral clout given their demographic footprint in relation to the overall area. The opposition of older homeowners to schools would force some communities to face an unpleasant reality of one of the costs of homeownership made glaringly obvious by generational politics

794 Williams, “Speech to Sun City,” 2-3 (quotation 3). Here, it is important to note that Williams, unlike other accounts, specifically was referring to junior colleges and kindergarten, the latter or both which might have reflected his concerns and fallen within his more direct purview as Governor at the state level versus the issues of school-district growth at more local levels. Nonetheless, that residents in Sun City presumably would not have been consumers of such services due to their occupying different stages in the life cycle thus means that this likely is part of the same logic at work in above evidence. For “clean industry” elsewhere, including evidence of same or basically same language in Shermer’s work, see also Cowie, *Capital Moves*, 61 (quotation); Shermer, “Sunbelt Boosterism,” 48; Shermer, *Sunbelt Capitalism*, 233. Such thinking about retirement-as-net-gain was limited to neither Sun City nor Arizona. “The most significant improvement in a municipality’s tax base related to retirement communities is due to the fact that no schools are required in the projects,” the UC-Berkeley study asserted. See Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 55-56 (quotation 55). For broader discussion of cost-benefit of services, including concerns of developers, see 51-55. On Sun City-Phoenix politics, see again Meeker, interview, 3; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 3-4. On services in initial development of Sun City, also see Jacobson and Breen, interview, 18. Meanwhile, on a booming retirement-development scene in New Jersey, the *New York Times* reported later in the decade: “Local officials generally welcome the projects because they add to the tax base without increasing the costs of schools and without greatly heightening the burden of other municipal services.” See Robbins, “Jersey Draws Clusters of Retirement Villages.” For similar evidence, see also Wendy Schuman, “Retirement Villages Are on the Increase,” *New York Times*, September 30, 1973. And, as coverage in the early 1970s put it: “The main municipal advantages of retirement villages boils down to one word—money. The communities provide their own maintenance and do not add to the school problem, the biggest expense in virtually every locality.” See “A Community Welcomes New Retirement Villages,” *New York Times*, September 17, 1972. In Part III, in Chapter 7, I discuss and note politicking around age restrictions in more detail, with evidence from the late 1970s and 1980s.

795 See again, along with my discussion in the Introduction to this dissertation, Rothman, *Devil’s Bargains*, 10-12 (quotation 10).

manifested at local polling stations: they had celebrated the arrival of the retirement-community development in part for its potential to help cover the costs of public services, only to find that the very same industry could reluctantly provide, whittle down, or altogether block the very services they sought.

Such concerns were present in early discussions about and forecasts of the economic significance of retirement. Although it concluded that retired persons would represent a net gain, the University of Arizona study from the early 1950s nonetheless acknowledged: “School bond issues might have hard sledding.”⁷⁹⁶ Even the study of retirement projects in California, which provided evidence to the contrary, acknowledged that “some communities with large numbers of elderly find it difficult to pass school bonds because of the opposition of elderly voters.”⁷⁹⁷ And certainly by the early 1970s, some communities in New Jersey witnessed such tendencies firsthand. “Retirement communities, which have mushroomed in central New Jersey during the last decade, have become a significant social, financial, and political force,” the *Times* reported in 1974.⁷⁹⁸ “The senior citizens come here—some have only been here six months—and right away they are telling us we can’t have schools,” coverage quoted a school-board member following the rejection of a 1973 bond vote in a district that had been plagued by a string of electoral losses in recent years.⁷⁹⁹

Back in Arizona, a long series of events that played out on the metropolitan periphery between Sun City and its neighbors beginning in the early 1960s provides

⁷⁹⁶ Shirer, *Retirement and Disability in the United States*, 8. On “implications” as addressed at the forum McHugh attended perhaps relevant here, see again McHugh, “The ‘Ageless Self’? 109.

⁷⁹⁷ Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 56-58 (quotation 58).

⁷⁹⁸ Barry Orton, “The Retired Now a Force in Jersey Counties: As Adult Communities Proliferate, Their Residents are Able to Overwhelm the Rest of the Electorate,” *New York Times*, December 8, 1974.

⁷⁹⁹ Daniel Newman quoted in Orton, “The Retired Now a Force in Jersey Counties.” For additional evidence of trend in 1970s in New Jersey, see, for example, “A Community Welcomes New Retirement Villages.”

evidence of a variation on the same essential theme. Space was key to it all. “THE thirty-minute drive from Phoenix to Sun City begins with a dreary line of motels, most of them built before motels were called motor inns, and some of them before cabins and tourist courts were called motels,” Calvin Trillin described the road to Sun City on his 1964 trip—a brief description ultimately useful in illustrating the lay of the land of the Northwest Valley. “A few miles past Glendale, a suburb of Phoenix, the motels begin to give way to fields of alfalfa and cotton, and the fields are almost uninterrupted after Peoria, a drab farming town that calls itself, for reasons nowhere in evidence, the Rose Center of the World. Then, two or three miles up the highway, the visitor gets his first view of Sun City across the cotton fields—a view of palm trees tilting up unexpectedly in all directions.”⁸⁰⁰

Several miles—and the Sun City aesthetic cultivated by Webb—might have separated the land DEVCO developed and the community it built from the ground-up from neighboring communities, but *politically* it was even closer: Sun City fell within the local school district that included the community of Peoria and also part of Glendale.⁸⁰¹ Sun City might have enjoyed lower taxes because it lacked schools within the confines of the development, and Webb might have linked the absence of children to an absence of schools as well; after all, Tom Breen told the ULI panel, “There is no covenant in the deed covering resales, and it isn’t contemplated that there will eventually

800 Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 123.

801 While specifics of the Peoria schools again discussed in Chapter 6, here offering perhaps a similar framing of the idea that retirement communities had ties to their surroundings, coverage of events in New Jersey, whether referring just to gains or both gains and complications from the political torque potentially generated by retirement communities, explained: “While many communities are self-contained—some to the point of having their own doctors, shops, policemen and bus transportation—they still exert an influence on the towns that surround them.” See Schuman, “Retirement Villages Are on the Increase.”

children in the community to require schools,” Breen added.⁸⁰² But that did not mean that Sun City was free of taxes altogether or that the retirement community was politically independent of the nearby school district. It was a political reality that would be challenged and ultimately overturned, generating years of conflict in the process.

Prelude to Politics

As metropolitan Phoenix expanded in the postwar decades, growth in the Valley of the Sun neared the site of Sun City. Such changes ultimately threatened to undermine what residents beginning in the 1960s perhaps sought as a kind of political and economic “independence,” as Findlay puts it, from the world around them.⁸⁰³ Webb’s Sun City developments were somewhat disconnected from their surroundings. That “Sun City Center has become a world until itself,” FitzGerald wrote of what initially was Webb’s project in Florida, was due not only to the development and amenities of the retirement community but also to social differences segregating the metropolitan landscape: “The local farmer and the migrant workers they employ, many of whom are Mexican, have little relationship to golf courses or to dinner dances with organ music. Conversely, Sun Citians are not the sort of people who would go to bean supper in the Pentecostal churches or hang out at raunchy bars where gravel-voiced women sing ‘Satin Sheets and Satin Pillows.’”⁸⁰⁴

In Sun City, Arizona, social and economic differences set the development apart from adjacent communities as well. “Peoria at that time was a small farming town,”

802 Breen, “Problems in Development,” 77.

803 For Findlay and his very effective framework, previously cited in my Introduction to the project, see again “Sun City, Arizona,” 204-8 (quotation here 208).

804 See again FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 215.

Meeker wrote of events in 1959, “and nearby El Mirage and Surprise,” which would factor into the history of the subsequently developed Sun City West in the 1970s, “were little more than migrant farm workers camps.”⁸⁰⁵ And in Trillin’s account, not only had Peoria appeared as “a drab farming town”; a later piece in a Sun City newspaper, meanwhile, would described El Mirage as “a world of swirling dust, rundown houses, cut-price saloons, battered cars in the dirt yards...people on welfare, frustrated oldsters and happy-go-lucky kids” and as “minor Appalachia in the Arizona desert, a little rural Mexico populated by under-privileged Americans trapped in a sandy sea of economic frustration.”⁸⁰⁶

While changes unfolded in the 1950s, a study undertaken in the early 1960s by researchers at Arizona State University (ASU) stated, “There is . . . reason to believe that Peoria and its school district have a much more rapid growth ahead than they have experienced in the last eight years.”⁸⁰⁷ Local leaders viewed the development of Peoria from the standpoint of a broader project of growth. For example, in 1959 the *Peoria Times and Valley Farm News* supported subdivision annexation as a way of adding residents—the number of which, the paper explained, determined individual

805 Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 6.

806 Jack Tucker, “El Mirage: A Little Appalachia 45 Seconds Away...Where 3,500 Folks Eke out an Existence,” *News-Sun*, August 22, 1972 (first quotation); Tucker also quoted in Don Swenson, ed., “A Family Place”: *History of the Dysart Community Center, 1962-2005* (2005 [?]), 13, copy viewed at Dysart Community Center in El Mirage, Arizona, in 2008. A copy also located at SCAHS. On El Mirage, see also E. John Toepel, “A Migrant Town in Transition: El Mirage, a Case Study” (Master’s Thesis, Arizona State University, 1971), 5, 28.

807 See Kathleen Gilbert, *More than a Century of Peoria People, Progress & Pride: Peoria, Arizona* (Phoenix, Arizona: Heritage Publishers, Inc., 2004), 50, 58, 59; Kristina Minister and Janet M. Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit: The History of the Peoria Unified School District, 1889-1986* (Phoenix, Arizona: Oral History Center, Inc., 1986), 45, 59, box 1, RG 135, Peoria, City of, ASALPR; Robert W. Ashe and John B. Barnes, *A Survey of Public School Facilities: Peoria, Arizona, 1962* (Tempe, Arizona: College of Education, Arizona State University, 1962), 2, 5-8, 10 (quotation). For context of paragraph in which this quotation from Ashe and Barnes appears, to which the part of the quoted sentence in the text I have omitted refers, see again 10.

communities' share of funds flowing down from the state.⁸⁰⁸ And in enlarging the community's tax base, annexation of a subdivision settled the previous year was praised by the newspaper in 1960, which—it explained—“adds more than \$75,000 in valuation to Peoria.”⁸⁰⁹ As further evidence of pro-growth attitudes, it argued that if a new interstate highway to Los Angeles in the planning stages were to pass through the Peoria area, then the community would benefit economically in various ways.⁸¹⁰

Peoria expressed optimism about the development of Sun City as well, first evident upon Webb's unveiling of plans for the retirement community in 1959. “This will probably be one of the largest developments north of Phoenix and is expected to substantially raise the value of property in the Peoria, Youngtown, El Mirage area,” the publisher-editor of the *Peoria Times and Valley Farm News* wrote on the front page in early June, 1959.⁸¹¹ Roughly six months later, when Webb invited visitors into the subdivision in early January, the newspaper ran a front-page photograph and caption

808 Editorial, “A Job for the Council,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 7, 1959; editorial, “Time For Action!” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, October 16, 1959.

809 “First Families Move Into Peoria Homes,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, October 23, 1959; “Peoria Homes Annexed Into City Limits,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farm News*, March 4, 1960. For additional coverage of annexation in 1960, see, for example: “Peoria Annexes Large Area,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 25, 1960; “Annual Report Given by Peoria Manager,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 26, 1960.

810 For example, see editorial, “The Tide Is Turning,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, October 9, 1959; editorial, “Public Hearing,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, February 19, 1960. For brief overview of the highway and debate surrounding it, though not mentioning Peoria, see Mark E. Pry and Fred Andersen, *Arizona Transportation History*, “Final Report 660” (Phoenix, Arizona: Arizona Department of Transportation, Research Center, 2011), 61-62, 63, 66, accessed July 18, 2013 at: http://www.azdot.gov/TPD/ATRC/publications/project_reports/PDF/AZ660.pdf. For different position of newspaper later on, now under different ownership, and perhaps editorial direction, concerning benefits of *not* having the highway, see editorial, “What Effect on Peoria?” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, December 1, 1961. Additionally, for newspaper supporting plans in 1959 for a large development apparently combining industrial and residential functions in the area, see “Supervisors Decline Zoning Approval For Town Of Churchill,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, November 27, 1959; editorial, “We Do ‘Need’ Churchill,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, December 4, 1959.

811 Jim, “Del Webb Buys Boswell Property,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, June 5, 1959. Although no last name given here in terms of authorship, the masthead on p. 2 lists Jim Hamra.

detailing “that over 250 have already been sold.”⁸¹² When Sun City’s first gas station opened early that year, coverage included the declaration that “It’s an important asset to our area!”⁸¹³ And the following year, the newspaper displayed what likely was enthusiasm, given its implications for economic development in the area, for the Webb-Roy Rogers amusement park that never materialized: “If the proposed ‘Frontierland [sic?] is built in Sun City, it could prove to be second only to the Grand Canyon as an attraction for tourists to Arizona.”⁸¹⁴ Several years later, a publication of the Peoria Chamber of Commerce in the mid-1960s described the two retirement communities of the Northwest Valley as “a considerable economic factor for the Peoria area” as well.⁸¹⁵

Members of the Peoria community—and the community’s school district, more specifically—also recognized Sun City’s implications for school taxes. As Ira Murphy, who served as superintendent of the district from the late 1950s into the 1970s, later said, presumably referring to ideas about the impact of Webb’s development on the schools’ tax base, “Course, we had Youngtown already, so we had a little experience, but when Sun City came into it, we anticipated it would be very good, because the people and the

812 See photograph and caption in *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, January 8, 1960. Officials who visited at some point included the mayors of Peoria and Glendale, as evidenced by the following: Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” P-2 [?] in “1960” (middle photograph and caption); “News in Photos from Sun City,” *The Webb Spinner* 14, no. 1 (January 1960): 6 (top-right photo and caption).

813 “Union Oil Station Is Open In Sun City,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, January 29, 1960. On gas station here, see Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” [P-5?] in “1960” (bottom photograph and caption). An optimistic tone also evident in coverage of a bank branch: “Valley Bank Plans Sun City-Youngtown Branch Office Opening,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, November 25, 1960.

814 “‘Frontierland [sic?] May Be Built In Sun City,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, February 17, 1961.

815 Quotation from a news story apparently on the last page in brochure issue seemingly included as an insert in the Peoria newspaper: “Retirement Communities Are Our Neighbors” in Peoria Chamber of Commerce, *This Is Peoria: A Quiet Oasis in Arizona’s Bustling Valley of the Sun*, n.d. [1966?]. The issue immediately following the brochure on microfilmed copy of newspaper borrowed from the Arizona State Archives calls this a “tabloid newspaper brochure” and indicates it was included in the June 17, 1966, of the Peoria newspaper: “Chamber of Commerce Brochure Ready for Mailing,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, June, 17, 1966. This also added and explained—of value perhaps from standpoint of illuminating what I discuss in my Chapter 7 tensions inherent in the issue of labor: “Many of the Sun City and Youngtown residents shop in Peoria, and the service needs for the two towns has brought a number of people into Peoria to live.”

houses and the golf courses indicated a more affluent type of persons than Youngtown had.”⁸¹⁶ As the Peoria newspaper reported in 1961, “Assessed valuation has zoomed during the past year, from \$5,903,708 to approximately \$11,517,000.”⁸¹⁷ And as Murphy said the same year, “Favorable tax rates are expected in the future as new costs are balanced by increased district valuation.”⁸¹⁸

Furthermore, another account explicitly addressed the fact that marginal, if any, enrollments on the part of Sun City would complement tax gains. “I remember when Sun City first started,” one resident recalled. “My mother was still teaching [in Peoria] then, and she was just jubilant at the idea of the tax base being increased with not really any children being sent into school.”⁸¹⁹ A 1960 editorial in Peoria’s newspaper leading up to a bond-issue vote—the Peoria district’s postwar struggles to keep pace with growth in the district went back at least to the 1950s—readily acknowledged the retirement-community effect.⁸²⁰ “We have Youngtown, paying regular school taxes, yet adding no students to the schools,” it explained in appealing to voters based on what it called the “great

816 Ira Murphy as quoted in Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 61-62 (quotation). For timeframe of Murphy, see 64, 78.

817 For relevant discussion and/or figures, see Ashe and Barnes, *A Survey of Public School Facilities*, 2, 4, fig. 1, “PEORIA SCHOOL DISTRICT NUMBER 11 ASSESSED VALUATIONS FOR THE YEARS 1950 to 1961”; Keith Jensen, “Peoria School District Tax Rate Is Reduced,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 4, 1961 (quotation). The latter here specifically spoke of “construction of new home and business buildings in the Sun City area,” for example.

818 Although it is not clear if he is referring to the rise and development of Sun City or not, for quotation here see Ira Murphy, “Know Your Schools,” column, *Peoria Times and Valley Farm News*, February 24, 1961. For examples of tax rate early 1960s, for discussion and/or figures, see “Area Taxes Lowered for Coming Year,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 12, 1960; Jensen, “Peoria School District Tax Rate Is Reduced”; “Peoria School Tax Is Lower Than Expected,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 11, 1961.

819 Neil McLeod as quoted in Gilbert, *More than a Century of Peoria People, Progress, & Pride*, 67. For narrative of rise and fall of Sun City from the district’s perspective, see also 64, 67.

820 On disconnect between growth and resources going back to the 1950s, including bond-issue votes, see Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 56, 59-60; “Peoria To Have School Bond Vote,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, December 26, 1958; “School Bond Election Set For January 7,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, January 2, 1959; “Peoria Area Voters Reject New School Bond Proposal,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, January 9, 1959. For figures and discussion of enrollment numbers, see Ashe and Barnes, *A Survey of Public School Facilities*, 9, 41, 43-44.

bargain” at hand. “Now Sun City is building, and this means many more tax dollars with no added expense for schools.”⁸²¹

For their part, Sun City knew the impact its presence had on Peoria schools. In responding to the controversial 1961 letter to the *Phoenix Gazette*, one Sun City resident addressed the political economy of retirement development, writing, for example, the following in another letter to the editor: “We have eased the school district’s financial problem instead of adding to it. The taxes we pay resulted in a decreased tax rate for the district and it is certain another substantial decrease can be made next year.”⁸²² And the fact that both Sun City and Youngtown paid taxes—and a significant amount of taxes in relation to the district overall—appears to have been an important factor in the political involvement and electoral outcomes of retired residents. After the rejection of a 1959 bond issue by a roughly 8-3 margin, the Peoria newspaper reported that “Though it can not [*sic*] be said for certain how Youngtown people voted, it was stated that they have, in the past, voiced opposition to new school expenditures.”⁸²³ The 1960 vote did end up passing, but it did so without the support of Youngtown—this time, a trend confirmed by

821 For quotation, see Editorial, “Bond Election,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 25, 1960 (quotation). As evidence elsewhere in the editorial suggests, it is possible that it was appealing—at least in part—to voters in Youngtown, which might have played a role in voting down a 1959 issue: see again “Bond Election”; “Peoria Area Voters Reject New School Bond Proposal,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, January 9, 1959. And on 1960 election, see Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 62; “Voters To Decide On School Bond Election,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farm News*, March 11, 1960; Ira Murphy, “Details Of Bond Election Are Explained By Murphy,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 18, 1960; Board of Education, Peoria Public Schools, C.M Meeker, et al., “Public Information On School Bond Issues Are Given,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 25, 1960; “School Bond Election Coming Wednesday,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 25, 1960; “School District Bonds Passed At Election Wednesday,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, April 1, 1960; Ira A. Murphy, letter to the editor, *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, April 8, 1960. For additional evidence acknowledging impact of Sun City, see, for example, Jensen, “Peoria School District Tax Rate Is Reduced.”

822 Larry Andrews, letter to the editor, *Phoenix Gazette*, October 28, 1961.

823 For the above, see “Peoria To Have School Bond Vote,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, December 26, 1958; “School Bond Election Set For January 7,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, January 2, 1959; “Peoria Area Voters Reject New School Bond Proposal,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, January 9, 1959 (quotation); “School District Bonds Passed At Election Wednesday.”

actual returns. “On the four issues submitted,” the *Youngtown Record*, “Youngtown voters, who have no children in the schools, voted against each issue, although not in as strong numbers as had been expected.”⁸²⁴

Later the same year, voters elected Youngtown’s first resident to the district’s board of education, and before the election itself the then-*Youngtown Record*—whether implying its support for the candidate or more generally the justification of representation by the retirement community in school politics—stated that “since a large percentage of our tax money goes to the Peoria School District, all who are eligible to vote are urged to do so.”⁸²⁵ In April of 1961, the Youngtown member urged Sun City to run one of their own for the board as well, attending a meeting of the Sun City Civic Association (SCCA), the group organized by DEVCO—as one account in the 1980s put it—“to manage and administer Sun City’s only recreation center, now known as Oakmont Center, and at the same time to serve the needs of residents in zoning and civic matters.”⁸²⁶ The Peoria newspaper summed up the position espoused by the board

824 “School District Bonds Passed At Election Wednesday.” This article includes break-downs between Peoria and Youngtown on each as well. The availability of such break-downs very well might have been due to the fact that whereas all apparently had to vote in same location in 1959, Youngtown was now one of two locations—the other still in Peoria—where residents could vote in 1960, thus making the sorting of votes by community—assuming that geography of voting location and geography of residence roughly corresponded—possible: “School Bond Election Set For January 7,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, January 2, 1959; “Voters To Decide On School Bond Election,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 11, 1960.

825 “Civic Club to Sponsor Youngtown Candidate for Peoria School Board,” *Youngtown (AZ) Record*, June 16, 1959; “Youngtown Man is Candidate for School Board,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, July 31, 1959; “Youngtown’s Charles Miller to be School Board Candidate,” *Youngtown Record*, July 28, 1959 (quotation); “Gene Holmes Leaves Peoria School Board,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 18, 1959; Column, “Roaming Around [with Jim]” [?], *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, October 2, 1959; “Charles Miller Gratified by Election,” *Youngtown Record*, October 20, 1959. Another Youngtown resident sought a seat on the board in 1960, though he lost to another, non-retirement community resident of the district. For coverage of election, as well as discussion of concerns in Peoria, see, for example, “Two Seek Election to Peoria School Board,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, September 23, 1960; “Robertson Selected for Board,” October 7, 1960.

826 On meeting and position of Youngtown interests, see “Miller Wants Sun Citian on Peoria School Board,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, April 21, 1961; “Sun City is Planning to Run Candidate for School Board,” *News-Sun*, April 20, 1961. On history of the Sun City Civic Association, see, for example,

member from Youngtown, who “said that since Youngtown and Sun City put so much tax money into the local schools, they are entitled to more members on the board.”⁸²⁷ In the October, the Sun City resident chose to run for the seat ultimately won.⁸²⁸

Meanwhile, growth—and *concerns* about growth—within the district persisted.⁸²⁹ In the study submitted to the school board on the state of the Peoria district, covered by local newspapers, in early 1962, the ASU report identified a number of steps for the district to take in addressing future growth—growth forecasted to be spurred by what presumably were additional residential subdivisions and also by other Webb plans. “Peoria schools have experienced gradual growth during the past ten years and the predictions are for gradual growth during the next five years,” the study concluded its discussion of the district’s size, past, present, and future, the growth in the immediate years ahead believed to be somewhat checked by the staged departure of students from the nearby Dysart district—which would first clash with Sun City West in the late

Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 123 (quotation); Sturgeon, “ ‘It’s a Paradise Town,’ ” 125-126. This organization would give rise to two different organizations, one of which was the Sun City Home Owners Association, discussed in Part III. Here, see Freeman and Sanberg, 123.

827 “Miller Wants Sun Citian on Peoria School Board.” For same or similar point as reported elsewhere, see “Sun City is Planning to Run Candidate for School Board.” Support for this board representation-for-taxes thinking came from the other board members as well, though with the caveat, as the Peoria newspaper reported of Murphy’s visit to the SCCA board in May of 1961, “that the Board felt that control of the schools should rest with the areas which do have children in the local schools.” See “School Board Wants Sun City Member,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, May 12, 1961. For similar coverage addressing boards seats and taxes—but does not tie more seats to more taxes as the above does—see also “Backing Promised for School Post,” *News-Sun*, May 11, 1961.

828 “Sun Citian To Run For School Post,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 4, 1961; “Butler Candidate for School Post,” *News-Sun*, August 3, 1961; “Two School Board Elections Next Tuesday,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, September 29, 1961; “Butler Elected To Board Post,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, October 6, 1961.

829 For discussion and/or figures on growth over time, see, for example, Ashe and Barnes, *A Survey of Public School Facilities*, 9, 41, 43; “School Enrollment In Peoria System May Near 1500 Mark,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, September 1, 1961; “Peoria Schools Open; Purchase of Additional Bus is Possible,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, September 8, 1961; again, Ashe and Barnes, *A Survey of Public School Facilities*, 48. The study, for the earlier period, does qualify the growth within the high school, pointing out that students from the nearby Dysart school district were responsible for the most part for the jump from 190 to slightly over 390 students at this level in the same period. See again 43. Plus for rising population of students originating from Peoria, see 43-44 And the story of Dysart schools would figure into the story of Sun City West in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as discussed in the following chapter.

1970s—to its own high school. “Beginning about 1967 the growth will be accelerated, due to more near saturation of building space close to Phoenix and also due to the development of the industrial park north of Sun City, which development may start in 1965.”⁸³⁰ And if in pointing to Webb’s development efforts it was referring to ultimate implications for the district, then the study made what perhaps was another such reference involving significance for the schools on the preceding page. “These two retirement communities have not provided additional school pupils,” the study pointed out, “but there is every reason to believe that the service needs ... will require additional people to move into the area and bring families of children with them.”⁸³¹ An inherent strength simultaneously an inherent weakness, retirement development thus ran the

830 First, for quotation, and discussion in report itself, see Ashe and Barnes, *Survey of School Facilities*, 8, 10, 48-52 (quotation 52). Next, for coverage in local newspapers, see, for example, the following: “School Survey Cites Planned District Split,” *News-Sun*, February 22, 1962; “District, School Growth Foreseen,” *News-Sun*, March 1, 1962; “Peoria Schools Operating at Near Physical Capacity,” *News-Sun*, March 8, 1962; “Peoria Schools Survey Reveals Sub-Standard Facilities, Plan New Buildings, Remodeling,” *News-Sun*, March 22, 1962; “Purchase Of School Sites Recommended,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, February 15, 1962; “Survey Predicts More Growth Ahead: Our School Needs –No. 1,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, February 22, 1962; “Peoria Elementary Schools Are Filled Past Capacity,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 1, 1962; “Survey Shows Condition Of Buildings Varies,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 8, 1962; “School Needs: From Replacement to Minor Repair,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 15, 1962; “Survey Shows Pupil Population Is On The Increase,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 22, 1962; “Junior High System Or Not?” [?], *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 29, 1962; “Site Purchase, Financing Discussed” [?], *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, April 5, 1962. On growth, see specifically “Purchase of School Sites Recommended,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, February 15, 1962; “Survey Predicts More Growth Ahead: Our School Needs –No. 1,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, February 22, 1962; “School Survey Cites Planned District Split,” *News-Sun*, February 22, 1962. For discussion of impact of Dysart and support of own high school, see, for example, “School Survey Cites Planned District Split”; Ashe and Barnes, 48, 50; “Dysart Voters OK High School Issue,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 22, 1962; “Bond-Cut Plan Given: Budget Adopted; Miller Protests,” *News-Sun*, June 7, 1962. For specific advice by ASU study, see, in addition to coverage above, Ashe and Barnes, 53-68. For background on ASU study, see “Letter of Transmittal,” John B. Barnes and Robert W. Ashe to Board of Education, Peoria School District, Peoria, Arizona, January 22, 1962, in Barnes and Ashe, ii; Jensen, “Peoria School District Tax Rate is Reduced,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 4, 1961; “Peoria School Survey Planned,” *News-Sun*, October 19, 1961.

831 See Ashe and Barnes, *Survey of Public School Facilities*, 51 (quotation). Whether or not they are connected, this appears on p. 51 of the study itself, while the quotation prior to this in my text above appears on p. 52. For coverage of, including study quoted in, see also “School Survey Cites Planned District Split,” *News-Sun*, February 22, 1962.

risking of undermining its own potential for low school taxes—and age segregation, via age restrictions.⁸³²

In the months leading up to another bond-issue election, held in October of 1962, the retirement communities bargained with district leadership over what, exactly, would go before district voters. Arguing that such a step ultimately would increase the political palatability of the forthcoming bond issue, particularly amongst retired voters, what the *News-Sun* described as “a joint citizens committee”—but one ultimately that reflected the influence of Sun City interests—suggested slashing previously discussed bond-issue amounts; whereas the most recent one fell around \$450,000, the revised amount endorsed by the group of district residents at an early-June meeting of the Peoria school board totaled not quite \$300,000.⁸³³ But the board apparently disagreed. Along with a budget retaining a low tax rate, what emerged at a meeting in early July was near-consensus among members in approving an amount well over \$500,000—the member from

832 While I return to this—of age restrictions in relation to the issue of labor—in my Chapter 7, on retirement development and labor, see also Gober, “The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 191. And for Hal Rothman addressing labor in his work on retirement in Las Vegas, see also Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 151-52, 171-72. For other work discussing the marginalization of labor in another—but perhaps similar—context, see case in one Rothman chapter in his broader study: Rothman, “Residence-Based Resorts: Second Homes and Outside Influence,” in *Devil’s Bargains*, 235.

For chapter overall, see 227-51. For other scholarship shaping my thinking more generally about such tensions, see Kristen Hill Maher, “Borders and Social Distinction in the Global Suburb,” *American Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (September 2004): 781-782. For article overall, see 781-806.

Meanwhile, for Sun City in the 1960s, various accounts have documented an episode or two illustrating this tension. For example, see Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 10; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 105; Jacobson and Breen, interview, 18; “Retirement City—Haven or Ghetto?” 129; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 66; Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 153; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 130. Nor was this limited to Sun City. “It takes at least five people to serve every ten retired people,” one developer active in the Florida market stated. “But if you keep out the young, you simply cut yourself off from your labor supply.” Frank Mackle quoted in Siegel, “The Pros and Cons of Retirement Cities,” 248.

833 For example, see “Forum Slates School Bond Discussion,” *News-Sun*, March 22, 1962; “Peoria School Bond Issue up in September,” *News-Sun*, March 29, 1962; “\$59,000 Cut from Peoria School District Bond Issue,” *News-Sun*, April 12, 1962; “Budget, Bond Issue On School Board Agenda Monday,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, May 31, 1962; “Whittled-Down Bond Issue Is Proposed,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, June 7, 1962; “School Bond Study Group Bars Citizens, Press at Meet,” *News-Sun*, May 31, 1962; “Bond-Cut Plan Given”; “School Board Reverts to First Proposal [Also Approves Budget; Slight Tax Dip Seen],” July 5, 1962; “School Bond Issue Split Into Four Parts,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 9, 1962.

Youngtown diverged from the board on both—that included funding providing for additional classroom space at the lower levels and a badly needed expansion and upgrading of facilities at the high school.⁸³⁴ It did, however, seem to recognize to an extent the importance of political compromise, breaking the bond request overall—and the elementary-school district issues in particular—down into several free-standing items the following month.⁸³⁵

Apparently with the aim of strengthening relations between retirement-community, residents and the overall district, Peoria superintendent Ira Murphy himself purchased a Sun City home, an editorial in the *News-Sun* in late July commenting that “maybe he’s planning to do missionary work.”⁸³⁶ In August and September, the Youngtown-Sun City newspaper carried articles debating the bond issues, represented by

834 “School Board Reverts to First Proposal”; “Board Sets Bond Issue at \$517,440,” *News-Sun*, July 5, 1962. For a summary of specific items leading up to the October election, see, for example, “Vote Nears On School Bond Issues,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, September 21, 1962. Such steps very well might have flowed from the ASU study; in the wake of the ASU study, the Peoria district seemingly followed the direction it provided, such as in the identifying of a parcel of land—and apparently the securing an option on it—for a future school adjacent to a new residential subdivision. For example, see “Board Options Land; Makes Plans for Fall,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, April 5, 1962; “School Board Selects Site,” *News-Sun*, April 5, 1962; Ashe and Barnes, *A Survey of Public School Facilities*, 59. For all advice, see again Ashe and Barnes, 53-68. On actual tax rate realized, see “School Tax Rate Dips Sharply,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 16, 1962. Also, caution must be given to generalizing about board members from retirement communities as necessarily opposing bond issues. For example, the Youngtown member who replaced Miller when he left the board, apparently did in fact support the 1962 issue: “Bond Issue, Board Member Election Is Tues [...?],” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, September 27, 1962. Note, in terms of ambiguity indicated for headline here, headline appears incomplete in copy viewed. For replacing Miller with Evans, see “Youngtown Woman Is Named to School Board,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 9, 1962. And for evidence of other retired-community board members as supporting—or at least as supportive of—later efforts, according to one account, see Harold Taylor quoted in Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 63.

835 See “School Bond Issue Split Into Four Parts,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 9, 1962; “\$517,000 School Bond Proposal Split 4 Ways,” *News-Sun*, August 9, 1962.

836 Editorial, “Bond ‘Salesman’ Arrives,” *News-Sun*, July 26, 1962; Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 62. Murphy himself stated: “I just thought, well, I’ll live with them, and I can see what their problems are, and I can perhaps be even sympathetic with their approaches.” Murphy quoted in Minister and Burke, 62. At the same time, additional coverage suggests additional factors at play: “The Murphys started looking at homes in Sun City last spring and became enchanted with the lot which they chose to have their house built on. It borders the fairways and Ira is hoping to get his clubs into action—when housing settling, school starting and bond issue activities permit!” “[Ira Murphys Are] New Sun City Residents,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 9, 1962.

Ira Murphy on one side and Sun City's Frederick Holtham on the other.⁸³⁷ And less than a month before the election, Sun City resident John Lanni—whom, along with Holtham, “led opposition to the proposed \$517,000 bond issue in newspaper letters-to-the-editor and in talks from the floor at school board and community meetings,” Murphy apparently asserted at one point—announced that he would oppose a Peoria incumbent for a seat on the school board.⁸³⁸ It all came back to taxes. Explaining his view of the relationship between board seats on the five-person board and taxes, Lanni stated, “I decided to ‘throw my hat into the ring’ believing that our city (with its assessed valuation of \$7,292,010) should be represented on the board by not one trustee ... but should have three trustees.”⁸³⁹

Soon after, the Peoria paper reprinted an editorial from one Sun City newspaper criticizing Lanni on various points, including his use of figures in a campaign advertisement overstating Sun City's valuation to the district.⁸⁴⁰ The following week, the Peoria newspaper itself launched criticisms at Lanni, including calling his taxes-for-

837 Burt Freireich, “Music Room, Auditorium Defects Cited,” *News-Sun*, August 16, 1962; Freireich, “Replacing Uncollapsed Barracks Urged” in “School Bond Issue” series, *News-Sun*, August 23, 1962; Freireich, “Murphy Outlines Reasons for School Site Purchase,” *News-Sun*, September 6, 1962; Freireich, “Peoria School Bond Issue Includes Grade Building,” *News-Sun*, September 20, 1962, all of the above part of the “School Bond Issue: The Proponents’ View” series. The following part of the “School Bond Issue: The Opponents’ View” series: Frederick Holtham, “Auditorium Termed Frill,” *News-Sun*, September 13, 1962; Holtham, “93 Per Cent of School Land Used for Playground Area,” *News-Sun*, September 20, 1962; Holtham, “School Operations of Peoria, Dysart Compared,” *News-Sun*, September 27, 1962. On background on Holtham, see Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 76.

838 “Lanni Throws Hat in Ring for Peoria School Board,” *News-Sun*, September 13, 1962; “School Bond Issue Debate Tomorrow,” *News-Sun*, September 20, 1962 (quotation); “Vote Nears On School Bond Issues,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, September 21, 1962; “Bond Issue, Board Member Election Is Tues [?].”

839 John Lanni quoted in “Lanni Claims Need for Additional Representation on School Board,” *News-Sun*, September 20, 1962. Securing all three seats would involve winning a seat in 1963, he added—in addition, of course, to winning the second seat in 1962. Also in the 1962 race, two other Sun City candidates ran as well. Although their entire motivations are not explicated, their comments—particularly those of Davis—might suggest differences with Lanni: “Vote Nears On School Bond Issues”; “Bond Issue, Board Member Election Is Tues [?];” “Edward Austin Enters School Trustee Race,” *News-Sun*, September 20, 1962; “Davis Enters School Board Trustee Race,” *News-Sun*, September 27, 1962.

840 Editorial, “Poor Start,” *Sun City Citizen*, reprinted in *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, September 21, 1962.

board-seats thinking into question. “In coming into our office several weeks ago when announcing his candidacy, Mr. Lanni stated that he felt since Sun City had the majority of the valuation in the district—it should have the majority of members on the school board—three, with one for Youngtown and one for Peoria.” And at some point, he apparently “countered with “money talks, you know” [sic?]. The editorial went on to refute this position: “No, Mr. Lanni, we do not know that money talks. The Santa Fe Railroad is one of the biggest taxpayers in the district—it has no member on the board!”⁸⁴¹ Other community members thus could challenge, even if only rhetorically, the political economy of retirement, checking the political leveraging of the “industry” of retirement.

In the months leading up to the October 1962 election, retired residents also gave various reasons for opposing the bond issue, illustrating several important themes that persisted over the course of what eventually became years of conflict between Sun City and other district residents. One issue revolved around a disconnect between DEVCO’s claims about school taxes in its early Sun City advertising and the fact that Sun City inevitably was part of a local, and growing, school district.⁸⁴² Bond-issue critics suggested that Webb had misled homebuyers, typified by one response—“We were told by the salesman that sold the property, there would be no school taxes”—that surfaced in an “opinion poll” of Sun City residents, Holtham reported.⁸⁴³

841 Editorial, “Where We Stand,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, September 27, 1962. Further, it pointed out: “And why, if he wants to redistribute the board members, doesn’t he provide some representation for the \$4,000,000 worth of property holders who live outside of the three towns—but in the district?” On support of bond issue, see this editorial as well.

842 For previously cited accounts on DEVCO and schools, see again, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 179, 206-7; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 154-55, 158n4.

843 This and other statements quoted in F.O. Holtham, letter to the editor, *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, September 6, 1962. For Holtham discussing poll elsewhere, see Frederick O. Holtham, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, June 7, 1962. Retirement-community residents pointing to such a disconnect were not

Other themes articulated by interests in Sun City and Youngtown dealt with particularities of retirement, ultimately reflecting important ideological foundations and working political strategies of the emergent political culture of retirement communities. For example, when the “citizens” group unveiled their plans for the approximately \$300,000 bond-issue amount before the board of the Peoria district in early June of 1962, the former president of the SCCA, according to coverage of the meeting, “pointed out that the background of many Sun Citians must be considered—and that many families were living on incomes of \$165 a month.”⁸⁴⁴ And, prior to the October 1962 election, Lanni similarly voiced concerns undergirded by the idea of financial concerns inherent to

alone; others acknowledged it as well. Two persons close to the Peoria schools—high-school principal and future district superintendent Mel Huber and one-time board president Harold Taylor—acknowledged this as well. See statements of Huber and Taylor, though undated, quoted in Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 76-77. For biographical information, see 53, 63, 78. And for then-Peoria superintendent Ira Murphy making point in coverage in the late 1960s, see also Ira Murphy quoted in Vashti McKenzie, “Peoria Schools Victim of Sun City: Retirees Vote down Bonds,” *Arizona Republic*, February 24, 1969, “Ariz. Cities + Towns - Sun City,” CF, PPL. Additionally, other coverage reported: “THERE WAS some criticism, both by the panel members and persons in the audience, to the effect that home buyers in Sun City and Youngtown have been led to believe they would not have to pay school taxes.” See “Peoria School Bond Issue up in September.” And whether in reference to Sun City, Youngtown, or both, an editorial in the Peoria newspaper explained: “When they moved to this particular locale, they were told by aspiring salesmen that among other things that made it so great for Senior Citizen was the fact that there were no schools. Whether told directly, or just implied, the Senior Citizens were joyous and took this mean there was no School Tax.” Editorial, “A Fairy Tale?” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, October 4, 1962. And following Murphy’s quotation, this coverage reported what transpired: “Murphy said he brought this to the attention of the Del Webb firm and the company now uses as a sales pitch that the area has the lowest tax rate in Maricopa County.” See again McKenzie. Finally, whether or not his discussion intends the below as a corrective, see Findlay on “fewer school taxes” and “that taxes would be lower in Sun City, partly because there would no schools”: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 179, 207. Technically, perhaps, even such framings could have allowed for a lack of any such taxes; the former might have meant *none*, “fewer” a product of comparison, and the latter could have involved *no* such taxes in thus contributing to “lower” more generally, school tax itself as functionally zero. DEVCO, did, however, mention a lack of *schools*, which thus had implications either way. And, while it is not certain in my reading if this was a distinction or the broader point he was making, about no-schools/lower-taxes versus no-schools/no-taxes, see Lanni both discussed and quoted in “Peoria School Bond Issue up in September.”
844 See comments of Roy Lutz as reported in “Whittled-Down Bond Issue Is Proposed.”

retirement. “Remember,” he said, cautioning against potentially excessive “expenditures for additions, frills, etc.,” “many of us live here on fixed incomes.”⁸⁴⁵

It was an idea that had surfaced in the rise of Youngtown; as one Youngtown Land and Development Company representative had written in 1959, “Remember now that a community was being planned for the *retired*, people who were *no longer going to be in an earning capacity*, but rather a people who were going to have to live on a *fixed income*.”⁸⁴⁶ And in terms of schools, writer Andrew Blechman explains, referring to Youngtown founder Ben Schleifer, “The philosophical underpinnings of Schleifer’s preference for age segregation were more practical than purposefully discriminatory: children cost money.” And, like the chain of reasoning laid out by Ben Huggins’s friend in *The Beginning*, he continues: “A community without kids is a community without schools and with no high taxes to pay for schools.”⁸⁴⁷ Illustrating the logic at work, economist Yung-Ping Chen explained in the 1960s that “concessions to the aged follow these main lines: (a) The aged have low incomes. (b) The aged spend a larger proportion of their incomes for housing and, thus, bear a special burden from a tax on housing. (c) The aged tend to oppose levies on their homes when they do not benefit directly from certain government expenditures, such as those for schools.”⁸⁴⁸ And,

845 Lanni quoted in “Lanni Claims Need for Additional Representation on School Board.” As additional evidence, see “reduced income” as cited in a “pilot survey” reported on in the Peoria paper: “Retirement Community Queried on School District,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farm News*, June 12, 1964.

846 Johns to Giraldo, 2 (all emphasis added). On affordability in Youngtown, also see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 172; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 59; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 29, 30. Connected or not, for home prices and financing from the 1956 housing legislation aimed at older Americans discussed in Sturgeon, see also Sturgeon, 60-61.

847 And, to be sure, he further continues here: “One of Schleifer’s main objectives was to ensure that Youngtown’s residents could afford to live with dignity, even if their income was Social Security.” See Blechman, *Leisureville*, 29. And on the next page, see also speaks of “economic security for the elderly.” See Schleifer quoted in Blechman, 30.

848 Chen, “Property-Tax Concessions to the Aged” in *Property Taxation, USA*, 225-226.

reducing taxes associated with homeownership—via property-tax legislation—suggested the possibility of furthering the goal of independent living among aging Americans.⁸⁴⁹

The last point Chen identifies is one that appeared in the Sun City-Peoria schools struggles as well.⁸⁵⁰ Among Sun City opponents of school taxes, political culture was based on a logic revolving around the demands of older persons within a life-cycle context—and the resulting divergences from those of the broader community—that itself reflected what ultimately might have been view of taxes as understood through the lens of contemporary consumerism, if not self-interest more generally as framed in terms of the individual but articulated in collective identity: if residents of the retirement communities in the Peoria district did not have school-age children, then they did not draw on local schools—and if they did not draw on local schools, then they were taxed for something they did not use.⁸⁵¹ Yet far from existing simply as matters of fact, no doubt based on important economic and demographic distinctions, such positions

849 On independence, see mention of efforts underway that promoted this in WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 41. On rise of such legislation aimed at older homeowners, see again, for “homestead programs,” Gold, *Property Tax Relief*, 82; Chen, “Property-Tax Concessions to the Aged” in *Property Taxation, USA*, 225, 234-35; Chen, “Preferential Treatment of the Aged In Income and Property Taxation,” 28, 35-37; Bowman, “Residential Property Tax Relief Measures,” 85. More specifically, however, at least efforts in Wisconsin and Michigan took place in the 1960s, the former in 1964 and the latter the following year: Douglas W. Cray, “Tax Relief for the Elderly in Focus,” *New York Times*, January 7, 1973; Thomas R. Ireland and William E. Mitchell, “A Public Choice Analysis of the Demand for Property Tax Circuit-Breaker Legislation,” *Public Finance Quarterly* 4: 4 (October 1976): 379-80; Chen, “Property-Tax Concessions to the Aged,” 225. For discussion of “homestead exemptions,” also see WHCA, *Background Paper on Housing*, 55. And for mention of “the homestead law,” see also 41. And here, illustrating the preoccupation with “independence,” it more specifically explained: “Several states grant partial tax exemption to older home owner on their homes, thereby increasing their cash incomes and enabling them to continue in *independent* households for a longer time.” See 41 (emphasis added).

850 For Chen, see again Chen, “Property-Tax Concessions to the Aged,” 226.

851 For example, see discussion involving “some opponents” in “Bond Issue, Board Member Election Is Tues [?]”; citing of “Why should we pay for someone else’s children?” in previously cited “opinion poll” in Holtham, letter to the editor, September 6, 1962. In terms of secondary literature offering important frameworks for analyzing such issues—discussed in the Introduction to my project and to which I return in my Chapter 6—see, for example, Frug, “The Legal Technology of Exclusion in Metropolitan America,” 212-14; Zelizer, “The Uneasy Relationship,” 287.

advanced by Sun City and Youngtown interests were politically constructed, born of ideas justifying particular outcomes and deployed in certain contexts.

Not only politically constructed, such positions taken by residents of the retirement communities were politically *contested*, particularly amongst Peoria school supporters who were not persuaded by the arguments advanced. The *Background Paper* for the 1961 WHCA again posed questions reflecting the context in which the Sun City- Peoria schools story unfolded. Within the context of the apparent rising political activism of and attention to older Americans as well, it raised the possibility of generationally based conflict and struggle over the allocation of resources. “Would political interest by or on behalf of older people result in giving them a disproportionate share of the available supply of goods and services?” And, pointing to the potential detrimental impact on younger persons, it asked whether such action might “deprive young people of the educational, recreational, and other services necessary for sound growth and development?”⁸⁵²

Similarly, in the early stages of the bond-issue campaign, the *News-Sun* criticized what is perceived as a lack of civic support on the part of Sun City and Youngtown, citing in particular an idea raised by one retired resident attending the early discussion of the school situation about the retirement community organizing a separate school district, something that would have allowed retirees to extricate themselves from increasingly tangled mess of school taxes in Peoria. “Are we so concerned,” an April editorial in the

852 WHCA, *Background Paper on Population Trends, Social and Economic Implications*, 42, 47. Earlier, in the mid-1950s, Clark Tibbitts wrote of the impact of retirement migrations to different destinations in the emergent Sunbelt. “While it appears that most persons will retire in their own communities,” he wrote, “enough will migrate to create special situations in Arizona, California, Florida, and perhaps elsewhere.” Tibbitts, “Retirement Problems in American Society,” 308. Although he did not elaborate here, questions over schools taxes—among other issues discussed below—might have been at the center of the “special situations” he spoke of, as some communities wrestled with changed political climates with the rise of retirement communities.

News-Sun titled “The Island” asked, “about our own individual welfare; our zest for enjoying ‘active retirement’; our determination to get away from the cares and responsibilities that kept our nose to the proverbial grindstones, that we now shun community responsibility?”⁸⁵³ As the brand of retirement Sun City represented clashed again, both generationally and spatially, with others, it was not the only time the idea of “responsibility” would appear in debate.

Conclusion

On the issue of age-segregated housing, DEVCO’s idea was not to *re-do*—let alone replicate—existing, established neighborhoods or communities but rather to build for retired Americans new, retirement-specific ones. Residence, routines, and other preoccupations and values that played out in daily life were no longer defined in terms of children; “needs” in retirement—and particularly in the political culture of retirement communities such as Sun City, Arizona—would be defined *in opposition* to children. As Webb and retirement-community residents calculated the costs of kids, such children represented risks—real or imagined, and however direct—to the vision of retirement built and branded by DEVCO. More specifically, such a population whose members were incompatible with those fifty years of age and older would have psychological, social, recreational, and financial implications. While manifested, most basically, at a sensory or bodily level and in terms of the viability of an apparently benefit-rich collective generationalism born out of and anchored in space, they extended to the consumption of amenities and an insistence of low taxes—issues, and the ways in which they were pursued and protected, that were strikingly suburban, even if the demographics told a

⁸⁵³ Editorial, “The Island,” *News-Sun*, April 5, 1962.

different story. And on the matter of schools, taxes, and Sun City in the 1960s, the battle was just beginning.

Chapter 6 Taxes and Other Ties that Bind

In October 1962, Sun City and Youngtown overwhelmingly opposed—and helped to defeat—the school-bond issues that went before voters of the Peoria district that fall. Totalling over half a million dollars, all four items failed, and none of them were very close to passing: in Sun City, they failed by roughly 2-to-1 and even 3-to-1 margins, while in the Peoria area, residents overwhelmingly supported each and every proposal—and by even greater margins.⁸⁵⁴ “Coming the closest to passing was the first question on the elementary ballot—to build classrooms and remodel facilities on the existing site,” the *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News* reported on the defeated measure. “The classrooms would have replaced a World War II barracks building, moved onto the high school site years ago as a temporary measure, and would have provided space for the four classes of grade school children now being conducted in rented classrooms and in the high school building.”⁸⁵⁵ Among other points, an editorial inside the newspaper did acknowledge that the underlying necessity of three of the four was not enough to gain unanimous support; they “were controversial,” it conceded. “But anyone who has seen the barracks building, who is aware of the fact that classes are being held in crowded, rented church rooms—could not have overlooked the need for classrooms.”⁸⁵⁶

854 For coverage of the election, including exact figures, see “Lanni Elected Trustee, School Bonds Rejected,” *News-Sun*, October 4, 1962; “Retirement Communities Beat Bond Issue,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, October 4, 1962. For other accounts of 1962 vote, see “Peoria Schools Victim of Sun City”; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 25; Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 62.

855 “Retirement Communities Beat Bond Issue.”

856 Editorial, “Ignore The Truth,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, October 11, 1962. And given that the cost of this item was less than the amount proposed by the committees to the board, for example, it argued: “To call it a ‘protest’ vote, would be inane. To have soundly beat the other three portions of the bond issues, while approving the construction of classrooms, would have served both as the ‘protest’ they claim, while still recognizing the fundamental good sense of providing what is urgently needed, when it is needed.” For additional criticism, see M.J. “Buck” Brown, letter to the editor, *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, October 26, 1962.

Meanwhile, in the board race, the electoral impact of the growing retirement-community population was evident in another way as Sun City resident John Lanni narrowly won a seat on the board, giving residents of Sun City and Youngtown a 3-to-2 majority.⁸⁵⁷

On the bond-issue front, the tide briefly turned in favor of school supporters. In the wake of the failed 1962 bond issues, district leadership in the Peoria schools opted to try again in early 1963, asking voters for approve a two bond issues totaling \$298,000—the same amount put forth by the Sun City-influenced group of district residents prior to the 1962 vote.⁸⁵⁸ In the end, both issues passed, winning support from voters at large. Although both retirement communities rejected the high-school bond issue, they did support the one the elementary-school one, which passed even more dramatically in Peoria.⁸⁵⁹ Yet additional growth in subsequent years further strained the Peoria schools, prompting district leadership to call for new steps to fund expansion and facilities upgrades by the mid-1960s.⁸⁶⁰ Input from two outside authorities, one of which was a 1966 survey undertaken by an investigative team from the University of Arizona, as well

857 “Sun City’s Lanni Edges Smith by 12 Votes in School Board Race [: Board Race] [?],” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, October 4, 1962; “Lanni Elected Trustee, School Bonds Rejected.” Upon Lanni’s election, another editorial criticized his claim that the cost per pupil in Peoria exceeded the county average, although Ira Murphy and the Maricopa County superintendent indicated otherwise: Editorial, “[An Editorial]: Truth Not Necessary,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, October 4, 1962. See also “Peoria School Per Capita Education Costs Cited,” *News-Sun*, October 4, 1962.

858 “Property Owners To Vote In Tuesday’s Bond Election,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, January 4, 1963; “\$298,000 Peoria School Bond Election Asked,” *News-Sun*, November 8, 1962; “\$298,000 School Bond Election Slated Jan. 8,” *News-Sun*, November 29, 1962; “Bond Issue Election Tuesday,” *News-Sun*, January 3, 1963; “Civic Association Favors Bond Issue,” *News-Sun*, January 3, 1963. Possibly related to the SCCA given the account below, Sun City interests appear to have influenced the bond issues again in some way: “They told me: ‘This is the money we will give, not what you want,’” Peoria superintendent Ira Murphy recalled of a group of Sun City residents. Murphy quoted, and events as reported, in “Peoria Schools Victim of Sun City.”

859 For coverage here, including results, see “Bond Issue Is Passed by Property Owners,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, January 11, 1963; “Voters Give OK to School Bonds,” *News-Sun*, January 10, 1963. For background, also see “Peoria Schools Victim of Sun City”; Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 62.

860 On preceding efforts as unable to close the gap between supply and demand in the arena of school facilities in the long run, see “Bond Issue Is Passed By Property Owners”; “School Board Schedules Special Session to Discuss Building Needs,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, September 17, 1965.

as from a community of district residents, called for action, culminating in a 1968 bond vote in part against a backdrop of a student population that had undergone considerable growth in the district overall and in the high school in particular.⁸⁶¹

While yet another committee convened in 1969, and after two more bond elections, growth continued, the Peoria newspaper stating that “If Peoria School District enrollment figures keep pace with current district and county estimates the Peoria education system may be due for a boom or bust situation within five years.”⁸⁶² In light of growth in enrollment numbers, including the school load generated by already existing and forthcoming residential subdivision development, the district considered a bond issue

861 “Peoria Schools Victim of Sun City”; “PHS Ranks High In Evaluation; Lockers, Gym Are Main Criticisms [sic],” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, October 21, 1966; “Junior High System, Site Acquisition Urged By Survey,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, December 16, 1966; “School Survey Report Set For Dec. 8,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, November 18, 1966; “Committee Picked To Develop Master Plan For School System,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, February 3, 1967; “School Committee Favors Campus Plan, Land Acquisition First Steps,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, February 24, 1967; “Board Gets Report,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 24, 1967; “\$950,000 School Bond Issue Set,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 22, 1968; “Bond Election Is Slated April 23,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, March 29, 1968; “Board Issues Statement Detailing Background for Bond Issues,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, April 5, 1968; “Board Tells Needs Behind Election,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, April, 12, 1968; Edward Lanz, letter to the editor, *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, April 12, 1968; “Voters Decide Bond Issue Tuesday; Gym, Classroom Building, Land Purchase Proposed,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, April 19, 1968; “School Board Details Bond Needs, Cites \$6.90 Average Cost,” *News-Sun*, April 3, 1968; Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 63; “Retirement Towns Reject Bonds,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, April 26, 1968. On specific figures indicating growth in district, see again “Board Issues Statement Detailing Background for Bond Issues”; “School Board Details Bond Needs, Cites \$6.90 Average Cost.” For earlier committees formed by mid-decade, see “Peoria Schools Victim of Sun City”; “School Board Sets up Survey Groups,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, October 1, 1965. For figures involving the growth of Peoria, see the following: For population between 1960 and 1965, see “Peoria Population Placed Officially At 3802, Special Census Shows,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, December 24, 1965; in terms of both residents and geographical size from late 1950s to 1970, see Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*. For increase in size from 1960 to 1970, as well as 1970 to 1980, see also figures in Carol E. Heim, “Border Wars: Tax Revenues, Annexation, and Urban Growth in Phoenix,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36: 4 (July 2012): 833, table 1.

862 See “Peoria Schools Victim of Sun City”; “School District Committee Proposes Second Bond Issues,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, December 20, 1968; “Bond Issue Slated,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, January 17, 1969; “School Bond Vote Set Tuesday; Murphy Answers Data Challenge,” *News-Sun*, April 2, 1969; “Town Schools Boom or Bust,” *Peoria (AZ) Times*, October 23, 1970 (quotation); Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 63, 64, 73. For additional discussion of growth in 1970, see “School Board Suggests Split Sessions, Portable [sic?],” *Peoria Times*, November 20, 1970.

for a new elementary school in 1971.⁸⁶³ Fueled by homebuilding in particular, elementary-school enrollment in the district jumped from 1,630 students in 1971 to roughly 2,600 students around the start of the school year in 1972. In turn, district officials called for another bond election, this time for backing multiple new schools, though it ultimately was unsuccessful and Ira Murphy formally declared his resignation in early 1973.⁸⁶⁴ That fall, with schools in the elementary district operating on double sessions—the first of which started at seven o’clock in the morning—at the beginning of the 1973-74 school year, efforts to pass bond issues for three elementary schools and one high school, too, fell short—even as a recent board-backed review actually called for *eight* new elementary schools in the face of a swelling student population fueled by projected further residential growth by new homes.⁸⁶⁵ And the growth persisted; the

863 “Bond Election Set October 19,” *Peoria Times*, September 17, 1971; Ira Murphy, “Guest Editorial,” *Peoria Times*, October 8, 1971, and editorial including similar, if not same point, in Ira Murphy, “Guest Editorial,” *Peoria Times*, October 15, 1971; “School Bond Vote Tuesday,” *Peoria Times*, October 15, 1971; “School Bond Vote Set,” *News-Sun*, September 15, 1971; “Students Help Bond Issue by Passing out Brochure,” *News-Sun*, October 8, 1971; “Long Favors New School; Murphy Sees Twin Sessions,” *News-Sun*, October 12, 1971; “Taxpayers Blast Brochure but Support Bond Issue: ‘No Help’ in Vote,” *News-Sun*, October 15, 1971; “Voters Go to Polls Today to Decide School Question: Heavy Turnout Expected,” *News-Sun*, October 19, 1971. On 1971 bond election, see also Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 62-63.

864 See relevant discussion and figures in “Pupil Influx Creates Crisis at Peoria Grade School,” *News-Sun*, September 15, 1972; “Board Proposes Bond Issue to Build 3 Peoria Schools,” *News-Sun*, September 29, 1972; “School Board Sets Special Meet; Citizen Advisors Back Bond Issue,” *News-Sun*, October 20, 1972; “Comparative Tax Cited to Boost School Bonds,” *News-Sun*, November 7, 1972; “Voters to Face Ballot Box Again Tuesday; \$6.1 Million School Bond Issue at Stake,” *News-Sun*, November 10, 1972; Editorial, “Bond Issue Too Skimpy,” *News-Sun*, November 10, 1972. On 1972 election and Murphy, see “SC-Y Vote Trounces Bond Issue”; “Supt. Murphy Quits, Blames Bond Defeat,” *News-Sun*, January 26, 1973; Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 63, 64. For discussion of residential and school growth earlier in 1972, see “Murphy Predicts Continued Growth,” *Peoria Times*, January 14, 1972. For figures of growth between late 1960s and mid-1970s, see “facts” material from now-district superintendent Mel Huber in “Peoria Public Schools Give Fact Information,” *Northwest Peoria (AZ) Times*, September 21, 1973.

865 See discussion and/or more specific figures in “Peoria School Budget Climbs by \$683,000,” *News-Sun*, June 1, 1973; “Budget Approved for Peoria Schools: Double Sessions up Costs,” *Northwest Peoria Times*, June 22, 1973; “Double Session Schedule Announced: For Peoria Schools,” *Northwest Peoria Times*, August 17, 1973; Don Rosebrock, “School Board to Consider Bond Election, Registration: At Tonight’s Meeting,” *News-Sun*, August 28, 1973; Don Rosebrock, “Study Says Peoria District Needs 8 New Grade Schools: By August, 1975,” *News-Sun*, September 4, 1973; “Supervisor Appeals for Bond Okay: Peoria School District,” *Northwest Peoria Times*, September 21, 1973; Don Rosebrock, “Voters to Make Decision

populations of the elementary and high schools were expected to balloon between the 1973-74 school year and the 1974-75 school year from over 3,300 students to around 5,700 students amongst the younger age group and from roughly 1,200 to over 1,800 students amongst the older group.⁸⁶⁶

Standing in the way of many of the bond issues that went before voters in the 1960s and 1970s were opponents in Sun City and Youngtown. As metropolitan Phoenix expanded, the growth and development of the Valley of the Sun threatened to erode Sun City's economic, social, and spatial "independence," in John Findlay's words, on the far edge of the metropolitan fringe.⁸⁶⁷ And despite the partial success realized in 1963, resistance from many retirement-community voters already was in motion and continued into the 1970s.⁸⁶⁸ Over the next decade, Sun City voters opposed a long string of bond issues, defeating them at the polls and helping to prevent them from passing overall,

Tuesday on Bond Issue: \$9.9 Million for Schools," *News-Sun*, October 12, 1973; "'Don't Know What We'll Do Now,' Says Huber"; Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 63, 64; account of Neil McLeod in Gilbert, *More than a Century of Peoria People, Progress, & Pride*, 67. For one recollection of double sessions and impact, see account of Harold Amspoker in Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 64. For coverage of double sessions as portrayed in the Phoenix press, see accounts of Peoria parent and then-board member Mike Killion, as well as that of district superintendent Melvin Huber in Thelma Heatwole, "Bond Is Needed to Relieve Overcrowding at Peoria Schools," *Arizona Republic*, October 6, 1974. On discussion of threat of *triple* sessions, as well as that of double sessions at the high school, from perspective of 1973, see concerns of various participants voiced in "Midnight Classes are Possible Next Year," *Northwest Peoria Times*, September 28, 1973.

866 See again figures or what were figures, as discussed and/or reported, in "Peoria Public Schools Gives Fact Information." For figures from late 1960s to 1973, and as discussed and/or reported, see also Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 63, 64.

867 See Findlay discussion offering important framework here: Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 204, 205, 206-207, 208 (quotation), also 209-210

868 For coverage of events up to 1969, see "Peoria Schools Victim of Sun City." And for coverage into the 1970s, see Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 62-63, 77-78. For local newspaper coverage of bond elections and results, see, for example, the following: "Retirement Towns Reject Bonds," *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, April 26, 1968; "Sun City Sinks School Bonds Again," *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, February 21, 1969; "Voters Okay Bonds, New School Buildings to be Ready in '70," *News-Sun*, April 16, 1969; "School Bond Issue Approved," *Peoria Times*, October 22, 1971; "SC-Y Vote Trounces Bond Issue," *News-Sun*, November 17, 1972; "'Don't Know What We'll Do Now,' Says Huber," *News-Sun*, October 19, 1973; "Huber Eyes Solutions to High School Problem: Elementary Bonds Pass," *News-Sun*, October 11, 1974.

though several did succeed with added help from supporters elsewhere in the district.⁸⁶⁹

There was not, of course, consensus in Sun City, reflected even in bond issues that lost in the retirement community by 2-to-1 or 3-to-1 margins. Furthermore, illustrating divides within the Sun City community over school taxes, particularly between voters and

869 For various accounts of the history of Sun City and the Peoria schools, see, for example, Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 206-8; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 218-19; Sturgeon, "It's a Paradise Town," 153; McHugh, Gober, and Borough, "The Sun City Wars," 634-35; Gober, *Metropolitan Phoenix*, 90; Gilbert, *More than a Century of Peoria People, Progress, & Pride*, 67; Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 111; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 213-14; Freedman, *Prime Time*, 66; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 133. here is, however, the issue of the representativeness of Sun City, and comparisons drawn in different literatures help develop this point. As Findlay points out, Sun City was unique, or at least differed from other developments, to some extent. As he puts it: "Not all retirement communities responded in the same fashion to school bond issues." For quotation, and the evidence to which he goes on to point from Leisure World developments, see Findlay, 207. For Teaford, in part citing Findlay, 207, see also Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 111. Findlay, furthermore, continues his discussion by in part citing the work of ASU geographer Patricia Gober, who, among factors she identifies, writes of one that Sun City ultimately helped to prove—through its relatively large demographic footprint. See Gober, "The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon," 196, again also or first cited in Findlay, 207-8. More specifically, she writes, for example: "When retirement communities are small, they are unable to exert much influence beyond getting politically active community residents on local boards and committees." See quotation, as well as rest of discussion illustrating this point, including differentiating the Sun City case from trends in New Jersey identified in findings published in the 1970s, see directly Gober, 196. Specifically, again she is referring to Heintz, *Retirement Communities*. And for Gober again on significance of "Size or scale," see Gober, 189.

The case of Sun City, Arizona, also appears as somewhat anomalous from a timing standpoint in the relevant literature—of growing evidence of opposition amongst older Americans, particularly those who had relocated to Sunbelt or other areas and also those in retirement-heavy locales or communities, to school taxes as this literature evolved. See the following overviews of literature: Robert B. Hudson and Robert H. Binstock, "Political Systems and Aging" and Gordon F. Streib, "Social Stratification and Aging" in *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, ed. Binstock and Ethel Shanas (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1976), 374 and 172-73, respectively; Stephen M. Golant, *Housing America's Elderly: Many Possibilities/Few Choices* (Newbury Park, California: SAGE Publications, 1992), 62-64; Charles F. Longino, Jr., "Geographical Distribution and Migration" and Binstock and Quadagno, "Aging and Politics" in *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, ed. Binstock and George, 118-19 and 336-37, respectively. For findings by political scientist James W. Button in Florida, see, for example, Button, "A Sign of Generational Conflict: The Impact of Florida's Aging Voters on Local School and Tax Referenda," *Social Science Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (December 1992): 786-797, esp. 795. Note: I note in my Chapter 7 at one point other work of Golant as I first saw as utilized in Findlay. And for more general evidence of opposition by older voters to schools at the local and national levels, see the following. See important useful discussion by Maris Vinovskis of relevant work he cites: J.W. Button and W. A. Rosenbaum, "Seeing Gray: School Bond Issues and the Aging in Florida," *Research on Aging* 11, no. 2 (1989): 158-173; H.D. Hamilton and S.H. Cohen, *Policy Making by Plebiscite: School Referenda* (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1974); and P.K. Piele and J.S. Hall, *Budget [sic?], Bonds, and Ballots* (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1973), all discussed and cited in Vinovskis, "An Historical Perspective on Support for Schooling by Different Age Cohorts," 51. For national level, see also Vinovskis on "American National Election Survey for 1988" in Vinovskis, 53 (quotation), 55-57, 60-61.

residents serving in official position on the school board, as well as in less official capacities, the Peoria press after the failed 1968 bond election pointed out a disconnect—between the substantial opposition of Sun City voters and “the fact that the retirement communities have a 3-2 representation on the school board, and that the school board had unanimously backed the issues, as had a citizens committee, named last year by groups in the three communities.”⁸⁷⁰ Nonetheless, in 1974, the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors approved moving Sun City out of the Peoria schools, effectively exempting residents in the retirement community from paying school taxes at the district level.⁸⁷¹

The story of Sun City and the Peoria schools illuminates important ideas and assumptions about retirement in the 1960s and 1970s. With school taxes serving as a site of political debate over the distribution of resources across generations, school supporters—consisting of parents, school officials, observers, and some retirees—criticized Sun City bond opponents for their unwillingness to support what they believed were necessary measures, arguing that refusal to support school bond issues essentially was self-interested, constituting a violation of a “social compact” of sorts.⁸⁷² On the other side, those in Sun City argued that, as *retired* Americans, they *could* not and *should*

870 “Retirement Towns Reject Bonds,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, April 26, 1968. For an account explaining the make-up of the board and the arrangement behind it, see Freireich, interview. On arrangements in the early 1960s, see “School Board Wants Sun City Member,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, May 12, 1961. For later in the 1960s, see “Harold Taylor Announces for Peoria School Board,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, September 13, 1968.

871 The events of 1974 are discussed and cited at a later point in this chapter.

872 For discussion of idea and language of “social compact,” see, for example, John Cornman and Eric R. Kingson, “What is a Social Compact? How Would We Know One if We saw It? *Yes, John, There is a Social Compact*,” in “Keeping the Promise: Intergenerational Strategies for Strengthening the Social Compact,” special issue, *Generations*, 22, no. 4 (Winter 1998-1999): 10-14. More specifically, they define this: “The social compact gives expression to and is based on the reciprocal ties that hold family, governance, and society together over time.” They also explain that “‘intergenerational strategies’ are policies and programs that transfer tangible resources and care across age groups, age cohorts, and generations within families. They are sources of support and mutual aid and means of building a more civil and caring society. They also embody actions *based on* the social compact.” See again 10 [?] (emphasis added).

not have had to pay taxes in the Peoria district.⁸⁷³ Privileging issues of class—as homeowners preoccupied with property taxes and, as Chapter 7 demonstrates, property values—along with those of age, Sun City politics ultimately reflected the concerns of residents both as *older Americans* within a context of public policies at different levels of government increasingly addressing the lower incomes of many aging persons—and as *taxpayers* within the logic and language of suburban politics in seeking control over community services. Like the development of Sun City from the standpoints of the built and social environments, with both aging-specific dimensions and those of American society more generally, the political activism and electoral outcomes over school taxes in Sun City represented the creation and of a political culture of retirement communities—one that that addressed real economic vulnerability but that also transcended issues of age to protect and preserve the interests of homeowners, the selective citizenship it entailed emblematic of Sun Citizenship.

Fixed Incomes, Rising Taxes

Like other aspects of aging particular to older age and retirement, older persons were confronted—real or imagined—with ostensibly limited means in the face of continued, or even increased, outlays in the arena of property taxes. Political leaders, political groups, and retirees themselves all foregrounded this disconnect in pushing for aging-specific tax legislation in the postwar decades, promoting the idea of the financial

873 For my discussion of scholarship identifying such arguments and how my analysis on schools seeks to build upon this work, see, for example, my discussion of relevant literature—specifically that of Findlay; Sturgeon; and Button—in the Introduction to my dissertation. For their work again here, however, see, for example, again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 207; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 153-54; Button, “A Sign of Generational Conflict,” 786-87.

vulnerability of older Americans. Similar, perhaps, to the ideological frameworks of Social Security and Medicare, the political construction of retired homeowners living on fixed incomes as imperiled and “deserving” citizens in discourse and debate helped to fuel efforts to lower taxes.

After efforts in the 1960s and earlier, steps to assist older Americans with property taxes gained further attention and traction in the 1970s.⁸⁷⁴ And such efforts took place along with other measures, particularly changes introduced to Social Security in the early part of the decade, aimed at addressing the needs of many older Americans in the context of deteriorating economic conditions. “Nowhere is the impact of inflation more severe than on the aged people, such as those here, who are living on fixed retirement incomes,” the *New York Times* said of rising inflation in profiling struggling senior Americans in Miami Beach, Florida, in 1971.⁸⁷⁵ “Every time you go to the store,” one retired woman told the newspaper, “the prices are still higher. But your income doesn’t get any higher. You buy less. Then, the President comes on the television and says everything is all right. The next day you go shopping and the prices are higher again.”⁸⁷⁶ President Richard Nixon, in his 1972 “Message on Older Americans,” explained the tension at hand, perhaps suggesting the financial particularities of older Americans and how legislative interventions might help, stating, “Because older persons are uniquely dependent on relatively fixed incomes, they are uniquely victimized by the ravages of inflation.”⁸⁷⁷

874 See again my Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 for rise of property-tax legislation.

875 Robert Lindsey, “Many Aging Face an Economic Nightmare,” *New York Times*, January 30, 1971.

876 Rose Langmann quoted in Lindsey, “Many Aging Face an Economic Nightmare.”

877 Richard Nixon, “To the Congress of the United States,” March 23, 1972, in “Appendix: Special Message on Aging” in *Towards a New Attitude on Aging—April 1973: A Report on the Administration’s Continuing Response to the Recommendations of the Delegates to the 1971 White House Conference on Aging*, 149, in Senate Subcommittee on Aging of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and the

Among other steps taken in the wake of the 1961 White House Conference on Aging and beyond, older Americans benefited from increases in Social Security at different points in the 1960s and early 1970s, though they also perpetually fell short, various accounts pointed out.⁸⁷⁸ In fact, as the White House Conference of Aging in 1971 described this tension, “Inflation was continuing at such a rate that, while money incomes of millions of older people were raised through increased Social Security benefits, many persons were relatively poorer.”⁸⁷⁹ Amendments to Social Security passed into law in 1972 sought to change the income predicament of older Americans, and—as additional evidence of the growing political power and significance of older Americans that peaked between Medicare and the mid-1970s, and paralleling, if not a product of, different points addressed through the 1971 WHCA—this legislation ushered in changes for beneficiaries backed by wide support and significant enough to prompt a then-chair of the Senate Special Committee on Aging to consider these, and other legislative steps taken, as “ranking only behind 1935, when Social Security was enacted, and 1965, when Medicare became law.”⁸⁸⁰

Special Committee on Aging, *Post-White House Conference on Aging Reports, 1973*, 93d Cong., 1st sess., 1973, 169.

⁸⁷⁸ National Retired Teachers Association and American Association of Retired Persons, *The 1971 White House Conference on Aging: The End of a Beginning? A Progress Report since the 1961 Conference* (Washington, D.C., 1971), 3-5; White House Conference on Aging, *Toward a National Policy on Aging: Proceedings of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. GPO, 1973), 3; “Senate Panel Says Federal Programs Fail to Meet Needs of Elderly,” *New York Times*, April 5, 1971; Special Committee on Aging, United States Senate, *Developments in Aging: 1970* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1973 [*sic?*]), 2, [first?] discussed in the preceding *New York Times* coverage; Butler, *Why Survive?* 43. For specific increases by year, see, for example, Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 116.

⁸⁷⁹ For quotation from 1971 WHCA, see WHCA, *Toward a National Policy on Aging*, vol. 1, 3. On this as one marker of the “senior rights movement” having reached a stage of “institutionalization,” including its key features, see Powell, Branco, and Williamson, *The Senior Rights Movement*, 127-29 (second quotation 128), 141-46. For narrative of rising political presence of older Americans, also see, for example, Schulman, *The Seventies*, 84, 85-86.

⁸⁸⁰ See Powell, et al., *The Senior Rights Movement*, 122, 123, 127-28, 129-34, 150-51; Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 57-58; Berkowitz, *America’s Welfare State*, 71; Pratt, *Gray Agendas*, 176-77; Frank Church

Policymakers and aging advocates saw property taxes as a point of addressing the financial strains on older Americans. Overall, homeownership was double-edged sword. “For many,” Nixon said before the 1971 WCHA of the high number home-owning older Americans, “these homes represent a lifetime of careful saving, and yet, because of property taxes, the same home which has been a symbol of their independence often becomes the cause of their impoverishment.”⁸⁸¹ And several months later, in his “Message on Aging” in 1972, he explained what was again the disconnect between financial means and financial demands in the form of taxes. “The reason these burdens are so onerous, of course,” he stated of the situation facing the older homeowner, as well as that of the older renter, who was not sheltered from rising taxes either, “is that the income from which property taxes must be paid by the elderly is usually going down at

quoted in David Hackett Fischer, “The Politics of Aging: A Short History,” *Journal of the Institute for Socioeconomic Studies* 4 (1979): 51-66 (quotation 64), quoted in Powell, et al., 146. Same quotation appears in Pratt, 177, which quotes from Senate Special Committee on Aging, *Developments in Aging: 1972 and January-March 1973*, 93d Cong., 1st sess., 1973, S. Rep. 147, ix. Though unattributed specifically to Church in Pratt, copy of actual document as cited indicates that “Preface” by Church (ix-xi). For specific points pertaining to income discussed through the 1971 WHCA, see, for example, White House Conference on Aging, *Toward a National Policy on Aging: Proceedings*, vol. II (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. GPO, 1971), 38 (in “Section on Income”).

Specifically, amendments included a hefty one-time benefit increase, the subject of what seemingly was a sort of political one-upmanship on the road to the 1972 Presidential election. On events leading up to the increase, and the increase itself, see Powell, et al., *The Senior Rights Movement*, 131-32; Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 58; Berkowitz, *America’s Welfare State*, 71; Schulman, *The Seventies*, 86; Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 116; Tufté, *Political Control of the Economy*, 30-31, first cited in Achenbaum, 116, and also Powell, et al., 131. And, an effort to tie benefit amounts to rising prices through the creation of “automatic cost-of-living adjustments” was another part of the 1972 legislation. Here, see Powell, et al., *The Senior Rights Movement*, 131; Tufté, *Political Control of the Economy*, 32, fig. 2-1; Kingson and Berkowitz, *Social Security and Medicare*, 127 (quotation); Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 58; Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 116; Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 84. More specifically still, the so-called “indexing” of benefits, Berkowitz details, “would mean automatic adjustments in benefit levels, based on changes in the consumer price index. Benefits would, beginning in 1975, keep pace with the inflation rate as measured by the consumer price index.” See Berkowitz, *America’s Welfare State*, 71. The idea behind such a move, however, was not necessarily new, as it was discussed at least as early as the 1960s. For earlier discussion of these adjustments, see Gordon, “Aging and Income Security,” 251, 254. For political context of GOP and specific mention by Nixon in 1969, for example, see NRTA and AARP, *The 1971 White House Conference on Aging*, 4; Berkowitz, 71. 881 Richard Nixon, “379 - Remarks to the White House Conference on Aging,” December 2, 1971, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=3242> (last accessed August 12, 2013.)

the very same time the taxes are going up.”⁸⁸² Property taxes had increased in the 1960s; drawing on statistics presented during hearings of the Senate’s Special Committee on Aging’s Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly near the end of the decade, material from the 1971 WHCA’s *Background and Issues* series pointed to a jump from 1963 to 1969 just over 28 percent as proof of the “spiraling taxes” that made up one of the various housing expenses “plaguing” older Americans—an expense that only grew in the early 1970s.⁸⁸³

At the very same time, many older Americans faced the reality of reduced financial capacity—a point that aging experts and advocates did not fail to make. Older persons, various accounts charged, effectively suffered a kind of economic discrimination at the hands of traditional tax policy. “The property tax is a regressive form of taxation for today’s society,” the document from the WHCA asserted. “It is rooted in the older rural system in which the value of a family’s property and land holdings, rather than cash income, determined ability to pay,” it stated, iterating a complaint of anti-property tax attitudes more broadly. “Under current conditions, retired persons on severely reduced and fixed incomes are penalized, because they must pay a disproportionately large percentage of their total cash income for property taxes.”⁸⁸⁴ Illustrating this dynamic,

882 For example, see Nixon, “To the Congress of the United States” in *Towards New Attitude on Aging*—April 1973, 150, in *Post-White House Conference on Aging Reports, 1973*, 170.

883 Statistic as reported by the following Senate subcommittee in WHCA, *Background and Issues: Housing the Elderly*, 19; Senate Special Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, *Economics of Aging: Toward a Full Share in Abundance*, Part 4—Homeownership Aspects, 91st Cong., 1st sess., 1970, 745, “Increases in Price (as of April 1969).” For an even higher figure between 1963 and 1970 of slightly more than 43 percent, see that reported in U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *The Consumer Price Index for 1970* (Washington, D. C.: U.S. GPO, 1971), in *White House Conference on Aging, Background and Issues: Income* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1971), 23, 24. For growth in early 1970s, also see figures in Cray, “Tax Relief for the Elderly in Focus.”

884 WHCA, *Background and Issues: Housing the Elderly*, 21 (quotation). On “regressivity,” also see, for example, this perspective as overviewed in Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: Final Report* ([Washington, D.C.]: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, 1975), 36, 37. On same idea, see also Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief for*

one official representing the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations told the Senate subcommittee, “With retirement, the flow of income drops sharply and a \$300 or \$400 tax bill that could be taken in stride when the flow of income was up pretty high now takes a disproportionate claim when the income flow drops to around \$1,500.”⁸⁸⁵

Older Americans were not necessarily alone. “Decades of rising inflation coupled with steadily increasing taxes on all levels have led to a blind rage against being taxed any further by anyone,” one political scientist told of “a continual and growing revolt of taxpayers against the higher local property taxes for school taxes and school bond issues,” “and the merits of particular cases for this or that school district are often not taken into account at all in voter appraisals gathered after elections.”⁸⁸⁶ But political leaders not only addressed but also seemingly *stressed* the distinctiveness of older persons—what might have appeared as a sort of hyper-vulnerability. In his “State of the Union” in 1972, Nixon stated that “property taxes, which more than doubled in the 10 years from 1960 to ’70, have become one of the most oppressive and discriminatory of all

the Elderly: An Evaluation ([Washington, D.C.]: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, 1975), 10. For various figures reflecting discrepancy, see figures from Senate Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, *Economics of Aging* [?], [first?] cited in WHCA, 21; Butler, *Why Survive?*, 109-110; figures from Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Changing Public Attitudes on Government and Taxes* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1974), cited in Abt Associates, 10-11. For additional discussion, see Thomas R. Ireland and William E. Mitchell, “A Public Choice Analysis of the Demand for Property Tax Circuit-Breaker Legislation,” *Public Finance Quarterly* 4, no. 4 (October 1976): 383. On anti-tax logic revolving “ability to pay” according to a key figure the property-tax movement, Howard Jarvis of Prop 13 in California, see Howard Jarvis and Robert Pack, *I’m Mad as Hell: The Exclusive Story of the Tax Revolt and Its Leader* (New York: Times Books, 1979), 6, esp. 283, book also—if not first—cited in Self, *American Babylon*, 319, 320. To be clear here, Self refers to book in the text on p. 319, although it does not appear in the note for the paragraph in which this appears. See 319-320, 376n46. It does appear, however, in a note on p. 320. See 320, 376n47.

⁸⁸⁵ See John Shannon in Senate Special Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, *Economics of Aging: Toward a Full Share of Abundance: Hearings*, pt. 4, “Homeownership Aspects,” 91st Cong., 1st sess., 1969, 770. For additional figures reflecting this disconnect, see those that he relays from the case of Wisconsin: 769. For evidence of broader disconnect between income in face of inflation and taxes, see WHCA, *Background and Issues: Housing the Elderly*, 77.

⁸⁸⁶ For primary quotation, see Lamb, “The Taxpayers’ Revolt against Rising School Costs,” 25. And for quotation inserted into the above, see 22. For discussion of rates themselves here, see 23. And for figures involving bonds, see 22.

taxes, hitting *most cruelly* at the elderly and the retired.”⁸⁸⁷ And in Arizona, Governor Williams asserted in a letter to one constituent in 1967: “The burden of increasing taxes year by year on the homeowner has largely been ignored. These are *particularly burdensome* for all retired people on fixed incomes.”⁸⁸⁸

The gulf between ostensibly arbitrary taxation and a limited “ability to pay” was wide enough that older homeowners were caught in the middle, proponents of reform claimed. Some literally were taxed out of their homes, according to accounts surrounding the WHCA and elsewhere, amounting to a narrative of residential displacement.⁸⁸⁹ Appearing at the conference itself, Nixon relayed the plight of an older California man—as relayed by the man’s daughter in a letter to the President—“now being forced to sell the property for which he worked so long and so hard.”⁸⁹⁰ Several years later, a study sponsored by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) addressed the pervasiveness of this thinking, reporting that an “issue often raised by those in favor of property tax relief for the elderly maintains that rising property taxes tend to force the elderly out of homes which they have occupied for most of a lifetime to seek more restricted accommodations elsewhere. Enabling

887 For quotation, and context in relation to schools, see Richard Nixon, “Address on the State of the Union Delivered before a Joint Session of Congress,” January 20, 1972 (emphasis added), <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=3396> (last accessed August 20, 2013).

888 Jack Williams to Peter K. Shields, November 30, 1967 (emphasis added), box 409, Williams Papers.

889 In addition to the below, this theme also appeared in Howard Jarvis’s 1979 *I’m Mad as Hell: The Exclusive Story of the Tax Revolt and Its Leader* detailing Prop 13 in California. For Jarvis here, see Jarvis and Pack, *I’m Mad as Hell*, 21. For background of Jarvis Prop 13, see, for example, Schulman, *The Seventies*, 205, 206-207, 208-209, 210-212. For mention of older persons in Schulman’s account here, see also 211.

890 Nixon, “Remarks to the White House Conference on Aging.” As an additional example, there was the similar claim, for example, “that many older homeowners were forced to sell and move into cheap rented quarters,” according to the WHCA. For example, see WHCA quoted in Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: A Compendium* ([Washington, D.C.]: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, 1975), 2. For statement of this idea in WHCA materials more directly, also see, for example, WHCA, *Toward a National Policy on Aging*, vol. I, 3. For “assets,” presumably including the homes of older persons, see also Shannon in Senate Special Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, *Economics of Aging*, 769.

legislation passed by many of the states to create tax relief programs frequently cites this argument as an important impetus for change.”⁸⁹¹ The American Association of Retired Persons-National Retired Teachers Association (AARP-NRTA) asserted that some “homeowners will lose their homes, perhaps their only asset after a lifetime of working.”⁸⁹² And as one economist explained, “Conversion of a home into spendable money normally requires its sale. Sale of a home would cause difficult adjustment problems, however, when the aged move into a new physical, as well as human, setting. For reasons of sentiment and convenience, the aged may be justified in their apparent resistance to moving.”⁸⁹³

In addition to the threat of displacement, real or imagined, there were implications for public education, too. The mismatch between means and taxes increased the likelihood of resistance to funding for *schools*. “The financing of education by the local

891 Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: An Evaluation*, 10. In questioning the displacement narrative, the HUD study on one level reported that “Contrary to what might be supposed, elderly households move very infrequently for any reason.” And on another level, while it acknowledged that “we simply do not possess enough information to predict the impact of property tax relief in the housing decisions of the elderly,” it also suggested that it essentially would be irrelevant: “However, available data indicate that the effect cannot be large. The current moving rate is so low that property tax relief is unlikely to have more than a marginal effect on location decisions.” See Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: Final Report*, 4, 48-50; Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: An Evaluation*, 17, 31-35 (quotations, in order, 31, 34, 35). For additional discussion dealing with the above issues, also see Gold, *Property Tax Relief*, 61-62. For more a more recent mention of displacement via taxes, see also Richard K. Green and Elaine Weiss, “Property Tax Exemptions, Revenues, and Equity” in *Erosion of the Property Tax Base*, ed. Nancy Y., Augustine, Michael E. Bell, David Brunori, and Joan M. Youngman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2009), 55.

892 National Retired Teachers Association and American Association of Retired Persons, Proposals for a National Policy on Aging: Policy Statements of the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons for the 1971 White House Conference on Aging (Washington, D.C.: National Retired Teachers Association and American Association of Retired Persons, 1971), 25.

Here, the discussion presumably was referring to “maintenance costs” inherent in homeownership as well. 893 For example, for quotation and broader discussion here, see Chen, “Property-Tax Concessions to the Aged,” 230-33 (quotation 231). Chen also might have been the author of the overview on housing in the WHCA’s *Background and Issues* series, although I do not have documentation of this on hand. On net worth of older Americans and distinctions within, see, for example, Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 82-86; Gold, *Property Tax Relief*, 61. For interesting discussion of the privileging of homeownership for older Americans perhaps relevant here, see Ireland and Mitchell, “A Public Choice Analysis of the Demand for Property Tax Circuit-Breaker Legislation,” 383, 387-88.

property tax method means that the burden of the rapidly rising school costs falls especially heavily on the retirees living on fixed incomes,” WHCA material leading up to the 1971 conference explained. “Although hard data are not available to prove it, many school bond issues are thought to be voted down by the elderly homeowner group simply because further increases in property tax cannot be afforded; and not, as is often maintained, because the old are against education.”⁸⁹⁴ “IN THE suburbs, the influx of young families triggers a boom,” one Congressman from Pennsylvania explained in 1974. “More schools, more streets, more services are needed. Real estate prices skyrocket, forcing property taxes upward. The retired homeowners watch their tax bills go up and their savings, if any, go down.”⁸⁹⁵

However, thinking might have gone, interventions via public policy could reverse—or at least soften the effects of—such trends. “These people who live on fixed income, many of them in the poverty group, just simply cannot see their way clear to take on any additional financial obligation,” Wilbur Cohen, who had helped shape old-age entitlements over the course of several decades and presently served as an academic dean at the University of Michigan, said before a subcommittee of the Senate Special Committee on Aging in the summer of 1969. “So this trend, the State legislation recognizes the reality that senior citizens have been voting against property tax increases for educational and other local public services.”⁸⁹⁶

894 WHCA, *Background and Issues: Housing the Elderly*, 21.

895 Joseph Gaydos in the *Congressional Record*, June 24, 1973, reprinted under title “Direct Financial Aid to Elderly Homeowner Proposed” in *News-Sun*, July 5, 1974.

896 For example, see Wilbur J. Cohen in Senate Special Committee on Aging, Subcommittee on Housing for the Elderly, *Economics of Aging*, 748. On Cohen’s professional career, see Edward D. Berkowitz, *Mr. Social Security: The Life of Wilbur J. Cohen* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1995). More importantly here, for evidence connection between property-tax laws and what very well might have been financially driven opposition to schools, see WHCA, *Background and Issues: Housing the Elderly*, 22. See also Gareth Davies’ discussion of Nixon’s perspective in Gareth Davies, *See Government Grow:*

Over the course of the next decade, property-tax legislation extending favorable protections to older Americans trended across the country.⁸⁹⁷ By the mid-1970s, property-tax legislation benefiting American homeowners—and particularly *older* American homeowners—had achieved a significant scale in terms of the sheer number of states having laws, which extended varying degrees of aid via different methods. Senior-specific legislation—in which so-called “circuit-breaker programs” and “homestead exemption programs” predominated—was in place in well over half of the United States, marking the continued expansion of property-tax measures targeting older persons.⁸⁹⁸ In fact, the growth of such efforts was such that the HUD-commissioned study observed that, whether in reference to efforts for older Americans or efforts more generally, “efforts have achieved the magnitude of a major social program.”⁸⁹⁹

In the process, such efforts reflected ideas about entitlement and, in turn, the shape and boundaries of the political culture of retirement—and a political culture in which property-tax laws aimed at older Americans at the local level that resembled those at the federal level. “A sharp demarcation emerged from the interviews between states

Education Politics from Johnson to Reagan (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 206. Additional evidence makes this connection more explicitly but does so in relation to opposition based on the consumption of public schools among older voters. Although this is discussed later in this chapter, for an example of this, see Chen, “Property-Tax Concessions to the Aged,” 226.

⁸⁹⁷ For more in-depth discussion, see, for example, Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: Final Report*, 20, 21-23.

⁸⁹⁸ For various figures of states with legislation for older Americans, and for legislation overall, see the following: Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: Final Report*, 1, 3, 30; Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: A Compendium*, 11-16, esp. 13; Council of State Governments, *State Tax Relief for the Elderly: Determining the Costs* (Lexington, Kentucky: Council of State Governments 1976), 1; Ireland and Mitchell, “A Public Choice Analysis of the Demand for Property Tax Circuit Breaker Legislation,” 379-80; John H. Bowman, “Residential Property Tax Relief Measures: A Review and Assessment” in *Erosion of the Property Tax Base*, ed. Augustine, et al., 85, 87, 88-89. For a listing of programs in the mid-1970s, see, for example, Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: Final Report*, 171-207. For definitional overviews of the major forms these programs took or have taken—the homestead exemptions and circuit-breaker approaches—see, for example, Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: Final Report*, 34; Council of State Governments, 2, 3; Bowman, 88.

⁸⁹⁹ Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: Final Report*, 3.

where the property tax relief programs were regarded as ‘relief’ measures and those where benefits were viewed as a ‘right,’” one volume of the HUD study reported of evidence gathered during its investigation. “In Michigan and New Mexico, for example, the latter view prevails, even to the point where in Michigan there is strong insistence in describing the statute as the ‘Excess Property Tax Credit.’ Other states use similar terminology to convey the availability of the program’s benefits as a right, without any of the possible ‘welfare’ stigma that often attaches to the term ‘relief.’”⁹⁰⁰

Age and Class

In Sun City, Arizona, retirees inhabited a political landscape similar to that of other older Americans. As residents, various political organizations, and the local press all argued, Sun City homeowners retired on fixed incomes, meaning that they could not afford the rising costs of public education, in this case ushered in by the case of the Peoria schools. While such characterizations of residents were not untrue—many in fact *did* live on fixed incomes and had lower, limited financial resources overall—the variable of class nonetheless pervaded the political culture of the retirement community. Fixed-income politics at best simplified a more complex, layered economic order in Sun City while, in a more extreme form, provided a powerful discourse rendering such divisions all but invisible.

The financial constraints of older Americans were also the constraints of those living in Sun City. And the precarious position they occupied drew in a large part from

900 Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: A Compendium*, i, 8-9 (quotation 8), 63-64; Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: Final Report*, 83-84, 143. And illustrating the prevalence of such ideas in relation to older persons *specifically*, evidence from interviews included “a legitimate right and not subject to the stigma attached to welfare relief.” See Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: An Evaluation*, 149-50, 150 (quotation).

retirement and its implications for income levels beyond the world of work. “It must be recognized that retirement means shutting off of the steady flow of income from labor,” a *News-Sun* editorial defended Sun City in November after the 1962 bond election, calling for a more balanced view of retired residents. “The retired citizens must get along on the capital he has accumulated and the return he receives on its investment. He must be constantly worried that what appears to be an adequate amount for the rest of his life may prove suddenly to be inadequate.”⁹⁰¹

In Sun City, residents and their supporters emphasized the disconnect between the personal finances of retirees and what was unrealistic, outmoded tax policy. Writing in the 1970s, one resident of the community asserted, “A school tax levied on lifetime savings (the family home) is unfair and unjust because it is not based on the ability to pay.”⁹⁰² And, reprinted in the *News-Sun*, and thus suggesting that it likely resonated with Sun City residents, remarks made by Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater—a popular figure voters in the predominately Republican Sun City overwhelmingly supported over the years—addressed the imbalance between income and taxes facing older Americans. Speaking in 1973 in support of legislation proposing to give federal tax credits to homeowners and to *older* homeowners of a certain income level. “On an individual basis, almost one-third of the nation’s homeowners pay out more than 6 per cent of their income in property taxes, which is bad enough,” he noted. Further, he pointed out, “But

901 Editorial, “Bonds and the Retiree,” *News-Sun*, November 29, 1962. For evidence of income as limited in the 1970s, see Carol Weiler, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, September 17, 1974.

902 See P.J. Ashenbrenner, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, October 4, 1974.

the nation's 6 million elderly homeowners pay even more, an average of 8.1 per cent, and in some regions of the country almost 30 per cent, of their income in property taxes."⁹⁰³

Propelling such arguments forward with a sort of discursive fuel, Sun City and its supporters spoke of the different hardships engendered by existing expectations and practices. The narrative of residential displacement circulated in discussions of property-tax policy more broadly in Arizona, evident in constituent correspondence and in the position stated by a lobbyist affiliated with the NRTA-AARP in supporting the expansion state-level property-tax legislation to the benefit to older homeowners before the Arizona House Ways and Means committee in the mid-1970s.⁹⁰⁴ Illustrating the prevalence of this theme in relation to Sun City more directly, minutes from the late-November 1974 meeting of the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors reported that one resident who appeared "was afraid she would lose her home if taxes kept going up."⁹⁰⁵ Displacement also could be gendered. In 1974, the current head of the Sun City Taxpayers Association (SCTA), a group ultimately organized in the late 1960s by John Lanni and several others after a "failure to protect the community from the growing tax inroads of the local school district" on the part of prevailing community leadership, explained the impossibility of

903 See remarks of Barry Goldwater, from the *Congressional Record*, February 5, 1973, as published under "Tax Credit Proposal Would Relieve Elderly Homeowner" in *News-Sun*, February 13, 1973. On Sun City's support of Goldwater, see results in Sun City from, for example, the 1964 Presidential election and his 1974 Senate re-election, as reported in "Vote Favors Barry Here; Goetze Wins"; Jim Cullison, "SC-Y Go Republican to Buck Democrat Tide," *News-Sun*, November 8, 1974. And, according to Meeker on what was Goldwater's 1980 campaign effort: "In fact, Senator Barry Goldwater was losing in his last Senate re-election bid until the last precincts to report included Sun City which he carried decisively primarily due to his many speaking visits to Sun City." Meeker, "Overview," 21.

904 For example, see Mrs. Emil Witt to Jack Williams, October 26, 1968, box 581, Williams Papers. For NRTA-AARP, see discussion of bill and summary of position by Harland Ludwig, for example, in Arizona House of Representatives, Committee on Ways and Means, minutes, 32nd leg., 1st sess., April 29, 1975, 1-2, box 7, Ways and Means Committee – 1975, RG 97, SG 1, S 3, ASALPR.

905 Board of Supervisors, Maricopa County, Arizona (BOSMC), minutes, November 25, 1974. Minutes—in bound volumes—viewed at the Office of the Recorder of the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors. Although I have omitted additional information here, including pages numbers and numbers and/or titles of such bound volumes, they can be located according to given dates.

higher taxes that rising property-tax assessments brought. “IT DOESN’T mollify the little widow on Social Security, still living in the home she and her husband bought 11 years ago—and looking at an assessment that has jumped from \$14,000 in 1972 to \$31,000 in 1974—to be told that she could sell her home for \$31,000 or more today,” the SCTA’s Doug Morris argued. “She doesn’t want to sell her home; she wants to live out her days right there.”⁹⁰⁶

At the same time, class divisions could fracture the fixed-income framework advanced by policy advocates and sympathizers. With the rise of measures aimed at older Americans, some sought to check the amount of support actually granted, offering degrees tied to the financial status or income level of older persons. Opining in light of one proposed benefits hike to Social Security in 1972, the *News-Sun* in part argued that “The program is far too costly for the American public in general to afford the luxury of giving money to those already living in luxury.”⁹⁰⁷ In terms of property taxes, a credit for older American homeowners and renters unveiled by the Nixon administration in 1973 offered benefits—but only up to certain levels, according to the International Association of Assessing Officers: “The credit would be gradually phased out for those whose household income exceeded \$15,000 and eliminated entirely for those whose

⁹⁰⁶ On rise of the SCTA, see Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 125; “Lanni to Investigate Bond Ballots, Seeks to Organize Taxpayer Group,” *News-Sun*, April 16, 1969; S. Grant Conner, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 23, 1969; Sun City Taxpayers Association, “Sun City Past, Present, and Future,” n.d., 1 (first quotation), “Demographics 1960 - 1989” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. John Lanni in part directly criticized SCHOA, plus the SCTA document refers to “a civic association,” though probably is referring to SCHOA since the SCCA ceased to exist as this point. For second quotation in text, see Doug Morris quoted in “County Assessor Cancels Tax Assistance Days Here,” *News-Sun*, February 15, 1974. For evidence of broader use of language of “widows,” see Jeanne Evans, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, September 27, 1974. This is not to suggest, however, that many older persons were *not* widows. For example, see again, Mrs. Emil Witt to Jack Williams.

⁹⁰⁷ Editorial, “Social Security Crossroad,” *News-Sun*, March 7, 1972. For similar invoking of class and benefits, earlier at the end of 1960s, see also editorial, “Social Security Heads Up,” *News-Sun*, December 31, 1969.

household income exceeded \$25,000.”⁹⁰⁸ And as the *Los Angeles Times* reported on events in California’s capitol in 1974, “In his veto message,” it explained, referring to Governor Ronald Reagan and legislation he blocked, “the governor said he objected to the Wilson bill on the basis of its increased cost and charged it would remove the means test, “thereby extending the program to senior citizens who can well afford to pay property taxes.”⁹⁰⁹

The particular methods that tax legislation took reflected several, seemingly interrelated concerns. The author of a 1970s study of the property-tax policies that had swept the nation, one scholar explained in relation to the “circuit breaker” approach, the form California in fact employed towards the end of 1974: “The rationale for having an upper limit is to target relief to those believed to be in greatest need.”⁹¹⁰ After all, one scholar of property-tax policy explains, the factoring in of the variable of income was one feature in—if not helping to bring about—the broader shift from the overly inclusive homestead exemptions of the Depression era to *postwar* property-tax relief.

“Specifically,” he writes, “the movement of the 1950s and 1960s targeted need in terms of income and old age (a proxy for need), generally limiting property tax relief to elderly

908 See Peter Milius, “President’s Proposed Tax Reform Package Sent to Congress,” *Washington Post*, May 1, 1973; “Nixon Proposes Tax Credit for Elderly,” *IAAO Newsletter: International Association of Assessing Officers* 39: 5 (May 1973): [73] (quotation). These figures are for homeowners. Additionally, the stipulation of a \$500 cap might suggest another way in which the measure sought to impose limits.

909 Jerry Gillam, “Senate Fails to Override Reagan Vetoes on School Aid, Tax Relief: Ends Democratic Hopes of Second Defeat for Governor,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 3, 1974. For initial mention and specifics of the legislation, see legislation as reported in California’s *Sun City News* as recounted in Editorial, “Liberalizing Exemptions,” *News-Sun*, December 20, 1974. Discussion of the necessity of limits tied to economic differences within the aging masses surfaced during the WHCA in 1961: “The conferees agreed that in the case of the financially incapable persons, some form of local tax abatement is in order, the report on the “Section on Housing” at the 1961 WHCA concluded, “but they generally looked with disfavor on the idea as a general proposition where those of financial competence are concerned.” White House Conference on Aging, *The Nation and Its Older People*, 183.

910 Gold, *Property Tax Relief*, 59-60 (first quotation at 59, second at 60). For California’s circuit-breaker program at this point in time, see, for example, “Appendix” in Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: Final Report*, 165, 167, 181, 184.

homeowners with incomes below a given level.”⁹¹¹ A study put out by the Council of State Governments in the mid-1970s outlined characteristics of relief programs and their implications in terms of an overarching goal of “balance between social equity and government cost-effectiveness”: “Automatic age-related tax relief assumes, in essence, that a person has earned benefits as a result of living past his 65th year. Income-adjusted tax relief assumes that poor older people are just like poor people of any age, only more so. *In general, income-adjusted relief programs are less costly than automatic relief programs because they involve fewer beneficiaries.*”⁹¹²

Homestead and circuit-breaker methods specifically diverged on this critical point. “Although income may be a criterion of eligibility, it is not actually used to determine the amount of relief the claimant will receive,” the HUD study explained in relation to the former; in the case of the latter, however, “income of the claimant is used to determine both eligibility and the amount of relief each household will receive.”⁹¹³ The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations suggested in a 1975 report that this key factor shaped who would get relief, how much, and what it would take to pay for it all: “In comparison with the circuit-breaker’s ‘rifle’ approach, which can fine tune tax relief to the particular circumstances of individuals, the homestead exemption scatters relief shotgun style to those with relatively light property taxes as well as to those truly in need of relief, thereby needlessly sacrificing property tax revenues and driving up

911 Bowman, “Residential Property Tax Relief Measures,” 83, 85 (quotation), 86-87.

912 Council of State Governments, *State Tax Relief for the Elderly*, 1 (first quotation), 3 (second quotation) (emphasis added).

913 For quotation, see Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: Final Report*, 16n1. For discussion of key differences elsewhere, see, for example, Abt Associates, 28-29, 34, 73, 76; Bowman, “Residential Property Tax Relief Measures,” 87-88.

the costs of tax relief.”⁹¹⁴ Entering the policy landscape via Wisconsin’s 1964 circuit breaker, the ascendancy of this approach in 1960s—and the 1970s, in particular—might have stemmed from its ability to control for these considerations.⁹¹⁵

Present in policy discussions was the recognition of class divisions. In *The Elderly Arizonan*, an official committee of older residents set up at mid-decade to review various aspects involving aging in the state decided that, among the different methods it discussed, “these approaches to property tax relief for those citizens over 65 should not be across the board but that they should be the subject to some limitation on income. It was recognized that the affluent among the elderly do not need the property tax relief that the low income elderly need.”⁹¹⁶

In Sun City, various interests representing the community similarly approved the rationing of relief along class lines. A state senator representing Sun City supported property-tax legislation under consideration in early 1973 particularly for “elderly persons who are on fixed *low* incomes” and “*low* income, elderly couples.”⁹¹⁷ More

914 Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Property Tax Circuit-Breakers: Current Status and Policy Issues* (Washington, D.C.: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1975), 2. For additional discussion of issues of appropriate distribution and budgeting, see, for example, Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: Final Report*, 4-5, 29, 73, 76, 78, 146; *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: An Evaluation*, 1, 2, 64, 73, 74; ; *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: A Compendium*, 1-2, 76-79; Council of State Government, *State Tax Relief for the Elderly*, 2; Gold, *Property Tax Relief*, 72, 90-91, 314, 318.

915 This seems to be a basic point that Gold made elsewhere: “Circuit-breakers provided a relatively inexpensive mechanism for doing something about the property tax. It has always been politically popular to assist beleaguered senior citizens, and the circuit-breaker made it possible to ‘target’ relief to those who are considered ‘most needy,’ households with low incomes.” See Steven D. Gold, “Circuit-Breakers and Other Relief Measures,” in “The Property Tax and Local Finance,” *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, 35, no. 1 (1983): 150. On the rise of Wisconsin’s circuit-breaker in 1964 and beyond, see Ireland and Mitchell, “A Public Choice Analysis of the Demand for Property Tax Circuit-Breaker Legislation,” 379-80; Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: Final Report*, 28-29; Gold, *Property Tax Relief*, 56, 73n5; Bowman, “Residential Property Tax Relief Measures,” 87-88, 89.

916 R. Alice Drought, ed., *The Elderly Arizonan* (Phoenix, Arizona: Governor’s Task Force on Retirement and Aging, 1976), 22-23 (quotation 23). On background of, see Harry Holland, “Preface,” n.p.; 1.

917 Fred Koory Jr., “Koory Advocates Bill to Cut Golden Agers’ Property Tax,” *News-Sun*, February 13, 1973 (all emphasis added). For same or similar legislation, also see Fred Koory Jr., “Bill Allows Income Tax Credits for Elderly,” *News-Sun*, September 3, 1974.

directly, a subsequent editorial in the *News-Sun* glowingly wrote glowingly of the legislation for its implications both for the Peoria schools and for the less wealthy especially. “It does what we had proposed—cut the tax burden of the group which has proven most vulnerable to inflation. But it does it in a selective manner, applying the most tax relief to those who need tax relief the most.” Continuing, it elaborated on the critical difference between categorical and class-based efforts: “Taking the Sun City situation as an example, the average per capita income here is higher than the average for the state as a whole. That means there are a lot of Sun Citians, even though they may have passed their 65th birthdays, who are just as able as anyone else in Arizona to share the cost of government. They don’t need special help, and they won’t get it under this bill. Those who do need help will get it.”⁹¹⁸ However, the actual recognition of distinctions of economic class in Sun City, large or small, was an entirely separate matter.

Class Politics

Whether or not Sun Citizens had sufficient financial means in relation to property taxes, and Peoria school taxes in particular, was the subject of debate in Sun City and the metropolitan area. Both critics and defenders of the retirement community struggled to define what the financial capacity of those living in Sun City really was. In 1973, the

918 Continuing further, it specifically addressed schools: “This could mean a great deal to young families in the Peoria School District, too, because of the effect it will have upon the financing of school construction.” See editorial, “Tax Relief Idea Superb,” *News-Sun*, March 2, 1973. Both Koory, Jr., and the *News-Sun* would at later points call for adjusting coverage upwards, the latter insisting that May that “the exemption limits are not liberal enough.” See editorial, “Bond Issue Observations,” *News-Sun*, May 11, 1973 (quotation); editorial, “Senior Citizen Clout,” *News-Sun*, October 9, 1973; Koory’s position as described in editorial, “Exemption Roadblock,” *News-Sun*, December 13, 1974; “Liberalizing Exemptions.” For other legislation—an “exemption” benefit—discussed in relation to cost, also see Olin R. Evans, “Tax Exemption Bill for over 65s May Have Tough Time: Lewis,” *News-Sun*, February 25, 1975. For an example of a letter to the editor similarly distinguishing between income differences in Sun City in discussing bond-issue politics, see A.W. Dickey, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, September 27, 1974.

average income of \$13,000 appeared in several instances, with those who advanced the figure holding it out as a sort of proof-of-means, provoking—of course—refutations.⁹¹⁹ One Sun City resident insisted in a letter to the editor in the *Arizona Republic* insisted that “a large number of residents are living on Social Security and pensions which are considerably below the \$13,000 level. Any additional tax would impose a hardship upon those people.”⁹²⁰ Meanwhile, a study that same year conducted by a market research firm on behalf of a Phoenix-area bank found a disconnect from the Sun City perspective.

919 The debate around this was recapitulated by another *News-Sun* editorial in which the newspaper asserted the reasonableness and fairness of the 1973 legislation for less fortunate retirees. The figure itself appeared in a handful of instances, including one Sun City resident wrote, criticizing fellow residents for failing to support the local school district in the wake of Ira Murphy’s resignation. Ira Murphy, in a program on the Peoria school crisis aired on a Phoenix television station in March 1973, apparently iterated the \$13,000 figure as well, though it was refuted, actually linking the affordability of Sun City to the promise of low school taxes, while two other persons attributed the figure to a state senator from Scottsdale, also challenging it: “Bond Issues Observations”; Marian C. Buntings [?], letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, January [30?], 1973; Mrs. H. Gray, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, February 9, 1973; Mrs. Oscar O. Giffen, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 13, 1973; Mrs. Dallas Marshall, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 17, 1973; Ben Waxelbaum, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 1, 1973. For title and information, including date aired, of program on the Peoria schools, see “Television Highlights” and “MONDAY-FRIDAY Daytime SCHEDULE,” *Casa Grande (AZ) Dispatch*, March 16, 1973, last accessed September 6, 2013, at <http://newspaperarchive.com/casa-grande-dispatch/1973-03-16/page-9>. Pam Stevenson, formerly with KOOL-TV of Phoenix, Arizona, alerted me to this document, first in 2009, during the course of my research, although time and resource constraints by the time I located a copy several years later prevented me from viewing it. A copy, however, is located in the KOOL collection at the Arizona Historical Society at Papago Park.

920 L.Q. Yowell, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, November 16, 1973. While I return to the spatial politics of Sun City—across its development—later in this chapter, see the following for additional evidence, which also comes from a document I cite immediately below. Discussion in one study revolved around a similar, though slightly different figure: “Phase one respondents felt \$13,500 (their mean income figure) was quite high. They did not have that kind of money coming in. It was also the opinion of these respondents that many Sun City residents exist on little more than their Social Security checks.” See Behavior Research Center (BRC), Consumer Division, *Sun City Consumer Discussion Panel*, prepared for James Brady, Valley National Bank, ([1973?]), 6, folder 1. box 14, Behavior Research Center, Inc. Collection, Arizona Historical Foundation. Handwriting on the cover of this document identifies it as “73579.” Although my copy does not indicate a date, the finding aid—which might have been created during a re-processing or re-organization of the collection—identifies it as 1973 for what presumably was this same document: http://www.ahfweb.org/download/BRC_MSS_144.pdf (last accessed September 14, 2013). And the folder and box numbers above differ from those indicated according to the preceding linked finding aid, which place it as folder 12, box 6—which might be related to any such re-processing or re-organizing from when I initially viewed the document. The figure discussed above presumably was part of the same—or at least a related—discussion of Sun City affluence given that the study mentioned “the average mean income of Sun City residents as reported recently in local newspapers.” See again (BRC), Consumer Division, *Sun City Consumer Discussion Panel*, 6.

“Sun City residents do not see themselves as wealthy as other people claim,” it observed. “However, most admit to a fairly comfortable existence.”⁹²¹

However accurate, criticism focused on a gap between rhetoric and perceived reality. A letter to the editor of the *Arizona Republic* in the winter of 1969 criticized what he called “the cane, crutch and Cadillac crew from Sun City,” or “the Three C Club of Sun City,” which in the process of attacking residents on the grounds of aging through the mocking use of symbols of reduced physical capacity also employed the idea or image of a luxury-vehicle make to underscore the apparent affluence of retirees in Webb’s development.⁹²² One Sun City resident took aim at fellow retirees in the retirement community when Ira Murphy resigned from the Peoria district by pointing to various indicators of affluence in the form of various car models and more expensive homes, describing it as a “city of Cadillacs, LTDs, Broughams, and two-bedroom, two-bath homes.”⁹²³

One letter to the editor of the Peoria newspaper later in 1973 dismissed the fixed-income argument specifically and directly via similar means. “Oh, come on now! A fixed income? No way. In Sun City no less?” Pointing instead to the symbols of the desirable brand of retirement available in Sun City, she wrote, “I wish I had the kind of income that would allow me to lead your ‘impoverished’ way of life — Sun Bowl, golf courses, swimming pools, etc.”⁹²⁴ A Glendale woman writing at the same time also contrasted image and reality in the case of Sun City, that their “incomes are apparently

921 BRC, Sun City Consumer Discussion Panel, 1.

922 John Pratt, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, February 28, 1969.

923 Buntings [?] letter to the editor, January [30?], 1973. For one Sun City resident refuting this, see again Mrs. H. Gray letter to the editor, February 6, 1973. For similar refutation on the point of vehicles, see Warren F. Godbold, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, November 6, 1973.

924 Kathy Hayden, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, October 26, 1973. Same or similar letter published as Kathy Hayden, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, October 22, 1973.

‘fixed’ at such a high level that they can afford to buy \$50,000 homes.”⁹²⁵ Even on the national stage, Sun City—or Sun City-type developments—became a shorthand for a more privileged population of older Americans. Covering the rise of property-tax legislation, a 1974 article in the *New York Times* drew the following contrast: “Elderly homeowners and tenants, most of whom cannot begin to afford the ‘Sun Cities’ and posh retirement communities, are now finding some measure of tax relief in those states.”⁹²⁶

Here, celebration of the development’s desirable retirement environment came back to haunt the community, the amenities of the development serving as centerpieces in a critique of consumerism, Sun City-style—what might have been a sort of modern-day form of “Conspicuous Consumption.”⁹²⁷ Exposing apparent inconsistencies at the heart of the Sun City vision for retirement, the political thrust the cultural into a bright and blinding spotlight. DEVCO, after all, had played up the issue of apparent affluence. “You’ve never seen anything like beautiful Sun City . . . even in the most luxurious resorts,” one advertisement from the mid-1960s explained. “But it only *looks* expensive. There’s a home or apartment in Sun City designed for every budget . . . *all* the facilities are yours for just about a nickel a day!”⁹²⁸ In the minds of critics, though, image was everything.

925 Mrs. Sue Randle, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, October 26, 1973.

926 Cray, “Tax Relief for the Elderly in Focus.”

927 My invoking of this phrase of Veblen, and more broadly the idea and ideas to which I draw a rough parallel here, come from Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899; Viking, 1967; New York: Penguin Books, 1979). In particular, see the following chapters in Veblen: “Pecuniary Emulation,” 22-34; “Conspicuous Leisure,” 35-67; “Conspicuous Consumption,” 68-101. Quotation in text comes, for example, from the title of this last chapter. And for evidence in addition to that in the preceding paragraphs, see also the following—which I utilize later in this chapter as well: Jesse S. Hise, Sr., letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, February 26, 1969.

928 Del E. Webb Development Co., “From the Very First Day” in “Advertising Proofs 1965-66” scrapbook, SCHAS. Identified as having appeared in *Arizona Republic-Phoenix Gazette*, May 16, 30, 1965. For similar language, see DEVCO “5 Myths That May Have Kept You from Living in Sun City,” also in “Advertising Proofs 1965-66” scrapbook. For discussion of the simultaneity of “affordability and

Additional refutation of Sun City claims came in the form of attention to Sun City's collective wealth. In a letter to state senator Sandra D. O'Connor in early 1973, Peoria's Ira Murphy refuted the "limited incomes" claim, among other points. Instead, he pointed to Sun City's relative wealth, evident by several measures: "Sun City has more than \$300,000,000 on deposit in banks and savings and loan companies. Family incomes for 1972 totaled \$158,000,000. The net worth of Sun City residents listed at \$1,505,000,000."⁹²⁹

Critics were partly correct in their assessments. On one hand, the incomes of many *retired* residents were "fixed" in the sense that upward economic mobility via employment was no longer possible. Then there was inflation, perhaps pertaining to another way in which incomes were "fixed."⁹³⁰ On the other hand, among the points the *News-Sun* questioned prior to the last bond election in 1974 addressed the following: "Many Sun Citians are backed against the wall by inflation and have no means to cope with rising costs' is another contention. Costs have risen dramatically and frighteningly, but there have been some offsetting factors, including a series of increases in Social Security benefits."⁹³¹ Furthermore, some fared reasonably well financially, at least in relative terms; "It," Findlay writes in his account of Sun City of "mean household

luxury," in March Freedman's words, see discussion of Freedman on this point and of my own evidence in Chapter 3. For Freedman quotation here, see again Freedman, *Prime Time*, 62.

929 Ira A. Murphy to Sandra D. O'Connor, January 23, 1973, 2 (first quotation), 3 (second quotation), in "Education - Public School Finance in Arizona" folder, box 2, RG 97, SG 6, O'Connor, Sandra D., AZALPR. For other points and refutation, see 2-3.

930 See again excellent discussion by John Findlay on this point: Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 207.

931 Editorial, "Bond Issue Reflections," *News-Sun*, October 4, 1974. For position of the newspaper on bond issues, see Burt Freireich's account in Freireich, interview. The editor also corrected a letter from a Youngtown resident who spoke of "our Social Security staying the same" in the face of taxes. See E. Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, November 9, 1973. However, for an interesting recent discussion on the meanings and realities of the "fixed income" and how even COLAs fall short, see Lynn O'Shaughnessy, "Rising Prices Hammer Seniors on Fixed Incomes," *USA Today*, first published July 1, 2008, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/money/perfi/retirement/2008-07-01-retiree-fixed-income_N.htm (last accessed September 6, 2013).

income,” “always exceeded the average for American retirees, but each year’s cohort of buyers tended to be wealthier than the previous year’s. In 1969 the average family income in Sun City stood at \$8,820 per year—about twice that of the average retired couple in the Phoenix area. At the same time, the average family income of new buyers for that year topped \$11,000.”⁹³²

And yet, critics were only half-right. Sun City overall might have fared well in comparison to the outside world, but *within* the retirement community class divided residents along social and economic lines.⁹³³ Though he ultimately concluded that “Sun City does not have the differences of wealth and position found in a normal community, and the residents do tend to disregard those differences that exist,” Calvin Trillin nonetheless had pointed out, for example, “There is a lingering social distinction between

932 Findlay, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 189. Melanie Sturgeon also makes this point in excellent analysis in discussing Sun City in relation both to schools and to the community more generally. For the former, see her discussion of “migration researchers,” which she juxtaposes with Sun City in order to call into question opposition there to schools: Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 153. And for literature to which she perhaps is referring, see Sturgeon on work of the following: Jeanne C. Biggar, “Who Moved among the Elderly, 1965-1970,” *Research on Aging* 2, no. 1 (March 1980): 73-91, and Judith W. Meyer and Alden Speare, Jr., “Distinctively Elderly Mobility: Types and Determinants,” *Economic Geography* 61, no. 2 (1985): 79-88 [esp. 87?], cited in Sturgeon, 28-29. For general point, also see Sturgeon 34. For the latter, meanwhile, first see Census figures as discussed and cited, as well as overall trend described, in Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 139, 140, 141; similar figure cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 189. And for last figure from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population, Volume I: Characteristics of the Population, Part 4: Arizona* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1973), “Table 198: Income in 1969 of Families by Type of Family, and Age, Race, and Sex of Head: 1970,” 625. For a similar comparison using different figures, see also discussion in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 189. For comparisons for 1960, in which Sun City previously had higher incomes as well, see Census and other figures as discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 136-37. For discussion of figures from the early 1960s, as reported by Calvin Trillin, from Webb, along with those from 1960 Census information she cites, see Trillin and Census figures as discussed and cited in Sturgeon, 89-90. For additional figures of Sun City income in the early 1960s—higher than this—see those cited in Emanuel N. Turano, “Site Selection and Development,” 8c, and Lawrence Naylor III, “Conventional Financing,” 2h, both in NCOA, *Building for Older People*.

933 This is an overall point that scholarship on Sun City has made. For example, as ASU geographer Patricia Gober wrote in the 1980s: “The monolithic view of Sun City as a homogenous place is inaccurate. Sun City is divided into social districts based on age, socioeconomic status and, to a certain extent, lifestyle.” Gober, “The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 194. And for Findlay making this point as well, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 189. Other accounts dealing with same or similar issues cited below.

members of the Community Center and members of Town Hall, since Town Hall not only is more luxurious than the Community Center but also does not reciprocate the Community Center policy of keeping its events open to members of both. Moreover, since the Town Hall district, being more recent, has somewhat more expensive houses than those in the Community Center district, many people believe the former to have somewhat wealthier residents.”⁹³⁴

Furthermore, in his case study of the community John Findlay examines the transformation of Sun City set in motion at mid-decade—a transformation that ushered in a Sun City, 2.0, which, in turn, led to greater internal disparities within the community.⁹³⁵ It was part of a series of steps taken by DEVCO in response to sales that had plummeted over the first half of the decade—and that had prompted Webb to part ways with Joe Ashton and Tom Breen, personnel integral to the early development of Sun City.⁹³⁶ And,

934 Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 155-56. For additional important evidence of surfacing of class in Sun City, to which I return below, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 189. For “Fun City,” see Jacobs, *Fun City*, 46-47. But see also 65-66 for positive side. And from Florida, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 220. On “Sun City as classless,” see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 178 (quotation), 187, 189.

935 On transformation of Sun City, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 181-92; Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 4. Findlay, for example, points out shift away from an earlier approach to Sun City that looked like this: “The company had initially conceived of Sun City was a fancier version of the retirement village, but it still regarded the development as housing for people with relatively low incomes.” Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 182. What it moved towards, and why, discussed, for example, on pp. 182, 183, which I return to below as well. For important accounts also discussing the broader shift, see in particular Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 101, 103-4; Peter Wiley and Robert Gottlieb, *Empires in the Sun: The Rise of the New American West* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1982), 184; Gober, “The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 192; VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 212-213. On such differences, see also discussion in Zonn and Zube, “Sun City as Suburban Landscape,” 20, 22-23. However, see also 23.

936 For accounts explicitly linking changes to the downturn in sales, see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 181, 182-83; Wiley and Gottlieb, *Empires in the Sun*, 184; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 80; VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 212. For sales figures see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 181; “Summary of Earnings” in Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” app. 7; “Sun City, Arizona: New Sales” [?] in Meeker, Appendix 9; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 13, 18, 25, 28, 31, 35. For decline more generally, see also Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 116-17; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 231; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 212. For context of homebuilding in Phoenix into which Sun City’s sales in the 1960s and also the 1970s might fit, see VanderMeer, 195, 196.

On such personnel changes, see, for example, Findlay, if including Breen: Findlay, 183. For other accounts, see Meeker, “Overview,” 5; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 32; Meeker, interview, 5;

in fact, Jacobson's own exit followed not long after, amid a context in which the company's development activities that had taken off in the early 1960s soon entered a nearly catastrophic financial stall; Webb's falling profits culminated in what *House & Home* described as an "an astounding \$13.4 million loss," and the corporation made different efforts to address the situation during a turbulent 1965, taking such steps as unloading land in the California Sun City and walking away from once-promising planned community of Clear Lake City in Texas.⁹³⁷ Replacing what John Meeker—who

"Four New Vice Presidents Named; Leave of Absence Announced for J.R. Ashton," *Webb Spinner* 17, no. 4 (April 1963): 12; "Officers Elected, Promotions Made by Webb Firm," *WS* 19, no. 3-4 (March-April 1965): 3. Ashton was last listed in the company's annual report as an officer in the 1962 report: Del E. Webb Corporation, *1962 Annual Report to Stockholders*, n.p.. Ashton and Breen would remain active in residential development after leaving Webb, undertaking various ventures and both eventually serving in different capacities for another homebuilder, Hallcraft Homes, headquartered in Phoenix and operating in Denver and several California markets: "Realty Developers Merge in the West," *Los Angeles Times*, September 16, 1966; Breen in "Of Real Estate & People," *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1969; "Phoenix Builder Enters Southland Market," *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1972.

937 On Jacobson, first see—if including Jacobson—Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 183. Furthermore, see, for example, Meeker, "A Look Back, 1959-1981," 32; Meeker, interview, 5; Boswell, interview, 16; who presumably was Jacobson in Jacobson and Breen, 19; "Del E. Webb's President to Head Casinos," *Los Angeles Times*, December 31, 1965; "Management: Jacobson Resigns All Positions with the Del E. Webb Corp." in "Business & Finance," *Los Angeles Times*, January 21, 1966; "1966 Brings Consolidations, Promotions, Management Changes to Webb Company," *The Webb Spinner* 20, no. 1 (January 1966): 8, first cited in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 109; "L.C. Jacobson Leaves Sahara-Nevada Post," *The Webb Spinner* 20, no. 2 (February 1966): 8; Del E. Webb, "To Our Stockholders," March 28, 1966, in Del E. Webb Corporation, *1965 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 2; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 231; "Housing Drop-Off" in "News," *House & Home* 29, no. 2 (February 1966): 16; "Publicly Held Companies: A Sprinkle of Red Ink Dampens Housing's Quest for Capital," *House & Home* 30, no. 1 (July 1966): 89; discussion, including who presumably was Jacobson, in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 21-22; Sederberg and Lawrence, "Del Webb, the Bashful Barnum"; Scott, "Jacobson Built an Extraordinary Life" [?]. On tensions between Jacobson and Webb, see, for example, Roy Drachman cited/quoted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 107-8; "Del Webb, the Bashful Barnum"; Arelo Sederberg, "Del Webb's Gamble in Las Vegas Pays Off," *Los Angeles Times*, February 26, 1967. Also perhaps relevant here, see also Sederberg and Lawrence. On financial health of the Webb Corporation by mid-decade, see again Meeker, interview 5; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 105-7; Sederberg and Lawrence; Sederberg; "Housing Drop-Off"; "Publicly Held Companies." Further, annual corporate reports discussed below illustrate financial problems in greater detail. For context of mid-decade, see also, for example, Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 105-107.

For downward trajectory, as illustrated by relevant accounts, see the following: Webb Corporation, *1962 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 5; Webb and Jacobson, "To Our Stockholders," March 30, 1964, in Webb Corporation, *1963 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 4, plus 7; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, who makes the point about Las Vegas in relation to 1964, in *Del Webb*, 105; Jacobson and Webb, "To Our Stockholders," March 30, 1965, in Webb Corporation, *1964 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 2, and also 8, 9; "Publicly Held Companies: A Sprinkle of Red Ink Dampens Housing's Quest for Capital," *House & Home* 30, no. 1 (July 1966): 89 (quotation); Sederberg and Lawrence, "Del Webb, the Bashful Barnum"; Del E. Webb, "To Our Stockholders," March 28, 1966, in Webb Corporation, *1965 Annual*

had replaced Breen—later described as “the lowest possible priced home” with more upscale housing throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s, Sun City increasingly was made up of multiple Sun Cities, in terms of not only the greater financial means of buyers of new homes but of the relationship between income and *address* as the development grew, both within the balance of land in “Phase I” and, on the opposite—north—side of Grand Avenue, in “Phase II.”⁹³⁸

The splintering of Sun City surfaced in qualitative terms as well, in the perspectives of residents of different areas of Sun City. The firm conducting market research in Sun City in 1973 reported, “Phase One respondents generally feel an overt class system is not in existence. However, one does exist, separating the moneyed and non-moneyed people.” And among responses it excerpted, one resident explained: “We

Report to Stockholders, 1, 2, 8. Also, *House & Home* reported that losses in 1965 were linked to retirement development, with the exception of the Arizona project apparently: “A spokesman blamed a sales slowdown at the company’s Florida and California Sun Cities.” See again “Housing Drop-Off,” 16. For Meeker on these projects, plus Kern City, and his criticisms of them, see Meeker, interview, 5, 15-16; Meeker, “Overview,” 2-4, 5; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 11-12, 22-24. For management around mid-decade, also see Sederberg and Lawrence; Sederberg, “Del Webb’s Gamble in Las Vegas Pays Off.” Additionally, for account previously cited providing discussion of context of mid-decade, see again Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 105-107.

⁹³⁸ My overview and discussion of these parallel changes is largely based on Findlay’s analysis in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 183-89, esp. 189. For “Phase I” and “Phase II” as quoted in text, see 186. For other important accounts dealing with changes in various ways, see Gober, “The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 194, 196, fig. 7; Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 101, 103-104, 136-37; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 232; Wiley and Gottlieb, *Empires in the Sun*, 184; VanderMeer, *Phoenix Rising*, 67; VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 212-13; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 85. For mention of change, also see Abbott, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 70. Sturgeon notes: “The differences in the quality of homes are readily apparent the farther north of Grand Avenue one goes. DEVCO changed the advertising thrust from ‘country-club atmosphere’ to ‘resort-retirement community’ sometime in the 1960s as they focused on higher income groups.” See Sturgeon, 113n83. And for accounts of Meeker and others, see, for example, Meeker, “Overview,” 9-11, 24 (quotation in text), 25; Meeker, Interview, 16-17, 27; Svendsen, interview. Also, for rise of Meeker, see, for example, Meeker, “Overview,” 5; Meeker, interview, 5; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 32, also 37; “Officers Elected, Promotions Made by Webb Firm,” 3; “Meeker Breaks Record,” *The Webb Spinner* 19, no. 5-6 (May-June 1965): 11; “1966 Brings Consolidations, Promotions, Management Changes to Webb Company,” 8; Webb Corporation, *1965 Annual Report to Stockholders*, 1.

in Phase One are often referred to as the (Social Security Side) and the other side has become known as (Snob Hill).”⁹³⁹

School taxes would, to some extent, mirror such divisions. “Indeed, some communities with large numbers of elderly find it very difficult to pass school bonds because of the opposition of elderly voters,” the California study acknowledged in the mid-1960s. But, it suggested, privilege prevailed in the upholding of the public good: “However, the fact that only the top 15 percent of the elderly income group can afford to live in retirement communities makes the economic pressures on political behavior somewhat less compelling than the social pressures to appear public spirited.”⁹⁴⁰ Greater financial means thus presumably would correspond to greater electoral support for such taxes. But evidence from election results in Sun City revealed a different relationship—and one illustrated by geography. As the *News-Sun* reported in the wake of the 1974 bond election for issues for the elementary and high school districts, the elementary issue passed in the district at large, though neither won approval in Sun City or Youngtown. But between and *within* the retirement communities, not all disapproval was equal. “A trend spotted last year,” it stated “continued this year: Stronger opposition to the bonds is

939 BRC, *Sun City Consumer Discussion Survey*, 4. For additional evidence of distinctions within Sun City, see also, for example, Zella Wilson, interview by Melanie Sturgeon, February 8, 1992, C216, partial transcription by author of cassette tape and summary and “Synopsis” in SCAHS, “Oral History Project,” bk. 2, SCAHS; Svendsen, interview; Svendsen, “Synopsis,” 2; Margaret Mulholland, interview by Melanie Sturgeon, September 20, 1991, C206, partial transcription by author, and summary and “Synopsis” first consulted in SCAHS, “Oral History Project,” bk. 2, SCAHS. For distinctions between Sun City and Youngtown, including perspective of the latter, see Meeker, interview, 28. For class divisions in Sun City Center, Florida, both over time and within, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 217-18, 218-19, 220-21, 222, 222-23. And for a letter to the editor of the *News-Sun*, see also Hazel Wulff, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, March 27, 1973. For the lakes and recreation center, see Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 47, 49, 52, 55, 56, 58.

940 Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 56-58 (quotation 58).

being shown in the newer parts of Sun City than in than in the older, less wealthy parts.”⁹⁴¹

Retirement as Homeownership

The rejection of support for schools amongst retirement-community residents who voted accordingly in local elections thus calls into question the limited-income argument, particularly when factoring class into the equation. One explanation of this apparent paradox might involve the formation of a broader age-based political culture in the face of retirement cutting across socioeconomic lines. It is certainly possible that anxieties about economics, in other words, did not always correspond to financial disadvantage.⁹⁴² For example, in explaining the Sun City perspective in the tensions between residents and DEVCO over rising utility costs in the early 1960s, SCHOA’s president told Calvin Trillin that “Everybody out here is on a fixed income, large or small.”⁹⁴³ In a study of

941 See Don Rosebrock, “Huber Eyes Solutions to High School Problem,” *News-Sun*, October 11, 1974. See also trend as recounted by Peoria participant in groups dealing with school-bond matters: Joann Leiby in BOSMC, minutes, November 25, 1974, 306. On geography of opposition in 1973, see “‘Don’t Know What We’ll Do Now,’ Says Huber,” *News-Sun*, October 19, 1973. More specifically, while the elementary issue nearly passed in Youngtown, it failed more decisively in Sun City. Even more, it failed in every polling station in Phase II by a higher margin than any in Phase I, which held true for the combined results from both issues. Results from Youngtown, as well as two locations in Phase II, reported in Rosebrock, “Huber Eyes Solutions to High School Problem”; comments of spokesperson again from November 1974 session of the County Board of Supervisors; calculations made by author for elementary and combined issues using addresses of locations and results listed in “Polling Places Listed,” *News-Sun*, October 4, 1974, and “Bond Election Returns” figure in Rosebrock, respectively. And, see also Sturgeon on this point about relative affluence, previously cited in places as well: Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 153-154.

Nor was the eclipsing of age by class limited to Sun City. As one study of retirement communities in New Jersey in the 1970s pointed out, differing degrees of opposition existed within an overall opposition to school funding. See Dennis Richardson, *The Impact of Retirement Communities: Summary Report* (1974), 12-14, 31-32, 33. However, for evidence indicating trends to the contrary, see Butler, *Why Survive?*, 110.

942 On this point, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 207.

943 SCHOA’s Louis Inwood quoted in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 124, 130 (quotation). After all, regardless of *relative* wealth, incomes were lower for many, if not all, retired Americans, thus perhaps helping to shape a political culture revolving around economic issues and particular to older persons, as Arnold Rose seemingly was suggesting in his explication of a “subculture” rising amongst older Americans: “With income from occupation gone, the variation in incomes from investments, pensions, and Social Security tend to be significantly less for most persons than were previous incomes from occupations,

another retirement community, the sociologist who investigated “Fun City” observed, “Some independently wealthy persons were as concerned (perhaps more concerned) about their future financial security on a fixed income than those who really had something to worry about.”⁹⁴⁴

Another possible explanation is that opposition grew out of not simply the politics of retirement but of self-interested economics more generally, promoted through a less age-specific political culture promoting both elevated property values and limited property taxes. Tax matters could blur—and build anew—boundaries between age and class. Sun City residents in the 1970s resisted any plans for overhauling the financing of public schools in Arizona that would have resulted in higher taxes for the retirement community. Political positions taken in Sun City revolved around a more provincial and spatially immediate politics protecting the financial benefits particular to Sun City as a housing market—rather than a more broadly defined, age-based politics centering on the collective financial constraints of older Americans.

In 1970, the *Phoenix Gazette* apparently ran an editorial calling for funding schools at the state rather than the local level, paralleling a broader movement of “equalization” described by the *News-Sun*, which ultimately would narrow inequality gaps amongst school districts but in the process also undermine an already relatively low tax rate in Peoria. The SCTA publicly spoke of opposition to “the shifting of and leveling of all school taxes,” implicitly or not, seemingly leveraging the appealing cost-benefit equation surrounding retirement communities as a justification—a logic on which the organization would rely later in the decade in seeking preferential tax policies of

and the reduced variation probably tends to diminish the use of wealth for invidious distinctions of status.” He makes a similar point about retirement from work as well: Rose, “The Subculture of the Aging,” 9.
944 Jacobs, *Fun City*, 60.

benefit to retirement-community residents.⁹⁴⁵ In 1972, Sun City spoke out against the ruling in *Hollins v. Shoftstall*, a case brought by five Phoenix families within a growing movement of legal assaults on school-finance practices in various states: “Reacting to a Superior Court judge’s ruling that Arizona’s school property tax system is unconstitutional, President Art Comer of the Sun City Homeowners Association warned . . . that if structural revision becomes an accomplished fact ‘it undoubtedly would increase the tax liability of Sun City residents.’”⁹⁴⁶ The following year, in another editorial, the

945 See “Schools’ Golden Egg,” *News-Sun*, June 17, 1970 (first quotation); SCTA statement, which summarizes the *Phoenix Gazette*, editorial from September 11, 1970, as printed in “Taxpayers’ Board Challenges Statewide School Tax Plan,” *News-Sun*, September 30, 1970 (second quotation); position of SCTA as characterized in editorial, “Modification Could Make School Tax Equalization Equitable,” *News-Sun*, November 25, 1970; “Taxpayers’ Board Says Tax Plan Would Penalize Local Residents,” *News-Sun*, November 4, 1970. Ira Murphy, too, expressed concern about impact on the district: “School Tax Equalizer Can Increase SC Rate Superintendent Predicts,” *News-Sun*, June 10, 1970; plus Murphy as discussed in “Schools’ Golden Egg.” Such rates, which in fact had to varying degrees a quite favorable tax rate relative to other communities in the greater area, presumably stemmed from the district’s high overall valuation—coupled with lower demand on the schools. For example, see “School Taxes Drop 16 Cents,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 18, 1967; “School Tax Rate Down; Lowest One in Maricopa County,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, August 23, 1968; “School Bond Vote Tuesday,” *Peoria Times*, October 15, 1971; editorial, “School Bonds’ Defeat,” *News-Sun*, May 1, 1968; “Comparative Tax Cited to Boost School Bonds,” *News-Sun*, November 7, 1972; “Editor’s Note” to S.H. Nighswander, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 19, 1962; editorial, “School Economy Dramatized,” *News-Sun*, March 20, 1973; editorial, “Good Old Days”; and editorial, “Basis for Balloting,” *News-Sun*, April 2, 1969. For an example of relatively low school costs from the standpoint of relatively low “per pupil spending,” see Don Rosebrock, “Peoria Schools Rank High in Wealth, Low in Spending,” *News-Sun*, November 12, 1974. Meanwhile, for discussion of New Jersey, similar or not, see Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 232-35. Additionally, Lanni appears to have addressed this even earlier, noting the unfavorable implications of “school taxes on a county-wdie [*sic*] basis or even state-wide [*sic*?],” signaling his opposition to such methods or not: John A. Lanni, “Facts Relative to Retirement Communities of Sun City & Youngtown,” September 13, 1967, 2, attachment to John A. Lanni to Wm. Huso, October 9, 1967, box 1, Joint Committee on State Operations, 1949-1968, RG 97, SG 3, ASALPR.

946 See brief overview of case in “Appendix B” of Jones, *Review of Existing State School Finance Programs*; Albert J. Sitter, “Suit Challenges School Property Tax,” *Arizona Republic*, October 13, 1971, in “Taxation” file/s corresponding to year in Arizona, CF, PPL; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, “Inequality in School Financing: The Role of Law” (August 1972), 63-64, last accessed September 20, 2013 at <http://www.law.umaryland.edu/marshall/usccr/documents/cr12sch616.pdf>; “New Property Tax Ruling Jeopardizes Low SC-Y Rate,” *News-Sun*, June 6, 1972; Robert E. Lindquist and Arthur E. Wise, “Developments in Education Litigation: Equal Protection,” *Journal of Law & Education* 5, no.1 (January 1976): 3 (and 3n11); Hinckley A. Jones-Sanpei, “*Roosevelt v. Bishop*: Balancing Local Interests with State Equity Interests in School Financing,” *Brigham Young University Education and Law Journal* 1998: 1 (Spring 1998): 227; “A Week’s News in Brief,” *Arizona Republic*, June 4, 1972; Davies, *See Government Grow*, 194-95, 195-98; Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: Final Report*, 22-

News-Sun explained that “in a dollars and cents consideration, Sun City-Youngtown is in a favored position; this community simply pays a lower rate than practically anywhere else in the state.”⁹⁴⁷

It was not that the *News-Sun* opposed policies offering benefits to residents; after all, it had alerted them to the financial implications of equalization efforts, even noting the recent legal decisions in California and Texas striking down property taxes as the mechanism of funding schools and treated ostensibly imminent legislative action as an opening for pushing property-tax legislation aimed at addressing neediness of the “special group” of fixed-income retirees.⁹⁴⁸ But it did question privilege rooted in spatially generated exclusivity, thus highlighting and challenging what was a kind of Sun City-centeredness made possible by the particular configuration of age, space, and tax valuation in the Peoria district—in which residence might trump retirement. For example, challenging the SCTA in 1970, the *News-Sun* pointed to “the situation of Arizona retirees who do not live in Sun City or Youngtown.”⁹⁴⁹ In another editorial, from late 1974, dealing with property-tax legislation for older residents of Arizona, the *News-Sun* explained, “We opposed this argument,” it said of the “exempt” position,

23; Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008), 490-91. For differences with this case, see again U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 63-64. Sugrue discusses in relation to the civil rights movement while also providing earlier history of the 1950s and 1960s: 468-70. For Liz Cohen on New Jersey, see discussion in Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, 244-245. Finally, for quotation in text, see “New Property Tax Ruling Jeopardizes Low SC-Y Rate.”

947 And, it continued, connecting back to the concern expressed by Comer, above, and that it itself made prior to its own elaboration: “That means that whatever the legislature does to even out the burden—to lower taxes for those paying a disproportionately higher amount—will out a greater burden upon Sun City and Youngtown.” See Editorial, “Tax Break for Elderly,” *News-Sun*, February 27, 1973. Here, it appears to be discussing “tax reform,” whether in relation to school, specifically, or not.

948 See again “Schools’ Golden Egg”; editorial, “Whose Tax Equalization?” *News-Sun*, December 28, 1971. Here, such financial protections from legislative intervention presumably were not intended for more affluent older persons, per the newspaper’s positions articulated elsewhere.

949 See again “Modification Could Make School Tax Equalization Equitable.” See also idea in editorial, “Tax Break for Elderly.”

“because it suggested that because you, as an individual retiree surrounded by other retirees, should have a benefit not accorded other retirees living among non-retirees. And it amounted to a contention that folks who could afford to pay taxes should not do so because the other people on the block were retirees.”⁹⁵⁰ Whether or not Sun City residents agreed, the critique brought into relief the contours of a political culture drawing power from a sort of strength in numbers.

An Earned Exemption?

In another letter to Sandra D. O’Connor later in 1973, Peoria’s Ira Murphy further addressed “the predicament of the Peoria Public Schools” and in doing so suggested another—and perhaps underlying—explanation of Sun City’s electoral relationship to school taxes. “The retirement communities vote down bond issues because they feel they have fulfilled their school obligations before they come to Arizona,” he asserted. “We hear different excuses for voting ‘no’ but the reason is above.”⁹⁵¹

As Murphy here suggested, the logic of resistance to school taxes in the retirement community revolved around distinctive understandings of traditional taxing responsibilities. Manifested most concretely at the polls but present as well in

950 Editorial, “Exemption Roadblock?” *News-Sun*, December 13, 1974. For similar critique of spatial privilege, see editorial, “Tax Break Too Big?” *News-Sun*, June 7, 1978. For a case of the SCTA actually taking a position against tax benefits for non-Sun City retired persons in the late 1970s, see also Barbara Morgenstern, “SCTA Opposes Move for School Tax Relief,” *News-Sun*, January 18, 1978. Meanwhile, however, the *News-Sun* seems to have emphasized age—or retirement—over residence, in calling for more geographically inclusive legislation of benefit to older residents. For example, see editorial, “Modification Could Make School Tax Equalization Equitable”; editorial, “Tax Break for Elderly”; editorial, “Exemption Roadblock?”

951 Ira A. Murphy to Sandra Day O’Connor, November 28, 1973, 1 (first quotation), 2 (second quotation), Sandra Day O’Connor Papers, RG 97 SG 6, AA-76-7, box 1, folder 6. More specifically, Murphy in this letter was addressing complications created by the district’s relatively low bond-related debt—of a disproportionate relationship between valuation and spending. On debt maximums in Arizona in the 1970s, see Thomas L. Johns, ed., *Public School Finance Program, 1971-72: (States, District of Columbia, and Outlying Areas)* ([Washington, D.C.]: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Education Division, Office of Education, 1972), 23.

various media of political debate in the school district, such views represented the convergence of variables of the life cycle, local taxation, and space—on both metropolitan and national levels—that produced a political culture redrawing increasingly hardening lines between public and private, young and old. While school officials, district parents, and some observers in the Phoenix area launched discursive strikes against Sun City raising questions involving age and privilege in a democratic society, counterparts in Sun City insisted they not only had the right to retire but, in effect, the right not to pay for services they did not actually use. Voters in Sun City and elsewhere justified their voting down of school-bond issues on the grounds that schools and school taxes simply did not apply to them. The chain of reasoning, broadly speaking, might be summed up in the following way: Residents in Sun City did not have younger children and thus did not draw on the school service of the Peoria district and, furthermore, thus were not liable for tax purposes. Incorporating key features of American retirement, particularly in the advancing of older families through the life cycle, political culture in Sun City represented the rise of a new brand of politics that, while most visible at the level of the retirement community, mirrored a broader transformation in views towards taxes increasingly defining and dividing metropolitan America.

To some extent, such positions shared overlap with fixed-income politics. Surrounding the 1971 WHCA, material dealing with housing noted that “The elderly feel that in terms of what services the property tax pays for, the elderly homeowner gets less in return from education, transportation, recreation, and so on, than do the typical younger homeowners with growing families. And with such meager incomes, they

cannot pay the going rate for services they do not use.”⁹⁵² In his address, President Nixon stated that “The inequity of the property tax is often the greater because it takes money from those who have already educated their own.”⁹⁵³

And several years later, the HUD-sponsored study observed the following in the interviews it conducted: “The impression conveyed was that tax increases caused real financial hardship, but that property taxes were all the more galling because they brought in return so little for elderly taxpayers in terms of desired public services.”⁹⁵⁴ The logic animating this perspective, it found, was so entrenched that it dominated all other considerations.

More specifically, it examined the effect of tax policies on electoral outcomes—that view that “Property tax relief for the elderly, especially circuit breakers, should be expected to influence the political behavior of the elderly on matters concerning property taxes.” From the standpoint of support for school taxes, the results from two consecutive elections in Troy, Michigan, in 1973, held without and *with* an all-ages circuit-breaker measure in effect, were not encouraging; although younger voters basically reversed their opposition, that of older voters barely improved, the “impact” of the legislation ultimately “negligible,” it concluded. “The decisive opposition of the elderly to higher school taxes suggests that current spending levels far exceed the levels that elderly households prefer,” it explained. “For a family without children in school, no marginal reduction in personal tax costs may seem to make higher millage rates for school purposes a good buy.”⁹⁵⁵

952 WHCA, Background and Issues: Housing the Elderly, 77.

953 Nixon, “Remarks to the White House Conference on Aging.”

954 Abt Associates, Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: An Evaluation, 151. For similar point about relation of economics to consumption, see also Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: Final Report*, 11.

955 Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: An Evaluation*, 1, 6, 93-110, 113-14 (quotations, in order, at 93, 108, 106); Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly*:

Thus, understandings of affordability themselves very well might have taken the form of a sliding scale—if at all—defined in terms of degrees of perceived necessity.

Taken to a greater extreme, the invoking of economics might have served as political cover for underlying attitudes towards school taxes, similar to the opposition in Sun City to equalization efforts, though in this context also tied to debates over education and public support for it. In his comments about the “excuses” surrounding electoral trends in Sun City, Ira Murphy suggested this connection—much like the assertion he made to the state senator in the other letter. “These are the reasons given,” he explained here, providing a list that included not only alleged misrepresentation by Del Webb but also the “fixed incomes” argument, “and reason number 1 is really the basis for most of the negative votes”—that assertion that “We have paid our share of taxes and should not be shouldered with more.”⁹⁵⁶

And *amongst* residents in Sun City, public discussion of income diversity across geography perhaps politicized the existence of less affluent homeowners, constructing a narrative of Sun City insecurity utilizing Phase I as a foil for ostensible misunderstandings of the degree of wealth in the retirement community. “Before anyone votes in favor of the school bond issue,” one resident—himself living in Phase II—insisted in a letter to the editor of the *News-Sun* in the spring of 1973, “out of fairness to his fellow Sun Citian, he should assure himself that he is not placing a hardship on a

Final Report, 3, 36, 37, 51-52, 53. On tax policy functioning as a policy of pre-emption—that “Their political opposition would be lessened by offering them tax privileges”—see Chen, “Property-Tax Concessions to the Aged,” 226.

⁹⁵⁶ Murphy to O’Connor, January 23, 1973, 2. Here, perhaps similar evidence suggesting how such arguments were connected—the former, if not providing political cover for the latter, at least trumped by it in the end—comes from Rothman’s discussion of retirement and school politics in Las Vegas. In discussing events there, he writes: “Irate seniors felt no qualms about publicly stating that they didn’t feel responsibility for children in the community. ‘We’re on fixed incomes,’ one said at a public hearing, ‘and these are not our children anyway.’” For quotation, and context, see Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 167.

person owning property in the Sun City-Youngtown area by increasing the amount of school tax that he is currently paying.” A resident, more specifically, of Phase II himself, living just across the street from the homes fronting Viewpoint Lake, he continued, “Ride around Phase I, visit Youngtown, ask your friends and neighbors. This is definitely your responsibility.” And, he added, advancing the discourse of vulnerability revolving around the exceptionalism stemming from aging, “Bear in mind...that many of these elderly people have health problems that result in doctor bills and, perhaps, a constant medical expense, the purchase of medicine to be taken daily.”⁹⁵⁷

In a letter to the editor later in the 1970s, after Sun City was no longer part of the district, another resident of Phase II proclaimed his concerns for the place of less-affluent persons living elsewhere in Sun City, reiterating a familiar claim. “Some elderly people who moved here in 1961 in Phase I have had to sell their homes and move away due to excessive increase in real estate taxes caused by issue of school bonds in the Peoria School District.” At the same time, he laid out this overriding preoccupation: “This is a retirement city designed for elderly retired people and not a place to raise children and have schools here along with *high real estate taxes*. We moved here *just for that reason* as did hundreds of other Sun Citians.”⁹⁵⁸ Even if the function of Phase I, in intent or in result, was not to obscure self-interest, it could not have hurt to do so in recasting narratives of supposed Sun City privilege.

957 Charles F. Howard, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 4, 1973. Earlier in the letter he noted “a goodly number of people living in the Sun City-Youngtown area whose incomes are barely sufficient to make ends meet.” On economic implications of medical exceptionalism of older persons, also see James Allen, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 6, 1973.

958 Warren F. Godbold, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, September 28, 1976 (all emphasis added). Address in Sun City confirmed from “Joint Tenancy Deed” of Warren F. and Daisy M. Godbold, signed July 13, 1972, accessed via Maricopa County, <http://recorder.maricopa.gov/recdocdata/>, September 26, 2013. For another letter, written by a Phase I resident, though of an area developed later, as DEVCO moved north to south before developing north of Grand Avenue, perhaps invoking less-affluent residents while also articulating other points, see Mrs. Oscar A. Giffen, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 13, 1973.

And even when not invoking geography specifically, the invoking of economic vulnerability perhaps provided an opening for addressing other issues. The author of the letter to the *Arizona Republic* in 1973 who pointed to residents in precarious financial positions wrote: “I am not in that group but my negative vote on the issue would reflect the feeling of many Sun Citians. It is based on the arbitrary attitude of the school district in threatening continual referendums until one is passed and on continuing to depict nonsupporters of the issue as indifferent to the needs of anyone except themselves.”⁹⁵⁹

However related to economics, the views of retired voters towards school taxes largely involved their consumption of such services as public schools. And this consumption, according to the logic undergirding opponents of school spending, depended on the given stage one occupied within the life cycle, signaling a fundamental transformation made by evident by the political culture of Sun City in the relationship between the rights of retirement and the practices of responsibilities of citizenship—between ideas about what retired persons owed to broader communities and the ways in which new understandings played out in political and economic terms. In short, just as the departure of children from the household provided an impetus for downsizing the built environment, their departure from local schools justified a downsizing of taxes paid in helping to fund these schools. As Robert Butler noted in *Why Survive?*, his 1970s landmark book confronting a wide range of aging-related issues, “The elderly (and to some degree the middle-aged), whose children are long grown, resist rises in school funding costs through property taxes or bond issues.”⁹⁶⁰ As the HUD study observed, “Since they received no direct benefits from this service, they believed that they burden

959 See again Yowell letter to the editor, November 16, 1973.

960 Butler, *Why Survive?*, 110.

for its support should rest with those who do.”⁹⁶¹ Literature that the HUD study summed up as well, one study explained, for example, that “the influence of parental status appears transient: parents vote disproportionately in favor of school issues *until* their children leave the school.”⁹⁶² Disputing the idea “of political change over the life cycle,” Angus Campbell, writing in the early 1970s, instead suggested “that the changes that occur through the life cycle reflect the circumstances that the individual is in at the time.”⁹⁶³

In Sun City, one resident responded to a letter to the editor penned by a Peoria parent by writing that “We too have three children and seven grandchildren and have paid school taxes for 47 years and are still paying. I think we, like other residents here, have at long last earned the right of retirement.”⁹⁶⁴ Because they previously had educated their own children, they had earned the right not to pay for children today, and thus the new rights of retirement—the right to enjoy and consume the lifestyle provided by one’s labor—necessarily involved a kind of liberation not only from the working world in the arena of leisure but in the realm of *taxes* as well. And, additional evidence illustrates, the

961 Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: An Evaluation*, 152 [?]

962 Philip K. Piele and John Stuart Hall, *Budgets, Bonds and Ballots* (Lexington: 1974) [?], cited in Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief Programs for the Elderly: An Evaluation*, 99-100, 104, 155 [?]; Piele and Hall, 104 (quotation).

963 More specifically, he continues: “A young parent whose children are of school age is likely to feel better disposed toward increased school taxes than the retired person whose income is fixed and who is feeling the pinch of inflationary pressures. On the other hand, this retired person is likely to be favorably inclined to proposals of federal underwriting of his medical costs despite the fact that such programs are regarded as rampant communism in some sections of the population.” See again Campbell, “Politics through the Life Cycle,” 117. For seemingly similar idea expressed earlier, see also Campbell, “Social and Psychological Determinants of Voting Behavior,” 96, 97, 99. Here, he argues against the framework of “any general political reorientation associated with the life cycle” (97). Although he might mean this in relation to the mistaken view that “age is conservative”—and thus correcting overly simplistic explanation of aging and politics—his work actually might reaffirm the significance of the life cycle, given the economic realities of different stages. For last quotation here and discussion, see 93-94 (quotation 93), 95-96. For relevant overarching questions raised and statement in his later work, see also Campbell, “Politics through the Life Cycle,” 116, 117.

964 George V. Wiley, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 2, 1969. For similar ideas expressed, see also Mrs. E. Gleason, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, July 16, 1974.

rationalizing of the careful management of retirement resources could incorporate a rhetoric involving generational relations similar, perhaps, to the discursive defense over matters of sharing residential space with children. “It’s not that we’re against children, it’s just that we’ve raised ours and don’t feel we should have to pay for educating someone else’s,” another explained.⁹⁶⁵

The articulation of private concerns in public terms, furthermore, were spatially defined, both giving rise to and reflecting the social community of Sun City and the political power inherent in it. “No school children in Sun City, therefore we shouldn’t have school taxes,” one letter to the editor argued. “We paid school taxes all during our productive years without complaint. They helped children other than our own. *It’s entirely different here.*”⁹⁶⁶ That Sun City was “different” stemmed from the fact that the idea behind, the built environment of, and the age-based homogeneity nurtured in Sun City all contributed to a kind of exclusivity that homebuyers quite self-consciously sought.⁹⁶⁷ If suburbia at large revolved around a deliberate picking and choosing of a

965 “Peoria Is Stuck With Sun City,” *Northwest Peoria Times*, August 16, 1974. For another example of this positioning, see also Nelson J. Cloutier, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, December 15, 1972.

966 James Allen, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 6, 1973 (emphasis added). For discussion in Rothman’s account dealing with both the theme addressed here and in the preceding paragraph, as well as that dealing with geography, noted below, see Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 165.

967 My thinking about the shaping of ideas about and practices of community in Sun City, both socially and spatially, in relation to the Peoria schools, and to retirement life more broadly, has been shaped in part from the following. On the foundational conceptual framework of “imagined communities,” see study Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. On community in relation to “gated communities” in the American case in the postwar decades and later, see Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 1-3, 29-31, 32-34, 35. On retirement communities specifically, see 39-40, 46-47, 47-48, 49-51. For the excellent work of Gober and colleagues in their own studies of Sun City communities, which has shaped my thinking and analysis on space, community, and politics not only in relation to school taxes but also age restrictions, discussed in the following chapter, see Gober, *Metropolitan Phoenix*, 87-94, especially 87-88 and 89-90; McHugh, Gober, and Borough, “The Sun City Wars,” 627-28, 643-45. For Jacobs on how school taxes and other issues forged identity in “Fun City” via externalization, see Jacobs, *Fun City*, 66. Otis incorporates Jacobs in her discussion as well: Jacobs, 66, cited in Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 73. For another discussion, including schools, see also McHugh and Larson-Keagy, “These White Walls,” 250-52. For role of space in shaping Sun City and Sun City politics more broadly, as “rather aloof” and, again, as “suburban without being subordinate,” as Findlay puts it, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 161 (first quotation), 204 (second quotation). And finally, for parallels perhaps with development in different ways, including in

residential community stratified by race, class, and other variables, then this certainly was the case in Sun City, if not even more so; moving to a retirement development was intentional, a housing and lifestyle decision perhaps less determined by employment and *pre*-retirement patterns, not mention that no one was born in Sun City.

The retirement community not only drew retirees together but in the process set residents of Sun City apart from their neighbors. “We decided to live in a community rather far removed from schools and school children and, as a result, enjoy a reduction in taxes,” one resident stated. Political claims placed on Sun City, however, had caught up with the retirement community: “Now it is stressed that we must also pay increased school taxes because there are children to be educated.” But in moving to Sun City—a community designed for retirees and not school-age children—residents had chosen a separate community, thus resulting in fundamental disconnect. This letter writer asserted that “the Glendale-Peoria area” was “an area some miles away from us,” suggesting that a lack of physical proximity to families requiring schools translated into a lack of taxpaying responsibility. “We have no direct contact with these communities.” And treating Sun City’s location within the district as arbitrary, as a mere coincidence of district boundaries, to de-legitimize any relationship between the two, his reasoning relied on the invoking of extremes. “Why not the children in Tucson or Flagstaff?” he asked, for example. “The only difference is a few more miles.”⁹⁶⁸ And in the fall of 1972, one Sun City man stated his opposition to the forthcoming “school bond issue for

relation to labor, in Hal Rothman’s work, see discussion in Rothman, “Residence-Based Resorts,” 238, 243, 248.

968 W.B. Goddard, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 4, 1973.

which we, in the particular area of Sun City, have no moral, or physical [*sic?*] responsibility.”⁹⁶⁹

Even if residents of Sun City accepted the geopolitical reality of their location in the Peoria district, they nonetheless sought to minimize the extent of inter-dependency with other suburban communities. That the legal boundaries of incorporated communities and public school districts did not line up in Maricopa County—students living in a given community might attend school in a district by a different name—was a central issue in the opposition to school bonds put up by some in Sun City in relation to Glendale, where significant homebuilding was taking place by the 1970s. “When most of us arrived in Sun City, we began to discover that it was a different world from the one we left behind in the East or Midwest,” one resident explained. “There is absolutely no relationship between school district boundaries and the boundaries of any other governmental jurisdiction,” the *News-Sun* itself explained it. “City limits have nothing to do with school districts.”⁹⁷⁰ This fact did not deter, John Lanni. In writing to one legislator in 1967, Lanni called for a new arrangement in which “when an incorporated city annexes a residential area (which is in another school district) that that annexation SHALL [?] ALSO INCLUDE THAT PART OF ANOTHER SCHOOL DISTRICT WHICH IS WITHIN THE PROPOSED RESIDENTIAL AREA [?], THAT THE TWO AREAS SHALL COINCIDE.”⁹⁷¹ And in 1973, the SCTA officially addressed the matter, seeking to minimize the educational footprint of residential development in Glendale on Peoria by drawing new boundaries via legislation to in effect to separate the former and the latter.

969 George E. Meyer, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, November 7, 1972.

970 See Harold Taylor in Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 77; Rita Temple, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, March 16, 1973 (first quotation); editorial, “School District Confusion,” *News-Sun*, January 9, 1973 (second quotation).

971 John A. Lanni to Wm. Huso and Ray Goetze, [“Subject: A Law to Change the Present Methods of Annexation by an Incorporated City”], October 9, 1967, attached to Lanni to Huso, October 9, 1967.

“We believe,” an SCTA official declared in 1973, “most Sun Citians will agree we still have an obligation to help education—to what might be stated as a ‘just and reasonable’ amount of our limited retirement income—school children living in our immediate area, but certainly not those living in Glendale, a city of 60,000 people, growing, and annexing new areas constantly.”⁹⁷²

Anti-school bond issue politics in the Peoria district voiced and carried out by Sun City voters demonstrated a striking similarity with a broader political culture taking root in the United States by the end of the twentieth century, explored in the work of Gerald Frug.⁹⁷³ As it played out in Sun City in the 1960s and 1970s, such thinking was conveyed

972 Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 77; George Rodocker, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, January 19, 1973 (quotation); George Rodocker, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 3, 1973; Sun City Taxpayers Association, Inc., advertisement, “SUN CITIZENS: We Need Your HELP!” *News-Sun*, April 17, 1973; SCTA position as discussed in editorial, “Bond Issue Mess,” *News-Sun*, April 20, 1973; editorial, “Boat-Rocking Dangerous,” *News-Sun*, April 3, 1973; editorial, “Good Old Days,” *News-Sun*, August 14, 1973. For coverage of further developments, see “Taxpayers Reverse Stand, Refuse to Endorse Bonds,” *News-Sun*, May 15, 1973; editorial, “Arrow Misses Target,” *News-Sun*, September 21, 1973; Jim Cullison, “Tapley Says School Sites Are at Heart of Argument,” *News-Sun*, October 12, 1973. The *News-Sun*, however, warned of the slippery slope of modifying school-district boundaries. For example, see editorials “Boat-Rocking Dangerous” and “Good Old Days.” For Ira Murphy rejecting the anti-Glendale position, see Murphy to O’Connor, January 23, 1973, 2. On efforts by the end of 1973, see Don Rosebrock, “Hopes Fade for Area School Redistricting,” [*News-Sun?*] December 21, 1973, in “H.O.A. Scrap Book: 1973,” Sun City Home Owners Association (SCHOA), Sun City, Arizona.

973 For frameworks important to my understanding and analysis involving taxes, see again the work of Frug and others discussed and cited earlier, especially Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 8-9, 387-97; Frug, “The Legal Technology of Exclusion in Metropolitan America,” 212-14; Frug, “Alternative Conceptions of City Services,” esp. 178; McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 26, 186-87, 188, 190-91, 192, 196; Blakely and Snyder, *Fortress America*, 139-140. And like Frug, Robert Binstock discusses a similar framework—of “older persons as *consumers* who own taxable property...but who do not have school-age children.” He does so, however, in critiquing the problematic “rational self-interest model” more broadly, arguing: “An equally plausible perspective for applying the rational self-interest model... would view older homeowners as *investors*. From this perspective one might infer that these older voters would favor the referendum proposition. Greater spending on schools is conventionally regarded as increasing their quality; when the local school system has a favorable reputation, the market value of homes is commonly assumed to be enhanced.” Binstock, “Older Voters and the 1992 Presidential Election,” 603-4 (quotations, in order, from 604, 603, 604); Binstock and Quadagno, “Aging and Politics” in *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, Binstock and George, eds., 336-37. While it makes sense that this would have been true for older homeowners living in cities and suburbs that were not age-segregated, the case of retirement communities such as DEVCO’s Sun City, Arizona, very well might present an exception. In Sun City, for instance, the amenity of so-called “good schools” was irrelevant in light of the community’s age restrictions essentially working to prevent the residence of school-age children there. Even more, it was the *lack* of schools that was the amenity, offering the promise of lower taxes and other aspects perceived by some as desirable. As the following chapter discusses, both retired homeowners and scholarly research suggests that it was the

in debates over schools taxes, treating the use of public schools as an assumed point of distinction amongst different populations living in the district.

In a letter to the editor of the *News-Sun* in the early 1960s, one prospective Sun City retiree wrote, “The retired communities are not going to, nor have they ever contributed to this need for schools” and described those who did use the schools as “alone in need of said schools.”⁹⁷⁴ Bond-issue opponents often advanced arguments hinging on the ostensible imbalance between Sun City’s collective supplying of valuation for tax purposes and the little demand for schools amongst residents. “The citizens of Sun City are not against education but we are rebelling against carrying a disproportionate fiscal load while contributing but a fraction of your student body,” one Sun City man declared.⁹⁷⁵ “That nearly 100 children less than 18 years of age now live in Sun City does not mean that the vast majority of retired residents living on fixed and ever-decreasing incomes must support schools required to meet the need of a very small segment of the community who, for whatever reason, fail to adhere to principles upon which the community was conceived and grew,” another resident asserted.⁹⁷⁶ Even more, another highlighted the *collective* contribution of Sun City retirees to the district, writing that “I understand that Sun City paid from 70 per cent to 80 per cent of the Peoria school taxes – but had only a very small percentage of Sun City children in these schools.”⁹⁷⁷ Nor was

age-restricted nature of retirement developments that residents sought to protect by tending to matters of property values. For instance, on view of detrimental effect on “property values,” see Rose A. Jackowitz, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, August 6, 1974.

974 S.H. Nighswander, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 19, 1962. The *Arizona Republic* seemingly accepted an essentially similar view the following decade: Editorial, “Enough is Enough,” *Arizona Republic*, October 21, 1973.

975 Cloutier, letter to the editor, December 15, 1972.

976 S. Grant Conner, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, July 6, 1974, in “Sun City” as corresponding to year in Arizona, CF, PPL.

977 Lillian Anderson, letter to the editor,” *Arizona Republic*, July 6, 1974. Findlay discusses this point and provides evidence of it, in the process perhaps validating it to some extent: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,”

this position new; Frederick Holtham more than a decade earlier at the beginning of the Sun City-Peoria schools showdown stressed this perceived imbalance. “Youngtown and Sun City are peculiar in their situation,” he argued. “Nowhere else in the United States do we have as many people paying the lion’s share of school cost and receiving nothing in return and the end is not in sight.”⁹⁷⁸

However seductive, such arguments operated on assumptions rewriting the terms of citizenship. For example, whether or not Sun City generated demand within the district was not the point, nor were the parents of school-age actually “alone”—unless, of course, certain services were linked to particular populations and in turn taxed accordingly and exclusively. And by focusing on the disproportionate relationship between of the number of Sun City children attending Peoria schools and the entire amount of taxes paid by Sun City homeowners to the district, retirees reframed the question of schools taxes in terms of what they received as opposed to what they owed, effectively distracting from the fact that the real issue was the taxpaying obligation Sun City had to *all* children in the district—not simply those living in the retirement development—and pre-empting discussion of the essentially anomalous case of Sun City within the Peoria district allowing for such an argument in the first place. The potentially misleading perspective that retirees *paid more* at a collective level implied that Sun City

207. This might have been part of a strategic rhetorical move as well. One study in New Jersey in 1974 noted: “Retirees see school expenditures as a major part of their taxes and an area from which they receive no return for their tax dollar. They are aware that developers have used the argument before local planning boards that retirement communities produce ratables without expanding the school population.” Richardson, *The Impact of Retirement Communities: Summary Report* (1974), 32. Another way of looking at this, of course, was that the fact that Sun City generally did not draw on local schools, therefore generating additional costs, ultimately was *reflected* in the taxes owed by Sun City and other district residents. For example, as the *News-Sun* pointed out, those in Sun City “are blessed by living in a district where so few children reside, and therefore they pay less than one-fourth the school taxes than they would pay in a typical Maricopa County school district.” See again “Basis for Balloting.”

978 Frederick O. Holtham, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 12, 1962.

carried an unequal load for schools. But in the end, it reflected more the imposition of a false dichotomy pitting retirees against families with younger children on the school-tax debate, as those in Sun City viewed the issue through a lens of selective citizenship, in which they defined their interests as retirees in Sun City as apart from—and *in opposition to*—others.

Backlash

On the other side, Peoria school supporters questioned the logic of such newfound rights of retirement. Criticism in part was directed at residents of Sun City and the consumption of the “way of life” offered up by Del Webb. One Scottsdale resident lashed out at the “fun, fun, fun” of the Sun City lifestyle in the wake of the failed bond election in the fall of 1973.⁹⁷⁹ In the wake of another election in 1969, in which only a fraction of residents turned out to vote, one resident of Sun City looked critically at fellow retirees, in part highlighting the presence of luxury vehicles in Sun City—they were contested objects of affluence in the debate over the relative wealth of residents in the retirement community—and also perhaps that the priorities of school-bond opponents were somewhat askew. “Of approximately 12,000 residents of Sun City, only 1,600 voted. Where were the other 9,000 or so? No doubt there were the usual several hundred riding around showing off their new Lincolns and Cadillacs. Then there was another several hundred who refused to get off their golf carts to vote.”⁹⁸⁰ Sun City and its supporters, however, thought differently: “It’s true that Sun Citians and Youngtowners

979 Dawn May, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, November 2, 1973. For seeming similarity with a view examined in Rothman’s work, see that, for example, of Peggy Clifford as discussed and/or cited in Rothman, “Residence-Based Resorts,” 250.

980 See again Hise, Sr., letter to the editor, February 26, 1969. For another letter to the editor seemingly relevant here, see Mildred G. Martin, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, February 26, 1969.

devote a great deal of time to play—but as retirees they still have quite a bit of time left over for community service,” the *News-Sun* defended area retirees—something that in many ways was quite true in light of the various volunteer efforts of Sun City residents.⁹⁸¹

On another level, criticism challenged Sun City’s own self-described and spatially enabled exceptionalism embedded in the perspective that moving to and settling in a new community released them traditional of traditional taxpaying duties—an understanding of and position towards school taxes reflecting the role of the geographical gulf born out of regional and national migrations to the retirement community in shaping what was a different, and ultimately less invested, political relationship between residents in Sun City and the local community in which sheer distance, apparently, precluded any support stemming from proximity.⁹⁸² In particular, critics of Sun City argued that was the

981 Editorial, “No Hedonist Haven,” *News-Sun*, January 21, 1970. For similar point, see also Muench, “Sun City, Arizona,” 9. On volunteer efforts in Sun City, and functions served, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 200. For overview of various organizations in Sun City, presumably volunteer-based, see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary*, 123-32, 133-46, 169-77; Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town,’” 130; Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 75. For Freedman offering a perhaps more recent account, see Freedman, *Prime Time*, 64-65. For another layer, however, see also 64. And for efforts in case of Sun City Center, Florida, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 231.

982 Another key factor that Findlay and others have discussed in relation to resistance to school taxes is the role of space—geography—amongst Sun City residents. As Findlay writes, for example: “Inhabitants of Sun City knew about, and had probably supported, the schools their own children had attended elsewhere, but they had less reason to feel connected to schools near their new hometown.” For quotation and broader discussion, in which he cites evidence from California, in the case of Leisure World developments, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 207-8 (quotation 208). Again, Findlay here partly cites Gober on this point: Gober, “The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 196, cited in Findlay, 207-8. For discussion of Sun City as a more national market, the politics on the ground in Arizona thus presumably flowing partly from this, versus the case also of “California’s chain of Leisure Worlds” as cited by Findlay, see again Findlay, 195. And on origins of Sun City migrants in more recent times, see also work of Sturgeon, “‘It’s a Paradise Town’ [n.p.?]”, cited in McHugh and Larson-Keagy, “These White Walls,” 244; 2000 Census data as reported in McHugh and Larson-Keagy, 244 (and Table 1); McHugh, Gober, and Borough, “Sun City Wars,” 630-31. For another account, Charlotte Anne Welch, “Retirement Communities in Maricopa County: From Segregated Towns to Integrated Neighborhoods” (Master’s Thesis, Arizona State University, 1992), 90-91. And for similar point in relation to studies of Sun City, past and in more present times, see also, for example, Gober, *Metropolitan Phoenix*, 89-90; McHugh, Gober, and Borough, “The Sun City Wars,” 633, 645. For similar ideas about identification—or lack thereof—of retirees in Florida, see discussion in Golant, *Housing America’s Elderly*, 62-63. In his work on Florida, Button again writes: “If the aging have migrated, typically to the Sun Belt, they may lack a strong commitment to their new communities and believe they have already supported public services adequately at their former residence.” Button, “A Sign of Generational Conflict,” 786-87. And for this idea, of the role of geography

conception of community amongst residents of the retirement development—rather than that of the district—that was arbitrary. Attacking the view that residence in Sun City empowered residents to redraw the limits of political citizenship via redrawing the borders of community, a late-1960s editorial in the *News-Sun* pointed out, “Retirees in Ashtabula, Ohio; Springfield, Mass., and Oconomowoc, Wis., pay school taxes just like other homeowners in those communities. They accept the situation and realize there can be no special treatment.” But, it asked, “Why then do retirees think that there is something special about their situation just because large numbers of them have assembled in one place?”⁹⁸³

Further questioning the unusual relationship between age, space, and political rights claimed by retirees, one resident of Glendale complained to the *Arizona Republic* in 1973, “If these people lived in normal communities, scattered throughout the country, they would be taxed. Sun City is an unnatural environment whose people feel they should have special privileges.”⁹⁸⁴ Although it helped to create a community conducive to retirement, the very form and function of social and physical space in the retirement community simultaneously had another consequences. Dismissing Sun City critics, DEVCO’s Jerry Svendsen later suggested in an oral history that Sun City, in short, was an easy target; the socially similar and spatially defined nature of a development devoted

in shaping the politics on the ground surrounding retirement, see Rothman’s discussion of retirement in Las Vegas: Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 152, 165. Assuming this involved geographical distance to some degree, see also 168. For perhaps additional evidence, in language of “back home,” see again 165. And on space, though not necessarily explicitly stating shaping politics, see also 155, 156. For FitzGerald’s account discussion migration, and thus providing context here, at least for time period she addresses, see again FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 209. Also see again Schulman, in part citing FitzGerald, in Schulman, *The Seventies*, 86-87.

983 Editorial, “Basis for Balloting.”

984 Caralee Cubbage, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, November 11, 1973. Raising the issue of class, and resembling a point the *News-Sun* made, previously cited (see “Modification Could Make School Tax Equalization Equitable”; “Tax Break for Elderly”), she concluding by referencing “all of those elderly people who can’t afford to live in Sun City.” The Peoria newspaper also reprinted this letter in *Northwest Peoria Times*, November 16, 1973.

to retirement, he implied, made it more vulnerable to external judgment by making identifiable—and over-magnifying—collective opposition to schools among residents.⁹⁸⁵

Others pointed to the limits of the retirement community as an actual urban form and entirely autonomous entity. The following year, a couple of Sun City residents, pursuing agendas of their own in letters to the editor, raised the issue of the porousness—or even elusiveness—of the borders giving shape to such developments. “How can we assume that as retirement communities we have gained a moral and legal right to exempt ourselves from the world around us?” one asked.⁹⁸⁶ Even more, and calling into question the very idea of the retirement community, another suggested that it lacked full-blown political independence. “Legally we must belong to a school district and also legally there is no [*sic?*] such a thing as a complete retirement community,” the man pointed in arguing in favor of a efforts that sought to solve the Peoria school situation by setting up another district serving the smaller population requiring schooling in the retirement communities internally.⁹⁸⁷

985 Here, he made this point in defending Sun City opposition, which he claimed was something that others actually shared with the retirement community—whether he is referring to prospective Sun City residents or to residents of Phoenix or the Phoenix: Svendsen, interview; summary of Svendsen, interview, 2. For mention of “visibility” depending on size, see also Gober, “The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 189.

986 For letter, see Stephen Merrill, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, September 10, 1974. For an earlier espousing of this theme, see again “The Island.” And, in terms of the “moral” argument espoused in the above letter to the editor, I discuss similar evidence below in relation to Bruce Schulman’s work on American life in the 1970s.

987 See Al Bittner, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, September 20, 1974. Similarly, Doug Morris at one point described “so-called retirement communities” as “in large part legal and physical fictions.” See Jim Cullison, “Sun Citian to Air Retirement Community ‘Industry’ Idea,” *News-Sun*, July 18, 1975. The contexts of his idea is discussed below and in the following chapter. On the brief history of the Marinette district, which failed to fully materialize, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 207; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 218-19; Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 77. For period coverage, see, for example, “9,000 Sign Petitions for Sun City School,” *Arizona Republic*, May 23, 1974; “17,000 Sign for Peoria Redistrict,” *Arizona Republic*, June 11, 1974; Thelma Heatwole, “Peoria Schools Cut off Sun City and Youngtown,” *Arizona Republic*, June 14, 1974, all in “Sun City” file corresponding to year within Arizona series, CF, PPL; “Suit Filed to Void Bond Cote,” [*News-Sun?*], October 4, 1974, “Taxes – School” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS; editorial, “Redistricting, No. 2,” *News-Sun*, May 14, 1974.

Furthermore, in terms of the population boom and its impact on the Peoria schools, criticism questioned and problematized Sun City's own narrative of change and development, pointing to the ways in which Sun City was entirely exceptional. "Many retired people who move here from out of state feel they are entitled to a relatively free ride when it comes to providing for an education for the children in the community in which they chose to live," the one Glendale resident observed, noting that "They object to the great influx of young families moving into the North Glendale area." There was, however, a blind spot in such a view, the letter continued, contextualizing and re-periodizing Sun City's version of events: "What they don't seem to realize is that they are part of the great influx themselves, and that most of these young families have been Arizonans as long if not longer than most Sun Citizens."⁹⁸⁸ In addition to the point that the growth of Sun City and the growth of suburbia were parallel developments—they even might have been part of the same process if land availability and prices, as they had been to Webb, were contributing factors to suburban homebuilders—this perspective this might have suggested that it was not the local district that asked Sun City to pay for taxes but rather *Sun City* that asked *not* to pay. And, when publicly backing the bond election

The critiques in the evidence at hand here—specifically, the letters to the editor cite in the note immediately above, as well as that in this note—might flow from issues involving taxes, space, and citizenship in the work of Frug and McKenzie, for example, cited previously. Additionally, this perspective might fit within the context of what Bruce Schulman in his study of the 1970s discusses was "a privatization of everyday life" in terms of the concentration of and control over resources, in the case of Sun City particularly the mechanism of voting on school-bond issues as a way of serving the respective community and perceived community interests. See Schulman, *The Seventies*, 246-47 (quotation 246), 248-249.

988 The letter writer continued, addressing issue of boundary alignment. T. Brown, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, November 16, 1973. And for same apparent idea in Rothman's Las Vegas, see also Rothman, "The Face of the Future," 165. Tensions between Sun City and the metropolitan community, broadly defined, from the standpoint of space were not limited to schools—or to incorporation and the tax/service equation, discussed below in this chapter. Residents, and DEVCO, opposed the proximity to a local cattle operation and to an Air Force base. See for example, Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 206; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 220-22, 229; Meeker, interview, 7. For criticism of Sun City on these issues in the *Arizona Republic*, see various letters to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, July 6, 1974, PPL-AR-CF-Ariz-Cities and Towns-Sun City-1974.

in the fall of 1973, John Meeker made comments suggested how retired residents were in fact dependent on the very growth they criticized. “Sun Citians,” he said, “realize man of those who have moved into the northwest section have done so because they work in Sun City, providing services needed by our community.”⁹⁸⁹

Retirement-community interests responded in a variety of ways. One Sun City resident cited news coverage of events in an area community where a bond election recently failed, serving to point out that the retirement community was not alone in its opposition to school taxes.⁹⁹⁰ He was right; evidence from the period suggests that non-retired voters in school districts across the country were not, by virtue of their status as younger or currently working persons, automatically supporters of increased school taxes.⁹⁹¹

Others, meanwhile, took an additional tact in explaining away opposition to schools and school taxes by criticizing *developers*. Like the discontent expressed in the 1960s, some residents in the 1970s claimed that DEVCO distorted the issue of schools in selling them on Sun City. “Many people who came to Sun City in the past were under the delusion or impression that there were no school taxes, (they were informed that there were no schools in Sun City), later they found out that school taxes were levied in Sun City,” one man claimed, perhaps referring to Webb’s handling of the matter.⁹⁹² Perhaps

989 John Meeker quoted in “Del E. Webb CO. Favors School Bond,” *Northwest Peoria Times*, October 12, 1973. For additional example addressing labor, see Eric Kula, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic* November 10, 1974.

990 See David Lewis, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, September 13, 1974.

991 In addition to any other relevant work cited elsewhere in my project, see, for example, Lamb, “The Taxpayers’ Revolt against Rising School Costs,” 22.

992 George E. Meyer, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, November 7, 1972.

referring to DEVCO and schools specifically, John Lanni, at one meeting of the Peoria school board, “spoke about false advertising practices on tax issues in Sun City.”⁹⁹³

Yet Sun City residents also criticized other developers operating in the Peoria school district, suggesting that they were at the root of the school crisis. The real issue, this argument essentially went, was the extent to which homebuilders were liable and whether or not they were upholding *their* end of the suburban growth bargain. “We are sick and tired of reading how selfish Sun Citians are in voting against the Peoria school bond issue,” one Sun City woman wrote in the fall of 1973. “We voted against the injustice of developers being allowed to build subdivisions with no responsibility toward the contribution of land or a fair share of the cost of schools. They encourage young families to move into their areas and contribute nothing toward [*sic*] the educational facilities.”⁹⁹⁴

In response to the perceived failings of developers, various players in the Sun City-Peoria schools showdown took action in different ways. In the early 1970s, players on the Peoria side had concerns about the consequences of ongoing residential development in the district. District officials responded by taking note of the building activity carried out by homebuilders in the area, making arrangements to buy sites from Hallcraft Homes and another group, and discussing the need for the legislative

993 See Lanni’s comments as summarized in Peoria (Arizona) School Board, minutes, June 9, 1970, 2, Peoria, Arizona. For Lanni elsewhere referring back to DEVCO early 1960s advertising specifically, see John A. Lanni, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, June 27, 1972. For additional discussion, see also Murphy to O’Connor, January 23, 1973, 2; S. Grant Conner, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, July 6, 1974, in “Sun City” folder/s [?] in Arizona, CF, PPL.

994 Mrs. R.D. McFarlane, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, November 16, 1973. Similar or same letter to the editor published under the same name in *Arizona Republic*, November 11, 1973. This letter might have been responding to a previous letter—previously cited—that used the language of “selfish”: Dawn May letter to the editor, November 2, 1973. As another Sun City resident asked, “Why should the builder make all the profit and then move out, leaving the burden of education of these newcomers on the taxpayers?” Hazel Day, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, November 9, 1973.

intervention to compel the involvement of developers.⁹⁹⁵ Meanwhile, district residents called on Glendale to address the problem in the Peoria district by blocking, in effect, whether temporarily or permanently, additional residential development in the community.⁹⁹⁶ And in Sun City, ideas about regulating development to account for schools to serve the accompanying increase in students circulated in the *News-Sun* at various points in the early 1970s—to “make some meaningful contribution to solving the problems they create,” a 1971 editorial suggested.⁹⁹⁷ By 1973, both the SCTA and SCHOA publicly supported legislative steps with a similar intent, the former—inspired by a law already in place in Colorado—calling for “all state land subdividers and builders to pay 10%, or some fixed part, of their developments into the state general school fund,”

995 See the following: , Peoria School Board, minutes, June 17, 1970, 3, April 3, 1972, 2, June 12, 1972, 2; Glendale, Arizona, City Council, minutes, March 13, 1973, 133), March 27, 1973, [?]; “Proposed 600 Acre Project Creating School Headaches,” *Peoria Times*, February 26, 1971; “Hallcraft Home Project Approved in School Area,” *Peoria Times*, April 2, 1971; “Fall Likely Target for Bond Election,” *Peoria Times*, April 9, 1971; “Peoria District is Given Option on School Site,” *Peoria Times*, August 6, 1971; “City Park Sought Adjacent to Proposed School Site,” *Peoria Times*, July 30, 1971; “9000 Homes Planned,” *Peoria Times*, March 10, 1972; Murphy to O’Connor, January 23, 1973, 2; “School Bond Election Scheduled for Fall,” *News-Sun*, April 7, 1971; summary of comments of Huber in minutes, Public Hearings on School Refinancing, Arizona Senate and House Committees on Education, September 25, 1973, 1, box 4, RG 97, SG 1, ASALPR. On Mastercraft case, “Peoria District is Given Option on School Site”; “City Park Sought Adjacent to Proposed School Site.”

An editorial in the Peoria newspaper, meanwhile, in questioning the potential distortion inherent in marketing materials for a Hallcraft housing development wrote: “Subdividers have every right to build homes and sell them in the area of the Peoria school district. But do they have the right to insinuate that the area has ‘all the advantages of good neighborhood schools?’” And, although one Sun City man suggested that “those criticizing the retired people living in this area to take a good look at themselves and realize how they were ‘taken in’ by the homebuilders...,” residents in Sun City—as evidence above about their own frustrations with Webb—did not necessarily follow this advice. Editorial, “The Truth About Schools,” *Northwest Peoria Times*, August 17, 1973; Roland Bauerle, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, October 26, 1973.

996 See Glendale City Council minutes, March 13, 1973, March 27, 1973. A group named the Concerned Citizens for Peoria Schools, which might have been the same as those referred to in the March 27, 1973, Glendale minutes cited above, also was reported as involved in the rejection of a Hallcraft project that went before the zoning board in Peoria later in 1973: “Builder’s Plea Denied by Peoria Zoning Panel,” *Northwest Peoria Times*, August 24, 1973.

997 See editorial, “Schools Bonds: Little Choice,” *News-Sun*, October 15, 1971 (quotation); Gene Wilson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, December 19, 1972; editorial, “Practical Impact Plan,” *News-Sun*, September 4, 1973.

which the head of the organization's "Public Education Committee" proposed during a legislative hearing in September of that year.⁹⁹⁸

And here, the logic of the consumerism of public services remained the same as Sun City residents and DEVCO accepted the fact that *homebuyers*—not the developers—were the ones who would absorb any charges associated with subdivision growth. "In most cases, the new home buyer would pay for this 'contribution' in the prices they pay for homes," the SCTA argued in support of this approach. "Thus, the parents of school children are shouldering a small share of the increasing costs of educating children, as they should."⁹⁹⁹ Additionally, as one prospective Sun City homebuyer justified the financial triangulation at play, "The young family man should be expected to shoulder his portion of the impact on the community into which he is moving because it is his family

998 For SCTA, see George Rodocker, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, August 17, 1973; Jim Cullison, "SCTA Seeks New School Legislation," *News-Sun*, September 11, 1973; Jim Cullison, "SCTA Prepares Own Schools Plan," *News-Sun*, September 25, 1973; untitled statement of Philip A. Tapley of the Sun City Taxpayers Association, September 25, 1973, p.1, Sandra Day O'Connor Papers, RG 97 SG 6, box 1, Education: School Finance, Citizen Input folder, ASALPR (quotation); summary of comments of Philip Tapley in minutes of Public Hearings on School Refinancing, Arizona Senate and House Committees on Education, September 25, 1973, 3; Philip Tapley, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, October 5, 1973; George A. Rodocker, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, October 16, 1973, in "Sun City" file/s in Arizona, CF, PPL. For legislation earlier in the 1970s, whether it originated with the SCTA or not, see also "Taxpayers Back Legislation to Get Free Land for Schools," *News-Sun*, November 16, 1971. For SCHOA, see Sun City Homeowner's Association, statement [untitled?], November 1973, 1, box 1, Sandra D. O'Connor; Paul Schafer, "HOA Proposes School Relief," *News-Sun*, October 23, 1973. Prior to this official statement, other efforts were underway. As the minutes from the Peoria school board indicate: "Mr. Lanni commented that recently he mentioned to the Hallcraft Home Builders that they donate two 20 acre sites for schools in the 600 acre area they are developing in and near the Peoria school districts." See minutes of Peoria Board of Education, March 1, 1971, 4. For additional evidence reflecting perspective of SCHOA, see also, for example, summary of comments of Earl Clore in BOSMC, minutes November 25, 1974, 305. DEVCO apparently supported such efforts. See comments of John Meeker in "Del E. Webb Co. Favors School Bond"; "Peoria High School Board Appoints Advisory Committee," *Northwest Peoria Times*, November 9, 1973; Don Rosebrock, "Meeker: Webb Firm Backs Assessment on Builders," *News-Sun*, November 9, 1973; Don Rosebrock, "Voters to Make Decision Tuesday on Bond Issue," October 12, 1973. See also position stated by DEVCO's Jerry Svendsen in 1974. See summary of comments of Svendsen in minutes, Peoria Board of Education, "Special Board Meeting," September 13, 1974, p. 2. For perspective of other homebuilders, see positions as relayed in "Supervisors to Ponder Subdivision Regulations," *News-Sun*, July 21, 1972; "Developers Refuse Board \$100 Per Lot Contribution," *News-Sun*, June 19, 1973; Ann Lindeman, "Subdivider Land Bill Creates Much Interest," *News-Sun*, March 12, 1974.

999 SCTA statement, apparently authored by Phil Tapley, quoted in Cullison, "SCTA Prepares Own School Plan." For Meeker on this, see Meeker as quoted in "Peoria High School Board Appoints Advisory Committee"; Rosebrock, "Meeker."

that is benefiting from the facilities the need for which he is causing.” Later in this letter to the editor, he further promoted the idea of linking taxes to specific users of services: “The prices of homes in Sun City obviously include expenditures for Sun City facilities—ergo, the prices of homes elsewhere should include impact funds for the communities they impact.”¹⁰⁰⁰ This linking of services to specific populations only was possible, however, by treating residents in the district as members of different and separate communities. And this was a large part of the criticism that school-bond supporters leveled at Sun City.

Ties that Bind

Debate surrounding Sun City’s attitudes and actions in relation to Peoria school taxes involved ideas about the undermining of a “social compact”¹⁰⁰¹ “The next time you are on your way to the golf course or country club in your Cadillacs and Lincolns,” another letter to the Peoria newspaper suggested, “why don’t you stop a minute and explain to the children that the reason you didn’t vote their schools any money is because you are taking it all with you!”¹⁰⁰² Here, fulfillment through consumption—of wealth and material success—trumped concerns about providing financial assistance across generational boundaries. Criticism directed at Sun City over school taxes often cast the

1000 Gene Wilson letter to the editor, December 19, 1972. Assuming that this is the same person, Wilson would buy in Sun City and eventually would play a critical role in the showdown between Sun City West and the Dysart school district in the late 1970s. On Wilson, see “Meet PORA’s First President” in *Sun City West: Silver Celebration: The First 25 Years*, ed. Edson F. Allen (Sun City, Arizona: Sun Cities Area Historical Society, 2003), 180-81.

1001 For concept and useful discussion providing a framework for identifying and analyzing positions taken by Sun City critics specifically, see again John Cornman and Eric R. Kingson, “What is a Social Compact? 10 [?]. For another useful discussion, of a “*contract across generations and age groups*,” see also Vern L. Bengston, “Is the ‘Contract Across Generations’ Changing? Effects of Population Aging on Obligations and Expectations Across Age Groups” in *The Changing Contract Across Generations*, ed. Bengston and W. Andrew Achenbaum (New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 1993), 4-5 (quotation 4) [3-23]

1002 Eleanor Zoellner, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, November 2, 1973.

interests of the retirement community as necessarily at odds with those of families with school-age children, tensions between Sun City and supporters of the Peoria school taking the form of cross-generational conflict.

School supporters argued that public schools were a key part of democracy. “Do you not believe in the American way of life?” one letter to the editor of the *Northwest Peoria Times* asked after an ultimately unsuccessful bond election in 1973. “I thought Americans agreed a long time ago that free public education for all of our children was the way to go.”¹⁰⁰³ Even more, exempting oneself from school taxes was not an option. In *A Nation of Strangers*, his 1972 critique of an “increasingly rootless nature of Americans,” Vance Packard pointed to the pursuit of generational self-interest, writing, “Some people in retirement communities might also be charged with dropping out on responsible citizenship.”¹⁰⁰⁴ As strikingly similar ideas and language in the discursive back-and-forth over school taxes in Sun City, “We are give the impression,” one reader of the *Arizona Republic* concluded in the winter of 1969, “that like a hippie in his pad these residents of Sun City have withdrawn from society into their childless

1003 Geraldine Emmett, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, November 2, 1973. For other examples linking schools and American life, see editorial, “Whose Responsibility?” *News-Sun*, November 7, 1972. For argument that education could translate into a reduction in a variety of public costs, see, for example, Edward Lanz, et al., “Retirees’ Responsibility to Schools Stressed,” *Peoria Times and Valley Farms News*, January 24, 1969; F.W. Brown letter to the editor, November 24, 1972. On education and “welfare,” see Ruth Kinsman, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, March 8, 1969. In discussing events that transpired involving school taxes in Las Vegas later in the twentieth century, Hal Rothman addresses what appears to have been this theme, or a variation of it, as well: Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 167.

1004 Vance Packard, *A Nation of Strangers* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1972), 1 (first quotation), 306 (second quotation). On history of his book, see, Daniel Horowitz, *Vance Packard & American Social Criticism* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 244-250. Indeed, this appears to be a dominant theme, or the dominant theme, of journalist Andrew Blechman’s account, evidenced he asks, for instance, “What if everybody drops out after getting his or her own needs met?” And, he also writes: “Surely today’s retirees have something more to pass on to us than a love of golf and a perceived entitlement to lock themselves away in leisurevilles. That’s not citizenship; that’s secession.” For example, see Blechman, *Leisureville*, 224 (first quotation), 226-27 (second quotation).

community.”¹⁰⁰⁵ In 1973, a Peoria resident wrote, “The senior citizens today complain how the younger generation cops out, well, they are really setting a fine example for others, aren’t they?”¹⁰⁰⁶ And one Sun City resident wrote earlier that same fall, “As concerned citizens who are not ‘dropouts from society’ let’s get behind our young people and vote yes at least on the elementary school bonds, where the need is most desperate, on Oct. 16.”¹⁰⁰⁷

Some critics challenged any notion of “citizenship” strictly along life-cycle lines, arguing in favor of broader definitions.¹⁰⁰⁸ As the woman who questioned the cultural patriotism of bond opponents, “Americans also agreed that the public education bill should be paid by taxing every one of its citizens whether they had children or not or

1005 Russell Bish, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, February 28, 1969.

1006 George Pfundheller, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, November 4, 1973.

1007 Earl L. Clore, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, October 9, 1973. The evidence in this and the preceding paragraph very well might illustrate preoccupations with another idea explored by, for example, Bruce Schulman—what he discusses was the rise of, if not shift towards, “visionary communities, new subcultures with newly discovered identities,” which included “retirement communities” such as Sun City, Arizona, and other developments. See Schulman, *The Seventies*, 79-80, 84-87 (second quotation 87), 100-101 (first quotation). For Sun City, Arizona, as well as the Sun City development in Florida examined by FitzGerald, specifically, see 87. And, in fact, Schulman uses Frances FitzGerald’s study in making such points—in relation to the Sun City in Florida and to her broader discussion here. For the former, see FitzGerald, *Cities on a Hill*, 226-35, as cited in Schulman, 87. Here, while Schulman identifies it as “Sun City West,” FitzGerald’s study, of course, is on Sun City Center, Florida. And for the latter, the overall idea explored in Schulman’s chapter, see FitzGerald, 16, as cited in Schulman, 80. For FitzGerald directly, see also, for example, 19. And for FitzGerald on the newness and significance of the development and the forces undergirding it, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 205-6, 209-10, 212, 224, 232, 244; FitzGerald, *Cities on a Hill*, 20, 409. For overall chapter in Schulman’s work, see Schulman, “‘Plugging In’: Seeking and Finding in the Seventies,” in *The Seventies*, 78-101. And in terms of relationship between given groups and others, Schulman writes that “America’s elderly increasingly *removed themselves* from their families and communities, setting off for retirement colonies and leisure developments.” Schulman, 84 (emphasis added). And Gary Cross makes a same or similar point—or within a same or similar framework—on a “larger cultural trend – splitting into amiable, like-minded cohorts,” previously quoted in my Chapter 5. Cross, *An All-Consuming Century*, 189. For Teaford using language and/or framing as “secession,” also see Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 111. Work by McKenzie and Blakely and Snyder, as discussed and cited in my Introduction might provide same or similar frameworks for making sense of such evidence as well.

1008 This is not to say that the above accounts do *not* involve such life-cycle concerns; Schuman, for example, writes of “a new, more liberated elderly made their way far from the communities and commitments of their Rustbelt homes.” Schulman, *The Seventies*, 87. And, earlier on this page, see his discussing and citing of FitzGerald, as cited above.

whether or not they felt they had already ‘done their share.’”¹⁰⁰⁹ One resident in Sun City urged her fellow retirees that “we are still citizens of the United States, and as such we still have responsibilities as well as privileges.”¹⁰¹⁰ And as one man urged retirees to support the Peoria district in the summer of 1974, “You may have retired from work but PLEASE don’t retire from Citizenship [sic].”¹⁰¹¹ While some Sun City residents who drew connections between age, space, and school taxes in way that permitted them *not* to pay school taxes, distinctions among later stages of the life cycle were arbitrary in the face of underlying, longer-term community concerns.

Ideas about an American “compact” in generational terms involved a principle of exchange—of an arrangement far from the one-to-one view of taxes and services espoused and upheld by bond opponents in Sun City—described by one Sun City critic as “a two-way street.”¹⁰¹² More specifically, exchange was imagined in a way in which the individual—perhaps akin to Social Security—“paid for” drew, or did not draw, benefits in the form of services *regardless* of life cycle.¹⁰¹³ “I am sure,” the resident of another

1009 See again Geraldine Emmett, letter to the editor, November 2, 1973.

1010 Dorothy C. McEachern, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, June 21, 1974.

1011 Robert Pitt, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, July 24, 1974 [?].

1012 Jane Brosius, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, November 16, 1973. I quote and cite this again shortly below.

1013 For quotation here, see again Skocpol, “The Limits of the New Deal System and the Roots of Contemporary Welfare Dilemmas,” 296. Scholarship on the subject of Social Security and attacks on the program beginning in the 1970s is discussed and cited at a later point in this dissertation. Here, however, the evidence below might suggest the potential for a degree of discontent amongst taxpayers earlier in the decade surrounding both property taxes and Social Security. It might be argued that the following evidence illustrates longer-simmering opposition to pensions, thus reflecting more general attitudes not necessarily foreshadowing—directly connected to—the backlash that only would grow in the decade and beyond. On arguments about impact of taxes in anti-pension politics, see Powell, et al., *The Senior Rights Movement*, 83-86. And for accounts on economic context and specifically identifying the *growth* of benefits as problematic, the evidence in my work here might be early examples of the critique that took hold by the mid-1970s. On this and its causes, see, for example, Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 61-63, 64, 65-68; Berkowitz, *America’s Welfare State*, 71, 71-72; Martha Derthick, “The Politics of Social Security (Cont’d): How Easy Votes on Social Security Came to an End” in *The Aging in Politics*, Hudson, ed., 152. Even more, as Derthick suggested here, the questions surrounding Social Security in the 1970s were actually broader in nature: “Very likely, these rising costs would at some point have begun to erode the program’s popularity, and perhaps were already doing so even before the ‘crisis’ developed” (152).

Phoenix-area community argued, “that when the residents of Sun City . . . were raising families of their own they were more than willing to have other people share the costs of educating their children. How quickly we forget.”¹⁰¹⁴ Meanwhile, Peoria supporters pointed out that they, too, paid for services that they did not consume—or at least not presently. In the late 1960s, the *News-Sun* pointed out that “Peoria wage earners, along with wage earners throughout the nation are making the contributions which pay Social Security benefits to retirees.”¹⁰¹⁵ Several years later, towards the end of 1973, a resident of Goodyear asked in the Peoria newspaper, “Have you residents of Sun City ever that that maybe other taxpayers begrudge some of their tax money going for your Medicare? It’s a two-way street.”¹⁰¹⁶

Tensions—or the potential for tensions—between young and old were evident in the arena of property taxes in the early part of the decade as well. “Severe as the plight of the elderly homeowner of very limited income is, there are many persons who question whether local communities can or should try to provide any tax relief for them since younger families would then have to assume the higher tax burden,” material for the 1971 WHCA noted. “It is pointed out, assuming that property taxes measure the comparable value of homes, there is no reason why younger homeowners should pay disproportionately higher property taxes than older people for property of equal value. The equities of the situation, according to these arguments, do not favor preferential tax relief or subsidies for the elderly. It is maintained that age should not be the determining factor in assessing taxes.” WHCA, *Background and Issues: Housing the Elderly*, 21 (quotation), 77. As additional material explained, “Hard pressed as many of these taxpayers already are by taxes of all kinds in addition to the cost of living, they may resent and resist tax concessions for the aged.” WHCA, *Background and Issues: Income*, 29. For discussion elsewhere, see also NRTA and AARP, *Proposals for a National Policy on Aging*, 25.

And as yet additional evidence, closer to home, appeared in the process of passing what might have been Arizona’s property-tax legislation for older persons in 1973 in a broader context: “To be sure, an unmarried person with an income of less than \$3,500 a year or a couple with an income of less than \$5,000 may find property taxes a heavy burden. But is that any more true of citizens over 65 than of youngsters who are likely to have children to support?” Editorial, “Exemptions or Fair Taxes?” *Phoenix Gazette*, May 3, 1973.

1014 Eric Kula, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, November 10, 1974. The writer here—the omitted portion of this quotation—deals with the process set in motion to separate Sun City formally from the Peoria district. For similar evidence, see also, for example, Lanz, et al., “Retirees’ Responsibility to Schools Stressed.” For critique of the “fixed incomes” argument in relation to exchange, see also Jaime Piedra, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, July 23, 1973.

1015 See again “Basis for Balloting.” For evidence of this thinking later in work of Gober and colleagues in Sun City West in the late 1990s, see again McHugh, Gober, and Borough, “The Sun City Wars,” 644.

1016 Brosius, letter to the editor, November 16, 1973. For similar evidence, see Lee Roehman, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, November 21, 1972; G.W. McCarty, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, September 27, 1974. Amongst the pro-school “vocal minority” it noted from its investigation, the HUD study reported: “Others

Around the same time, in the wake of the unsuccessful bond votes in the fall of 1973, Ira Murphy weighed in on the apparent failure of Sun City to uphold their end of things. “We vote no for the children of our community, but we gladly accept Medicare, Social Security, and other benefits that cost far beyond the meager contributions we made,” Murphy, who had lived in the retirement community himself at one point, said, “and our benefits are possible only because the wage earner is txed [sic] for them.”¹⁰¹⁷ And, as the 1974 bond election with Sun City in the Peoria district approached, one Sun City resident wrote to the *News-Sun*, “On Jan. 1 of this year all workers in America who pay Social Security taxes shouldered a very substantial increase in their already heavy tax load in order that we might have an 11 per cent increase in our cash benefits this past spring. We are being asked to give back only a small part of that raise to the young people of Peoria, who are among the taxpayers who help to support us, in the form of taxes to build some much needed schools.”¹⁰¹⁸

Even more, Sun Citizens could be cast as *not* entitled, as evidence suggests the presence of the language of anti-welfare politics. As one letter to editor in Peoria asked, “What kind of people say, ‘I can’t afford it’ to a bond election but accept all handouts the

pointed out that the situation was analogous to Social Security benefits: younger people presently employed were contributing to Social Security so that they, the retired workers would receive adequate retirement income. In return, they should support public education for the workers’ children.” See Abt Associates, *Property Tax Relief for the Elderly: An Evaluation*, 152.

1017 Ira Murphy quoted in “Peoria Schools Bombed out by Sun City - Youngtown Voters,” *Northwest Peoria Times*, October 19, 1973. For one letter to the editor of the same newspaper calling residents there “hypocrites,” see Ray Scott, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, November 9, 1973. Connecting back to the issue of developers and schools, one Sun City resident responded to Murphy’s comments: “If Ira Murphy wants to shame someone, he could start by pointing his finger at these developers. For every 100 houses built and sold in Peoria and Glendale, 200 or more newcomers children must be sent to grade and high school. The developer sells the houses, takes his profit and moves on, leaving the problem behind.” See F.M. McQuiston, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, November 2, 1973. Same or similar letter to the editor also published under same name in *Arizona Republic*, October 22, 1973.

1018 McCarty letter to the editor, September 27, 1974. On Social Security changes to which the letter write might have been referring, see Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 63.

government has to offer?”¹⁰¹⁹ “They,” one reader of the Peoria newspaper wrote of Sun City residents, “certainly do not hesitate to accept their government checks, and milk the present-day working man for every cent possible.”¹⁰²⁰ As this reference to the ostensible exploitation of “the present-day working man” suggests, the oppressed were not older Americans subsisting on fixed incomes but rather “struggling parents” and younger taxpayers.¹⁰²¹ One Peoria district couple, meanwhile, called into question the fixed-income argument more generally, or at the very least expanded it to include younger citizens as well, seemingly by pointing out that Sun City residents were not alone: “We are all on fixed incomes, so to speak, since business and industry have not kept pace with the cost of living, and we all feel the pinch.”¹⁰²²

Voices in Sun City held very different views on all of the above. Retirees in a few instances utilized the language of anti-welfare politics, with one Sun City man calling those potentially attending a Sun City-Youngtown school district “little chiselers.”¹⁰²³ Others rejected the idea that younger generations were paying taxes to support retirees, insisting that they were entitled to benefits flowing from income and healthcare programs for older Americans, the “contributory principle” alive and well—

1019 Rita W. Scott, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, October 26, 1973. A same or similar letter appeared as Rita Scott, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, October 22, 1973. On such politics, or similar politics, manifesting itself in relation to tax politics going back to the 1960s in Robert Self’s study, see Self, *American Babylon*, 285-86. For perhaps relevant discussion elsewhere, also see 321; Schulman, *The Seventies*, 193, 207, 208, 209, 216.

1020 Ray Scott, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, November 9, 1973. For language of “free ride” perhaps relevant as well, see Marilyn S. Morrin, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, November 2, 1973.

1021 See F.W. Brown, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, November 24, 1972 (quotation); McCarty letter to the editor, September 27, 1974.

1022 See Sandy L. Schoenstein and Dolores F. Schoenstein, letter to the editor, *Northwest Peoria Times*, October 12, 1973. Coverage from the Youngtown paper of events in mid-1974 illustrates additional evidence of this theme: “Joann Leiby spoke on behalf of the district’s parents saying they were aware of the retirement communities [*sic?*] problems with the higher cost of living and tax increases, but she said they also shared those problems. ‘You have to feed two people; I have to feed five.’ . . .” See Gail Washchuck, “Crowd Attends Redistricting Forum,” *Youngtown Record*, June 12, 1974.

1023 For example, see Robert B. Stump, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 28, 1974.

and in metropolitan politics.¹⁰²⁴ “Most Sun Citians paid into Social Security since its inception and what we get from Social Security now we have coming to us,” one Sun City resident wrote in denying the role of district taxpayers—the view stated in a piece in a Phoenix-area newspaper, attached to a previous letter to the editor of the *News-Sun*, “that school children’s families living in the Peoria School District contribute to Sun Citians’ finances through Social Security payments.”¹⁰²⁵ And when one Peoria resident, writing in response to a previous letter to the editor stating opposition to school taxes, referred to Peoria student as “children who will contribute to his Medicare and Social Security payments for the rest of his life,” a Sun City man insisted that “our benefits are based upon the money we and our employers contributed to Social Security, together with age of retirement, by a formula set up by the Social Security administration.”¹⁰²⁶

But here, the *News-Sun* countered this letter in an editorial shortly after that undercut claims propounding a narrative upheld by the program’s underlying, enduring logic. Asserting that the Sun City resident “repeats a myth that some retirees like to believe,” the newspaper cited a recent Associated Press story highlighting the larger payments, particularly in the early 1970s. “Every Social Security recipient knows that the government did not go back to 1937 and dun [*sic?*] him for higher payments nor did the government require his former employer to pay more for those past years in order to finance today’s benefits, which are substantially higher than the pension today’s retiree was buying in his working years,” the editorial explained—and accurately so. “*In other words, there just isn’t very much relationship between what the retiree paid in and what*

1024 For quotation, see again Gordon, *Dead on Arrival*, 97. See also discussion of relevant literature on key ideas undergirding the social-welfare state for older Americans in my dissertation Introduction.

1025 George Fehsmaier, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 10, 1973 (quotations); Margaret Francis, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, March 27, 1973, first cited in Fehsmaier letter to the editor.

1026 Roehrman letter to the editor, November 21, 1972 (first quotation); Edward F. Janicke, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, December 1, 1972.

he is taking out.”¹⁰²⁷ Such a mismatch thus perhaps threatened to mark the beginning of the end; a pulling back of the curtain on Social Security, the newspaper predicted several years earlier in the context of policy changes under consideration, “could become the first step toward a wage earners’ revolt.”¹⁰²⁸

Still others resorted to politicizing old age itself, employing a strategy playing up the universality of aging based on the logic perhaps reflecting what Jonathan Oberlander explains in his study of Medicare was a “common cause” growing out of “an intergenerational political alliance” behind Social Security.¹⁰²⁹ Appealing to self-interest

1027 Editorial, “Footing the Bill,” *News-Sun*, December 5 [?], 1972 (emphasis added). For the AP story itself, first cited in the preceding editorial, see “Benefits up 51 pct. in Social Security,” *Arizona Republic*, November 26, 1972. One Sun City resident similarly wrote in 1974: “The retirees out here don’t mind collecting the Social Security which is being paid by those who are working now. They say it is the money they have put into the Social Security fund. They will not face, or won’t admit, the fact that the maximum amount they could have paid into that fund is but a small fraction of what they are collecting, and that what they are receiving is being paid for by the present and future wage earners of this country.” H. Taylor, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, July 6, 1974, CF, PPL. While exact marking not on hand, folder itself corresponds to the above year for “Sun City” within the Arizona series of such files. For similar evidence, see chain of letters and responses first cited in Melvin L. Manning, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 20, 1973; James Allen, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 6, 1973, and letters referenced therein; Manning letter to the editor, April 20, 1973; G.W. McCarty, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, July 12, 1974. For additional evidence, see editorial, “Social Security Crossroad,” *News-Sun*, March 7, 1972. For evidence earlier still, see editorial, “Bankrupt Social Security,” *News-Sun*, July 22, 1965; editorial, “Something for Nothing,” *News-Sun*, July 2, 1964; editorial, “Perpetuating a Myth,” *News-Sun*, May 11, 1967; editorial, “Social Security Revision,” *News-Sun*, May 7, 1969; editorial, “Social Security Heads Up,” *News-Sun*, December 31, 1969. It was here that the newspaper called for the consideration of class—that “since Social Security payments no longer have any relation to what an individual paid, we content that there should be a new basis on which benefits should be paid.” See “Social Security Heads Up.” On the rise, transformation, and the political styling of Social Security, see again discussion of its history in Chapter 1, including Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 81-82, 83-84. This very well might have been part of a broader critique taking root: 85-86.

1028 Editorial, “Social Security Heads Up,” *News-Sun*, December 31, 1969.

1029 Oberlander, *The Political Life of Medicare*, 79. More specifically, he explains: “The reliance on payroll tax and trust fund financing had several key political advantages.” And one, he writes was that social insurance created an intergenerational political alliance. Both workers who were currently paying payroll taxes and retirees who had already paid payroll taxes regarded benefits as a right conferred by virtue of their own contributions. Since all Americans expected to receive Social Security when they retired, young and old found common cause in supporting benefit expansions and opposing program cuts. The program constituency, then, was numerically impressive and politically potent; it comprised not merely retirees but future retirees—in other words, the whole population.” Oberlander, *The Political Life of Medicare*, 79. For broader, other important discussion, see also Oberlander, other important discussion, see also Oberlander, 78-80. My work looks at how this logic was politicized as a discursive strategy for advancing particular points—and how it played out as variations of the theme not only below, in relation to Social Security, but also in relation to age restrictions in particular in my Chapter

in the anticipation of an ostensibly inevitable future, President Nixon asserted in 1972, “We all grow old; the younger generation today will be the older generation of tomorrow. As we address the needs of older Americans, therefore, we are truly acting in the best interest of all Americans.”¹⁰³⁰ One Sun City resident relied on a similar approach in deflecting criticism. “We are fed up with the statements that you are supporting us because you are paying Social Security,” she asserted. “Would you have us believe you are not going to apply for Social Security when you become eligible?”¹⁰³¹ Whether referring to the entitlement issue, the broader problem of income in retirement, or other matters, another wrote, “Sooner or later, when those complaining become ‘mature’ and able to retire, it would be interesting to know their reactions to the same problem.”¹⁰³²

Meanwhile, debate involving Sun City benefiting at the expense of others took place outside of the arena of school taxes, in relation to the politics of the incorporation of the retirement community.¹⁰³³ The issue of incorporation—in practice and in positions taken publicly—blurred the boundaries between the development and Maricopa County, engendering criticisms of the community from its metropolitan neighbors in light of the metropolitan context in which *un*-incorporation placed it.¹⁰³⁴ When political opposition to “‘special’ legislation, designed to fit the needs of Sun City,” gathered momentum at the state capitol, as retirement-community representatives reported it to SCTA leadership

7. And as evidence of the universal argument elsewhere, going back to early 1960s, *Time* concluded: “The issue has become—and it should—an immediate concern for every U.S. citizen. After all, statistically speaking, any voter in the U.S., if he is not already, can look forward to being 65.” “The Family,” 50.

1030 Nixon, Special Message on Aging, in Post-White House Conference on Aging Reports, 1973, 182.

1031 Hazel Wulff, letter to the Editor, *News-Sun*, October 23, 1973.

1032 Roland F. Bauerle, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, October 26, 1973.

1033 On history of, see accounts as cited in my dissertation Introduction.

1034 For VanderMeer on incorporation in Sun City as relevant here—both for structure of and for mention of view of as “a disinterest in the larger society,” related to backlash or not—see again VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*, 213. For Findlay again as well, see Findlay, 206. And while Findlay mentions “reputation for selfish conservatism,” and whether or not including incorporation here, see 206. For both accounts on broader tensions, see VanderMeer, 213-214; Findlay, 206-207.

at a 1973 event in Sun City, the *News-Sun* quickly fired back, not only defending the “desire for a reduced and favorably gerrymandered Peoria School District” but also calling out evidence of a broader legislative “concerted campaign to push Sun City into municipal incorporation and thereby give the county a massive windfall of Sun City money with virtually no dollar-expending responsibility.”¹⁰³⁵

And that summer, DEVCO’s retirement community erupted when the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce suggested that “Sun City has rejected incorporation because it is able to obtain necessary governmental services from the county, without paying for a major portion of those services.”¹⁰³⁶ Sun City interests argued, however, the retirement community represented a net *gain* to Phoenix—something the Chamber’s own public treatment of it, along with the local media’s coverage, obscured by playing up another representation of Sun City.¹⁰³⁷ “Rather than Sun City getting a ‘free ride,’ as news articles have indicated,” SCHOA declared, “Phoenix and other cities in Maricopa County are getting a free ride at the expense of unincorporated Sun City.”¹⁰³⁸

1035 George Rodocker cited in “‘Special’ Legislation for SC Irks Lawmakers, Group Told,” [*News-Sun*], February 16, 1973, SCHOA (first quotation); editorial, “Special Break for Whom?” *News-Sun*, February 20, 1973, H.O.A. Scrap Book: 1973 (second quotation), both initially viewed in “H.O.A. Scrapbook: 1973.”

1036 Report of Phoenix Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce (PMCC) as described and quoted in editorial, “Equality for Sun City,” *Phoenix Gazette*, July 7, 1973, “H.O.A. Scrap Book: 1973”; Art Preuss, “Sun City Groups Deny Charge of ‘Free Ride,’” [*News-Sun?*], July 6, 1973, “H.O.A. Scrap Book: 1973”; report of PMCC as described as well in editorial, “Whose ‘Free Ride?’” *News-Sun*, July 6, 1973. For perhaps similar issues and tensions in Rothman, see also Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 168.

1037 See again editorial, “Whose ‘Free Ride?’”; Preuss, “Sun City Groups Deny Charge of ‘Free Ride.’” For subsequent evidence suggesting otherwise, see “Study Changes CofC’s Tune, Sun City Called ‘Major Asset,’” *News-Sun*, June 7, 1974; editorial, “No Gravy Train After All,” *News-Sun*, June 11, 1974. For debate between community and broader county over services elsewhere, in the case of Columbia, Maryland, see Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 153-54.

1038 Statement of SCHOA quoted in both Preuss, “Sun City Groups Deny Charge of ‘Free Ride’”; “HOA Says Chamber Claim Unfounded,” *News-Sun*, July 6, 1973. For coverage of examples of other episodes involving similar tensions, see Lynn Pyne, “Freeloading Charge Refuted at CofC Meeting,” *News-Sun*, August 22, 1975; Burt Freireich, “Mayor Hance Rekindles Fiery Incorporation Issue,” “Sun Beams” column, *News-Sun*, April 20, 1976; Thelma Heatwole, “Mrs. Hance Urges Sun City Residents to Incorporate,” *Arizona Republic*, April 15, 1976, “Ariz.-Biog.-Hance, Margaret” [?], CF, PPL. For example

Persons and groups representing and backing the retirement community in the controversy surrounding the episode emphasized Sun City's broader, ostensibly positive relationship with the area beyond a taxes-paid/services-consumed differential.¹⁰³⁹ "These retirees," the prospective Sun City retiree who placed the duty of providing schools with parents defended the retirement community against the view that residents there took advantage of others, "bring in vast sums of money . . . and lifetime pensions from 49 other states and in effect taking little out, getting little if anything in the nature of services and benefits from the county and state. I doubt, for example, that you will find many Sun Cities residents on welfare, nor much impact from Sun City on the schools [sic] system."¹⁰⁴⁰ Such ideas were articulated by those other than the SCTA as well, including a staff member of Governor Raul Castro stated in a speech in the mid-1970s, "We consider our senior citizens an asset rather than a liability. As you know, Arizona, with its superb climate and well-planned retirement communities, is attracting retirees in substantial numbers. But these people are not a drain on our state's resources. In fact, these senior citizens contribute much to our economy, and our state can be thankful for the special talents and experience they bring with them."¹⁰⁴¹ As the SCTA put it in a

of opposition to Hance's position, but also support of, see Caroline Weiler, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 20, 1976; Donald P. LeGalley, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 4, 1976.

1039 For example, in particular see comments of Bill Kent of SCHOA in Preuss, "Sun City Groups Deny Charge of 'Free Ride.'" For additional evidence addressing one or both sides of the equation, see Barnes, "Sun City, Arizona," 34; editorial, "Equality for Sun City"; Hazel Wulff, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, July 6, 1973; Norman W. Noble, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, July 10, 1973. For overall positive economic impact of Sun City, see again Findlay, "Sun City, Arizona," 210-11.

1040 Gene Wilson letter to the editor, December 19, 1972.

1041 Bob Hathaway, "Senior Citizens, an Economic Asset," speech to Adult Action, Mesa [Arizona], 1-2, box 130, Governors Raul H. Castro and Wesley Bolin Papers, RG 1, SG 21-22, ASALPR. For identification of Hathaway and presumable context of presentation, as well as impetus behind, which came from Adult Action, an organization featured in the following chapter of this dissertation, see Elise Little to Robert Hathaway, October 29, 1975, box 130, Castro and Bolin Papers. For same or similar additional evidence, see also Carl Davis, "A Fresh Look for Arizona's Senior Citizens," speech to the Arizona Council for Senior Citizens,, January 10, 1976, 4-5, box 130, Castro and Bolin Papers. For additional discussion of retired persons as a drag/boost, see also editorial, "What Lies Ahead?" *Arizona Republic*,

statement titled “Sun City and the Case for an Arizona Retirement Community,” “It gives much; it takes little.”¹⁰⁴²

The impact of such retirement development extended to the realm of volunteer and benevolent efforts taken by retirees. “Sun City residents are generous people,” the same SCTA statement declared, citing various beneficiaries of retirement resources, “supporting worthwhile projects and organizations all over Arizona.”¹⁰⁴³ Earlier, in 1973, one Sun City man aimed to rebut “letters . . . in our local paper and in the Phoenix paper accusing and even vilifying Sun Citians for being uninterested and-or unwilling to contribute to the Peoria and Glendale schools.” In part referencing efforts directed towards many lower-income, majority Latino neighbors in El Mirage, one Sun City man identified himself as “one of the 28,000 to 30,000 of Sun City who contribute many dollars to the economy of Maricopa County as well as dollars and work hours to Dysart

February 9, 1977, and Robert J. Donohoe, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, February 20, 1977, both in box, 130, Castro and Bolin Papers.

1042 William H. Maxant, “Sun City and the Case for an Arizona Retirement Industry,” statement [to the Governor’s Task Force on Aging and Retirement] of the Sun City Taxpayers Association, February 18, 1976, 2, box 3A, Castro and Bolin Papers. For the SCTA making various points elsewhere, see coverage: Rosebrock, “SCTA Launches Campaign for Retirement ‘Industry’”; “Tapley Outlines ’75-76 SCTA Plans,” *News-Sun*, August 26, 1975; “SCTA Urges Incentives for Retirees,” *News-Sun*, February 3, 1976; [SCTA], “Sun City Past, Present and Future,” 3, n4. Former SCTA official Doug Morris articulated same or similar ideas. See Morris as cited in Ron Hickman, “Retirement Proposed as Major Industry,” *Sun City Citizen* [?], April 9, 1975, SCTA; Jim Cullison, “Sun Citian to Air Retirement Community ‘Industry’ Idea,” *News-Sun*, July 18, 1975. U.S. Senator Paul Fannin also entered a statement into the *Congressional Record*—he attributed it to “A resident of Sun City”—that might have been authored by Morris in light of the overlap with Morris’s work as it appeared elsewhere, as well as that local newspaper coverage indicated: “Details of his plan have been given to Arizona’s congressional delegation, Morris said, and Sen. Paul Fannin had it published in the Congressional Record [*sic*].” See [G. Douglas Morris?], “A New Industry for Arizona—The Retirement Community,” included by Paul J. Fannin and reprinted in *Congressional Record* (February 5, 1975): 2626-27 (first quotation 2626); Cullison, “Sun Citian to Air Retirement Community ‘Industry’ Idea” (second quotation). Note: The article from the SCTA was in a scrapbook at Sun City Taxpayers Association, Sun City, Arizona, that I viewed at SCTA office in December 2007. I refer to any such material from this or other scrapbooks as from “SCTA.”

1043 Maxant, “Sun City and the Case for an Arizona Retirement Industry,” 1-2 (quotation 1). Note: The sources in the notes in this paragraph are not exhaustive on this subject. Be sure to see those—particularly scholars discussions—cited later in this section for excellent accounts and overviews.

Center, El Mirage, the hospitals, the rest homes, and many charitable organizations of the county.”¹⁰⁴⁴ Generosity, however, would come with a price.¹⁰⁴⁵

Even more, in calling for a minimizing of school taxes for retired residents, Gene Wilson, the eventual Sun City resident who touted retirees as a win-win demographic for local communities, more explicitly equated economics with political rights, concluding by calling for “Mr. Politician” to “mind his caustic comments, count the blessings and bounties that retired persons bring to Arizona, and *do something to protect this valuable resource which is virtually all income and no outgo.*”¹⁰⁴⁶ As the SCTA stated, “Retirement communities are an attractive industry for any state and are being recognized as such throughout the country. Several states grant tax advantages to the elderly in order to attract them. States in the North are beginning to pass laws of similar import in an effort to keep their people from moving elsewhere. Arizona has the big advantage of

1044 On El Mirage, see again Tucker, “El Mirage: A Little Appalachia 45 Seconds Away...Where 3,500 Folks Eke out an Existence”; Tucker also cited in “*A Family Place*,” Ed. Swenson, ed., 13; Toepel, “A Migrant Town in Transition,” 5-6; figures for 1980 cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 210. For letter (quotation), see George F. Turner, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, October 12, 1973. For additional evidence of supporters of Youngtown and Sun City defending the retirement communities, calling attention to efforts, or both, see M. Manning, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, July 5, 1974; Emily Hardy Nash, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, November 8, 1973; Paul Fannin, remarks to Sun City, January 11, 1975, 3, “VF – Anniversaries 15th,” SCHAS; Webb Corporation, “The Town that Changed America’s Viewpoint on Retirement,” 6. For example of additional criticism of Sun City, see again Roehrman letter to the editor, November 21, 1972. For critique of volunteer culture—as relatively lacking—by Calvin Trillin, see Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 166-67, cited in Sturgeon, “It’s a Paradise Town,” 130-31. For an example of a rebuttal to Trillin, see Marie C. Floor, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 14, 1964. For an example of others defending the retirement communities, see Edward J. Wajda, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, January 16, 1973. And as FitzGerald commented on Florida: “What is interesting is that Sun Citians seem to feel somewhat less of a social obligation than they did before they retired.” See FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 231.

1045 Sun City volunteers no doubt had the best of intentions, and their efforts hopefully had a beneficial effect in addressing different needs in the area. My treatment here, and below, is concerned with the ways in which such efforts had political implications for broader debate over taxes.

1046 See again Gene Wilson letter to the editor, December 19, 1972 (emphasis added).

climate and should supplement this with other benefits to bring more of this wealth to the state.”¹⁰⁴⁷

In the end, the underlying logic here reflects the new understandings of retirement and the rights it entailed as championed by the SCTA and others. Again, the notion of “need” provided the rationale, pre-empting any ties binding retired Americans to the larger collective. “It needs no grade or high schools, little in the way of judicial services, correctional facilities, jails or police services,” the organization said, referencing “a retirement community like Sun City”—and suggesting how, in terms of schools, for instance, services varied across the life cycle.¹⁰⁴⁸ The SCTA ultimately advanced a brand of citizenship defined in terms of the economic implications of retired persons, extending rights based on the spending—or saving—of dollars and cents for retirees and retirement communities—“the goose that lays the golden eggs,” it said in the same document—taking the form of tax and other privileges.¹⁰⁴⁹ In the process, such notions of citizenship

1047 Sun City Taxpayers’ Association, “Retirement Communities: The Industry Tailored to Arizona Needs” (n.d.) 1, box 120, Castro and Bolin Papers. For additional discussion, see 1-2. Such positions articulated by different Sun City interests might within a pattern of efforts in Arizona more broadly, as explored in Shermer’s work, again previously cited in Introduction to this dissertation. See, for example, Shermer, “Sunbelt Boosterism,” 33-34, 43, 44-45, 47-48, 48-50, 57; Shermer, *Sunbelt Capitalism*, 6, 7-8, 12, 231, 235, 236, 238-39, 255-56, 267, 267-68. And for useful context provided by Schulman’s discussion in relation to “Sunbelt” activities and efforts, see again Schulman, *The Seventies*, 111 (quotation), 111-12.

1048 Maxant, “Sun City and the Case for an Arizona Retirement Industry,” 2. See also SCTA, “Retirement Communities,” 1. As Doug Morris argued: “Because it doesn’t use these tax supported services or use them to a minimum extent, the retirement community should be relieved of such taxation in whole or in substantial part.” See Morris quoted in Cullison, “Sun Citian to Air Retirement Community ‘Industry’ Idea.”

1049 For quotation, see Maxant, “Sun City and the Case for an Arizona Retirement Industry,” 2. I return to such SCTA evidence in the following chapter as well in relation to age restrictions. It is also worth noting that such thinking was not limited to the SCTA or even Sun City more broadly. Illustrating a sort of political self-consciousness of the role of older persons within the local political economy, evidence suggests that this was articulated by other retirement-community residents as well. As a resident of a development elsewhere in the Phoenix area wrote to Governor Jack Williams in 1967 regarding legislation under consideration: “If the taxes do increase and if the widow tax exemption is cancelled, it will definitely hurt the economy of this county and state for hundreds of people will be forced to leave due to financial status.” Mrs. Mel Brennis, to Jack Williams, February 14, 1967, box 409, Williams Papers. For another example illustrating similar thinking, see Earl C. Peabody to Paul Fannin, October 16, 1962, box 211, Governors’ Subject Files, ASALPR.

and rights illustrate the broader dichotomy of the political economy of retirement migration and retirement development, making the case not just for vulnerability and marginalization—the “poor widows” about whom Doug Morris worried aloud—but also for *affluence* and economic *empowerment*, reflected in SCTA concern with “providing some financial benefits to the *wealthy elderly retirees*, giving them special incentives to make their homes in Arizona.”¹⁰⁵⁰ Nor did the apparent catering to different economic groups necessarily reflect political inconsistencies; it might suggest how the politics of “taxpayers” provided an umbrella for both rich and poor under stormy retirement skies that might have threatened even the more well-off with the constraints and uncertainties brought about by “fixed incomes.”¹⁰⁵¹

Towards the end of 1974, the Sun City-Peoria school battle quickly came to end. Earlier in the year, the efforts aimed at carving out and launching an internal district for Sun City school-age children fell short—the movement had won enough support amongst district residents to petition the Peoria board successfully for the change in June a lawsuit originating in Sun City ultimately blocked the move—as had subsequent “redistricting” efforts, evidently, that fall.¹⁰⁵² In late November, however, as the *News-Sun* reported of

1050 SCTA, “Retirement Communities,” 1 (emphasis added).

1051 Although not an SCTA official, Bill Chapman spoke at an SCTA meeting in early 1976 both trumpeting benefits but also making the “fixed incomes” point, thus perhaps suggesting how these two dimensions of retirement politics dovetailed in the vision promoted by the SCTA. See Chapman quoted in “SCTA Urges Incentives for Retirees.” Then SCTA President Phil Tapley seems to have folded the fixed-income position into the broader pro-retirement view in discussion pro-retirement legislation involving assessments for property taxation. See Tapley as cited in “Tapley Outlines ’75-76 SCTA Plans.” That these could be complementary positions is further suggested by Doug Morris, who in his approach suggested that such “communities can be planned for various income levels,” for example, meaning that one could be less affluent but still an economic boost—and thus meriting certain privileges. See again Cullison, “Sun Citian to Air Retirement Community ‘Industry’ Idea.”

1052 On the brief history of the Marinette district, see also Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 207; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 218-19; Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 77. For coverage in the local press, see, for example, Don Rosebrock, “Citizen Group Eyes Move to Split off SC-Y Area,” *News-Sun*, March 29, 1974; Jim Cullison, “SCTA Readies Petitions,” *News-Sun*, April 9, 1974; Don Rosebrock, “Citizens’ Group Favors School Redistricting Plan,” *News-Sun*, April 30, 1974; “School

the events that had transpired, “the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors removed Sun City-Youngtown from the Peoria School District under terms of a little-used state law.”¹⁰⁵³ Perhaps to shield Sun City from criticism, an official from the SCTA stated his support for the move and, according to minutes from the Board of Supervisors’ meeting, “added that for every dollar that is spent by the County on services to Sun City, there was more than double that amount of money that comes in from Sun City the County.”¹⁰⁵⁴ The following fall, in October of 1975, bond issues totaling \$8.5 million, the largest of which was intended for a new high school, easily passed.¹⁰⁵⁵

Conclusion

Redistricting Facts Outlined by Homeowners,” *News-Sun*, May 10, 1974; Don Rosebrock, “District School Board Takes Initial Step toward Bond Issue,” *News-Sun*, May 31, 1974; Don Rosebrock, “Peoria Board Okays District Split,” *News-Sun*, June 18, 1974; “School Districts Opponents Take Case to Court Today,” *News-Sun*, July 12, 1974; Don Rosebrock, “Names Short, SC-Y Stay in Peoria District,” *News-Sun*, August 13, 1974; “Redistricting Supported: Driver,” *News-Sun*, November 5, 1974; “Redistricting Drive Leader Says 8,000 Have Signed,” *News-Sun*, November 15, 1974; Don Rosebrock, “County Takes SC-Y from School District,” *News-Sun*, November 26, 1974. Discussed in the following chapter, opposition in the retirement communities was evident throughout the process based on what were seen as potentially negative implications that children represented. On arguments against specifically, see, for example, Minister and Burke, 77; discussion in Paul Schafer, “200 Jam Council Meeting to Hear School Split Facts,” *News-Sun*, May 17, 1974; Don Rosebrock, “Opposition to Redistricting Shown at Forum,” *News-Sun*, June 7, 1974; “Mrs. Schaeffer Says RCASC Stands against Redistricting,” *News-Sun*, November 5, 1974; “RCASC President Says Redistricting Would End SC as Retiree Haven,” *News-Sun*, November 15, 1974; events as outlined in editorial, “‘Majority’ of 10,” *News-Sun*, November 29, 1974; earlier events in “Thelma Heatwole, “Peoria Schools Cut off from Sun City and Youngtown,” *Arizona Republic*, June 14, 1974, also in “Sun City” file corresponding to year in Arizona series, CF, PPL.

1053 On the events of November, including the specifics of this law and of the arrangement, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 207; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 219; Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 77-78; Rosebrock, “County Takes SC-Y from School District” (quotation); editorial, “‘Majority’ of 10”; “Sun City-Youngtown Secedes from Peoria School District,” *Northwest Peoria Times*, November 27, 1974; BOSMC, minutes, , November 25, 1974; editorial, “Solution in Peoria,” *Arizona Republic*, November 27, 1974, PPL-AR-CF-Ariz.-Cities & Towns-Peoria; Jim Cullison, “School District to be Split Tuesday,” *News-Sun*, June 27, 1975.

1054 See Phil Tapley cited in “Sun City-Youngtown Secedes from Peoria School District” and minutes, Board of Supervisors, Maricopa County, November 25, 1974 (quotation). For criticism of the of the persons involved in this effort, a man by the name of Driver, by someone from a Sun City organization discussed in greater detail in the following chapter, see “Redistricting Leader Charges ‘Smear,’” *News-Sun* November 19, 1974.

1055 “Peoria School District Voters Approve \$8.5 Million Bonds,” *News-Sun*, October 17, 1975; Minister and Burke, *The Privilege You Inherit*, 80.

Ideas about the rights of retired residents in Sun City, Arizona in relation to paying and *not* paying school taxes drew them into conflict with other residents of the Peoria district and with the broader metropolitan community. The line between the arguments that retirees could not have paid such taxes and that they should not have done so was more clear in some cases than in others; the former might have distracted from the latter, while the latter—in its own right—reflected a key feature of the broader political culture of Sun Citizenship. In what in effect was an opting out of taxes and taxpayer- funded services—schools—Sun Citizenship sought out and operated on a consciously constructed relationship between age, class, and space ultimately granting political rights and *privileges to retired homeowners and retired taxpayers.*

In the process, tensions over paying for the expanding Peoria schools paralleled and further elaborated on retirement politics unfolding both nationally and in terms of national-level policies. In expanded entitlements in Social Security and Medicare, and in increased and newly created exemptions for older American homeowners and renters, the politics of vulnerability and of retirement distinctiveness promoted popular understandings of and public policies intended to address income constraints facing older Americans. However, as the case of Sun City within the saga of the Peoria schools suggests, conflict chased consensus on the ground in metropolitan Phoenix, as Peoria parents and other residents of the broader community called into question the rights pursued by Sun Citizens—if not foreshadowing critiques of old-age policies and “greedy geezers” gaining traction on the terrain of American politics by the 1980s, then perhaps demonstrating apparent similarities and at the very least illustrating generational and

generationally defined tensions around various benefits bestowed by age in public policy.¹⁰⁵⁶

The issue of schools taxes amongst DEVCO retirement communities again would surface in the late 1970s, as Webb developed its subsequent Arizona project, Sun City West. In the meantime, adding fuel to the fire was another issue growing out of the battle over school taxes. While no children in Sun City might have meant no *schools* in Sun City, the converse was not true. In the matters that increasingly dominated Sun City by the mid-1970s, the residency of children in Sun City—real or imagined—preoccupied various members of and organizations in the retirement community. And as it turned out, age segregation and age restrictions were two separate things—if age restrictions existed in the first place.

1056 Expression “greedy geezers” quoted in Robert H. Binstock, “The Contemporary Politics of Old Age Policies” in *The New Politics of Old Age Policy*, Robert B. Hudson, ed. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 267. On this theme, as well that of “intergenerational equity,” see, for example, Hudson, 267-29 (quotation at 268); Powell, et al., *The Senior Rights Movement*, 166, 172-83; W. Andrew Achenbaum, *Older Americans, Vital Communities: A Bold Vision for Societal Aging* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), xviii-xix, 141-43. Hal Rothman himself seems to use a same or similar framework—of “cross-generational warfare”—in his work on retirement in Las Vegas: Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 152, 166 (quotation), 167. Popular and political attacks on Social Security and entitlements more broadly, post-1972, are discussed in my Epilogue.

Chapter 7

The Politics of “Peace and Quiet”

In 1973, one Sun City resident wrote to Arizona’s two U.S. Senators, Barry Goldwater and Paul Fannin, expressing concern over various issues affecting residents of the retirement community. “We have another situation,” she explained addressing that of “school taxes,” for instance, “which is quite shocking after you have already purchased your home. They sell to children on the ‘resale’ of homes out here. If this policy is continued, it will spoil the whole idea of a Retirement Community.” Several lines in the letter later, she asserted that “There should be a way of having a law that would provide protection against this type of thing.”¹⁰⁵⁷ In Sun City and other retirement developments in Arizona in the 1970s, residents sought exactly that.

Sun City, and also Youngtown, had managed to renegotiate the retirement communities’ relationship with the Peoria schools by the mid-1970s. Yet before the issue even had been settled, fears involving the presence—or *potential* presence—of children rose to the surface. And it was not just Sun City. “The thousands of senior citizens who flock to Arizona each year in search of the peaceful, leisure life within its retirement communities are suddenly finding their bliss shattered by an unlikely menace—children,” the *Arizona Republic* reported the previous year, in 1974. Describing tensions, it subsequently explained, “In many of the adult communities, there is anguish, hostility, and open, bitter feuding. Often, the divisive issue is simply over who gets to use the

1057 Celeste Brown to Barry Goldwater and Paul Fannin, January 25, 1973, folder 21, box 149, Goldwater Papers, AHF. In his response, Goldwater suggested the following on this particular point: “Unfortunately, I cannot assist you with the matter concerning Sun City as a Retirement Community as this is not within Federal jurisdiction. My advice would be for you to contact your State Representative and Senator and let them know of your feelings on the subject.” Barry Goldwater to Celeste Brown, February 21, 1973, also in folder 21, box 149, Goldwater Papers.

swimming pool – the older people or the youngsters.”¹⁰⁵⁸ However benign, such points of dispute enmeshed retirees, neighbors, developers, the state of Arizona, and again Maricopa County into new political battles, with parties having interests in age-segregated housing potentially compromised by the existence—or *lack*—of age restrictions.

This chapter explores the history of age-restricted housing—of the creation and contestation of such restrictions in different residential developments—in Arizona and elsewhere in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s. It explores and explains the broader context within which the Sun City story unfolded, specifically the rise in Arizona of what authors of a study published in the 1970s termed “the Adults Only Movement.”¹⁰⁵⁹ Efforts began in the early 1970s, when retirees fought back against what they perceived as a threat to their lifestyle—and investment—by filing lawsuits against younger families in breach of age-based deed restrictions.¹⁰⁶⁰ At mid-decade, organizing and lobbying led to protective legislation at the state level for retirement-type housing developments. But when the state appeared to have failed on the enforcement front, retirees called for greater efforts, ultimately pushing for enabling legislation at the state level for county- and municipal-level zoning, and ultimately, by 1984, communities such as Sun City—and the newer Sun City West—had protection under a Maricopa County ordinance.

1058 Christopher Drake, “Kids Spark Anger in Retirement Areas,” *Arizona Republic*, September 1, 1974, “[Ariz.-?] Retirement Centers,” CF, PPL. Preceding bracketed information obscured in my copy.

1059 William A. Anderson and Norma D. Anderson, “A Local Movement at Work: The Politics of Age Exclusion: The Adults Only Movement in Arizona” in *Politics of Aging*, ed. Hudson, ed., 86-97 (quotation 87), also—if not first—cited, in Otis, ““Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,”” 161n465. For biographical information on William A. Anderson, a sociologist at ASU, see again originally published article, published in *The Gerontologist* in 1978: Anderson and Anderson, “The Politics of Age Exclusion,” 6n1.

1060 I discuss the events and developments that I summarize in this paragraph in greater detail later in this chapter—and, of course, documented with relevant sources.

In the battle over age restrictions in Sun City, and in Arizona more broadly, the political culture of retirement communities claimed particular rights for residents as senior citizens with economic, social, and medical “needs” different from—and to some extent again defined in opposition to—younger generations. In articulating an identity and asserting certain rights of citizenship promoting a politics of aging based on the uniqueness of older Americans, such claims to retirement distinctiveness were tied to space—which, thinking went, allowed for control over residency and thus membership in given communities, which in turn either blocked or allowed for benefits ostensibly flowing from age segregation. In the process, running throughout the politics of age restrictions and empowering proponents of age-restricted housing, was a logic of distinctiveness revolving around retirement. And the logic of retirement distinctiveness and the discursive form it took and political and legal footing it helped retirement housing in the mold of Sun City, Arizona, gain could cater to the class interests of retirement-community residents—as homeowners—at the very same time.

Organizing for Age Restrictions

The issue of age restrictions surfaced in particular in mid-1974, when the community debated the formation of a school district to serve the school-age population, however minimal, in the two retirement developments of Youngtown and Sun City. As some residents worried, the presence of schools would lead to the presence of children—and to the detriment of existing retirement arrangements. Whether for education or recreation, facilities located in the Sun City area, some retired residents reasoned, could attract younger families and, in turn, a population many sought to keep at arm’s length.

“Building schools in Sun City,” one Sun City man argued, “will be an open invitation to families with school-age children to move in and will mean the end of Sun City as a retirement community as we know it.”¹⁰⁶¹ Taxes and other appealing features had the potential to put such a demographic transition in motion, some suggested. “I’m concerned that the low tax rate of a newly created Sun City-Youngtown school district, together with the other advantages of living in this area, would prove as attractive to the parents of school-age children as to present residents,” another Sun City man argued.¹⁰⁶²

The fall-out could include new realities perhaps not unlike those painted in *The Beginning* in the 1960s and elsewhere; as another resisted insisted, “You are bound to suffer broken or stolen statuary, flower pots, garden ornaments, and the like.”¹⁰⁶³ Reflecting another worry, another letter to the editor of the *News-Sun* stated, “I agree if we provide a school, younger families will want to move here to use our golf courses, our tennis courts, our swimming pools, and our quiet streets.”¹⁰⁶⁴ And while he apparently supported such school efforts, another Sun City resident dismissed this concern: “I have talked to a great many persons who fear that with a lot of children here we will lose our rights to the facilities and recreation we enjoy—swimming pools, mini golf, etc.—to children. This is a false impression.” Echoing practices observed by Calvin Trillin back in 1964, he continued, referencing the organization now in charge, “At the meeting of the Recreation Centers last Monday, this item received a great deal of discussion, with the

1061 Norman W. Noble, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 31, 1974. For this concern addressed elsewhere, see SCTA covered in Don Rosebrock, “Questions, Answers Listed on Peoria District Split,” *News-Sun*, May 14, 1974.

1062 Here, see Doris Lane, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 7, 1974; John J. Grimes, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 31, 1974 (quotation).

1063 Max Pendleton, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 24, 1974.

And, he wrote: “You will find your beautiful landscaping littered with gum and candy wrappers, paper bags, pop bottles and cans, cigaret [*sic*] butts, and other kinds of debris.” For other complaints, see Mrs. J. Rothkopf, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, July 5, 1974.

1064 Gladys S. Foster, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 7, 1974.

definite assurances that anyone under 18 years of age will never be given activity cards to use the facilities.”¹⁰⁶⁵

Resistance to schools and children in the two retirement communities took a more specific and official form with the emergence of a handful of organizations headed by residents of the Sun City area. One was the Retirement Community Association of Sun City (RCASC). First undertaking efforts aimed at blocking the “redistricting” movement over the summer months surrounding an independent school district for the retirement communities, the organization pushed the “influx” argument during the fall when another, though slightly different, bid was made.¹⁰⁶⁶ Another was an organization called Save Youngtown for Retirees (SYR), formed by a couple from Massachusetts named Edward and Elinor Johnson. In May of 1974, one of the Johnsons spoke out against a district serving the retirement developments, and in June Edward Johnson called for members to join, asserting at one point that “The difference between this type of community and any other lies in the fact that it was founded on the premise that there would be no children and no schools.”¹⁰⁶⁷

1065 See Henry N. Post, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 28, 1974. On the above organization, see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 83-84, 86, 87-89.

1066 For the origins and activism of RCASC, see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 126; “Court to Decide Thursday on School Split’s Validity,” *News-Sun*, August 2, 1974; Rose Jackowitz on RCASC in Rose A. Jackowitz, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, August 6, 1974; Elinor Johnson on RCASC in Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, August 9, 1974; “Mrs. Schaeffer Says RCASC Stands against Redistricting,” *News-Sun*, November 5, 1974 (first quotation); RCASC, “Keep Sun City a Retirement Community,” advertisement, *News-Sun*, November 1, 1974; “RCASC President Says Redistricting Would End SC as Retiree Haven,” *News-Sun*, November 15, 1974 (second quotation). On RCASC efforts in relation to the Marinette district, see also events as recounted in [Sun City Town Meeting Association?], “Sun City Town Meeting, [Inc.?,]” statement outlining creation and intent of organization, 1, December 5, 1976, “Sun City Town Meeting Assoc” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. Handwritten on top of document is “Birth of TMA.” On history of this group, see Freeman and Sanberg, 126-27. Meanwhile, one of the organization’s—RCASC’s—founders also spoke of the potential “influx” in June prior to the creation of the RCASC, or least shortly before it formally incorporated. See Lucile Schaefer quoted in Rosebrock, “Opposition to Redistricting Shown at Forum,” *News-Sun*, June 7, 1974.

1067 E.H. Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 21, 1974; Edward H. Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, June 4, 1974 (quotation). Same or similar letters to the editor also published by Johnson in

Evidence suggests that the Johnsons had concerns about the perceived linkage between schools and children—that the former would lead to the latter—prior to interests in Sun City spearheading the drive establishing a self-serving school district for the retirement communities. Over the summer of 1973, she wrote to Sun City’s George Rodocker, then head of the SCTA, praising a letter to the editor he had penned questioning the Peoria school district’s budget for the busing of students. Recounting a recent conversation with the Peoria district’s Ira Murphy, Johnson wrote, “I asked that the busses desist from picking up children in Sun City and Youngtown. If there is not a bus, it might be a deterrent to families with children to move into our communities.” After all, she asked, “Since when do women over 65 have children? This could be the first step to keep our retirement community, which right now, is starting to be non-existent.”¹⁰⁶⁸

In order to realize a version of retirement that conformed to the expectations of its members, SYR took action. As early as 1973, Elinor Johnson noted to Rodocker her efforts at the state level—that “I am trying to get the House of Rep. interested in making an exception on a bill now going before the Legislation [*sic*] concerning the law of

Youngtown Record, May 22, June 5, 1974. On background of the Johnsons, see E.H. Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, June 18, 1974. The exact position of SYR in relation to the district approved in June of 1974, however, is less clear in light of their apparently overall concern involving Glendale: Charlene Paraniuk, “Sun City/Youngtown School District Formed,” *Youngtown Record*, June 19, 1974. But on SYR on schools, see position as characterized in editorial, “Age-Ban Bombshell,” *News-Sun*, October 29, 1974. 1068 Elinor M. Johnson to George A. Rodocker, July 1, 1973, in unboxed SYR correspondence (SYR), YHSC, ASALPR. This stack of letters was located as of November 2009 in a file cabinet related to the collection. For actual Rodocker letter, see George A. Rodocker, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, June 29, 1973. Suggesting that the transportation costs brought about by current plans were inefficient, and thus excessive, here Rodocker pointed to ways he perceived of controlling demand: “There is no law in Arizona that requires the busing of school children. We believe some reasonable rules should be enforced regarding the various age groups and the distance from home to school those age groups should be required to walk.” He continued: “Certain ages can ride bicycles to school or be brought by parents or in car pools. Mandatory rules can be drawn, with exceptions for unusual hardship cases.”

renting or leasing property to families (with children).”¹⁰⁶⁹ And there were other efforts in 1974 in context of the impending school district. On one level, SYR looked outside of the Sun City-Youngtown area for solutions. Directing their efforts to the federal level, the group sought what in effect was the right to discriminate by carving out a legal space for retirement developments not covered by relevant legislative protections already existing. “The retirees need your help to keep the retirement communities from becoming extinct, and I think that they can be saved by a simple amendment to the discrimination law, stating that all retirement communities have the right to stipulate the minimum age of residents, at 45 years of age, or over,” Edward Johnson wrote to the Executive Director of the AARP. “The law,” he wrote, apparently referring to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, “states that you have to sell your property to any person who qualifies financially, regardless of race, color, creed, single or married, [*sic?*] and with or without children of any age. Because of this, families with school children are infiltrating, slowly, but steadily into retirement communities like Youngtown and Sun City, [*sic?*] in Arizona.”¹⁰⁷⁰ And in a letter following up on the matter written to the AARP’s contact at the White House, Johnson more succinctly put it, “I think that any retirement community has the right to ask for an amendment to the Civil Rights Bill,

1069 Johnson to Rodocker.

1070 Paul Schafer, “Youngtowners Seek to Ban Young Legally,” *News-Sun*, June 7, 1974; “AARP Receives Local Request for ‘No Children’ Legislation,” *News-Sun*, June 21, 1974; quotation from copy of letter Edward H. Johnson to Bernard C. Nash, May 26, 1974, SYR, YHSC. Elinor Johnson called for involvement by the AARP as well elsewhere: Johnson, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, June 5, 1974. The issue of “discrimination” also was discussed at a Youngtown meeting attended by SCTA and SCHOA officials in mid-May, though who made the point is not clear from the record at hand: Youngtown, Arizona, Common Council, minutes, May 16, 1974.

giving us the right to stipulate the minimum of it's [sic] adult residents at 50 years, and a minimum age of it's [sic] children at 18 or 19 years."¹⁰⁷¹

Not long after, one of the Johnsons urged interested parties in a letter to the editor of the *News-Sun* to contact their Congressman, arguing that realtors were not at fault—as some had suggested—but rather obligated by federal law to not participate in discriminatory practices.¹⁰⁷² This was not a view shared by all, however; in June, members from SYR formed the Retirement Community Association of Youngtown (RCAY), based in part on the view of the head of the new organization that “state legislation, not national legislation, is needed,” according to the *News-Sun*. “In my opinion,” she explained it, “Civil Rights has nothing to do with our problem.”¹⁰⁷³ Nonetheless, in the process, the Johnsons and SYR were building a case based on ostensible evidence that others would soon use in Arizona—that a “precedent” for restricting retirement housing along lines of age, particularly a prohibition on the residence of young children, already existed in federal housing programs for older Americans.¹⁰⁷⁴

1071 [Edward H. Johnson] to John B. Martin, June 10, 1974, 1, SYR, YHSC. U.S. Senator Paul Fannin mentioned “discrimination” in response to a constituent letter around the same time: Paul Fannin to Mrs. Elmer Roberts, May 20, 1974, box 49 [?], Paul Fannin Papers [?], AHF. Additionally, in response to another letter the following year from a Youngtown couple asking for legislative help at the federal level, to which he explained that “It is not a matter of federal law and it would be inappropriate for the Congress to enact legislation covering landlord and tenant problems,” see correspondence: Tom and Mary Manning to Paul Fannin, October 29, 1975, and Fannin to Manning and Manning, November 19, 1975, folder 47, box 94, Fannin Papers, AHF.

1072 E.H. Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, June 18, 1974.

1073 See Charlene Paraniuk, “Splinter Group Formed from SYR,” *Youngtown Record*, June 26, 1974; Mary Eno, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, June 26, 1974; Paul Schafer, “Discord Results in Splitup of SYR Group,” *News-Sun*, June 25, 1974; (first quotation); Marion M. Irvine, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, July 3, 1974 (second quotation). The focus of the RCAY going forward, however, is not entirely clear. For example, see Charlene Paraniuk, “RCAY Board Adopts Constitution, By-Laws,” *Youngtown Record*, July 17, 1974.

1074 For quotation, see letter [Johnson] to Martin, p. 2. For additional examples of SYR making this point elsewhere, see Jo Graber, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 28, 1974, cited in Edward H. Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, June 4, 1974; position of the Johnsons as reported in Schafer, “Youngtowners Seek to Ban Young Legally”; Edward Johnson, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, July 31, 1974.

On another level, SYR explored the role of zoning in Youngtown, perhaps discouraged by the failure to gain traction for invention at the federal level. At a meeting of the town council in July, Elinor Johnson attended and raised the issue of “an ordinance rezoning Youngtown as a retirement area,” according to minutes from the meeting.¹⁰⁷⁵ “This is the only way we can stop the influx of families with young children and rid ourselves of increasing school problems,” Johnson claimed. “There is no way we can stipulate the age of residents until this rezoning is accomplished.”¹⁰⁷⁶ The reception, however, was less than enthusiastic, with the town’s legal counsel eventually stepping in to the discussion, arguing that federal trumped local law: “We could spend a lot of time on this but we’d be beating out heads against the wall, if that’s what you want,” he said. “The council is up against a stone wall called the Constitution of the United States. There is no such thing as a retirement community just like there’s no such thing as an all-white community.”¹⁰⁷⁷

Meanwhile, as some pursued age restrictions for retirement housing, residents again faced a dilemma potentially undermining the retirement community as an urban form and local economy—that they, people whose very identities and lives were structured by the fact that they no longer worked, were dependent on another, younger population to supply their service needs but whom they also sought to restrict at the level of the immediate housing market.¹⁰⁷⁸ “We, the young families of Sun City, Youngtown,

1075 Gail Washchuck, “Town Council Meeting Adjourns in Haste,” *Youngtown Record*, July 24, 1974; Town of Youngtown, Arizona, Council, minutes, July 17, 1974 (quotation).

1076 Elinor Johnson quoted in Washchuck, “Town Council Meeting Adjourns in Haste.”

1077 Mike Sullivan quoted in Washchuck, “Town Council Meeting Adjourns in Haste.” For earlier evidence of discussion involving the illegality of such a step, see, in addition to minutes of May 16, 1974, Youngtown meeting, also Harriette A. Reckner, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, June 5, 1974.

1078 For Rothman on labor in Las Vegas retirement, see again Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 152. And for a case in Hal Rothman’s work perhaps paralleling the trend in Sun City on tensions involving labor, specifically, the marginalization—including spatially—of industry workers, see again Rothman,

and Peoria wish to apologize for invading and polluting your Utopia with our presence,” the parents of one family wrote. “We have been under the misconception that we are providing a service.” They continued, “We were unaware that there are enough retired policemen to handle the sheriff’s and other law enforcement duties in this area; there are enough retired firemen to handle the fire department’s duties; there are enough retired cooks and waitresses to take care of the many restaurants and eating places in this area. Enough retired doctors, nurses and other medical staff to care for all of the medical needs. Enough retired people to take care of all the sales in your shops and grocery stores, plus the utilities, garbage, and trash pickups and all the landscaping jobs.”¹⁰⁷⁹ Yet firing back at this frustrated family, a retired couple played the “industry” card. “You seem to imply by your statements that you are doing us a very big service to this community and for free, it sounds from the way you put it,” they wrote. “I’ll bet that if your wages were not forthcoming at the end of the week you wouldn’t put out any more services. Did you ever stop to think that if it wasn’t for us older folks being here in this retirement town, you might not have a job.”¹⁰⁸⁰

The rise of the RCASC, SYR, and the RCASC dovetailed with a broader movement taking shape in Arizona in 1974, and leading the way was an organization called Adult Action. Although not formally incorporated until the end of 1974, Adult Action was forged in the fires of legal battles over age restrictions already underway, coalescing in particular around fundraising efforts aimed at backing the plaintiffs in an

“Residence-Based Resorts: Second Homes and Outside Influence,” 235. And as Blechman discusses in relation to The Villages in Florida, though in terms of schools rather than age restrictions but nonetheless addressing the issue of labor, see also Blechman, *Leisureville*, 154.

1079 Mr. and Mrs. Norman Cohagen, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, June 25, 1974. Same or similar letter published *Youngtown Record*, June 26, 1974. For another example, see Frances K. Filley, *News-Sun*, June 11, 1974.

1080 Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth L. Camp, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, July 3, 1974. See also Letter to the Editor, “Apology Unacceptable,” Mrs. L. Gleason, *Youngtown Record*, July 10, 1974.

earlier lawsuit brought against a family in an age-restricted development now working its way through the appeals process and gathering political momentum as it developed a legislative voice and agenda as the year progressed.¹⁰⁸¹ Towards the end of the summer of 1974, SYR was corresponding with Adult Action, and by that fall both the RCASC and RCAY had ties as well.¹⁰⁸² Meanwhile, the homeowners who had brought suit in the original *Stoves* (1973) case—and the age-restricted housing market, more broadly—received further affirmation and support in October. “The State Court of Appeals,” the *Arizona Republic* reported in the wake of the latest ruling, “has upheld the legality of

1081 On the rise of Adult Action, see Anderson and Anderson, “A Local Movement at Work,” 89-90; Adult Action, Inc., *The Adult Action Story*, pamphlet, 1977, box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers, ASALPR, title as identified in Elsie [sic?] Little, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, July 1, 1977; Drake, “Kids Spark Anger in Retirement Areas”; Barbara Rose, “‘We’re not against Children, but –,’” [*Arizona Republic*], December 3, 1984, “Adult Action” folder in Arizona series, CF, PPL; “Appeals Court Backs Retirement Communities’ Right to Bar Children,” *Arizona Republic*, October 23, 1974; Don Rosebrock, “New Law Expected to Curb Developers, Association Told,” *News-Sun*, October 4, 1974. The original case referred to above was *Stoves v. Smith*, Superior Court of the State of Arizona, Pinal County, no. 26509. The case before the appeals court was *Riley v. Stoves*, 22 Ariz. App. 223, 526 P.2d 747 (1974). The other case mentioned in two of the sources likely is *Nye v. Loudon, et al.*, Superior Court of Arizona, Maricopa County, no. C-280741, decision June 12, 1974. This case was cited by SYR’s Elinor Johnson in a 1976 letter seemingly to the Governor: Elinor M. Johnson, “Dear Sir” [Raul Castro?], January 26, 1976, 3, box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers; William Penn to Carl Davis, February 2, 1976, box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers; Raul H. Castro to Elinor M. Johnson, February 5, 1976, box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers.

1082 For SYR and Adult Action, see, for example, Edward H. Johnson to Truman Little, August 7, 1974, Edward H. Johnson and Elinor M. Johnson to Truman Little, September 17, 1974, Elinor M. Johnson to Mr. Wolf, September 30, 1974, all in SYR, YHC; Elinor M. Johnson and Edward H. Johnson, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, September 18, 1974; Edward H. Johnson, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, October 2, 1974. There might have been contact even earlier, but the timing suggested here is from the evidence at hand. For RCASC and RCAY, respectively, see, for example, Lucille Schaefer, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, September 27, 1974; Marion Irvine, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, October 23, 1974; “Adult Action Representative to Speak at RCAY Meeting,” October 8, 1974. For confirmation of at least SYR and RCASC as belonging to Adult Action certainly by a later point in time, see also Anderson and Anderson, “A Local Movement at Work,” 90. On conflicting strategies between SYR and RCAY in this period, see, for example, Marion Irvine, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, October 23, 1974; Marion M. Irvine, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, December 4, 1974. For efforts of SYR here, see also, for instance, Charlene Paraniuk, “SYR Seeks Expansion of Deed Restrictions,” *Youngtown Record*, October 30, 1974; Charlene Paraniuk, “Complaint Filed against Boosters,” *Youngtown Record*, October 30, 1974; Charlene Paraniuk, “Legal Action Will ‘Save’ Boosters Club,” *Youngtown Record*, November 6, 1974.

barring families with children from buying property in so-called adult retirement communities.”¹⁰⁸³

Grand visions of a future without children, however, were tempered somewhat by unsettling questions—questions potentially resolved in answers that undercut the age-restriction-defined retirement-housing market based on life-cycle distinctiveness that now ran the risk of eroding the power of the homeowner, *age aside*. “At the moment,” the *News-Sun* cautioned, “Youngtowners and Sun Citians are lords over their own property—they may sell it at the highest possible price without concerning themselves about the makeup of the purchasing family, they may rent it to anyone they choose, and they may bequeath it to whomever they desire without concern over the beneficiary’s free use of the property.”¹⁰⁸⁴

Adult Action, however, was less hesitant in its assessment of the legal landscape of age restrictions towards the end of 1974. Moreover, legislative work remained, Adult Action insisted, asserting that continuous litigation was an impractical means of redress while, at the same time, the application on the ground of the rulings of the county courts in the cases already heard—despite the fact that they “upheld deed restrictions as legal and binding in establishing adult communities”—lacked uniformity, further

1083 Anderson and Anderson, “A Local Movement at Work” in *Politics of Aging*, Hudson, ed., 89, 90; Adult Action, *The Adult Action Story*; “Appeals Court Backs Retirement Communities’ Right to Bar Children” (quotation); Paul Schafer, “SYR Proposes Drive to Bar Those under 19,” *News-Sun*, October 25, 1974; decision as summarized in editorial, “Age-Ban Bombshell.” On decision, see also Edward H. Johnson on Mel Wolf on decision in Johnson, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, October 9, 1974. 1084 Norman Shrenk cited in Schafer, “SYR Proposes Drive to Bar Those under 19”; Shrenk first cited in editorial, “Age-Ban Bombshell”; “Age-Ban Bombshell” (quotation). For similar concern, see Frank Brown cited in Paul Schafer, “Boosters Study Reply to ‘Fraud’ Charge,” *News-Sun*, November 1, 1974. For perhaps broader issue here, of individual rights in the face of collective concerns, see McKenzie on this tension involving homeowners’ associations. For example, see McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 19.

demonstrating the imperative of intervention.¹⁰⁸⁵ Thus seeking the procurement of policies favorable to age-restricted housing—what Adult Action called “protective legislation”—building on the legal groundwork recently laid, an Adult Action-led campaign, with backing from the RCASC and RCAY, ultimately would result in mid-1975 in the passage of state-level legislation.¹⁰⁸⁶

In its final form, the 1975 legislation cast a seemingly broad definitional and legal net covering so-called “adult communities”; as the *News-Sun* reported it, “The approved bill prohibits sales, leases, and rentals of property ‘to persons who have a child or children living with them when his property lies within a subdivision which subdivision is presently designed, advertised, and used as an exclusive adult subdivision.’”¹⁰⁸⁷ After

1085 Adult Action, [“Background for Bills of Interest to Adult Action and Its Recommendations for Legislation”], January 17, 1975, 1, box 130, Castro and Bolin Papers, ASALPR. For additional evidence here, see also Adult Action, *The Adult Action Story*; Wolf as quoted in Edward Johnson letter to the editor of October 9, 1974.

1086 For accounts of the rise of this legislation and its passage in June of that year, see, Anderson and Anderson, “A Local Movement at Work,” 90, 93; Adult Action, *The Adult Action Story*; “‘No Children’ Provision Passed,” *News-Sun*, June 24, 1975, SCTA; campaign as briefly summarized in Marion M. Irvine, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, July 1, 1975; and efforts summarized in Elise Little, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, July 4, 1975. For evidence that Adult Action already was thinking ahead to this, see Mel Wolf as quoted in Edward H. Johnson, letter to the editor (October 9, 1974). For RCAY on “legislation” approach, see also Marion M. Irvine, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, November 20, 1974. And, for quotation in text above, see Adult Action, [“Background for Bills of Interest to Adult Action and Its Recommendations for Legislation”], 1.

1087 Legislation as reported and quoted in “‘No Children’ Provision Passed.” This account explained, furthermore, that the breadth of the legislation, according to an Adult Action leader, to account for Sun City specifically by including “designed and promoted” since the development did not actually have age restrictions within deeds—a point that was raised again later in the 1970s. Here, see Adult Action’s Truman Little cited in the above. For additional summaries of the legislation, see Anderson and Anderson, “A Local Movement at Work,” 93; legislation as summarized and quoted in Little letter to the editor of July 4, 1974. For at least Arizona Revised Statute § 33-1317 more directly, see *Arizona Revised Statutes Annotated*, vol. 11, pt. 1, Title 33: Property, §§ 33-1101 to 33-End (Thomson Reuters, 2014), 142-144. And for the issues identified and specific “recommendations” made upon which the legislation at least in part presumably was based, see also Adult Action, [“Background for Bills of Interest to Adult Action and Its Recommendations for Legislation”], January 17, 1975, 1-2, box 130, Castro and Bolin Papers, ASALPR; Adult Action, *The Adult Action Story*. For mentions and/or brief discussion of legislation under consideration earlier in 1975 that ultimately failed, though why is not immediately known, see legislation and events as identified in the following by Marion Irvine: Irvine, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, February 7, 1975; Irvine, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, February 18, 1975; Irvine, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 11, 1975. See also Fred Koory Jr., “‘Adult Community’ Deeds Provided for in SB 1051,” *News-Sun*, February 18, 1975; Lucile Schaefer, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, March 14, 1975; “Retirement Bill May

all, Adult Action, argued earlier that year, practices involving “False advertising” on the part of developers and “Re-sales and re-renting” to ineligible buyers or tenants on the part of owners and realtors, among others, all in their own ways represented different angles of attack on the integrity of such residential developments.¹⁰⁸⁸ And its effect crossed state lines, having import beyond just Arizona as a community in south Florida drew on the Arizona law in crafting legislation of its own in the form of a local ordinance.¹⁰⁸⁹

Leading up to as well as after the 1975 legislation, the drive for ways of delivering and insulating age-restricted housing paralleled—and in some cases intersected with—the broader, mid-decade political jockeying surrounding the economics of retirement development and retirement developments. The Sun City resident who would author a SCTA statement “Sun City and the Case for An Arizona Retirement Industry” in 1976 now during the debate over schools in the retirement communities in 1974 called for steps “to amend Arizona laws to exempt retirement communities from the necessity of belonging to a school district.”¹⁰⁹⁰ Relayed by Senator Fannin in the *Congressional Record* in early 1975 and covered by the local press in subsequent months, another more specifically addressed the existing—and flawed—state of such developments: “Other than certain walled enclaves, residency qualifications are tenuous, and dependent on acceptance and continuance more on common agreement than on legal

be Tested in Court,” *News-Sun*, August 22, 1975. The SCTA also stated their support as well of the failed Senate bill: William H. Maxant, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, March 7, 1975.

1088 For example, see Adult Action, [“Background for Bills of Interest to Adult Action and Its Recommendations for Legislation”], 1-2 (quotations 1). See also Anderson and Anderson, “A Local Movement at Work,” 92-93; Adult Action, *The Adult Action Story*. For discussion prior to legislation, see also Drake, “Kids Anger in Retirement Areas.”

1089 See case of Pembroke Pines discussed in “Adults-Only Communities Multiplying,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 18, 1976.

1090 Maxant, “Sun City and the Case for an Arizona Retirement Industry”; William H. Maxant, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, June 4, 1974.

defensibility.”¹⁰⁹¹ More specifically still, in responding to coverage of the SCTA’s unveiling of efforts in May, SYR’s Elinor Johnson wrote in a letter to the editor of the *News-Sun*, “I saw no reference to establishing age restrictions as an incentive to locate here. Regardless of any other type of incentive, retirees will not remain in pseudo-retirement area after suffering the experience of an area not protected by legislation.”¹⁰⁹² The statement that SCTA released in 1976, too, advocated for “legislative protection against encroachment from youth.”¹⁰⁹³

Furthermore, whether crafted before or after the 1975 legislation, another, undated SCTA document advanced a similar position. Ultimately calling for “Communities exclusively for retirement (i.e., barring schools and residents under 18 years of age),” it stated earlier in its discussion in relation to the latter item that “Children under 18 years of age should be barred from living permanently in such neighborhoods, though welcomed from visits.” And, illuminating the rationales behind this proposed point, which grew out of both external and internal dimensions of the capacity of age segregation, it continued: “It is beyond doubt that older people need more tranquility, and the competition of their own kind provides the basis for longevity and better service

1091 See again [Morris?], “A New Industry for Arizona—The Retirement Community” in *Congressional Record*, 2626. For identical or nearly identical language, see also Cullison, “Sun Citian to Air Retirement Community ‘Industry’ Idea.” Specifically, the former specified: “Residence available, on purchase or rental, only to those over 60 (e.g.), retired from active fulltime employment, with no children under 18 . . . on an ‘equal opportunity’ basis.” See [Morris?], “A New Industry for Arizona—The Retirement Community,” 2627. For such specific information, also see Morris cited in Cullison; Morris cited in Hickman, “Retirement Proposed as Major Industry.”

1092 Coverage of SCTA in Don Rosebrock in *News-Sun* on May 16, 1975, as cited, and responded to, in E.M. Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 23, 1975. For actual article, see Rosebrock, “SCTA Launches Campaign for Retirement ‘Industry.’” Additionally, Adult Action apparently had some degree of involvement as well: see again Rosebrock.

1093 Maxant, “Sun City and the Case for an Arizona Retirement Industry,” 2. I return to this document, specifically the context in which the quotation above appears, later in this chapter when discussing the medicalization of the pro-age restriction position.

on their part to the whole society.”¹⁰⁹⁴ In the process, Johnson’s critique of the SCTA in 1975 suggests how a certain self-awareness of the politicized implications surrounding retirement could characterize the perspective of retirement-development defenders. Far from ignorant of the leverage inherent in matters of political economy, she framed the apparent legal vulnerability of retirement communities as a high-stakes game played with age restrictions: “The power of the retiree’s dollar is a boon to the economy of any state,

1094 SCTA, “Retirement Communities,” 1. The date of the folder in which this is found suggests that it, at the very least, was around the same time. More specifically, evidence suggests that age restrictions themselves could factor into the equation of residential retirement development at the local level, though in different ways, however applicable to Sun City or Sun City West, Arizona. On one hand, it seems that such restrictions were sought out by local governments or communities, due to the net-gain logic promoted in retirement development also discussed in my Chapter 5. As one account from the 1980s reported: “About 10 percent of co-ops, condominiums, and planned unit developments in the country now have age restrictions, according to the Community Associations Institute, the national trade association for common-interest communities. These are minimum, not maximum, requirements set as low as thirty-five or as high as fifty-five—but in none of these communities are children welcome. Some cities have actually encouraged this by making a deal with developers: the cities, eager to tap the senior citizen tax base without having to provide expensive municipal services, have allowed developers to build higher-density complexes in exchange for the no-children restrictions. Senior zoning, as it is called, can be a minor windfall for cities in need of revenue.” See Richard Louv, *America II* (New York: Penguin, 1983), 98, book first cited in McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 57. For similar evidence, see also Andree Brooks, “Adult-Only Enclaves Find Wider Market,” *New York Times*, October 25, 1981. And for discussion from the UC- Berkeley study from the 1960s perhaps relevant here to such concerns, see Barker, *California Retirement Communities*, 49, 50-51.

On the other hand, other accounts suggest that development hinged on the existence of age restrictions—from the perspective of the developer and/or the residents. As the *New York Times* reported, also in the 1980s: “A key factor in the success of the retirement villages is their age restrictions. These limitations, which have been the target of occasional legal challenges, are imposed by the municipalities at the request of the villages. In Manchester Township, New Jersey’s leading retirement municipality, the minimum age is 48, although children and others may stay over at any time.” See Donald Janson, “Retirement Towns Flourish in Jersey’s Fields,” *New York Times*, March 5, 1984. And, whether initiated by developments or not, local government could at least authorize and support age restrictions serving its own interest; the *New York Times* reported in the late 1970s on the strategic lowering of an age restriction already in place in the case immediately above, which presumably would expand the potential population ultimately ushered in by an expanded prospective market for retirement housing: “‘The purpose is to attract more people,’ said Joseph S. Portash, the Township Administrator. ‘Our new zoning ordinance is designed to continue senior growth.’” For example, see Donald Janson, “Ocean County: Retiring Spot,” *New York Times*, November 25, 1979. Indeed, on “industry” approach involving retirement in New Jersey and as of the 1980s, see also Portash quoted in “Town Says Elderly Are the ‘Industry,’” *New York Times*, March 5, 1984. And, on opposition to school taxes discussed in the 1980s, specifically in relation to the “senior zoning” and the logic behind it in New Jersey, see David Wolfe quoted, as well as evidence from Florida discussed, in Louv, *America II*, 100. For discussion of New Jersey, also see again Janson, “Retirement Towns Flourish in Jersey’s Fields.” However, for another perspective, suggesting the opposite, see also the University of Michigan’s Leon Pastalan quoted in Doris A. Byron, “Communities for Elderly Come of Age,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 19, 1981, first cited—though identified only by author and publication and not date or title of article—in Louv, 98.

as the record of the savings and loan companies in Arizona can testify.” Sans the state stepping in, “When the inevitable exodus occurs, Arizona [*sic*] economy will suffer,” she warned.¹⁰⁹⁵

Enforcement Politics

Arizona passed legislation favorable to age-restricted housing in 1975, but actually carrying it out was an entirely different matter. More than simply a disconnect between theory and practice, the problems proponents of age restrictions encountered included not just the practicalities—or impracticalities—of implementing legislation on the ground but complications actually originating from above, in policy design itself. As Adult Action and their members would find, the changes for which they fought raised as many questions as they answered.

For its part, SYR sought to bridge any gap between the expectations emanating from legislative chambers and the realities of enforcement at the level of residential developments themselves. The authors of the 1970s case study of Adult Action recounted, “Some of the greatest controversy involving the AOM resulted from actions taken by SYR in Youngtown following the passage of adults only legislation by the state legislature.”¹⁰⁹⁶ Towards the end of 1975, the new law in effect, SYR encountered several situations in which deed restrictions now in place in Youngtown were breached, seeking to right the wrongs they perceived as having been committed. When the group found that two families with young children had begun renting homes in the community,

1095 See again SCTA in Rosebrock as cited, and responded to, in Johnson, letter to the editor, May 23, 1975.

1096 See again Anderson and Anderson, “A Local Movement at Work,” 90. Here, the authors also describe them as “Perhaps the most militant and vociferous group which joined Adult Action and became part of the AOM.”

SYR—with assistance from Adult Action—took steps to have them evicted, in the case of one family—a widowed mother of two who had relocated from out of state for health reasons—going to the home in person and apparently acting in a threatening manner.¹⁰⁹⁷ “After we first moved in the home,” the mother recalled of Elinor Johnson’s visit, “it wasn’t more than a half-hour later that she started banging on the back door screaming, Out, out, out.”¹⁰⁹⁸

While SYR and others might have felt that they were merely following the law, the reaction within the retirement communities—not to mention the attention and publicity it received—interpreted the events that had transpired in a somewhat different light. Responding to efforts on the part of Adult Action to have disciplinary action taken by the Arizona Real Estate Department against the realtor whom had rented the home to the single mother, an editorial in the *News-Sun* called this “a clearcut case of overreaction,” accepting her explanation involving the illegality of acting otherwise in light of the relative newness of the change to the state’s rental-housing law—which effectively reversed aspects of protections extended to younger families by exempting

1097 For an overview of enforcement politics in terms of both SYR and Adult Action more broadly, see Anderson and Anderson, “A Local Movement at Work,” 93-94. For specific cases, see the following. For the Braswell family: Paul Schafer, “Couple with Child Forced to Leave Town by SYR,” *News-Sun*, October 17, 1975; Paul Schafer, “ACLU May Take up Eviction Case,” *News-Sun*, October 28, 1975; Paul Schafer, “ACLU to Investigate Eviction Case,” *News-Sun*, November 14, 1975; Jo Ann Dickerson, “Newsmakers---: Andy, 6, Runs Afoul of Gilded Oldies,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 24, 1975; “Retirees Banish Family.” For the case of the Cummins family: Paul Schafer, “Second Youngtown Family Faces Eviction by SYR,” *News-Sun*, December 26, 1975; Paul Schafer, “Adult Action to Seek Revocation of Realtor’s License,” December 30, *News-Sun*, 1975; “Retirees Banish Family,” *Washington Post*, December 29, 1975; Robert Lindsey, “Elderly in Arizona Town Fight to Keep Children out,” *New York Times*, January 26, 1976. For another incident involving Johnson and another SYR member, and also mention of another, earlier one, see, for example, “\$95,000 Awarded in YT ‘Harassing,’” *News-Sun*, November 12, 1977. On various efforts of SYR, see again Anderson and Anderson, 93-94; Elise Little to Robert Hathaway, August 21, 1976, plus attachments Adult Action, “Important Living [?] Information for You,” described by Johnson as a “‘Before you buy or lease’ check-list” (p. 1) and also “Dear Sir,” a letter aimed at realtors, respectively, box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers, ASALPR.

1098 Ann Cummins quoted in “Retirees Banish Family.”

developments in the mold of Sun City and Youngtown.¹⁰⁹⁹ Specifically, it argued, such efforts were short-sighted, one reason which was that “Already it is difficult to get the Arizona Legislature to consider seriously any bill which has a ‘Sun City’ or ‘Youngtown’ or ‘retiree’ label on it.”¹¹⁰⁰

Nor did the observers from outside of the Phoenix area fail to weigh in on the events transpiring in late 1975 and early 1976. Press coverage appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New York Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune*.¹¹⁰¹ “Youngtown is, in many ways, the prototype of the modern, self-contained American retirement community that has begun to spring up throughout the Southwest and Florida,” the *New York Times* reported. “And the generational clash here could be a preview of things to come elsewhere as the average age of Americans increases, and more of the elderly flock together to live out their days.” To at least some extent, the piece acknowledged the preoccupations of residents in Youngtown. Summing up seemingly understandable reasons, it wrote, “In their defense, elderly citizens who say they want to keep out

1099 Editorial, “A Pound of Flesh,” January 2, 1975. As Anderson and Anderson’s effectively explains it: “The new bill amended . . . making discrimination against families with children in the rental property illegal and subject to penalties. With the new law, it now became *illegal* for persons to rent or sell to persons *with* minor children.” Anderson and Anderson, “A Local Movement at Work,” 93. For additional discussion of events and ideas here, see Gregory M. Travaglio, “Suffer the Little Children—But Not in My Neighborhood: A Constitutional View of Age-Restrictive Housing,” *Ohio State Law Journal* 40, no. 2 (1979): 330n230; George Palmer Schober, “Exclusion of Families with Children from Housing,” *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform* 18 (Summer 1985): 1125 (and n29). For general trend in at the state level, see 1139. This perhaps was the legislation Elinor Johnson spoke of in her correspondence with the SCTA Rodocker in 1973 involving covering younger families in the rental-housing market. On Adult Action’s position taken towards the realtor, see also Paul Schafer, “Adult Action to Seek Revocation of Realtor’s License.”

1100 Editorial, “A Pound of Flesh.” For examples of coverage of tensions within Youngtown, see Frank Brown cited in Schafer, “ACLU May Take up Eviction Case”; Harriette Reckner, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, November 18, 1975; Paul Schafer, “Youngtown Meeting Ends in Chaos,” *News-Sun*, January 16, 1976; Brown and Ernest J. Schenk cited in Lindsey, “Elderly in Arizona Town Fight to Keep Children out.”

1101 See Dickerson, “Andy, 6, Runs Afoul of Gilded Oldies”; Lindsey, “Elderly in Arizona Town Fight to Keep Children out”; “Can ‘Old Folks’ Town Ban Children? It’s a Hot Issue in Youngtown, Ariz.,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 8, 1976. The *Tribune* piece appears to be a reprint from the earlier *New York Times* story, indicated as well by the attribution to the “New York Times News Service.”

children say that they settled here for peace and quiet in their old age, that they don't have as much patience with children as they once did, that they should be entitled to mold the kind of community they choose, that they fear high property taxes to support schools on their modest incomes, and that they are permitted to keep out children under a law signed by Gov. Raul Castro on Sept. 1.”¹¹⁰²

However, television-news coverage by CBS of the first incident, over Tom and Russella Braswell and their young son, suggests that the characterization and casting of retirees in other publicity was perhaps less sympathetic. “Sociologists have written that the old in America, they're often rejected by the young, but,” a late-October 1975 *Evening News* segment introduced by Walter Kronkite began, “Betty Ann Bowser has the story of one case where the tables have been turned.” Showing a scene with retirees, mostly on adult tricycles, riding down a street, smiling and talking, the report from Arizona opens, “They ride bikes a lot here each morning at sun-up and they play golf and just take it easy. For this is Youngtown, Arizona, a Phoenix suburb designed and built expressly for senior citizens.” Cutting to a shot of a white, blond-haired boy playing in a front yard, the report introduced “Andy Braswell,” who “plays a lot here, too, in Youngtown, where he's lived since September. But as it turns out, at six years old, Andy is too young to live here, and he and his mother and step-father have been told they must move.” Despite having been told otherwise, now “the family found out a new Arizona state law took effect this summer,” it explained, cutting from Andy sitting between his mother and stepfather on a couch to a shot of the boy's head and shoulders, perhaps to

1102 Lindsey, “Elderly in Arizona Town Fight to Keep Children out.” For language of “Peace and quiet” elsewhere, see, for example, “neighbor” as quoted by Robert Janz, quoted in Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 171 (quotation); Brown to Goldwater and Fannin.

humanize the story by personalizing it, “saying a landlord may not rent to families with children in an area designated for senior citizens.”¹¹⁰³

CBS’s coverage of the Braswell story framed the age-restriction debate in a morality play pitting old against young. “To be told all of a sudden that you have to move and you have no choice when you haven’t done anything, it’s just every emotionally, it’s unjust, totally,” Mrs. Braswell—who happened to be an employee at the hospital in Sun City—says with a mildly sarcastic or somewhat incredulous laugh agreeing with an off-camera voice, “except have a child, right.” Matter-of-factly, she then summarizes the family’s ostensible crime: “That’s, I guess, the worst thing we did was have a child.” Continuing, the segment next cuts to Youngtown residents at play. “In the bingo hall, where they relax, many senior citizens will tell you they have nothing against children as long as they visit, not live here,” the narrator explains. “Others object strongly to kids, insisting they disrupt their right to grow old in peace and quiet.” Identified by text as part of “Save Youngtown Retirees,” a neatly dressed and serious Elinor Johnson explains, in something akin to a New England accent, the residential ineligibility of the Braswells. “They’re not wanted,” she states, “and besides that they broke not only the state law but they also broke the age restriction law of Youngtown, which no person under fifty can buy or rent here. So there’s three violations there—the child plus them, they are objectionable, too.”

Noting that the Braswells would challenge the situation, it returns to Andy, who is playing in the yard. Cutting to a close-up of the youngest Braswell, who also is missing

1103 *CBS Evening News*, October 24, 1975, no. 237363, Vanderbilt Television News Archive (VTNA). Description and analysis in this and following paragraphs based on this source. For a similar news story on troubles in Youngtown, see also *ABC Evening News*, January 1, 1976, no. 39785, VTNA. On employment of Russella Braswell, providing further evidence of the labor tension, see again Schafer, “Couple with Child Forced to Leave Town by SYR.”

his front teeth, Andy says of their dilemma, “I don’t think it’s right.” When pushed by the interviewer, he shrugs his shoulders, thinks, and then says “It’s just not fair.” In closing, the narrator notes that “Andy’s biggest worry right now is next Friday night, Halloween, and whether he’ll be able and whether he’ll be able to go trick-or-treating in a town that has nothing against *him* except his age.” And having cut to footage of several retired women with dogs talking to another retired woman on her tricycle, the camera here focuses on a Youngtown home, zooming in on an intentionally playful lawn exhibit in which a manual grass cutter sits on a front yard made of gravel—presumably making mowing unnecessary—with a sign that says “RETIRED.”¹¹⁰⁴

The Braswell episode thus might be seen as a window into the relationship between older Americans and American society in the midst of renegotiation. The news coverage might be seen as operating on and further promoting a sense of novelty. Perhaps striking to the audience were the features and facets of retirement distinctiveness as they played out in different respects in daily life—particularly in the arena of leisure—ultimately amounting to the overall idea that retirement communities were, on a most basic level, different.¹¹⁰⁵ On another level, such difference—or the construction of such difference—was political, the framing of the episode in Youngtown playing up of the apparent *un*-fairness of community workings that actively precluded the functioning of

1104 See again *CBS Evening News*, October 24, 1975.

1105 My thinking here is largely shaped by Phil Deloria’s on the relationship between representation and the conveying of normative ideas. He writes, for example: “To assert that a person or an event is anomalous cannot help but serve to create and to reinforce other expectations.” See Philip J. Deloria, “Introduction: Expectation and Anomaly” in *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 5. For broader discussion here, see also 3-11. Perhaps similar to my evidence from ABC, in a segment from 1976 on Youngtown the reporter signs off from Arizona, a retired resident driving past on a golf cart with a bag of groceries in the background, signaling a left turn with her hand as she leaves the store parking lot. See *ABC Evening News*, January 1, 1976. And as yet additional evidence, the coverage from the *New York Times* on Sun City in 1974 might be seen as ultimately treating retirement culture as different in light of the contrasts it drew with suburban America. See again Malcolm, “Leisure Suburb for Elderly Thriving at Sun City, Ariz.” See below for further discussion of difference and the politics of.

society—suggested by Andy’s mother—in relation to children so fundamental that the importance of their presence was self-evident.¹¹⁰⁶ Even more, the contrast drawn—between a young family and retirees enjoying retirement—perhaps suggested that retired Americans were having fun at the expense of younger generations. And the final shot of the scene in Youngtown very well might have suggested that, just as they had willingly and enthusiastically abandoned routines such as lawn-mowing, reaping the bounty of decades of pre-retirement struggle and service, they had abandoned younger generations and society more broadly as well.

Negative portrayals of retirement communities like Youngtown were not lost on Adult Action. Writing to an assistant to Governor Castro in 1975, Adult Action itself invoked the “industry” argument. “Something must be done to counteract the adverse publicity of the recent AP news stories in Sun City and Youngtown,” the organization’s secretary wrote in late October. The purpose of the letter was to extend “an invitation” to discuss and praise the “contribution to our economy” by retirement-community residents at an upcoming Adult Action meeting—perhaps as a means of addressing the image crisis facing such developments in light of recent events.¹¹⁰⁷ And, evidence suggests, the assistant did in fact accept, delivering a speech entitled “Senior Citizens, an Economic Asset” a few weeks later.¹¹⁰⁸

1106 The treatment of children who *were* living Youngtown—might be seen as having been *judged* as out of touch with mainstream society. Additional evidence that might be explored in this vein comes from Trillin, who wrote of an “absence of children.” See Trillin, “A Reporter at Large,” 152, 153-154 (quotation 153).

1107 Elise Little to Robert Hathaway, October 29, 1975, box 130, Castro and Bolin Papers, ASALPR. The exact AP coverage she referred to was not located, although coverage in national newspapers—in this case, that from October in the *Los Angeles Times*, for example—was. For evidence of coverage at the very least in the metropolitan area, see Rob Kastrow, “New Family Harassed in Youngtown,” *Arizona Republic*, December 21, 1975, in “Youngtown” folder/s in Arizona, CF, PPL.

1108 See again Hathaway, “Senior Citizens, an Economic Asset.”

The question of enforcement, nonetheless, remained a central issue in 1976 and over the next several years. Legislation by itself, members of the “AOM” found, was far from a complete answer to the problem of maintaining uniformity in the retirement-type developments of Arizona. For example, even Enchanted Acres in Apache Junction, the site of the initial battle over age restrictions in *Stoves* earlier in the decade, was not immune to younger families with under-age children. In fact, after one such family had begun renting in mid-November, a group of residents led by George Stoves himself—the namesake of the lawsuit—appealed to the Enforcement Section of the state’s real estate department in early 1976, naming the developer in its formal complaint.¹¹⁰⁹ And the legislation that became law in early September, 1975, was far from comprehensive, a state legislator who appeared before the Youngtown Town Council in August confirmed, as it had what amounted to a number of loopholes.¹¹¹⁰

If various cases demonstrated that the legislation of 1975 had in fact been broken, less obvious was who, exactly, was responsible for its enforcement. This question was a source of confusion and tension amongst Arizona retirees and between retirees and state officials in late 1975, 1976, and subsequent years as well. In Youngtown, for example,

1109 See statement of George Stoves, et al., January 28, 1975, submitted along with the formal complaint to the State of Arizona Real Estate Department Enforcement Section, box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers, ASALPR; George Stoves to Bruce Babbitt, February 11, 1976, box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers. In the above statement, the particular infraction appears to be this family, whom had begun renting *after* the 1975 legislation became law, though more broadly they were not alone: “On November 18, 1975 the developer or Key Realty rented lot #22 to a family with two children, contrary to ARS SS33-303 - 33-1317 as amended in 1975. Other families residing in this subdivision to whom lots were rented prior to this amendment but after the restrictions were upheld are as follows: . . .” And on an additional infraction in the interim of the formal complaint, see also Stoves to Babbitt, February 11, 1976.

1110 See Herbert Everett cited in “Retirement Bill May be Tested in Court”; Youngtown, Council, minutes, August 21, 1975, 3. According to the latter: “The law will not be retroactive & does not affect property inherited by parents of minor children, they could live in the property but could not sell it or rent it or least it to anyone having minor children. Any person 18 years of age or over could move into the Town, or a couple 18 years or over could move in, if they were childless at the time, if they had a child after this move they would not be affected and the law would not apply. The law would not apply to Grandparents [sic] who for some reason or other must take care of their grandchildren.”

the town council rejected calls in 1976 for intervention on the part of the local community in upholding the new law, insisting that the handling of such matters was not their domain.¹¹¹¹ In February of 1976, George Stoves wrote to Arizona Attorney General Bruce Babbitt—an avenue of attack of going higher up the governmental ladder advocated by authorities in Youngtown—in relation to the situation unfolding in Enchanted Acres, seeking action “to correct this blatant disregard for the law, to uphold the laws of the this state, and to reinforce the decisions upheld by the senior judicial body of this state concerning the deeded restrictions of this particular subdivision.”¹¹¹² Praising the recent appearance of the Governor’s aid at the Adult Action event towards the end of 1975, who “reiterated the monetary and other contributions these retirees make to the economy and the welfare of this state,” Stoves also expressed his overriding concern about the impotence of the legislation on the ground to Governor Raul Castro. Perhaps to apply pressure to the officials involved, he argued that “in view of the fact that they are not being reinforced or carried out, we wonder just how much good they will do to promote Arizona as a retirement state. We feel that if the Attorney General and Real

1111 For contrasting views in 1975 and early 1976, for example, see Frank Brown cited in Schafer, “ACLU May Take up Eviction Case,” *News-Sun*, October 28, 1975; coverage of positions taken by officials and others in Paul Schafer, “Youngtown Meeting Ends in Chaos,” *News-Sun*, January 16, 1976; minutes of Youngtown, council, minutes, January 15, 1976; question and answer between Youngtown major Frank Brown and Bruce Babbitt in transcript of television program *Prime Time*, Channel 8 [Phoenix, Arizona?], Bruce Babbitt interviewed by Jim Dudley with additional questions and answers on “Housing and age discrimination,” February 18, 1976, 5, attachment to J.C. Shirritt to Raul Castro, March 28, 1976, box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers, ASALPR; Shirritt to Castro, March 28, 1976, 2. For position of Youngtown later in 1976, see also meeting minutes, September 16, November 18, 1976. For position of Adult Action on avenue to “enforcement” as lying elsewhere, see also Mrs. Little cited in Paul Schafer, “Legislator Advises SYR on Age Violations,” *News-Sun*, November 7, 1975.

1112 For Stoves, see George Stoves to Bruce Babbitt, February 11, 1976, box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers. For discussion of how to approach in Youngtown, see, for example, see Mike Sullivan cited in Schafer, “Youngtown Meeting Ends in Chaos; Youngtown, Council, minutes, January 16, 1976.

Estate Commissioner were encouraged to do something about these violations, it would preserve the lifestyle so vital to these people in the state.”¹¹¹³

But supporters of age restrictions who took their concerns to the Arizona Attorney General did not necessarily find the answers for which they were looking. On a television program that aired in mid-February, Attorney General and future Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt answered questions from an interviewer, in addition to those posed by audience members, many of whom were affiliated with Adult Action. At one point, the head of the RCAY concluded her remarks following Babbitt’s answer to her initial question, weighing in on a topic broached immediately before: “As far as harassment of the children, this is really exaggerated. I have never seen a child harassed; however, I have seen the children that live there harass the senior citizens.” Followed by “Loud applause,” according to the transcript, she added, “We take care of ourselves, but they really do harass us.”¹¹¹⁴ But on the question of age restrictions, Babbitt took an overall position privileging litigation on the part of homeowners in retirement-type developments as the most effective—and legal—means of redress. “I think the traditional pattern of enforcement the courts have approved is private enforcement by a purchaser who is a party to the deed restriction,” he said in response to Edward Johnson. “The Supreme Court in other circumstances has said that’s as far as we will allow them to go, we will not allow official action, State authority to enforce private deed restrictions. It is the difference between a zoning law and a private restrictive covenant, and I have been reluctant to get into that and make bad law . . . I think I may, in fact, tell people who

1113 George Stoves to Raul Castro, February 11, 1976, box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers. For Elinor Johnson writing to the Governor on enforcement issues from the standpoint of realtors, see Johnson to “Dear Sir” [Castro], January 26, 1976, 1-3; Penn to Davis, February 2, 1976; Castro to Johnson, February 5, 1976.

1114 See Marion Irvine in *Prime Time* transcript, 5. See 4-5 for context.

live in subdivisions with recorded deed restrictions that, as a matter of constitutional law, the only way those can be enforced is by private lawsuits.”¹¹¹⁵

Discontent amongst Adult Action members and others clearly had risen to the surface by that spring. “I believe our State Agencies are responsible to see that these Developers do not mislead the home buyers & renters,” a Mesa woman wrote to Castro in March, 1976, for instance. “The Attorney General has the power to enforce the Consumer Fraud laws, and it is the State’s responsibility to see that such fraud does not continues [*sic*].”¹¹¹⁶ The following month, a state senator contacted Babbitt, writing that “I really think that one or two clear cut prosecutions by your office would go far to stabilizing the ‘Age Deed Restriction’ issue.”¹¹¹⁷ A letter to the editor of the *News-Sun* in Sun City published a few days later voiced the position of SYR. Referencing Babbitt’s February television appearance, which she “viewed with “disgust and repugnance,” Elinor Johnson asserted that “The lack of responsibility on the part of the attorney general’s office is akin to gross negligence and complete disregard for the problem of the elderly citizen.”¹¹¹⁸ Johnson’s criticisms included Babbitt’s view of the proper channels of righting wrongs committed to residents of developments ostensibly covered under the laws now on the books. “To force the elderly and disabled to take each violation through the courts is ridiculous,” she wrote. “We can neither afford the costs or survive it health-

1115 See comments of Babbitt in *Prime Time* transcript, 2 (quotation), 3, 4. For Babbitt making similar point predicated on this “distinction,” see also Tim Smith, “Babbitt Regards Age Clauses Enforceable,” *News-Sun*, September 20, 1977.

1116 Mona Barrett to Raul H. Castro, March 11, 1976, 1, box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers.

1117 Stan Turley to Bruce Babbitt, April 5, 1976, Castro Papers, box 59, ASALPR. For calls for action on the part of Babbitt made by Adult Action interests in Sun City, perhaps involving age restrictions, see “Adult Action to Push for Case Prosecution,” *News-Sun*, September 3, 1976.

1118 Elinor M. Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, April 9, 1976. Copy possibly initially viewed in SCHOA.

wise,” she explained, perhaps illustrating how she invoked the economic and medical vulnerability of older persons in making her case.¹¹¹⁹

At the same time, the articulation of grievances engendered more than just sympathy in political circles. In drafting a response to one constituent, an Adult Action member from a residential development in Glendale who relayed a variety of problems involving deed restrictions to Governor Castro, Arizona’s Real Estate Commissioner wrote to one of the Governor’s assistants, “I would think that this type of approach could be used in future replies to the obviously militant senior citizens who desire governmental agency response at each turn.”¹¹²⁰ The sense that older Americans—and Arizonans specifically—asked *too* much was perhaps a broader theme amongst policymakers, government officials, and the public at large.

There was the question of whether or not age restrictions were inherently discriminatory as well. In the wake of the 1975 amendments, both supporters and opponents of age restrictions invoked and interpreted in different ways the category of age. In early 1976, a former mayor of Youngtown took a view different from that of

1119 See again Johnson, letter to the editor, April 9, 1976. Elsewhere, Adult Action made a seemingly similar point: “Enforcement is a civil matter, costly, time consuming and on a case by case basis.” See Adult Action, Inc., “A Case for Land Use Zoning for Senior Citizens’ Communities in Arizona,” 1, in Planning and Development Department, Maricopa County, Arizona (PDDMC), case file 80-34. The specific title of the folder itself appears as: “Z1980034 (Z 80-34) [:] Comm. Initiative/Dreamland Villa.” Thank you to staff at the Maricopa County Planning and Development Department in Phoenix for locating for me different case files I cite in this chapter. Like minutes, as indicated later below, viewed at the office of the Maricopa County Planning and Zoning Department in Phoenix, Arizona. The letter writer from Mesa rationalized opposition on perhaps similar grounds—in terms of “resources and time”: Barrett to Castro. 1120 Shirritt to Castro; William Penn to Carl Davis, April 5, 1976 (quotation 2), box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers. This quotation is from the language at end of draft of letter—Penn’s “suggested reply” (p. 1)—from Castro to Shirritt. In addition to Shirritt’s mention of Babbitt on age restrictions, though seemingly not the focus of his concerns, age restrictions was at least one subject addressed here by Penn and Castro’s circle, given the response’s citing of the amendment to A.R.S. 33-303: Shirritt to Castro, 2; Carl Davis to J.C. Shirritt, April 8, 1976, 1, box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers. Related or not, Shirritt addressed the political significance of older person in Adult Action as well: Shirritt to Castro, 3. Though less explicit, Elinor Johnson, too, seems to have addressed this significance, implying that older persons could be a bloc of sorts—and thus had electoral clout: Johnson letter to the editor of April 9, 1976.

Adult Action interests, pointing in a letter to the local press the primacy of what was protective federal civil-rights legislation in the area of race-based covenants in housing—a perspective shared by an official from the Arizona American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) who cited the possibility of a parallel between the Braswell case and the U.S. Supreme Court’s ruling in *Shelley v. Kramer* (1948) just a few months before.¹¹²¹ The former Youngtown official additionally invoked another ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court, one recently dealing with discrimination based on age—though the specifics are not provided—perhaps involving employment. Taking a literal interpretation of age discrimination, treating *any* distinction based on age as illegal, “If this is discrimination at one end of the age bracket,” he argued, “it must be so at the other end.”¹¹²²

Others, however, refuted these arguments. Firing back at the letter written by his fellow resident of Youngtown, Edward Johnson stated that “Our age restrictions in Youngtown are in no way contrary to a federal law.”¹¹²³ And though it did not prompt Babbitt to take action on behalf of the state, he asserted that “Age restrictions per se are not suspect” following a meeting with a Sun City group in 1977, paralleling the contemporary legal treatment of age in in which a “rational basis standard” trumped a threshold of “strict scrutiny” as established in *Massachusetts Board of Retirement v.*

1121 See Ernest J. Schenk, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, January 20, 1976. A same or similar letter published by Schenk in *Youngtown Record*, January 21, 1976. For ACLU, see Nancy Hicks cited in Paul Schafer, “ACLU to Investigate Eviction Case,” *News-Sun*, November 14, 1975. Hicks did not, however, imply that they were identical, coverage indicated, as “she acknowledged the difference between discrimination by age and discrimination by race.” On history of *Shelley*, see, for example, Sugrue, *Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 45. Whatever happened to the ACLU’s involvement in the Braswell case is not clear, but for earlier mention also see Schafer, “ACLU May Take up Eviction Case.”

1122 Schenk letter to the editor on January 20, 1976.

1123 And, like SYR elsewhere, he pointed to federal housing efforts for older Americans as additional proof: Edward Johnson, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, February 11, 1976, [attachment in?] box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers. Same or similar letter appeared in *News-Sun*, February 6, 1976. More specifically, in debunking Schenk, he asserted “that both the subjects he used as an explanation are both foreign and unrelated to his subjects.” The implication of his itemizing of both points thus might have been that while relevant protective legislation included other categories it did *not* include age and that issues involving employment had no application to housing matters.

Murgia (1976) by the U.S. Supreme Court.¹¹²⁴ Not only was the use of age in the determination of certain things *not* illegal, but it also was alive and well in different contexts, Babbitt also pointed out.¹¹²⁵

Though they likely differed with Babbitt on matters of enforcement, others embraced this tack as well. One Sun City man in 1977 asserted, “THE LEGISLATURE DEBATES THE LEGALITY OF THESE PROPOSITIONS. THEY ARE THEN APPROVED BY THEM. THE GOVERNOR SIGNS IT. IT THEN BECOMES A LAW OF THE STATE AND SHOULD BE ENFORCED NOT INTERPRETED.” Moreover, he continued, “NO WHERE IN OUR CONSTITUTION DOES IT STATE AGE RESTRICTIONS ARE ILLEGAL.”¹¹²⁶ “Throughout our entire lives we find ourselves facing age requirements and signposts along the way,” Adult Action, for its part, explained a pamphlet the same year. “For example, the right to drive or to vote, school attendance, military service, marriage, Sunday School, and even to qualify as President of the United States.”¹¹²⁷

1124 For Babbitt, see Babbitt cited and quoted in Clark, “Babbitt Regards Age Clauses Enforceable.” For *Murgia* and the treatment of age, including in relation to such categories as race, see, for example, Mary Doyle, “Retirement Communities: The Nature and Enforceability of Residential Segregation by Age,” *Michigan Law Review* 76: 1 (November 1977): 74-75 (quotations 74); Nina A. Kohn, “Rethinking the Constitutionality of Age Discrimination: A Challenge to a Decades-Old Consensus,” *UC Davis Law Review* 44, no. 1 (2010): 215-16; Laurie A. McCann and Cathy Ventrell-Monsees, “Age Discrimination in Employment” in *The New Politics of Old Age Policy*, ed. Robert B. Hudson, new ed. (2005; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 361-62.

1125 See again Babbitt cited in Clark, “Babbitt Regards Age Clauses Enforceable.”

1126 Wilbur Johnson, statement prepared for SCHOA meeting of January 31, 1977, with Arizona Attorney General, 2, attachment to Wilbur Johnson to Jack LaSota, February 6, 1977, folder 18, box 2, RG 4, SG 3, Series 3, ASALPR.

1127 See Adult Action, Inc., *Age is Always with Us!* pamphlet, 1977, n.p., in box 59, Castro and Bolin Papers, ASALPR. Typed on the document is “EL 9-77,” presumably indicating more specific authorship and also the date. Same or similar copy also appears in case file 80-34, PDDMC. As additional evidence, Wilbur Johnson would point to in the above: “CHILDREN HAVE ALWAYS ENJOYED SPECIAL PRIVILEGES SUCH AS LOWER FARES AT FUNCTIONS, MEALS, HOTELS AND TRANSPORTATION.” See Johnson, statement prepared for SCHOA meeting of January 31, 1977, 2. For other discussion of current examples of, see also Wilbur Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, February 11, 1977. And for age as factor for holding certain levels of political office, see also Edward H. Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, January 2, 1976.

Ultimately connecting discrimination by age to retirement development, Adult Action continued here, echoing a logic of life-cycle distinctiveness—it would speak of “different residential needs” as well—illustrated in the relationship between Sun City and suburbia. “During the years while we are raising our family we establish homes near schools and in neighborhoods where other young families are located so we have companionship not only for our children but for ourselves as well,” it explained. “More often than not our working hours find us associated with employees of similar age.” For their part, the discussion in the document went on, “Older people are now playing a more active role in our society. Their residential patterns are changing from dependency on their children or institutions to those in which individuals and couples seek to live their own lives in their own homes. *Many choose to live in adult or retirement communities.*”¹¹²⁸ The legal elusiveness of age thresholds—or their apparent capacity to be manipulated and adjusted—thus empowered such discrimination with a political flexibility amenable to various interests pursuing different ends.

Beginning in the mid-1970s, the politics of age restrictions overlapped with the politics of incorporation. The RCASC promoted an anti-incorporation position while simultaneously engaging with—or appropriating—questions perhaps involving the constitutionality of age-based restrictions. In early 1975, for example, a newspaper

1128 Adult Action, *Age is Always with Us!* (all emphasis added). Quotation of, and discussion involving, “different residential needs” appears following the conclusion of the above quotation but on the back side of this page in the folded section in which it appears. Later in the document, it seems to have laid out an articulation of the existence of a culture and politics distinctive to retirement—the features of which presumably could be addressed via residence—in describing “aspects which are common. These include . . . reduced income in retirement; loss of previous activity and social contact sustained through retirement; uncertain health; widowhood; long term illness and disability.” For quotation here, and discussion of how perhaps addressed, see again Adult Action. Also, in their study of the “AOM,” Anderson and Anderson provide an excellent and useful overview of the arguments promoted in Adult Action’s efforts. One is the “social theme,” which is discussed here in this Adult Action document as well. See Anderson and Anderson, “A Local Movement at Work,” 91-92 (quotation 91). I borrow from their identifying of different points, thus utilizing their account in another respect as an organizing framework as well.

advertisement for the organization stated, “RCA opposes the incorporation of Sun City because an incorporated city will be subject to various Federal and State laws that will make Sun City a general purpose community, open to everyone of all ages.”¹¹²⁹ Formed in late 1976 or 1977, and backed by the RCASC, the Town Meeting Association (TMA) in Sun City opposed incorporation and also confronted the issue of age restrictions in the retirement community.¹¹³⁰ In 1977, the TMA undertook efforts to revise existing deed restrictions community-wide with the goal of aligning covenants more closely with existing practices in marketing and sales, thus addressing Sun City’s apparent vulnerability stemming from its lack of coverage under the 1975 legislation.¹¹³¹

DEVCO, after all, had long shied away from deed restrictions. While DEVCO did employ what John Meeker described in an interview in the 1970s as a restrictive—but

1129 Retirement Community Association of Sun City, “Learn the True Facts about Incorporation,” advertisement, *News-Sun*, January 24, 1975. For additional evidence, see also Lucile Schaefer to “Dear Sun Citian,” RCASC letter calling for members, [1975?], “Incorporation 1961-1983” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS; Herman H. Ringer, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, February 14, 1975. On background and positions of RCASC again, see Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 126; Jim Cullison, “Town Meeting Reasserts Non-City Benefits for SC,” *News-Sun*, March 22, 1977. For another view seemingly in opposition to RCASC but also invoking the question of discrimination, see Calvin C. Oleson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, November 18, 1975.

1130 On the TMA and the RCASC, see Albert N. Brown, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, November 17, 1977. On history of the TMA and efforts/roles, see Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 126-27, 226; 227 “Sun City Town Meeting, [sic]”; Jim Cullison, “Brown Claims Need for SC Age Restrictions,” *News-Sun*, April 26, 1977.

1131 On efforts of the TMA, see, for example, “TMA Lists Procedures for Including Age Restrictions,” *Youngtown Record*, July 13, 1977; “Town Meeting Sends Realtors Letters on Age Restrictions,” *Youngtown Record*, July 20, 1977; Tim Clark, “Webb Limits Age for SCW,” *News-Sun*, June 17, 1978, “Age Restrictions” folder, VF, SCW, SCAHS. And, on efforts more generally in Sun City, see McHugh, Gober, and Borough, “The Sun City Wars,” 634. On reasons for deed restrictions, see Cullison, “Brown Claims Need for SC Age Restrictions.” Here, coverage reported: “The statute prohibits renting or leasing homes to persons with family members below the restricted age *if the community has age restrictions in deeds*, and it prohibits home sales to persons with children in developments advertised as exclusive adult communities.” And, it continued, referring to TMA official Albert Brown: “Brown said the Del E. Webb Development Co. will not write age restrictions into Sun City deeds and does not advertise Sun City as an exclusive adult community but rather as a resort retirement community” (emphasis added). On gap between Sun City and law, see state legislator Jim Ratliff cited in Jim Cullison, “Retirement Community Laws Discussed,” *News-Sun*, May 6, 1977. Another TMA official, however, seems to have presented a view of DEVCO’s role different from that described by Brown: See Elbert Fryberger cited in “TMA Asks Realtors to Save SC’s ‘Adult Format,’” *News-Sun*, July 19, 1977; “Town Meeting Sends Realtors Letters on Age Restrictions.”

less problematic—“sales policy” in seeking out and selling to its target market, Webb attorney Gerald Williams told Sun City residents in 1977 that the developer previously had concerns and, as he said in the *Arizona Republic* in 1974, “We felt it was doubtful that we could impose deeded age restrictions under U.S. Supreme Court rulings on discrimination.”¹¹³² But the TMA disagreed with DEVCO, particularly the developer’s lingering doubts about the legality of age restrictions. Challenging a number of points Gerald Williams had made, the TMA’s Al Brown argued that “the 1964 Civil Rights Act does not prohibit discrimination because of age, this for very good, sound reasons. If it did require that everyone be treated equal regardless of age, there would be chaos in this country.”¹¹³³

Meeker, however, would qualify DEVCO’s position on the issue of age restrictions by pointing to how amenities would determine—or, more particularly,

1132 Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 8 (first quotation); interview response by Meeker in Dan Lee, “The Spread at Sun City,” *Arizona Republic Magazine*, November 12, 1978, 9, “Del E Webb Develop. Co. (DEVCO)” folder, VF, SCW, SCAHS (copy also in “Demographics 1960 – 1989” folder, VF, SC); Williams cited in Tim Clark, “Age Restrictions in Deeds Can’t be Enforced, Webb Finds,” *News-Sun*, September 6, 1978; Clark, “Webb Limits Age for SCW.” See also Rose, “‘We’re Not against Children, but—’”; Jerry Williams quoted in Drake, “Kids Spark Anger in Retirement Areas” (second quotation) 1133 Brown quoted in “Town Meeting Leaders Say Age Clauses Legal,” *News-Sun*, September 20, 1977, SCHOA [?]. Here, Brown also dismissed the comparisons Williams made to a couple of different court cases, one of which was the U.S. Supreme Court’s ruling in *Moore v. City of East Cleveland* (1977), which ultimately struck down a local ordinance excessively restricting internal arrangements of families in an attempt to minimize, among other things, the impact on the local schools, in the end taking a pro-family view. For *Moore* decision, see, for example, Linda Charlton, “Zoning Ban on ‘Extended Family’ in Ohio is Upheld,” *New York Times*, June 1, 1977; *Moore v. City of East Cleveland*, 431 U.S. 494 (1977); Doyle, “Retirement Communities,” 66-67; Marsha Ritzdorf, “Locked out of Paradise: Contemporary Exclusionary Zoning, the Supreme Court, and African Americans, 1970 to the Present” in *Urban Planning the African American Community*, ed. June Manning Thomas and Marsha Ritzdorf (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc., 1997), 47 but esp. 49 for specific case; Charlotte Anne Welch, “Retirement Communities in Maricopa County: From Segregated Towns to Integrated Neighborhoods,” Master’s Thesis, Environmental Planning, Arizona State University (1992), 77. For *Moore*, and also *Belle Terre*, discussed later in this chapter, and “the [U.S. Supreme] Court’s recognition of the sanctity of the family,” see Pollak, “Zoning Matters in a Kinder, Gentler Nation,” 508-10 (quotation 510). For Gerald Williams on *Moore* decision, though not specifically identified by name, and another case in Florida, see again Williams cited in Clark, “Age Restrictions in Deeds Can’t be Enforced, Webb Finds.” For *News-Sun* on *Moore* and potentially unsettling implications for Sun City, see editorial, “New Look at Age Issue,” *News-Sun*, June 10, 1977. For SYR on the case and this editorial, see Elinor M. Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, June 28, 1977. For other TMA actions toward Babbitt, see also “Town Meeting to Hear Babbitt on Utility Rates,” *News-Sun*, September 16, 1977.

preclude—demand in the first place amongst under-age families, resembling a rationale that Breen had used in the early 1960s. “The citizens resell to other retirees,” he said of Youngtown, in responding to a question during the event with the Urban Land Institute. “Since there are no schools planned for children, there is no reason for families with children to live there.”¹¹³⁴ What might have attracted retired homebuyers was the same thing that could turn other, younger ones away.

Other Sun City residents were not satisfied either, raising the issue of fraud potentially committed by DEVCO. A few years earlier, during his televised interview and question-and-answer session on a local Phoenix station, Bruce Babbitt indicated that “Developers have been fast and loose in this state with misrepresentations of all kinds relating to retirement communities; utilities, prices, terms, availability of water. . . . It is one more example of the general problem of land fraud in Arizona.”¹¹³⁵ In 1978, one Sun City couple wrote the head of the state’s Real Estate Department, explaining “We have been here 6 years because of an advertisement we saw on television by Senator Goldwater,” perhaps referring to the Goldwater-narrated *The Story of Arizona and Sun City*. “He emphasized a retirement area with certain age restrictions.” The realities of the retirement community on the ground, however, were quite different. “If the Webb Co. knew this from as early as 1960,” the letter said of the remarks Gerald Williams had made in Sun City in 1977, “wouldn’t all their advertising using the word ‘retirement’ and

1134 Meeker in Lee, “The Spread in Sun City,” [2]; Meeker cited in Laure Wegner, “Vow of Developers to Bar Young Buyers Called Fraud,” *Arizona Republic*, November 17 [?], 1978, marked as under “Retirement Centers” [?] in Arizona, CF, PPL; comments of Tom Breen in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 89.

And for mention of “no covenant in the deed covering resales,” see also T.E. Breen, “Problems in Development,” in ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 77

1135 Babbitt in transcript of *Prime Time* interview, 2.

the age factor be a deliberate attempt to mislead people?”¹¹³⁶ The status quo, however, continued—at least on DEVCO’s part.¹¹³⁷ But even that would change before long.

Empowering Precedents

Throughout its efforts to encourage the state to enforce the 1975 legislation, and in what soon would become a campaign to promote and secure zoning legislation and ordinances later in the 1970s, Adult Action built its case for age-restricted housing upon what it argued were persuasive precedents. In particular, the group invoked a number of court cases dealing with both retirement and non-retirement housing as proof, citing decisions by courts in Arizona and elsewhere in a variety of written materials it produced and disseminated to its members, elected officials, and others. In the end, the “AOM” relied on, and further helped to entrench, a discourse of retirement distinctiveness resting on a language and logic of “need” sorting citizens and ordering their political rights according to age and life cycle. Ultimately, the framework and ideological thrust of the so-called “special needs” of older Americans provided considerable political space in which residents of retirement communities might negotiate terms serving their interests beyond those simply dealing with age.

Adult Action repeatedly drew from several cases in the different efforts it undertook. It pointed, in particular, to the homegrown cases of *Stoves* and the subsequent ruling of the Arizona appellate court in *Riley v. Stoves* (1974).¹¹³⁸ In the case that originated in Pinal County in late 1972, George and Isabel Stoves, along with several

1136 Irene and Wilbur Johnson to R.B. Nichols, June 16, 1978, 1, box 2, folder 18, RG 4, SG 1, Series 3, ASALPR.

1137 Assuming that this is referring to Sun City West, discussed later, see Meeker in Lee, “The Spread at Sun City,” 9.

1138 *Riley* as cited in Adult Action, “Summary of Court Cases Affecting Adult Communities,” February 3, 1976, attachment to Johnson to LaSota in folder 18, box 2, RG 4, SG 1, Series 3, ASALPR.

other parties who were “essentially retired or semi-retired adults,” filed suit when a young family purchased a lot and violated an age-based restriction written into the property deeds of Enchanted Acres’ Unit One, naming the owner, who also had advertised the development as offering “restricted—adult living,” a realty company that had breached the park’s no-children-under-twenty-one policy, and the Riley family, whose members included under-age children, and other parties.¹¹³⁹ In a motion for summary judgment filed with the court in early 1973, the Rileys called the covenant in question “very analogous to the restrictions which two decades before were placed in declaration of restrictions as to real property restricting the use and ownership of such property by persons of the colored race,” going on to cite the *Shelley* decision, while the park’s owners raised the issue of constitutionality, referencing existing civil-rights legislation and a New Jersey case from the early 1970s dealing with zoning aimed at minimizing the local population of school-age children—and the related educational costs—through controls on the number of bedrooms in multi-family housing.¹¹⁴⁰

1139 For the background and specifics of the case, see the complaint dated December 20, 1972, 1-2, 3, 3-4 (first quotation 4) to *Stoves vs. Smith*, Pinal County Super Court, No. 26509. For second quotation, as well as copy of deed restrictions, see copy of brochure titled *Enchanted Acres: The Mobile Home Subdivision with a Future*, n.d. marked as “Exhibit B” and attached copy of “Declaration of Restrictions.”

1140 James W. Riley and Jane Doe Riley, “Motion for Summary Judgment,” February 8, 1973, 2-3 (quotation 3), in *Stoves vs. Smith*; LeRoy R. Smith and Doris F. Smith, “Supplemental Memorandum in Support of Defendants’ Motion for Summary Judgment,” February 26, 1973, 1-2, also in *Stoves*; *Molino v. Mayor and Council of Borough of Glassboro*, 116 N.J. Super, 195, 281 A2d 401 (1971), cited in Smith “Memorandum,” 1-2; “Ordinance Limiting Bedrooms Nullified by New Jersey Court,” *New York Times*, August 5, 1971. Also in Smith, cited above, the Arizona Statute protecting families with children in rental housing prior to the changes made under the 1975 legislation a few years later is invoked (3-4). Key mechanisms characteristic of such zoning practices were present in the case of the Township of Mount Laurel, which was at the center of the zoning case *South Burlington County N.A.A.C.P. v. Township of Mount Laurel*, decided before the New Jersey Supreme Court in the 1970s. According to Cohen, in the years leading up to the decision that ultimately struck down the township’s zoning practices and called for steps to be taken for affordable housing, “it put into place all the standard exclusionary zoning tricks of the trade to ensure that its transition would attract middle-income residents and light industry to enhance, not drain, its property tax base: large lot zoning, single-family detached housing with minimum floor space requirements, and a ban on apartments, attached townhouses, and mobile homes except for a small number of multi-family units where expensive amenities and tight limits on bedrooms and school-age children

The plaintiffs, on the other hand, took a different view, rejecting, for instance, the comparison to other, now illegal restrictions. “Whereas, distinctions based upon race and color . . . are clearly unreasonable and arbitrary, with no rational distinction or legitimate objective, the matter of a person’s minority has always been recognized as the subject of legitimate state inquiry,” they argued, citing arenas in which this could occur.¹¹⁴¹ In the end, the county court sided with Stoves and company in its mid-1973 decision, asserting “that the deed restriction in question is valid and enforceable, and is not unconstitutional.”¹¹⁴² And the following year, the decision in *Riley* privileged fulfillment of “a legitimate purpose” involving “the noise and distractions caused by children.”¹¹⁴³

In doing so, the decision cited two specific precedents—and both of which Adult Action highlighted as it held up the Arizona cases involving Stoves. First, the appellate court in Arizona invoked U.S. Supreme Court’s ruling in *Village of Belle Terre v. Boraas* (1974), summing up the ruling “that a quiet, low-density village was a permissible state objective and that the ordinance in question,” breached here by a case of off-campus

promised upper-class and childless occupants” See Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 206, 236-37 (quotation here 236). For discussion of *Mount Laurel I* and subsequent decisions, see 237-238.

1141 George Stoves and Isabel H. Stoves, et al, “Response to Motion for Summary Judgment,” March 1, 1973, 4, in *Stoves*.

1142 See Hon. E.D. McBryde, “Ruling on Submitted Matter,” June 26, 1973, in *Stoves*.

1143 Chief Judge James D. Hathaway, “Opinion,” September 23, 1974 [?], 4, 7, 8 (quotation), in *Riley v. Stoves*. For treatment—rejection—here of several precedents mentioned previously—rental-housing law in Arizona, *Shelley* and the broader issues involved, and *Molino*—see 4-5, 5-7, 7-8. Stoves and company were described in the initial case in similar terms, and also, perhaps, as having earned the following: “Plaintiffs are all essentially retired or semi-retired persons who have raised their own families,, worked honestly and hard, and are now seeking a residential environment free from the array of disturbances normally associated with children.” See Stoves, et al., “Response to Motion for Summary Judgment,” 4. For discussion of ruling, see also Doyle, “Retirement Communities,” 97n128; Richard K. Mahrle, “Neither Seen Nor Heard: Keeping Children Out of Arizona’s Adult Communities under Arizona’s Revised Statutes Section, 33-1317 (B),” *Arizona State Law Journal* (1975): 836-37; Note, “Judicial Enforcement of Restrictive Covenants against Children: An Equal Protection Analysis,” *Arizona Law Review* 17 (1975): 717-18; Welch, “Retirement Communities in Maricopa County,” 78-79; “Appeals Court Backs Retirement Communities’ Right to Bar Children”; Ed Stafman, “Notes: Housing for the Elderly: Constitutional Limitations and Our Obligations,” *Florida State Law Review* 5 (1977): 434-35.

college-student housing, “was a rational means of achieving such objective.” Second, it pointed to age restrictions—specifically, a “minimum of 62 years of age”—already used in federally backed housing.¹¹⁴⁴

But applied to the case at hand, both had the effect of providing judicial backing to particular configurations of age and space that naturalized generational differences and enshrined understandings of such differences in political rights. In the case of the former, the Arizona court stated, “We see little if anything to distinguish the private restriction presently before us. It simply involves a prohibition of certain combinations of persons living on a lot in one portion of the subdivision.”¹¹⁴⁵ But, in implicitly reducing the family, *Belle Terre* sought to protect ostensibly random “combinations of persons,” the *Riley* ruling actually might have backed and promoted a residential ideal for certain retired persons premised on the absence of the family itself.¹¹⁴⁶ After all, Sun Citizens were not only *retired* Americans but also *homeowners*.

Furthermore, on age restrictions in federal housing, the court said, “These sections represent an implicit legislative finding that not only do older adults need inexpensive housing, but also that their housing interests and needs differ from families with children. The age limitation is designed in part to prevent the distractions and disturbances often

1144 *Village of Belle Terre v. Boraas*, U.S., 94 S.Ct. 1536, 39 L.Ed.2d 797 (1974) and “programs” cited in “Opinion” to *Riley v. Stoves*, 8; background of *Belle Terre* in Ritzdorf, “Locked out of Paradise” in *Urban Planning and the African American Community*, Thomas and Ritzdorf, eds., 47-48; both as cited in Adult Action, “Summary of Court Cases Affecting Adult Communities,” 1.

1145 See again “Opinion” in *Riley*, 8.

1146 For quotation, see Mahrle, “Neither Seen Nor Heard,” 831. More importantly for purposes here, this account points to the disconnect between *Belle Terre* and age-restricted housing from the standpoint of the family, though he does so not in terms of *Riley* necessarily but to the 1975 changes to Arizona’s rental-housing law: 830-31. For a different perspective, see Note, “Judicial Enforcement of Restrictive Covenants against Children,” 727. And for relaying by Adult Action, see again “Summary of Court Cases Affecting Adult Communities,” 1.

caused by a large number of children living in the development.”¹¹⁴⁷ Both ultimately suggested that older Americans could not have residents in the midst of families with children, not only casting retirees and younger families as two different age groups but also suggesting that the interests of retirees were necessarily opposed to those of families of children. By de-centering the family to make room for retirees, the Arizona court redefined retirement as a category apart from—if not, in certain residential contexts, elevated above—younger Americans.¹¹⁴⁸

Such perspectives were advanced by Adult Action as well. And, similar to discussion in *Stoves*, the precarious physical state of older persons appeared as at-risk. “These energetic and vocal activities frighten and antagonize older individuals who are sensitive to sound, see and move about with increased difficulty and are afraid of physical contact and falls because their limbs break easily,” the group explained.¹¹⁴⁹ Plaintiffs in the *Stoves* case offered up what seemingly were justifications medicalizing age segregation, whether mental health or otherwise. “After 45 or 50 years full of running this rat race, you are going to want to have peace of mind,” George Stoves explained in his deposition in the case heard in Pinal County. In her deposition, Mrs.

1147 “Opinion” in *Riley*, 8; position as conveyed in Adult Action, “Summary of Court Cases Affecting Adult Communities,” 1. On these programs more specifically, see Doyle, “Retirement Communities,” 85n80.

1148 A strain within the “AOM” that sought to define retirement citizenship outside of the norms centering on the family imposed from without is illustrated in an editorial from another Arizona newspaper, “Strange, isn’t it, that no one challenges the right of a developer to build a community of ‘family homes’ and invite couples with children to move in?” it asked during the Braswell affair. “And yes, the elderly can move in if they wish—but they can damn well make their lifestyles conform to that of the majority of the ‘family’ lifestyle.” At the same time, the editorial pointed out, “when a developer recognizes that there are those Americans who, in their declining years, desire to live apart from young children on a day to day basis; and when this developer builds a community designed specifically for the elderly, and puts in deed restrictions to protect that special characteristic—well, then he and the older persons who live in the homes he built are called bad, wicked, bigoted, narrow, stupid, and a whole of other adjectives which logically could be applied to some of their critics.” See Editorial, *Green Valley News*, November 20, 1974, reprinted in *News-Sun*, December 12 1975.

1149 Adult Action, *Age is Always with Us!* For “serenity theme” identified and discussed by Anderson and Anderson, see “A Local Movement at Work,” 91.

Stoves explained that, although she had not experienced an aggravating of the several medical problems she had, she had experienced a compromised “peace of mind.”¹¹⁵⁰ If this “peace of mind” was itself not treated as a health issue, the invoking of underlying medical issues, specifically surrounding Isabel Stoves, might have served as way of positioning the retired citizen as at risk, thus validating any steps taken. Another plaintiff, though, suggested that “quiet” did have a medical dimension. “Two specialists in California advised her due to her condition to move into a quiet area,” the man said of his wife. “She has a nervous condition and an arthritic condition. So the best place we figured out to move for her benefit would be to Arizona. And we searched in many places around here and due to these restrictions and being away and quiet this was our number one choice for residing here.”¹¹⁵¹

Threats perhaps more malicious were addressed as well. When the local chapter of a service club raised the issue of a potential playground, one resident wrote in opposition, “Far too often old people have been the victims of theft, trespassing, destruction of property, and even physical harm by these so-called innocent children.”¹¹⁵² As Adult Action argued explained: “An age-homogenous community affords a sense of

1150 “Deposition of George H. Stoves and Isabel H. Stoves,” April 24, 1973, Mesa Arizona, 37-39 (first quotation at 38), 44 (second quotation).

1151 See testimony of Harold Richard Constable, [n.d.?], 25, in “Reporter’s Transcript” of *Stoves*. As further evidence of this trend, the SCTA appears to have medicalized the issue as well: “Retirees are elderly. They have many fine qualities, but their nerves show signs of strain. Though they love children and welcome them for visits, they can not abide them for long. They need peaceful and tranquil surroundings, and legislative protection against encroachment of youth.” See again Maxant, “Sun City and the Case for an Arizona Retirement Community,” 2. This document also seemingly medicalized an *internal* dimension of age-restricted retirement housing—of the capacity of age segregation upon the bodies of retirees. It continued: “Being with their own kind is *healthful* to retirees, for competition between them keeps them active and well.” See Maxant, 2 (emphasis added). And for perhaps similar evidence, in citing “longevity,” see again SCTA, “Retirement Communities,” 1.

1152 Efforts as described in editorial, “Recreation for Kids,” *News-Sun*, August 7, 1973; Hazel Wulff, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, August 10, 1973 (quotation); “Responses Run 2-1 ‘No’ on Playground Query,” *News-Sun*, August 14, 1973.

security and reduces fear of criminal victimization. It makes recognition of strangers, *of an age level other than that of residents*, immediate and the subjects their activities to question.”¹¹⁵³

Important in several ways, developments seeking to restrict the residency of children transcended retirement/non-retirement distinctions in housing markets. In fact, housing that in effect was children-free or family-free represented a new market, or sub-markets, created and catered to by housing developers in the 1970s and 1980s. In the retirement market, the “adult” threshold might have been the only distinction, even if populated in whole or in part by retirees; the restriction in dispute in the case of Enchanted Acres, after all, was not the “50” and “18” framework of Sun City but a more general one setting a lower limit but lacking an upper one of “21 years of age and older.”¹¹⁵⁴ Already underway, in the 1960s some such as consultant William Becker already were promoting the rebranding—or renaming—of developments towards an “adult” identification to accommodate for the variable of employment. In the early 1980s, the *New York Times* noted the shift within homebuilding for retirement, pointed out by the NAHB, towards “middle-aged working people in addition to those who have retired.”¹¹⁵⁵ Profiling a residential development in New Jersey, where many residents

1153 Adult Action, *Age is Always with Us!* (emphasis added). On thinking involving older Americans and crime more generally, see Schober, “Exclusion of Families with Children from Housing,” 1131. For discussion of “security,” and specific evidence, also see McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 141.

Related or not, in Sun City volunteers staffed the increasingly organized Sheriff’s Posse of Sun City to supplement the police services provided by Maricopa County. And while it served a variety of purposes in helping the community that of “patrolling” was one area receiving greater attention by the mid-1970s. For example, see Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 169-72 (quotation at 171). Journalist Joel Garreau also includes and describes the organization in his account: Garreau, “Phoenix,” 183-84. And for another discussion of, see Schulman’s study of the 1970s, which itself cites Garreau’s work: Garreau, *Edge Cities*, 50-51 [*sic?*], cited in Schulman, *The Seventies*, 247. For Sun City Center, Florida, see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 240.

1154 For example, see again “Declaration of Restrictions” document in *Stoves*.

1155 NAHB’s Michael Sumichrast cited in Marianne Costantinou, “For Empty-Nesters, the Adult Village,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1983.

had moved but continued in their jobs, driving back and forth, one resident declared that “This is Florida in New Jersey” and another woman, perhaps a prospective homebuyer, had a favorable view of the community, where, as she put it in part, “The people here are not too old or too young.”¹¹⁵⁶

Restrictions on children in retirement communities fit within a trend underway more generally—and one perhaps illustrating the trend of “the commoditization of community life” discussed by an anthropologist in the 1970s.¹¹⁵⁷ Vance Packard in 1972 noted that “another variant of age layering is the growth of large apartment ‘communities’ for singles only.”¹¹⁵⁸ And both the *New York Times* and *Time* reported later in the decade that “younger couples these days are often choosing not to have children, and, like retired people, are demanding an adults-only environment” and, respectively, that “restrictions suit older couples...as well as many singles who feel the mere presence of children will cramp their swinging lifestyle.”¹¹⁵⁹ Younger or older, housing markets in which demand outpaced supply ran the risk of creating real exclusion for families whose members included young children. “As the single-family house becomes a more prohibitively expensive American Dream, more young families are forced to live in apartments,” *Time* reported. “In cities with a low vacancy rate like San Francisco (2%) and Los Angeles (3%), landlords can pick and choose among tenants.” For their part, owners—“for whom tenants’ children can create maintenance problems”—

1156 Lorraine Richman and Lillian Hochman quoted in Costantinou, “For Empty-Nesters, the Adult Village.”

1157 See again Fry, “The Community as a Commodity,” 116. As additional evidence to Fry’s discussion, one sales agent described an “age restriction” as “an amenity” to interested parties. See David Nyman quoted in Brooks, “Adult-Only Enclaves Find Wider Market.”

1158 Packard, *A Nation of Strangers*, 305. See also Henry Paparazzo quoted in “Adults-Only Communities Multiplying,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 18, 1976.

1159 Robert Lindsey, “‘Adults Only’ Housing Policies Appear to be Spreading,” *New York Times*, May 4, 1978; “Adults Only,” *Time* (July 3, 1978). For trend by 1980s, see also Brooks, “Adult-Only Enclaves Find Wider Market.”

were certainly willing to cater to the more restricted market.¹¹⁶⁰ “The only law now is the federal Fair Housing Act of 1968, but marital status are not covered by it,” a Justice Department official was quoted in 1976. “The question hasn’t come up very much.”¹¹⁶¹ Increasingly, however, the issue would surface, and some cities and states would pursue or pass laws aimed at addressing it, though it ultimately would take the amending of the earlier federal legislation itself to do it.¹¹⁶²

And yet residents of *retirement* developments—or those oriented in certain ways to retirees—might have been singled out collectively for criticism. In the 1970s, gerontology experts continued to discuss and write about different ways in which age-segregated housing worked to the benefit—rather than the detriment—of older Americans living in such developments.¹¹⁶³ Consensus, of course, remained elusive, as some academics, observers, and activists took views of retirement communities that were less than positive in their assessments.¹¹⁶⁴ But, Vance Packard acknowledged, “In a sense the people who migrate to retirement areas become rootless in order to escape a

1160 See again “Adults Only.”

1161 Frank Schwelb quoted in “Adults-Only Communities Multiplying.”

1162 For examples of laws, see those cited in “Adults Only”; Lindsey, “‘Adults Only’ Housing Policies Appear to be Spreading.” For evidence countering this, however, see Brooks, “Adult-Only Enclaves Find Wider Market.”

1163 For example, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170-71, for overview; Bultena and Wood, and other scholars, cited in Streib, “Social Stratification and Aging” in *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, ed. Binstock and Shanas, 171-72, 173. See also Susan R. Sherman, “Patterns of Contacts for Residents of Age Segregated and Age-Integrated Housing,” *Journal of Gerontology* 30, no. 1 (1975): 103-107, first cited in Findlay, 196. For evidence of such thinking in the 1980s and into the 1990s, see in particular Stephen M. Golant, “In Defense of Age-Segregated Housing” in *Housing the Elderly*, Hancock, ed., 49-56, account and specific pages (Golant, 50-51) also first cited in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 170. For a useful overview of different perspectives, also see Golant, *Housing America’s Elderly*, 75-78.

1164 For examples of different perspective as of the early 1970s, see views of Clark Tibbitts, James A. Peterson, Nathan W. Shock, and Bernice Neugarten in the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons, *46 National Leaders Speak out on Options for Older Americans* ([Washington, D.C.]: 1971), 44-45.

worse sense of rootlessness.”¹¹⁶⁵ Less understanding was critic Maggie Kuhn, leader of the Gray Panthers. “For decades the government and the private sector-including religious and fraternal groups-have built age-segregated retirement homes and communities,” she said before a Congressional subcommittee in 1981, “thus removing older Americans from their homes and neighborhoods, isolated from the community contacts and other age groups, and from society’s mainstream.”¹¹⁶⁶

Sun City was not silent on critiques in this vein. “Dr. Singer blatantly refers to the retirement as a ghetto,” the *News-Sun* responded in 1973 to a less-than-favorable characterization of Sun City in a Phoenix newspaper. “What does he think that the place was like that the retiree left?” it asked. “It was a place where the retiree became a built-in babysitter and listened for the ambulance siren which heralded another reduction in an ever narrowing circle of contemporary friends. And it was a place where bad weather during much of the year prevented him from enjoying his new-found and hard-won

1165 For Packard overall, Packard, *A Nation of Strangers*, 92-93 (quotation 93), 103, 303, 304-8. And, for scholarly perspectives here, see excellent overview of in Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 196.

1166 More specifically, she continued: “The psychological effect of this policy has reinforced the stereotypes of the powerlessness and usefulness of older people, who are effectively cut off from participation in our society. Instead of being dispersed [*sic*] through society as ‘the leavening force’ thousands have been herded together in ‘old age homes’ where they associate only with their peers, and where their daily agendas are inwardly directed ever narcissistic [*sic*] - with few opportunities and motivations for continued involvement in society’s issues and concerns.” See Maggie Kuhn, testimony to Subcommittee on Housing and Consumer Interests, Select Committee on Aging, U.S. House of Representatives, July 29, 1981, first quotation 1, second 1-2, Gray Panthers Collection, folder 9, box 147, Urban Archives, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Here, on p. 2, she also writes: “Retirement homes and communities privately developed and funded...frequently they become luxurious ghettos, comfortable, ‘posh’ but set apart from the mainstream of ongoing life.” For Kuhn in the official record, see statements in Subcommittee on Housing and Consumer Interests, Select Committee on Aging, House of Representatives, 97th Congress, 1st Session, July 29, 1981, *Housing the Elderly: Present Problems and Future Considerations*, Committee Publication 97-318 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1982), 74-76 and 77-78. For two other historical accounts first citing Kuhn critiquing such settings, see Kuhn quoted in: Schulman, *The Seventies*, 87; Otis, “‘Kindly Give This Letter Your Personal Attention,’” 138. On history and agenda of Kuhn and the Gray Panthers, dating from the early 1970s, see Schulman, 85-86, 87. For discussion idea and discussion of “positive ghettoism” in residential development, see Wayne Williams quoted in Louv, *America II*, 114 [*sic*?], cited in McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 57. For relationship to “golden ghettos,” to be sure, see Louv’s account of Williams again: Louv on Williams in Louv, 98.

freedom from toil.” Continuing, the newspaper cast the migration of the Sun Citizen as a revolutionary—and certainly political—act of sorts: “Like Prometheus, the Sun Citizen is the person who threw off the shackles of a cold-country ghetto where he became a second-class member of society, unneeded except for menial tasks and rapidly growing friendless.”¹¹⁶⁷

Furthering the logic of generational separation via space, retirement-community interests argued that what was good for retirees was bad for younger persons, similar to a view Meeker would express several years later on matters of age restrictions in deed restrictions. One strategy utilized by opponents of schools and children was that of pointing to the disconnect between the needs of families and the social and built environments of retirement communities—and in the process, the irresponsibility of parents contributing to the mismatch. “It seems reasonable that most parents concerned about providing compatible surroundings for education, comfort, and total development of their children would be most reluctant about subjecting them to this environment,” the SCTA asserted in 1974. “There are quite a few children in Sun City now, but they are seldom seen because there is nothing for them to do around here. The recreation centers are not available to them.”¹¹⁶⁸ As an RCAY official put it in 1974, “A young child in a retirement community is a depressed child, and why would a parent inflict this on a young child? It is a happy situation where a young child has playmates in his

¹¹⁶⁷ Paul Singer cited in, and “editorial comments” from, “Dismal Description of SC Reflects Failure to Do Homework,” *News-Sun*, March 6, 1973.

¹¹⁶⁸ SCTA quoted in “9,000 Sign Petitions for Sun City School,” *Arizona Republic*, May 23, 1974, CF-Ariz-Cities & Towns-Sun City-1974, PPL-AR. For a similar argument by one of the Johnsons, including mention of “no schools, no playgrounds, or other recreation facilities,” see E.H. Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, May 21, 1974.

neighborhood.”¹¹⁶⁹ A landscape shaped by and for age segregation became a self-perpetuating reality—if, of course, age segregated developments were *age-restricted* developments.

Other legal precedents Adult Action incorporated in its age-restrictions campaigns included *Maldini v. Ambro*, a case decided in New York by the state’s Court of Appeals in 1975.¹¹⁷⁰ In its decision backing a Long Island community’s aging-centric residential zoning apparatus, the court gave further credence to discourses of control over residential destiny and emancipation that went back at least as early to the late 1950s and 1960s over housing and healthcare for older Americans—here, noting a shift “from dependence on their children or upon institutions to one in which individuals and couples seek to live in their own homes, many in retirement communities.”¹¹⁷¹ On the ground in such communities, residents already were declaring and defending these ideals, breaches of age restrictions thus undoing the gains already achieved. “If these laws are not honored or enforced there will be no retirement areas,” Elinor Johnson argued after the 1975

1169 Marion M. Irvine, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, October 29, 1974. As Elinor Johnson of SYR wrote in 1975: “The psychological effect an adult community could have on the mind of a child is not being considered, only the motive of the parent.” Elinor M. Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, August 1, 1975.

1170 *Maldini v. Ambro* as cited in Adult Action, “Summary of Court Cases Affecting Adult Communities,” 2. For case itself, see *Maldini v. Ambro* 36 N.Y.2d 481, 330 N.E.2d 403, N.Y.S.2d 385 (1975).

1171 “High Court Backs Rezoning in State for High-Density Housing for Elderly,” *New York Times*, December 2, 1975; *Maldini v. Ambro* cited in Adult Action, “Summary of Court Cases Affecting Adult Communities,” 2; Neugarten cited in *Maldini v. Ambro* n3 (quotation). For background and decision of *Maldini*, see also Doyle, “Retirement Communities,” 69-70 (including 69n19), 70-71, 80, 81-82, 82-83; Travaglio, “Suffer the Little Children—But Not in My Neighborhood,” 301; Patricia Baron Pollak, “Zoning Matters in a Kinder, Gentler Nation: Balancing Needs, Rights, and Political Realities for Shared Residences for the Elderly,” *Saint Louis University Public Law Review*, 10 (1991): 506; Welch, “Retirement Communities in Maricopa County,” 73. For same or similar language elsewhere by Adult Action, *Age is Always with Us!* For Anderson and Anderson identifying the “independence theme,” see again “A Local Movement at Work,” 91-92.

legislation was now in effective. “Then where will we go? To nursing homes? To other comparable institutions? Wasn’t Youngtown born to give us some place to go?”¹¹⁷²

In another instance, engaging the issue of dependency, she sought to generate political leverage by arguing that the loss of age restrictions threatened to reverse the advantages of age-segregated arrangements for *other* parties inevitably part of the broader equation of housing for older Americans. “The younger generation should be helping us, instead of usurping our homes,” she wrote to the *Youngtown Record* in mid-1974. “By hindering us they will only be complicating their own lives. They will have to find room for their elders, as they will have no place to go.”¹¹⁷³ In part citing the “special social, psychological, and physical needs” of older persons, similar to *Maldini’s* reliance on a logic of “special needs,” a pair of cases decided in New Jersey by the state’s Supreme Court—*Shepard v. Woodland Township Committee and Planning Board* (1976) and *The Taxpayers Association of Weymouth Township, Inc. v. Weymouth Township* (1976)—appeared by the following year in Adult Action’s arsenal of precedents.¹¹⁷⁴

1172 Elinor Johnson, letter to the editor, *News-Sun*, November 21, 1975. For another Youngtown activist explaining to Babbitt, then Attorney General for the state, the function of the community in relation to “the poorhouse,” see Marion Irvine’s comments in *Prime Time* transcript, 5.

1173 Elinor Johnson, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, June 5, 1974.

1174 For *Maldini*, see again *Maldini* as cited in Adult Action, “Summary of Court Cases Affecting Adult Communities,” 2. Here, Adult Action cites the New Jersey cases, along with those cited above: Adult Action, *Age is Always with Us!* On *Shepard* and *Weymouth*, respectively, see decisions cited in Alfonso A. Narvaez, “Zoning for Elderly is Upheld in Jersey,” *New York Times*, September 29, 1976 (quotation); preceding cases cited in Mahrle, “Neither Seen Nor Heard,” 835; Travalio, “Suffer the Little Children— But Not in My Neighborhood,” 302-5, 306; Welch, “Retirement Communities in Maricopa County,” 73-74; Pollak, “Zoning Matters in a Kinder, Gentler Nation,” 507; Stafman, “Notes: Housing for the Elderly,” 428. For an overview of such thinking, see Schober, “Exclusion of Families with Children from Housing,” 1131-32. For a brief overview of these and other cases under a rationale of “legitimate,” see also Golant, *Housing America’s Elderly*, 295-97. For cases themselves, see *Shepard v. Woodland Township Committee and Planning Board*, 71 N.J. 230, 364 A.2d 1005 (1976); *The Taxpayers Association of Weymouth Township, Inc. v. Weymouth Township*, 80 N.J. 6, 364 A.2d 1016 (1976). In her excellent discussion and analysis of period court cases, Mary Doyle’s work specifically cites the work of gerontology experts dealing with the ultimately productive relationship between age segregation and housing for older persons—some of whose work has been discussed in this dissertation, including Irving Rosow, Bultena and Wood, Robert Havighurst, and others: Doyle, “Retirement Communities,” 82n75, 83n77.

With the overriding agenda not yet completed, their inclusion in the literature serve to help further define and defend age restrictions in uncertain times.

Another “Educational No-Man’s Land”

In the late 1970s, DEVCO initially stated its intention not to deviate from the approach to age restrictions that it had taken in Sun City in Sun City West (Figure 7.1).¹¹⁷⁵ Since DEVCO’s mid-decade restructuring in the 1960s, sales came roaring back, reaching record levels at different points in the late 1960s and 1970s, and spurring DEVCO to secure land and form plans for another Sun City project in the area.¹¹⁷⁶ “The average retirement age is dropping and many employees are anticipating retiring at age 55 in the near future,” John Meeker, in a late-1976 memo. “Some 96% of the pension plans have escape hatches for early retirement and over half of those now collecting Social Security are under 65.” And, whether referring to such retirement trends alone or to such trends along with other ostensibly favorable evidence he addressed, Meeker continued: “This would indicate that there is a sufficient market for Sun City to continue its growth.”¹¹⁷⁷

1175 See again Meeker in Lee, “The Spread at Sun City,” 9. On rise of Sun City West, see, for example, Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 160, 192; Hunt, et al., “Sun City, Arizona” in *A Detailed Look at 18 Retirement Communities*, 5, 42, 47; Wiley and Gottlieb, *Empires in the Sun*, 184; Sturgeon, “ ‘It’s a Paradise Town,’ ” 106.

1176 See again “Summary of Earnings” in Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 1, app. 7; Meeker, “Overview,” 10, 21-22; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” vol. 1, 92.

1177 John Meeker to [Bob?] Johnson, December 21, 1976, 1, in Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” volume 2, app. 15. I am assuming that Meeker was writing here to Robert Johnson here. On Johnson, see, for example, Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 151. This might be the “report” Meeker refers to in Meeker, vol. 1, 92. Furthermore, there is an attachment with underlining and other markings, whether Meeker’s or not, titled “Aging: Old Myths versus New Facts,” no. 2 of *Retirement Preparation Guide* published by Retirement Services Incorporated, also in Meeker, app. 15. And, Meeker continued from above: “We are told that Sun City is the only game in town, so to speak, that there is no other development in the country of its magnitude. In fact, Sun City is the most successful development in United States history of housing, surpassing Levittown, New York’s 17,000 living units some time back.” Meeker to Johnson, 1-2. Meeker to Johnson, 1, in Appendix 15 of Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,”

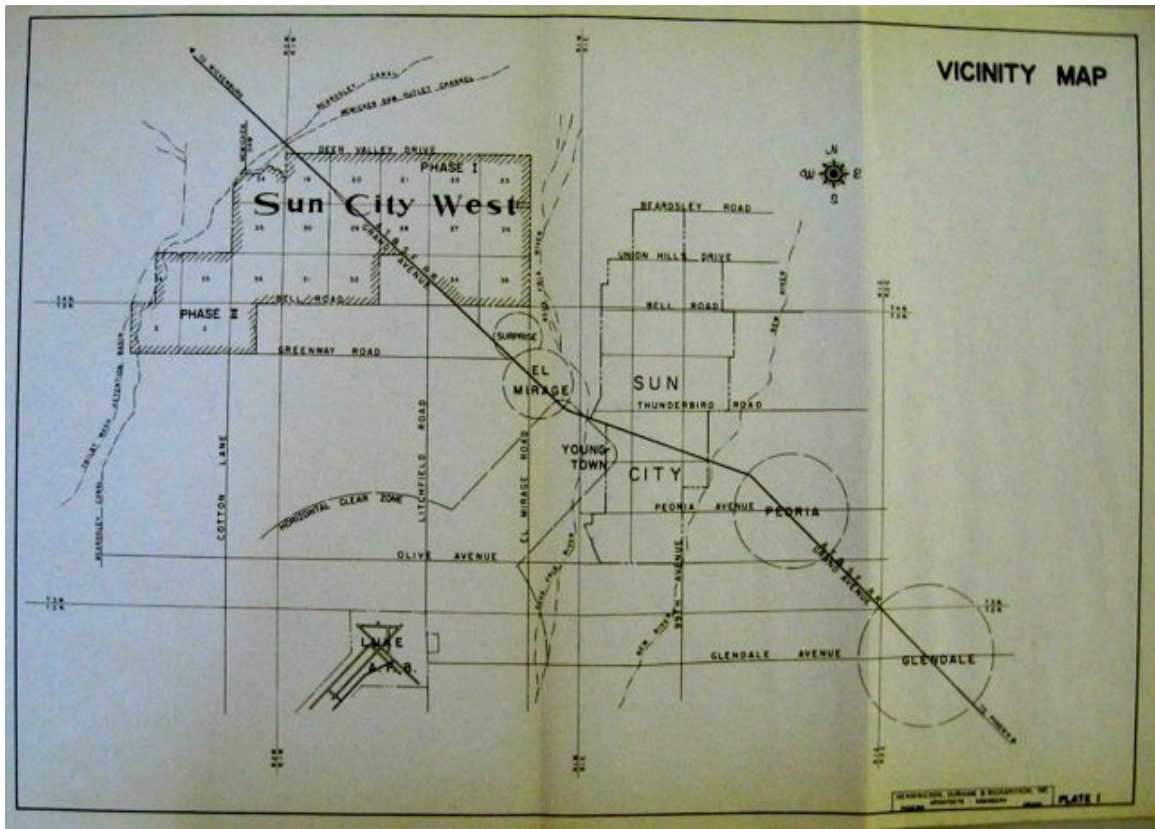


Figure 7.1. DEVCO makes development plans for Sun City West: “Vicinity Map” in Henningson, Durham & Richardson, *Sun City West - Phase I: Development Master Plan*, prepared for and with the Del E. Webb Development Company (1977), pl. no. 1, SCAHS.

DEVCO broke ground for the new Sun City in February, with Arizona Governor Wesley Bolin—who would die suddenly a few weeks later, replaced by Babbitt—U.S. Senator Dennis DeConcini, who now occupied Paul Fannin’s seat in Washington, and

Volume 2. Sun City, more specifically, would have reached the mark mentioned by Meeker in early or early-to-mid 1970s, according to one document provided by Meeker’s materials: “Sun City, Arizona: Home Key Deliveries and Population,” October 10, 1979, in Appendix 7 of Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” Volume 1. For figures of units and population when “virtually completed in 1978,” according to the Webb Corporation, see those discussed in Webb Corporation, *1978 Annual Report*, 10. For other figures of Sun City’s growth, see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 160.

The Webb Corporation remained optimistic in the late 1970s about the strength of the retirement-housing market, pointing to demographic and other trends, as well federal tax policy favorable to older homeowners: Del E. Webb Corporation, *1978 Annual Report* (Phoenix, Arizona, [1979]), 11. And despite less favorable results the following year, it noted, for example: “The interest in resort-retirement living has grown considerably in recent years and this has been stimulated to a degree by pre-retirement counseling programs offered by many companies and agencies.” Del E. Webb Corporation, *1979 Annual Report* (Phoenix, Arizona, [1980]), 10.

several Webb executives all taking part.¹¹⁷⁸ Like that of age restrictions, continuity in established practices extended to other aspects of the project. The plan for the initial development of Sun City West reflected similar thinking about the transformative nature of retirement and the role of the latest Webb project in assisting—if not enhancing—it: “Sun City West will represent a new stage in life where former responsibilities of employment and family will be replaced by new challenges and opportunities in such pursuits as culture, education, civic activism, recreation and other leisure time activities.”¹¹⁷⁹ In terms of the built environment, the document also spoke, for example, that “neighborhood identities involving from 3, 500 to 4,500 homes will tend to develop around focal points of commercial areas and recreation centers. This is a radical departure from the traditional neighborhood identity brought about by the elementary school.”¹¹⁸⁰ And in section titled “ECONOMIC IMPACT,” it explained—among other points—that “Sun City West will contribute much more to the County revenue than it will directly require in County expenditures. For example, nearly one half of the County

1178 Meeker, “Overview,” 21-22; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” Volume 1, 98; Edson F. Allen, ed., *Sun City West Silver Celebration: The First 25 Years* (Sun City, Arizona: Sun Cities Area Historical Society, 2003), 21-22, 23 (photo and caption). On Bolin and Babbitt, see “Gov. Bolin Dead; Babbitt Becomes Head of State,” *News-Sun*, March 4, 1978. The plan DEVCO commissioned is discussed and cited below.

1179 Henningson, Durham & Richardson, *Sun City West, Phase I*, 9.

1180 Henningson, Durham & Richardson, *Sun City West, Phase I*, 10. And for “no schools,” see also 10. For distinctiveness in other respects, including involving golf, see also 9-10. For Sun City West as “complete,” see also, for example, Henningson, Durham & Richardson, 10, 15, 30-32. For facilities in Sun City Center, Florida see FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 204, 215. But for differences between Sun City and Sun City West as the latter was developed in the 1980s, see Meeker interview, 10-11. On shopping centers built in relation to neighborhoods as plan and practice, similar to Perry and offshoots, see again Meeker, “Overview,” 15; Meeker interview, 10; Henningson, Durham & Richardson, *Sun City West, Phase I*, 10, 18; Hunt, et al., “Sun City, Arizona” in *A Detailed Look at 18 Retirement Communities*, 42. For existence and location of in Sun City West as planned, also see “General Plan” and “Land Use” in Henningson, Durham & Richardson, *Sun City West, Phase I*, pl. 2 and pl. 3, in order. But Sun City West, shopping facilities that were part of its “core” was envisioned “to take on the posture of a region-serving facility.” See 18 (second quotation), 20 (first quotation).

budget currently goes for health, hospital and school purposes, areas in which the new community will directly require very few services.”¹¹⁸¹

Before long, Sun City West residents would help to write a second chapter to the “Sun Cities Wars” over school taxes.¹¹⁸² In early June of 1978, the *News-Sun* noted in an editorial that “Sun Citians will be paying 95-cent school tax and those who soon will move into Sun City West will be paying more than \$6 as residents of the Dysart School District. Right or wrong,” it observed, “a vast improvement is available to Sun City Westians as soon as they can get organized and secede into an educational no-man’s land like SC-Y’s.”¹¹⁸³ Residents of the community would soon do just that, with Gene Wilson, the prospective homebuyer and author of the letters in the early 1970s calling for tax breaks for Sun City, much involved in the early stages. Not four years after Sun City and the Peoria schools parted ways, retirees in the development mobilized in opposition to paying school taxes in the Dysart School District between 1978 and 1981, ultimately negotiating a school-district-free Sun City West. In the process, such efforts put yet another Sun City at odds with neighboring communities in a struggle to define and defend ideas about the rights of citizenship in retirement.¹¹⁸⁴

1181 Henningson, Durham & Richardson, “Section B: ECONOMIC IMPACT” in *Sun City West, Phase I*, 3-8 (quotation 6-7). Meeker himself continued to stress this aspect of Sun City, as well as mentioning Sun City West: Meeker in Lee, “The Spread at Sun City,” 10, 11. See also Leonard Huck cited in “SC Impact Compares to New Industry, Says Bank [?],” *News-Sun*, February 2, 1978, in “Demographics 1960 - 1989” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS.

1182 For quotation, see again McHugh, Gober, and Borough, “The Sun City Wars,” 633.

1183 Editorial, “Tax Break Too Big?” *News-Sun*, June 7, 1978.

1184 For an overview of the Sun City West-Dysart school controversy, see all Gober, “The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 194; Gober, *Metropolitan Phoenix*, 90; McHugh, Gober, and Borough, “The Sun City Wars,” 635; Allen, ed., *Sun City West Silver Celebration*, 179, 182-83. For another apparent mention, also see Blechman, *Leisureville*, 133. Furthermore, for similarities between the first Sun City West-Dysart conflict in the late 1970s and 1980s and the events and themes that unfolded in “Chapter 3” between the Sun City West Expansion Area and the Dysart schools: McHugh, et al., 627-28, 636-43, 644; Gober, *Metropolitan Phoenix*, 88, 91-93. For what presumably was this as well, see Freedman, *Prime Time*, 66-67; Teaford, *The Metropolitan Revolution*, 111. And for events in Las Vegas

In June 1978, a sizeable bond issue passed in the Dysart School District, ultimately triggering several years of conflict.¹¹⁸⁵ Almost immediately, retirees took action. Among the concerns about the election he expressed to the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors, one Sun City resident and Sun City West homebuyer “accused the school district of rushing this through with the intent to have the people of Sun City West pay for it, but not vote on it, because they hadn’t moved in yet.”¹¹⁸⁶ In August, Sun City West began establishing its presence in the district at an August meeting of the Dysart school board, which several early Sun City West retirees attended and where a statement presented by Gene Wilson, a retired U.S. Air Force colonel who soon would relocate from Sun City to Sun City West, “indicated the desire of future residents . . . to become involved in the functions of the School District in an effort to become acquainted with the needs and operation of the district.”¹¹⁸⁷

around roughly the same time, see also Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 164-65, 166-67, 168-70, 170-71. For support *within* retirees, see 170.

1185 “School Bonding Passes,” *News-Sun*, June 21, 1978.

1186 See comments of W.A. Meiter in BOSMC, minutes, June 20, 1978 (quotation); Jerry Seper, “Dysart-Passed Bond Rejected; Fraud Hinted,” *Arizona Republic*, July 4, 1978 [PORA?]; Meiter cited in “Dysart School District Bond Vote to be Checked for Irregularities,” *Arizona Republic*, July 15, 1978, PORA [PORA?]. Art Gissendaner, “Discrepancies Explained in Bond-Election Results,” *Arizona Republic*, July 20, 1978; Doug Frerichs, “Dysart Vote Challengers May Push New Legislation,” *News-Sun*, July 20, 1978; “Dysart Election Results to Stand,” *News-Sun*, August 1, 1978. On claims about pre-empting Sun City West, see also Robert Williams, interview by Melanie Sturgeon, February 29, 1996, C243, partial transcription by author of cassette tape, SCAHS. To be clear, all taped oral histories listed in “Index to Oral History Project” in Sun Cities Area Historical Society, “Oral History Project” [SCAHS-OHP], bk. 1, SCAHS. For additional evidence possibly illustrating this narrative, see also Property Owners and Residents Association, “Vote ‘Yes’ to Rescind Dysart School District 27.55 Million Dollar Bond on Oct. 14, 1980,” flyer, n.d., PORA. Also, note: I viewed and scanned various materials—primarily newspaper clippings and PORA-generated or –related materials—at PORA’s office in Sun City West, Arizona, during the course of research. While such materials were located in various scrapbooks, I have omitted specific titles or other identifying information at the level of individual scrapbooks, using PORA to identify the origin instead. Meanwhile, this very well might have been the case, but there also was another perspective informed by the precedent of Peoria. The *News-Sun* reported prior to the 1978 bond election: “District superintended Al Northern said there is some fear that once Sun City West residents arrive, passing a school bond issue would be impossible.” See “Dysart to Vote on School Bond,” *News-Sun*, June 19, 1978. Also see Frerichs, “Bond Issue to Include SCW.”

1187 Dysart United School District, Dysart Board of Education (DBE), Dysart School District, Surprise, Arizona, minutes August 15, 1978, [1]. For those attending, see preceding minutes, and, for individuals mentioned, see those cited in Gissendaner, “Discrepancies Explained in Bond-Election Results”; Allen, ed.,

By early 1979, Wilson and others had formally organized the Property Owners and Residents Association, a Sun City West group—not unlike the SCTA and its origins—largely aimed at minimizing local school taxes.¹¹⁸⁸ Over the next several years, PORA successfully reshaped the politics and electoral outcomes of the Dysart school district to its own ends. One was the undoing of the bond issue that had passed over the summer of 1978. In 1980, PORA undertook efforts to arrange for what in effect was a referendum on the previous bond election. And it worked. That fall, Sun City West residents led the vote in favor of voiding the bond issue, and they did so by a massive margin.¹¹⁸⁹ Another project was securing seats on the school board; as Gene Wilson explained it at the end of 1979, “We are, so to speak, the majority stockholder of the district and yet we have no vote or say on how the district budgets its finances.”¹¹⁹⁰ Running for board seats on the theme, “We Care for Children, Their Education, and Fiscal Responsibility!,” according to one campaign advertisement, the three Sun City

Sun City West Silver Celebration, 182. On Gene Wilson, see “Meet PORA’s First President” in Allen, ed., *Sun City West Silver Celebration*, 180-81.

1188 Ben Hudson, “SC Westers Approve PORA,” February 13, 1979; “Meet PORA’s First President” in *Sun City West Silver Celebration*, ed. Allen, 179, 180-81 182. On PORA’s origins, see also Laurie Hurd, “PORA’s Beginnings Linked to School and Tax Conflicts,” *Sun Cities Independent*, October 16-22, 1995, “Property Owners and Residents Association (PORA) 1983 to 1999” folder, VF, SCW, SCAHS; Williams interview. On PORA versus groups in Sun City, see Loise Copes, interview by Phyllis Street, February 10, 1997, C250, transcript, n.p., SCHAS, “Oral History Project,” bk. 2, SCAHS.

1189 “PORA’s First President Reports ’78 Achievements,” *Daily News-Sun*, January 22, 1980; Mark Fleming, “Sun City West and School Board at Loggerheads,” *Phoenix Gazette*, May 14, 1980, PORA; Richard Moore, “PORA Will Seek Revocation of Dysart School Bond,” *News-Sun* [?] May 13, 1980; “Sun City West Seeks to Block School Bonding,” *Arizona Republic*, June 11, 1980, PORA; “Dysart Officials Say Schools Didn’t Need Rescinded Bonds,” *Arizona Republic*, October 22, 1980, PORA. As this last source indicates the vote in Sun City West was 2,571 to 16.

1190 Wilson quoted in Richard Moore, “Wilson Rejects Second PORA Term,” *Daily News-Sun*, December 15, 1979. As the *News-Sun* explained it elsewhere: “One of the criticisms by Westers is that while their property taxes currently subsidize over 60 percent of the district’s operational costs, (a figure Gene Wilson...says will climb to 80 percent in 1980), there is no Sun City West representation on the school board.” See Richard Moore, “SCWesters Plan Strategy for 1980 School Board Vote,” *Daily News-Sun*, December 20, 1979. See also Wilson cited in Gail Reid, “Dysart School Official Fears Retirees Will Control Board,” *Arizona Republic*, March 5, 1980, PORA.

West candidates running that fall all won seats, quickly winning Sun City West majority control.¹¹⁹¹

Tensions between Sun City and the metropolitan area persisted, taking a discursive framework of welfare politics. In fact, vowing that the preferential tax status Sun City had secured at mid-decade would come to an end under imminent changes, Arizona Senate Minority Leader Alfredo Gutierrez declared in 1979, “They can’t come here from Ohio and expect me to support them.”¹¹⁹² Sun City interests, in turn, launched now-familiar counter-assaults, the *News-Sun* writing, for instance, that “it is more appropriate to consider the senior citizenry, from Ohio and elsewhere, as an industry which may have moved here from Ohio or some other state.”¹¹⁹³ The RCASC in statement published in the newspaper pointed out, “Actually, rather than Gutierrez

1191 Richard Moore, “SCW Voters Lose Clout in Dysart,” *Daily News-Sun*, March 18, 1980, PORA; Reid, “Dysart School Official Fears Retirees Will Control Board”; Richard Moore, “Bond Poses Obstacle,” *Daily News-Sun*, May 6, 1980, PORA; Sun City West Elections Committee, “Sun City West Candidates for the Dysart School Board,” advertisement, *Sun City Citizen* [?], October 29, 1980, PORA; “Sun City Votes Listed,” table of “unofficial results,” *Daily News-Sun*, November 7, 1980; Susan Doerfler, “Sun City West Split with Dysart Board Grows over Schools,” *Arizona Republic*, November 12, 1980, PORA. This is not, however, to suggest that the politics of the school board in Dysart were the same as those in Peoria under Sun City and Youngtown control. For a useful account perhaps relevant to framing events here, see McHugh, Gober, and Borough, “The Sun City Wars.”

The Dysart board, particularly involving Sun City West membership, also appears to have raised controversy revolving around the place of Spanish in the district in different respects. For example, on initial resistance from members of the new, Sun City West-dominated school board to securing federal money for extending bilingual education, see, for example, Cheryl Sweet, “SC Westers Object to Bilingual Program,” *Daily News-Sun*, January 7, 1981; Steve Yozwiak, “Dysart School-Board Chief Denounces Bilingual Education,” *Arizona Republic*, January 9, 1981 (quotation); Steve Yozwiak, “Dysart Keeps Its High Hopes on Bilingual Aid,” *Arizona Republic*, January 22, 1981; Steve Yozwiak, “Proposed Dysart Speakers’ Policy Called ‘Straightjacket,’” *Arizona Republic*, February 11, 1981, PORA. And on eventual result, see, for example, Yozwiak, “Dysart Keeps Its High Hopes on Bilingual Aid”; Yozwiak, “Proposed Dysart Speakers’ Policy Called ‘Straightjacket.’” For additional evidence, see also comments of Rose Ratner in Richard Moore, “Board Candidates Would Ask Audit of District” [*News-Sun*?], June 13, 1980. On demographics of students in the school, see, for example, figures cited by the Dysart board’s Margaret Baker, at a 1979 PORA meeting, in Ben Hudson, “Dysart School District Educates 3,500,” *Daily News-Sun*, May 25, 1979. My thinking here is shaped by the analysis of Gober and colleagues in their discussion of the “Sun Cities Wars,” particularly what they call “Chapter 3,” involving tensions and racial politics between residents of the Sun City West Expansion Area and the Dysart district in the 1990s: McHugh, Gober, and Borough, “The Sun City Wars,” 641-42.

1192 Dan Wallach, “Gutierrez: SC School Tax Will Equalize,” *Daily News-Sun*, November 13, 1979. Context provided from editorial, “Tax Lobby Distortions,” *Daily News-Sun*, November 16, 1979.

1193 Editorial, “Tax Lobby Distortions.” For similar thinking, see also J.C. Dunn Sr., letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, November 27, 1979.

supporting Sun Citizens, it is Sun Citizens paying the taxes that help to pay his state salary and the cost of the social services, welfare, etc., that go to many of his constituents.”¹¹⁹⁴

Simultaneously, however, voices tempered any view of Sun City retirees as *too* financially secure or comfortable, invoking the discourse of economic vulnerability, whether accurate or not. When Senate Democrats advanced a property-tax proposal aimed at reducing homeowners’ school taxes—but only for those residing in school districts—the *News Sun* wrote, “Apparently the senator has heartfelt empathy for poor people who live in what are generally regarded as poor neighborhoods, but his concern falls short of poor people who live in what are generally regarded [sic] as middle or upper-middle income neighborhoods from an economic standpoint.”¹¹⁹⁵ And yet, the newspaper continued, perhaps rehabilitating the perception of such older persons as *too* poor or dependent, by emphasizing the self-sufficiency of less affluent Sun Citizens: “The fact is, the ethic which directs the behavior of the Sun City and Youngtown poor is one which keeps them from accepting the private or public charity which the citizenry has made available to them.”¹¹⁹⁶

Like their counterparts in the Peoria district, school supporters in the Dysart district launched a critique of Sun City West dealing with the relative affluence—real or imagined—of residents in Webb’s newest retirement development. When Dysart supporters clashed with Sun City West leadership in the early months of 1981 over the terms of disengagement of a proposed “disassociation” plan initiated by district parents

1194 See “position paper” of Albert N. Brown, RCASC, printed in *Daily News-Sun*, December 26, 1979.

1195 Editorial, “Bias Cuts Benefit.” Summing up a position espoused by the head of the SCTA in the spring of 1980, coverage of the *News-Sun* reflects this dichotomy at work: “He pointed out that Sun Citizens do expand the cash flow of the state through sales taxes and creation of employment.” It continued: “But, he added, there are plenty of elderly, susceptible people in Sun City who aren’t immune from con games or the ravages of inflation.” See Murray Karsten cited in “SCTA to Rebut Television Attack on Area Taxpayers,” *Daily News-Sun*, April 12, 1980.

1196 Editorial, “Bias Cuts Benefit.”

gerrymandering in the tax base of non-residential properties, a pro-school group calling itself Parents Organized to Protect Education (POPE) countered opposition on PORA's part by taking to the streets, staging a protest in Sun City West in mid-March (Figure 7.2).¹¹⁹⁷ Though it ultimately would pass in May, and "overwhelmingly" on both sides, here culture and politics collided at the site of an event taking place in the retirement community. "Stopping several times in front of the LPGA golf tournament, the group was finally asked not to chant during putting time," the *News-Sun* reported. "Del E. Webb Development Co. legal counsel Gerald Williams told them that their shouting was disrupting the players."¹¹⁹⁸ Along the way, one sign carried by a protestor asserted "Roses are red, violets are blue, Del Webb is rich, and so are you," and evoking the colorful imagery of consumption deployed in attacking Sun City affluence, one participant—a past school-board member now involved with POPE—charged, "If these

1197 Cheryl Sweet, "Dysart Parents Begin Drive to Disassociate," *Daily News-Sun*, February 18, 1981, PORA; "Dysart Petitions Suspended," *SCC*, February 27, 1981 (quotation), PORA; Jean Kallal, "Area Parents Want Sun City West out," *Peoria Times*, February 20, 1981; Steve Yozwiak, "Dysart Parents Will Fight Split with Sun City West," *Arizona Republic*, March 13, 1981, PORA; Cheryl Sweet, "Dysart Parents Set SCW March," *Daily News-Sun*, March 12, 1981, PORA; Steve Yozwiak, "Dysart Protesters March on Sun City West Tournament," *Arizona Republic*, March 15, 1981, PORA plus a separate copy viewed; Cheryl Sweet, "Protest Turns off Westers," *Daily News-Sun*, March 16, 1981; Mark Fleming, "Dysart Group Will Gamble the Mortgage," *Phoenix Gazette*, March 18, 1981, PORA; Cheryl Sweet, "Westers Riled by March," *Daily News-Sun*, March 18, 1981, PORA; Steve Yozwiak, "Dysart Solution Seems Simple, Veteran of Peoria's Split Says," *Arizona Republic*, March 18, 1981, PORA; Mark Fleming, "Business District May Become Vote Issue," *Phoenix Gazette*, March 20, 1981, PORA. For more complex equation of another party—"A third group of residents, composed mainly of farmers and businessmen, appears ready to oppose a reorganization under any terms"—see Mark Fleming, "Dysart Reorganization Sentiment Split," *Phoenix Gazette*, March 25, 1981, PORA. On eventual plan, see, for example, Steve Yozwiak, "Dysart Parents, Sun City West OK Division Plan," *Arizona Republic*, March 27, 1981; explanation of in Robert W. Williams, letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, May 4, 1981.

1198 Steve Yozwiak, "School Vote in Dysart May Bring Conciliation," *Arizona Republic*, May 14, 1981 [PORA] (first quotation); Yozwiak, "Sun City West is Disassociated in Dysart Vote," *Arizona Republic*, May 13, 1981; Cheryl Sweet, "Disassociation Passes," *Daily News-Sun*, May 13, 1981, "Dysart School District" folder, VF, SCW, SCAHS; Sweet, "Protest Turns off Westers" (second quotation).

people can come and hit golf balls and drink martinis, they can afford to give us the commercial core.”¹¹⁹⁹



Figure 7.2. Tensions between Sun City West and the Dysart schools: From *Daily News-Sun*, March 16, 1981.

Although such caricatures might have reduced important distinctions between residents of Sun City West and the outside world, not to mention amongst Sun City West residents themselves, the retirees in DEVCO’s second Arizona development certainly had

¹¹⁹⁹ Signed quoted in Yozwiak, “Dysart Protesters March on Sun City West Tournament”; Eloy [sic?] Sampson quoted in Sweet, “Protest Turns off Westers.” For further discussion of the May vote and move, see Allen, ed., *Sun City West Silver Celebration*, 182.

a certain degree of financial security—not to mention other qualities increasing the capacity and capabilities of older persons. Older Americans more generally were aging in this period, making up a population experts and advocates by the 1980s were terming the “old old.” In 1983, for example, the *New York Times* profiled one Florida retiree, whose dilemma in older age perhaps paralleled some of the oldest residents of DEVCO’s initial Sun City development: “When Myrtle E. Morris retired as a New York office worker 30 years ago, she had a husband, her health, a home and a car. Now, as the age of 83, she is widowed and nearly blind, and she lives in a retirement home. Her driving days are only a memory.” She was not alone: “Mrs. Morris is part of the fastest growing segment of American society, those 80 and older, many of whom have outlived the active years of retirement and have seen the quality of their lives erode.”¹²⁰⁰

Compared to Sun City, especially Phase I, Sun City West fared well in terms, for example, of average age and home values.¹²⁰¹ And although obviously self-interested in painting a positive financial picture of the potential of Sun City West, DEVCO itself acknowledged that prospective homebuyers were not impoverished, economically vulnerable citizens teetering on the financial brink. As it explained in its master plan for Sun City West, Phase I, “Although most residents of the new community will be retired, they will have higher than average incomes for the area and will channel this income into

1200 The AARP’s Steve Mehlman quoted in and Morris described in Reginald Stuart, “‘Old Old’ Grow in Numbers and Impact,” *New York Times*, June 20, 1983. For FitzGerald perhaps offering a similar narrative trajectory here, see also FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 237.

1201 See discussion of and inclusion of Census data in Gober, “Retirement as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 194, 195-96. For trends in Sun City in 1980s, see discussion of findings of one study from the early 1980s and other points discussing declining income and increasing widowhood, as well as declining health, in Jim Walsh, “Retirement Communities are Like Any Other, Except ‘We’re All Old,’” *Arizona Republic*, March 17, 1985, in “Sun City” folder/s, according to year or not, in Arizona, CF, PPL. On Sun City West as viewed by Sun City, see Freireich interview. And on the age diversity among age-eligible persons via aging in the case of Sun City Center, Florida, Frances FitzGerald wrote, for example: “In twenty-odd years, Sun City Center has developed its own life cycle, beginning with people in their fifties and ending with those in their nineties.” See FitzGerald, “Sun City—1983,” 235-36 (quotation 235). And in terms of marital status, and gender, see also 236, 237.

the local economy at a higher rate than average per capita rate.” And, key here was the variable of life cycle—retirement notwithstanding: “This is due primarily to the adult age composition and the minimization of certain financial obligations associated with younger families such as mortgage payments and college expenses which tend to reduce the level of spending on consumer goods and services.”¹²⁰²

Nonetheless, familiar themes pertaining to the particularities of retirement surfaced. “The tendency for any person is to pay as little taxes as possible,” Bob Williams explained in 1981. “What everyone knows is that for a retired person living on a pension, his first priority is not putting someone else’s kids through school. That’s the majority feeling out here, so let’s face up to it.”¹²⁰³ Perhaps the thinking reflected in Williams’s comments about taxes and life cycle were not as prevalent now; the *News-Sun* would comment in early 1979 that “So far, we haven’t heard from Sun City West the mournful cry that ‘we educated our children, now others should pay to educate theirs’ as we did during the Sun City-Youngtown confrontations with the Peoria District.”¹²⁰⁴

But what was present in political discourse was the prominence of Sun City West as taxpayers. And others in the district took notice. “When it comes right down to it,” a high-school teacher in the district said, “are they really concerned about the quality of the students’ education or are they only concerned about protecting their property tax interests?”¹²⁰⁵ As Margaret Baker put it at one point, “All they talk about is taxpayers.”¹²⁰⁶ In addition to advancing their *own* interests in the arena of taxes, this

1202 See again Henningson, Durham & Richardson, *Sun City West, Phase I*, 3.

1203 Robert Williams quoted in Fleming, “Dysart Group Will Gamble the Mortgage.”

1204 Editorial, “Avoiding Overkill,” March 28, 1979.

1205 See “one female Dysart High School teacher who asked not to be identified” as quoted in part in Richard Moore, “Board Candidates Would Ask Audit,” [*Daily News-Sun*], June 13, 1980, PORA.

1206 Margaret Baker quoted in Susan Doerfler, “Sun City West Split with Dysart Board Grows over Schools,” *Arizona Republic*, November 12, 1980, PORA.

might have been a strategy: In claiming to protect *all* taxpayers, Sun City West leaders sought to deflect blame directed towards retirees for their opposition to school taxes, suggesting instead that it was not the specific agenda of retirees but instead a universal desire among all district residents. For example, clashing with Sun City West over a smaller bond issue in 1980 and upset with what she saw as politicking on the part of retirees, Baker stated, “It’s very clear: It’s either that it’s done the way Sun City West wants it or its [sic] not going to happen.” Gene Wilson, however, offered another perspective. “I would word it a little differently. It’s what the taxpayers want.”¹²⁰⁷ In the end, though the ideology of volunteerism trumped all, community involvement existing as an ostensibly apolitical solution to the highly political and politicized issue of school taxes. “When we are disassociated and control of the School Board is returned to the parents and the political air is cleared, we of Sun City West can continue to expand our volunteer assistant to the School District, but in a much friendlier climate,” Bob Williams explained to PORA membership leading up to the decisive vote in May of 1981. “I think that you will agree that we would like to be good neighbors.”¹²⁰⁸

If Sun City West resembled Sun City in the trajectory of tensions over school taxes and other issues, in another respect it did not. In a break from the past, age restrictions now took the added form of deed restrictions.¹²⁰⁹ Even then, uncertainty

1207 Baker and Wilson quoted in “Dysart Bond Tabled,” *Daily News-Sun*, December 3, 1980, PORA. 1208 Robert W. Williams, “About the May 12 Disassociation Vote,” report to PORA, April 20, 1981. For the meeting at which this apparently was presented, see PORA meeting agenda, April 20, 1981, PORA. Elsewhere, Williams spoke of the arrangement as “an amicable divorce with visitation rights.” See Williams quoted in Steve Yozwiak, “Ballot to List 2 Options for Division of Dysart,” *Arizona Republic*, April 2, 1981, PORA. For both the *News-Sun* and Meeker on volunteer efforts and benevolence of Sun City West, see editorial, “Boys Club Funding,” *Daily News-Sun*, June 4, 1979; Meeker interview, 21-22. 1209 On deeds in Sun City West, see Clark, “Webb Limits Ages for SCW”; Wegner, “Vow of Developers to Bar Young Buyers Called Fraud”; John J. Harrigan, “Sun City Fears Its Integrity at Stake as Deed Clauses Become Inadequate,” *Arizona Republic*, November 6, 1978, in “Sun City” folder/s corresponding

lingered from the Webb perspective. “THERE WAS a large amount of interest in having them, whether they are valid or not,” Gerald Williams explained. “I’m not making any overture as to whether the (U.S.) Supreme Court will find them valid or not.”¹²¹⁰

Williams would not be the last to voice such concerns, though the political momentum already behind proponents of age restrictions ultimately would defuse questions of constitutionality in both the short-term and long-term, fueling and further entrenching the political rights and political culture of retirement communities on the metropolitan landscape in the last decades of the twentieth century.

Zoning for Retirement

Back in Sun City, the unresolved dilemma of age restrictions continued to nag community activists. Frustrated with what they perceived as a lack of responsiveness, the couple who had complained in 1978 to Arizona’s Real Estate Commissioner over of matter of ultimately unenforced age restrictions in Sun City appealed to Congressman Bob Stump later that summer. “We feel that the Webb Co [*sic*], with its constant harping, locally, on the fact that age restrictions may not be enforced, is encouraging families with children to move in,” they wrote. “They should be putting all their efforts into legalizing Sun City as a retirement area, preferably by zoning.”¹²¹¹ Meanwhile, several months earlier the TMA suggested that the overall threat only would worsen. “The growth of the job market in the Sun City area because of normal development and the Sun City West projections make increased real estate queries by younger families

to above year in Arizona, CF, PPL; practice as described in editorial, “Deed Restrictions,” *Daily News-Sun*, December 19, 1979; Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 102.

¹²¹⁰ Williams here quoted in Clark, “Webb Limits Ages for SCW.”

¹²¹¹ Irene and Wilbur Johnson to Bob Stump, August 10, 1978, attached to Bob Stump—forwarding—to Jack LaSota, August 14, 1978, RG, 4 SG 1 Series 3, folder 18, box 2, ASALPR.

inevitable,” the TMA claimed.¹²¹² Unable to persuade the state to back up the legislation enacted in 1975, Adult Action directed its efforts towards securing zoning for retirement-type developments in Arizona, their efforts in this regard ultimately productive.¹²¹³

In a document produced at the end of 1978, Adult Action argued in favor zoning for retirement. “It is our conviction that such zoning will be a great *preventative* tool in reducing the number of violations,” it stated. Continuing, it explained, “A Property Owners’ or Residents’ Association would notify realtors or anyone else involved in a possible change in occupancy that the property lies within an area zoned for those who do not have children living with them. In the situation where ‘education’ does not prevent a violation, the continuing violation will be reported to the enforcement officials in the same way any other zoning violation is reported.”¹²¹⁴ Prompted by Adult Action Maricopa County began exploring the possibility of crafting zoning laws for age-restricted housing in the final months 1978. When discussion within the County’s Planning and Zoning Commission failed to reach definite answers to questions involving constitutionality and other concerns, they created a “Senior Citizen Zoning Committee” in December.¹²¹⁵

1212 See TMA “position paper” printed under “Age Restriction Bars Incursion by Children,” *Daily News-Sun*, March 31, 1978.

1213 Specific events involving Adult Action’s efforts discussed and cited below.

1214 Adult Action, “A Case for Land Use Zoning for Senior Citizens’ Communities in Arizona;” 2, case file 80-34, PDDMC. This document, immediately prior to this quotation, also stated: “COURTS in other states have validated zoning for those without children living with them and, in the COURT’S opinions, indicate such zoning is not arbitrary and is praised as desirable, necessary and does promote GENERAL WELFARE, HEALTH AND SAFETY of the residents” (2).

1215 Tim Clark, “Zoning for Retirement Emerges as Issue,” *Daily News-Sun*, November 15, 1978; Wegner, “Vow of Developers to Bar Young Buyers Called Fraud”; Tim Clark, “‘Senior Zoning,’ Raises Issues,” *Daily News-Sun*, November 16 [?], 1978; “County Panel Opts for Closer Look at ‘Senior Zoning,’” *Daily News-Sun*, November 17, 1978; Planning and Zoning Commission, Maricopa County, Arizona (PZCMC), minutes, December 21, 1978 (quotation). Minutes viewed at the office of the Maricopa County Planning and Development Department in Phoenix. And, as I have done for minutes from the Board of Supervisors, I have omitted information at the level of specific volumes in which minutes appear and pages

At the state level, a state senator whose district included Sun City backed enabling legislation intended to spur county-level government to take steps to address an underlying problem—that, the *News-Sun* summarized her position, “retirement areas in Arizona are advertised nationally but no legal guarantee to retain their retirement character exists.”¹²¹⁶ Representatives from Sun City backed legislation in progress in 1979, though their pro-zoning positions did not go uncontested.¹²¹⁷ At the outset, the County had indicated to the Planning and Zoning Commission that age differed from other categories potentially subject to discrimination.¹²¹⁸ Nonetheless, at meeting in the spring of 1979, Commissioner Earl de Berge still saw a capacity for inequities, arguing—of a template of a “Senior Citizen Overlay Zoning District” on the table—that “It is in principle, [*sic*] wrong to exclude classes of people from the right to choose where they wish to live in any community in this country.” Other concerns voiced dealt with school taxes, which de Berge in particular addressed, and potential infringements on property rights in matters, for example, over custody of minor children.¹²¹⁹

for simplicity, although minutes can be found by date. For an earlier mention of Adult Action in this arena, see Nellie Johnson, letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, March 21, 1978.

1216 S.B. 1171 in Arizona State Senate, Committee on Government, minutes, 34th leg., 1st sess., February 27, 1979, 2-3, Arizona State Senate, Phoenix, Arizona; Clark, “Zoning for Retirement Emerges as Issue”; Tim Clark, “‘Senior Zoning,’ Raises Issues”; Anne Lindeman cited in “Retirement Zoning Passes Committee,” *Daily News-Sun*, February 29, 1979; Welch, “Retirement Communities in Maricopa County,” 79-80.

1217 For representatives from Sun City organization, see PZCMC, minutes, March 15, 1979; see also groups indicated in BOSMC, minutes, March 15, 1979. For SCTA position, see also Wallach, “Taxpayers Board Votes to Back Senior Zoning”; PZCMC, minutes, April 18, 1979.

1218 For legal perspective of Maricopa County, see Cleon Duke cited in Wegner.

1219 See PZCMC, minutes, April 18 (quotations), May 3, 1979; Tim Clark, “Senior Zoning Drops Round,” *Daily News-Sun*, April 20, 1979; Dan Wallach, “Panel Backs Age Zoning,” *Daily News-Sun*, May 3, 1979. For additional invoking of concerns involving the residency of persons providing care to an older homeowner, as well as property rights, see H.N. Greyson, letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, May 3, 1977, SCHOA scrapbook; Jack Salzman cited in Dan Wallach, “Taxpayers Board Votes to Back Senior Zoning,” *Daily News-Sun*, March 14, 1979. Such concerns were addressed earlier by PZCMC as well, in fact, going back to November: PZCMC, minutes, November 16, 1978.

The positions taken by the Phoenix-area press was neither complete nor unanimous in the support of evolving legislation. In early March, the *Phoenix Gazette* took a position in which it viewed *any* invoking of age as necessarily problematic, even likening zoning in this vein to historical housing segregation, by specifically addressing and exposing what it saw an inherent contradiction in the logic underlying contemporary aging politics—in the de-emphasizing of age in the dismantling of mandatory retirement while, at the very same time, bringing it in and holding it up for purposes here.¹²²⁰ In turn, the *News-Sun* fired back, pointing out how the state sanctioned the invoking of various social categories in various public policies—including those related to older Americans. It did, however, raise questions of its own, specifically over the individual rights of retired homeowners: “After all, the age restriction may be determined to be an advantage to the elderly, but what does he give up for himself or his heirs?”¹²²¹

Fully backing zoning, Adult Action made a variety of arguments in doing so. A community leader from Dreamland Villa, a retirement development in the Mesa area, Chester Perkins, rejected the linkage to categories held to strict scrutiny in civil-rights law, citing the original *Stoves* case and the appeal. And taking a view in which political rights flowed from the political economy of retirement, he wrote in his letter to the editor of the Phoenix newspaper, “Don’t knock it friend—the retirees’ contribution to the economy, culture, and general well-being of Arizona is too important to ignore.”¹²²²

1220 As the *News-Sun*, which quickly took issue with the editorial in the *Phoenix Gazette*, effectively characterized the logic employed by the newspaper: “The editorial suggests that age discrimination in employment is wrong at that reverse age discrimination in housing, therefore, is just as wrong.” See *Phoenix Gazette* editorial as cited in “Age Discrimination,” *Daily News-Sun*, March 8, 1979, and, for editorial itself, see “Age Discrimination,” *Phoenix Gazette*, March 5, 1979.

1221 Editorial, “Age Discrimination” in the *Daily News-Sun*.

1222 Chester E. Perkins, letter to the editor, *Phoenix Gazette*, March 23, 1979.

And an equally powerful point, its representatives politicized not simply old age but old age in relation to the life cycle, making senior-specific policies palatable to the public at large by leaning on the supposed universality of aging. That April, an attorney for Adult Action explained before the Planning and Zoning Commission, according to the meeting minutes “that this Ordinance will benefit society, in that one day, everyone will be able to benefit from it.”¹²²³ And as Chet Perkins put it in a letter to one of the commissioners that fall, “Adult zoning has been tested and sustained in several court actions and it has been ruled that it is not discriminatory as are restrictions against race, color, sex or religion; those categories never change but if we live long enough we all grow old.”¹²²⁴ Perhaps shaping Adult Action’s framing here, the court in *Maldini* made this very point, a key ingredient in the rationale underlying its decision on the zoning in question. “‘Senior citizenship’ may be more appropriately regarded as a stage in life within the normal expectancy of most people than as an unalterable or obstinate classification like race . . . religion or economic status,” the judge who wrote the majority opinion asserted.¹²²⁵ This demonstrated similarity, another legal scholar writing in the 1970s suggested, with the *Murgia* decision, which privileged a “mutability concept” in its treatment of age, which itself—ever in flux for the individual—therefore did *not* amount to permanent, categorically derived inequality.¹²²⁶

1223 Comments of Daryl Bethea in PZCMC, minutes, April 18, 1979.

1224 Chester Perkins to Dolores Foyle, October 25, 1979, in case file 80-34, PDDMC. For same idea, see also Perkins cited in Mark Coast, “Senior Zoning Movement Aims to Maintain Lifestyle,” *Daily News-Sun*, May 14, 1984.

1225 For ruling, see *Maldini v. Ambro* (first quotation); ruling also quoted in Doyle, “Retirement Communities,” 75n43, and Pollak, “Zoning Matters in a Kinder, Gentler Nation,” 506; ruling similarly quoted in “High Court Backs Rezoning in State for High-Density Housing for the Elderly.”

1226 For discussion of ruling, see again Doyle, 82-83. For *Murgia* and its relationship with *Maldini*, also see Doyle, 74-75 (and 75n43). Here, she writes of the former: “In effect, this analysis is based in part on the determination of where age is a mutable or an immutable characteristic. In one sense, of course, age is mutable, since everyone who enjoys a normal lifespan will experience old age. But in other ways age is immutable. No one can, at any given moment, change his age. And no one can ever become young again.

Adult Action and residents of Sun City next encouraged the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors to vote in favor of zoning ultimately supported by a majority of commissioners on the County's Planning and Zoning Commission, and the zoning device "intended to provide for planned residential development designed specifically for residency by persons of advanced age" passed, 3-1, in late May.¹²²⁷ Representing south Phoenix, Latino supervisor Ed Pastor took a dissenting position, arguing that "it was an erosion of some of the strides they had taken in the past to remove discrimination and prejudice, and would be revering back," minutes from the meeting recorded.¹²²⁸ Stating

In upholding legislative classifications based on age, courts have chosen to overlook the immutable aspects of aging in favor of the view that age is not an obstinate and unalterable characteristic like race" (75n43). See also Travaglio, "Suffer the Little Children—But Not in My Neighborhood," 322-23 but also 324. For a more recent discussion of age as "immutable," see also Laurie A. McCann and Cathy Vantrell-Monsees, "Age Discrimination in Employment" in *The New Politics of Old Age Policy*, ed. Robert B. Hudson, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 364-365, esp. 365. Also, including discussion of *Murgia*, see also 361-362. For language backing similar thinking in another case, see discussion of *Campbell v. Barraud* cited in Golant, *Housing America's Elderly*, 296-97. For this case, decided in 1977 in New York, discussed elsewhere, see also Pollak, "Zoning Matters in a Kinder, Gentler Nation," 506-7. 1227 BOSMC, minutes May 30, 1979 (quotation); Dan Wallach, "County Adopts Senior Zoning," *Daily News-Sun*, June 1, 1979. For other accounts on creation of this zoning and its passage in 1979, see, for example, Gober, "The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon," 196; Gober, *Metropolitan Phoenix*, 88-89; McHugh, Gober, and Borough, "The Sun City Wars," 631-32; Welch, "Retirement Communities in Maricopa County," 79-80; Rose, "'We're Not against Children, but—'." For lobbying on part of retirement-community interests, see, in addition to the preceding minutes, those of BOSMC, minutes, March 15, 1979.

1228 BOSMC, minutes, May 30, 1979; Wallach, "County Adopts Senior Zoning." On Pastor, including the district he represented as a supervisor, see, for example, Gil Neal, "Racial Ties Highlight Supervisor Contest," *Arizona Republic*, n.d., "Arizona-Biography-Pastor, Ed," CF, PPL; Bradford Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American and African American Communities, 1860-1992* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994), 73-74. Meanwhile, legislation for municipalities had failed at the State Capitol several months earlier, in late February, on similar grounds. One member of the Senate committee reviewing S.B. 1097, according to the minutes, "questioned what would prevent a zoning that restricts persons who earn less than a certain amount or persons of a particular nationality or race." To this, "Mr. Perkins," from Adult Action," said that he thinks the federal government has already established residences for people who cannot earn over so much a year, and he doesn't think this any different." However, Perkins might have missed that such housing policies, if aimed at low-income families," would fit the "inclusionary" intent discussed, for example, by the court in *Maldini*. See Arizona State Senate, Committee on Government, minutes, 34th leg., 1st sess., February 27, 1979, 1-2. For de Berge also citing concerns over economic exclusion, see again PZCMC, minutes, April 18, 1979. In the case of legislation at the state level providing zoning at the local level, it did eventually pass, in the early 1980s. For chain of events, see, for example, [Arizona State] Senate Staff, "Fact Sheet for S.B. 1354," February 24, 1982, Arizona State Senate; discussion and vote on S.B. 1354 in Arizona State Senate, Committee on Government, minutes, 35th leg., 2nd sess., February 24, February 25, 1982. However, the Governor's Advisory Council on Aging wrote to Governor Babbitt opposing the Senate bill in the spring of 1982: Charles I. Schottland to Bruce Babbitt, April 23, 1982, Governor Bruce Babbitt Papers, box 12,

his beliefs elsewhere, he told the editor of the *Phoenix Gazette*, “No matter what proponents may say . . . to my way of thinking it is discrimination at the fullest.”¹²²⁹ It was not that he opposed age-restricted housing in principle, he told one Sun City resident, but rather the means of delivering it: “It is my contention that this may be accomplished by deed restrictions, the type of community and the services the community provides. In this way senior citizens can have an area where they may live together. I do not feel the role of government should be one of condoning zoning which will discriminate against persons because of their age.”¹²³⁰

But Pastor’s colleagues apparently were unpersuaded by this line of thinking, instead emphasizing that the arrangement provided “an option,” the Supervisor who district included Dreamland Villa, and a means to fulfill “a right to a lifestyle,” according to another.¹²³¹ It was a theme voiced by Adult Action as well. Qualifying the organization’s desire for age segregation, material explained in a statement of “Philosophy” that “We are not against children or young couples with children; we merely want to exercise *freedom of choice* in living in a lifestyle that we want to and hope to attain.”¹²³² Here, a political identity was expressed through the medium of consumption, and the consumption of goods and services—housing—made possible by

ASALPR. Such views might reflect ideological diversity over age segregation amongst older persons and/or their advocates. For coverage of legislation in the House in early 1981, see “House Panel Passes Bill to Let Cities Zone for Retirees,” *Arizona Republic*, January 23, 1981.

1229 Ed Pastor to Loyal Meek, March 12, 1979, folder 3, box 4, Ed Pastor Papers, Arizona State University.

1230 And here, he voiced his opposition to “discrimination in any form whether it be race, religion, sex or age.” See Ed Pastor to Joseph Sentes, March 29, 1979, folder 3, box 1, Pastor Papers. For position on similar points, and also evidence of dialogue with Adult Action, see Ed Pastor to Chester E. Perkins, May 21, 1979, folder 3, box 4, Pastor Papers. And on Adult Action, he also had communication with Truman Little, in which he said, “I will not support this type of zoning.” See Pastor to Truman Little, February 20, 1979, folder 3, box 4, Pastor Papers.

1231 BOSMC, minutes, May 30, 1979. The material quoted here is from the minutes as it does not appear that the record is a transcript of directly quoted statements.

1232 See statement under section “The Philosophy of Adult Action Is” in Adult Action, *The Adult Action Story*.

political rights. And the procurement of such rights via the successful zoning measure, Pastor suggested, was the product of political pressure. As Pastor explained it, “Politically, it’s expedient,” a view further illustrated the following year when a handful of members of the Planning and Zoning Commission unsuccessfully opposed granting retirement zoning for a couple of new developments, claiming of an Adult Action official that “No doubt he is counting on the Board being reluctant to offend the large retirement communities in Maricopa County only a few months prior to the upcoming elections.”¹²³³ But Adult Action was not done; while it would continue to push for enabling legislation in the legislature paving the way for senior zoning at the municipal level, it called for several changes to the new zoning for retirement communities passed by the Board of Supervisors, including further restricting the terms now in effect. Citing alleged ill effects on “the integrity of the community” flowing from any stay for under-age children longer than a new limit proposed, the head of Adult Action called, for instance, for a shortening of the window of time of permissible presence.¹²³⁴

While “disassociation” solved the threat of school taxes for Sun City West residents, it did not settle the issue of age restrictions. Maricopa County had passed zoning for retirement communities in 1979, but the inclusion of either community under

1233 For BOS politics in 1979, see Wallach, “County Adopts Senior Zoning.” Here, in fact, coverage noted: “Favoring the overlay zoning designation were three Republicans with senior citizen voting blocs in their districts: Hawley Atkinson of Sun City, Fred Koory Jr. of Glendale and Tom Freestone of Mesa.” For Commission members dissenting, see Earl de Berge, Harold McCall, and Gloria Gonzalez, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, June 28, 1980, copy in case file 80-34 [?], PDDMC.

1234 More specifically, this window would be shortened from ninety to thirty stays under proposed changes. See position of Truman Little cited in Dan Wallach, “SC Groups Map Zoning Campaign,” *Daily News-Sun*, August 17, 1979; “Adult Action Urges Senior Zoning Changes,” *Daily News-Sun*, August 29, 1979 (quotations). For specific terms under the SCOZ effected by the County, see those specified under “Section 1506-A” under “Article XV-A. (SC) Senior Citizens Overlay Zoning District” in BOSMC, minutes, May 3, 1979. Adult Action additionally called for specifying, and instituting a ninety-day window, of permissible length of residence for what the SCOZ recognize as “any exceptional or unusual situation” on the grounds that, according to Little, “arrangements for such cases such as orphaned children may be made within 90 days.” See again “Section 1506-A,” above (first quotation); Little cited in “Adult Action Urges Senior Zoning Changes” (second quotation).

the overlay was not automatic. First was Sun City West, the road to the senior zoning beginning in 1983, when PORA raised the issue among its membership. “Should a sizeable majority of the residents of Sun City West decide that they want to reaffirm and further protect their status as home-owners in a restricted retirement community, a combination of Arizona Statutes and Maricopa County ordinances offer such an opportunity,” the organization stated in a newsletter, highlight several “advantages to be gained” in doing so—one, that “Enforcement action against violators becomes the responsibility of Maricopa County,” another that the associated “costs...will be borne by Maricopa County.”¹²³⁵ That fall, PORA was conducting “Operation Overlay” to secure the necessary approval from a majority of residents, and in early March the following year, the Planning and Zoning Commission green-lighted the effort.¹²³⁶ With Ed Pastor the lone dissenter and the head of PORA countering his view of senior zoning as “discriminatory” by pointing to the “million age restrictions” in place in American life, the Board of Supervisors extended coverage to Sun City’s successive development.¹²³⁷

While various interests in the Sun City explored issues surrounding senior zoning and considered the best path to securing protective status for the retirement, after

1235 W.H.T., “Opportunity,” April 29, 1983, in Property Owners Residents Association, *Roadrunner* (May 1983), n.p., PORA. On shifting enforcement to the County, see also “Petition Gains Wide Support for Senior-Citizen Ordinance,” *Arizona Republic*, November 30, 1983, PORA. For efforts of PORA, see also Allen, ed., *Sun City West Silver Celebration*, 246. For benefits of, also see Gober, “The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 196.

1236 “Senior Citizen Overlay” in PORA, *Roadrunner* (November 1983), n.p., PORA; Helen Allen, “Senior Zone Favored,” *Daily News-Sun*, November 22, 1983, PORA; “Petition Gains Wide Support for Senior-Citizen Ordinance,” *Arizona Republic*, November 30, 1983, PORA; Robert W. Williams to Harold R. McCall, December 9, 1983, in PDDMC, case file 84-6, also identifying Robert Williams; PZCMC, minutes, March 1, 1984; Coast, “Senior Zone Plan Faces Last Hurdle,” *Daily News-Sun*, March 2, 1984; Jim Walsh, “Sun City West Wins Boost for Senior-Citizen Zoning,” *Arizona Republic*, March 2, 1984, PORA. For PORA again and events here and below, see also Allen, ed., *Sun City West Silver Celebration*, 246-47.

1237 Pastor cited in, William Thomas quoted in, and summary from Walsh, “Law Bars Residents 18 or Younger from Sun City West,” [*Arizona Republic*], April 3, 1984, in “Sun City West” folder/s in Arizona, CF, PPL; Coast, “County OKs Senior Zone,” *Daily News-Sun*, April 2, 1984. For specifics of the zoning, see “Senior Citizen Zone Provisions Noted,” *Daily News-Sun*, May 17, 1984.

Maricopa County set the table for senior zoning age restrictions continued to serve as a battleground over the related issue—or actually fundamentally *un*-related issue, the *News-Sun* and others would point out—of incorporation.¹²³⁸ In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the TMA and RCASC clashed with a pro-incorporation group formed in Sun City initially called the Charter Government Association (CGA), later renamed Citizens for Self-Government in the mid-1980s.¹²³⁹ One resident linked age restrictions and incorporation in early 1980: “You have read the nonsense that if we incorporate we can have senior citizen zoning. This is not true. Arizona law does not permit cities to pass zoning ordinances concerning age. Only unincorporated communities in the county can have this protection of the county senior citizens ordinance.”¹²⁴⁰ Opposing the CGA, another resident asserted, “The first rude shock Sun Citians would receive under incorporation would be the loss of our status as an adult community (not permitted for incorporated cities by Arizona law), making our entire city and our recreation centers open to all ages and forcing us to build schools.”¹²⁴¹ The RCASC under Al Brown continued to connect the two in the minds of Sun City residents, holding the “FACT,” among others listed in one piece of promotional literature, “Incorporation would destroy

1238 For events in Sun City in the wake of the new zoning, see, for example, “SC Groups Want Guidance on Ordinance,” *Daily News-Sun*, June 15, 1979; Wallach, “SC Groups Map Zoning Campaign,” *Daily News-Sun*, August 17, 1979; Mrs. Wilbur Johnson, letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, October 29, 1979; Dan Wallach, “SCTA Planning New Push on Senior Citizen Zoning,” *Daily News-Sun*, June 11, 1980. For background of technical issues, see also Dan Wallach, “Zone Changes Needs Everyone’s Signature,” *Daily News-Sun*, June 15, 1979; Mrs. Wilbur Johnson, letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, November 11, 1980.

1239 On background of CGA, see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 127; Les Merydith, interview by Melanie Sturgeon, February 27, 1992, C222, transcript, 6, SCAHS, “Oral History Project.” This interview also provides useful information on the background of the TMA and its leaders. See 7-8. In addition to this transcript, partial transcription by author of cassette tape and summary and “Synopsis,” in SCAHS, “Oral History Project,” bk. 2, SCAHS, initially consulted, both prior to transcription for the above transcript. For the above groups in broader sweep of incorporation history of Sun City, see also Freeman and Sanberg, 226.

1240 Grace Boomer, letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, February 7, 1980.

1241 W.E. Bevan, letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, April 1, 1981. However, for the *News-Sun* addressing similar claims about schools the previous year, see editorial, “Unique School Status,” *Daily News-Sun*, March 13, 1980.

Sun City as an Adult Retirement Community and change it into a general purpose community just like any other city.”¹²⁴² And in letter soliciting new members, Al Brown spoke of a collective goal “to win and put an end to the efforts of a small group of people who want to destroy Sun City as an Adult Retirement Community.”¹²⁴³

For its part, the CGA was busy debunking such information. Pointing at the TMA and the RCASC, a CGA letter to residents denounced “a power-hungry group of obstructionists bent on taking over Sun City” and who “carry on a campaign of deceit and misinformation to discredit any institution or movement which might get in the way of their objective. Directors of the Home Owners, Taxpayers, Recreation Centers, as well as the Developer, have been and are being maligned.”¹²⁴⁴ In a document of its own, asking “WHAT ARE THE REAL FACTS INVOLVED?” and refuting, one-by-one, many or all of the claims advanced by their opponents, the CGA asserted, “There are retirement communities all over the country enjoying both their retirement facilities and the advantage of city services and amenities.”¹²⁴⁵ And although some critics of the CGA might have been right in pointing to the lack of *municipal* zoning for retirement-type developments, others would soon address the gap in legislation.¹²⁴⁶ Near the end of 1983, the Sun City chapter of the League of Women Voters noted, acknowledging

1242 Retirement Community Association of Sun City, “These Are Some of the Reasons Why RCASC Opposes Incorporation,” n.d., in “Incorporation 1961-1983” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. This appears amongst several other stapled pages, and—given what appears to be a separate title—this presumably can be treated as a separate document. Regardless, these pages stapled to the letter cited in the note immediately below.

1243 Albert N. Brown, “Dear Sun Citian,” letter, n.d. [1979 or 1980?], “Incorporation 1961-1983” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. Typing on the document dates as February of 1980. Information pertaining to a forthcoming meeting stamped on the letter also indicates somewhere around this point in time, noting it was to be held in early February of that year.

1244 Jack E. de Ward of the CGA, “Dear Fellow Sun Citian (s),” September 1, 1980, “Incorporation 1961-1983” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS.

1245 The Charter Government Association of Sun City, “Sun City Future: What Are the Real Facts Involved?” n.d., “Incorporation 1961 – 1983” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. Stapled to the above letter.

1246 The history of legislation at this level discussed in an earlier note.

legislation passed in the early 1980s, “Since 1982, cities may enacted ordinances establishing age-specific community zoning.”¹²⁴⁷ Literature produced by another group, likely CGA itself, pointed out, “State law now provides that, with a city government in place, an ordinance can be passed that would permanently enforce the age restrictions imposed by Del Webb when our properties “were developed, advertised [*sic*] and sold.”¹²⁴⁸

Around the same time, while sufficient public support for retirement zoning now available under Maricopa County apparently had failed to materialize in the past, a relatively new resident of Sun City proposed a renewed effort securing zoning for the retirement in mid-1983, pointing to other efforts already underway in Sun City West.¹²⁴⁹ Early the following year, the “Sun City Committee for Senior Citizen Overlay Zoning” had more than 700 volunteers, according to its leader, securing signatures from residents, and by the spring the proposal went before the county’s Planning and Zoning Commission.¹²⁵⁰ With a handful of commissioners opposing it, including Earl de Berge, but green-lighting the measure, 6-3, in May, the commission sent it along to the Board of Supervisors.¹²⁵¹

1247 The League of Women Voters of Sun City, “The Incorporation Question,” December 9, 1983, 3, “Incorporation 1961-1983” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS.

1248 Citizens for Home Rule, *Sun City is Wonderful! Let’s Keep It That Way!* n.d., 3, “Incorporation” folder, Pamphlets, SCAHS. Date on cover is noted as 1983. That this was in fact CGA or affiliated with CGA is suggested by similarity with other material in the folder.

1249 See both Nat Jampel and Betty Pearlman cited Steve Yoziwak, “Anti-Young Zoning Urged for Sun City,” [*Arizona Republic*], June 14, 1983, in “Sun City” folder/s, CF, PPL.

1250 Mark Coast, “Zoning Group Gears for Signature Drive,” *Daily News-Sun*, January 10, 1984; Betty Pearlman, letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, January 17, 1984 (quotation); Coast, “Zone Drive to Continue,” *Daily News-Sun*, January 17, 1984; Coast, “Zone Drive Organizers Hit Streets,” *Daily News-Sun*, January 26, 1984. See also Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 227. As the coverage from January 17 reported of differing participation rates according to geography—and age: “One possible reason for the light showing in some of the older areas of Sun City south of Grand is that residents there are older and not as able to get out of their homes.”

1251 “Senior Overlay Hearing Slated,” *Daily News-Sun*, May 16, 1984; PZCMC, minutes, May 17, 1984; BOSMC, minutes, June 18, 1984.

Incorporation politics were never far off; earlier in May, a leader of the CGA, Les Merydith, advanced a pro-incorporation view in a letter to the editor of the *News-Sun* based centering on the lack of control Sun City had as an unincorporated community over zoning, identifying concerns over the introduction of high-density housing to the area in particular. And on the matter of age restrictions, he wrote of the impracticality and ineffectuality of an absentee—and perhaps inevitably so—Maricopa County: “In a few weeks there will probably be headlines announcing that age restriction zoning for Sun City has been approved by the county. What happens when an undermanned county bureaucracy located in downtown Phoenix is given the job of checking the ages of several thousand renters who will be moving in and out of Sun City a year or two from now?” Concluding, he asked, “Can Sun City people afford to wait a year or two to find out that the county hasn’t done the job? The school buses, the hot rodders, and the littering will already be here.”¹²⁵² In mid-June, the Board of Supervisors did, in fact, grant retirement zoning to Sun City. And it was done without a dissenting vote, 4-0. But it was not that Pastor had changed his position from before; he did not vote. Clarifying his absence, he explained, “I left the room during a recess to make some phone calls and when I came back, they had already voted.”¹²⁵³

1252 See Les Merydith, letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, May 9, 1984. On Merydith and the CGA, see again Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 127, 226; Merydith interview, 6, 8, for example. Another document includes almost identical language and framing: “County Zoning—How It Works,” n.d., “VF – Zoning / Business,” VF, SC, SCAHS. Typing on the document dates as May 4, 1984. I return to these sources below in addressing the broader issue of opposition to new housing in relation to the Webb Corporation and also the political culture of retirement communities.

1253 See Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 202; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 227; Gober, “The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 196; BOSMC, minutes, June 18, 1984; Pastor quoted in Sue Meulendyk, “Residents Hail New SC Zone,” *Daily News-Sun*, June 19, 1984; Jim Walsh, “Ordinance Bars Children from Living in Sun City,” *Arizona Republic*, June 19, 1984, [“Age Restrictions”[?]], VF, SC, SCAHS. For mentions of enforcement shifting to county in newspaper coverage, see, for example, Yozwiak, “Anti-Young Zoning Urged for Sun City”; Meulemdyk, “Residents Hail New SC Zone”; editorial, “Overlay’s Approval,” *Daily News-Sun*, June 20, 1984. See again Gober,

In Phoenix, some responded by invoking the language of race and segregation once again. “What’s next in Maricopa County?” the *Phoenix Gazette* rhetorically asked. “A law against blacks living within 50 miles of a golf course? Criminal sanctions against Hispanics who are caught more than three miles away from a railroad track or onion field? A county board of supervisors who can make it a crime to be young is capable of almost any kind of discrimination.”¹²⁵⁴ But Sun City supporters were not silent. Rejecting another part of the editorial, one likening the age restriction at hand to “a twist on a restriction Nazi Germany placed on Jews,” the editor and publisher of the *News-Sun* wrote in his column, “If considering these situations to be parallel were not so horrifying, I’d regard the contention as laughable.”¹²⁵⁵ One resident drew on the ostensible distinctiveness of aging—and located within a broader system structuring society by age. “It’s a matter of physical fact that we Sun Citians are not as agile as we used to be, and it’s impossible for us to compete with active youths on our golf courses, bowling lanes, swimming pools, tennis courts, and other hobbies that attracted us here in the first place,” one Sun City retiree wrote, while noting a series of examples operating according to a seemingly self-evident logic: “The Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts prohibit 30-year-old members. The YWCA excludes males from nude swimming pools. Little Leagues prohibit 21-year-olds. Phoenix’s bars, streets, even golf courses prohibit 12-year-olds from drinking, driving, and golfing. There are age restrictions on voting and many other

“The Retirement Community as a Geographical Phenomenon,” 196, as well. And for one resident explaining this directly, see John G. Green, letter to the editor, *Phoenix Gazette*, July 2, 1984, also cited below.

1254 Editorial, “Against the Law to be Young,” *Phoenix Gazette*, June 20 [?], 1984.

1255 Editorial, “Against the Law to be Young” (first quotation); Burt Frereich, “Sun Beams,” column, *Daily News-Sun*, June 26, 1984 (second quotation). For a Scottsdale resident using language of “neo-Nazi” elsewhere, see Mark Cord, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, June 28, 1984.

things where wide age discrepancy doesn't work out."¹²⁵⁶ The political culture of retirement, then, promoted an understanding of age and discrimination in which the unique circumstances and conditions of older Americans necessitated protective policies from the state. In theory, age might have been relative; in reality, "50," "18," and everything in between was non-negotiable.

"Special Needs," Private Property

Like school taxes, age restrictions were never *entirely* about age or life cycle. The ideological infrastructure of the political culture of retirement communities over these issues always connected back to dollars, cents, and class, which were themselves—in terms of suburban politics and political culture—connected to homeownership.¹²⁵⁷ The discourse of "need" for housing for retired Americans provided an ideological foundation that could, knowingly or not, smooth over or erase altogether important socioeconomic differences that, in reality running counter to what certainly were very real financial stresses and challenges facing some older Americans. Despite the persuasive and persistent efforts of Adult Action and others, and the language and logic of distinctiveness that seems to have permeated political discourse and policymaking to the extent that it took on a self-evident quality, the mere listing and citing of precedents could obscure more than it could reveal.

A centerpiece of the case Adult Action began building in 1976, if not earlier, was the precedent in effect established by age criteria in federal-housing programs—which

1256 Previously cited Green letter to the editor, July 2, 1984.

1257 For literature and frameworks dealing with the politics and political culture of suburbia largely revolving around homeownership in the work of Sugrue, Self, and others, to which my analysis in this section compares the politics of age restrictions, see again my discussion of urban and suburban historical scholarship in my Introduction. And below, I occasionally supplement my previous discussion of such literature with specific references involving homeowners' politics where relevant.

the court in the initial *Stoves* case in the early 1970s had used in its decision.¹²⁵⁸ As Adult Action had put it, “U.S. CONGRESS has recognized the need of older Americans for adult communities. It has adopted several programs to provide housing for the elderly with a minimum age of 62 years for occupancy.”¹²⁵⁹ But as legal scholar Mary Doyle writing not long after pointed out, the treatment and application of federal policy here discounted the underlying, key factor of financial need. Specifically citing the ruling *Riley* she clarifies the slippage at hand—“that Congress’ purpose in creating these programs was not to establish age-segregated communities, but rather to increase the supply of housing available to low and moderate income elderly persons.”¹²⁶⁰ Nor was the fashioning—or at least emphasis—limited to *Riley* in Adult Action’s effort. A document related to—perhaps accompanying—a case file for senior zoning for Dreamland Villa in Arizona in 1980 declared: “On September 28, 1976, the New Jersey Supreme Court upheld municipal ordinances in two localities which had created special

1258 See again Adult Action, “Summary of Court Cases Affecting Adult Communities,” 1 [?]. For additional evidence from Adult Action material, see Adult Action, Inc., “Summary of Court Cases Affecting Adult Communities,” January 1980, in PDDMC, case file case file 80-34. And here, the document stated its position, seemingly evidence of its evolving agenda: “The decision of the Arizona Courts affects the whole state of Arizona and, in effect, validates the “ADULT ONLY” community concept. Additionally, it seems to suggest that *ADULT ZONING as well as age limitation in property deed restrictions* is a valid and constitutional vehicle to use in the establishment of adult only communities in Arizona” (emphasis added).

1259 See again decision as quoted in Adult Action, “Summary of Court Cases Affecting Adult Communities,” January 1980, in case file 80-34, PDDMC.

1260 She mentions the case in New Jersey here as well. See Doyle, “Retirement Communities,” 85n80. As additional evidence supporting this, also see the FHA’s occupancy policy in rental housing under Section 231 for for-profit projects, which mandated “absolute priority of occupancy of 100 per cent of the total dwelling units” for older prospective tenants. Cleverley, “Financing Housing,” 4N. For additional discussion of how this was to work in practice, from what seems to have been the initial lease-up to turnover and overall ratio of older occupants to others, see 4N-5N [?]. For specific programs see which she refers, see again Doyle, 85n80. And the California study from the 1960s also discussed: “The family composition requirement prohibits school aged children under 18. This requirement is consistent with FHA requirements under Titles 221(d) (3), 231, and 202 which specify that there be no children under age 18 in elderly housing projects insured by FHA mortgage insurance. Although only about half of the retirement communities sampled used FHA financing, practically all communities have this no-children-under-18 policy.” See Baker, *California Retirement Communities*, 45, 46 (quotation).

zones for the development for housing for those who did not have children living with them.¹²⁶¹

Similarly, during Bruce Babbitt's question-and-answer session in 1976, a representative from the ACLU exposed what she suggested was a misleading parallel or contradictory position. "I want to point to the audience here here [*sic?*] that the ACLU has been opposed to various forms of age discrimination including age discrimination against older people in employment and somebody mentioned senior citizen's housing," she said after hearing various members of Adult Action speak. "I used to work in senior citizens housing, and I want to point out that that is an affirmative program primarily aimed at helping people that cannot afford housing because they are retired and have lower incomes."¹²⁶² Going back to the 1960s, if not earlier, housing experts and officials had promoted ideas about the desirability of generational separation, even if on smaller scales than what would develop in Sun City. Nonetheless, such an "affirmative" approach did not necessarily privilege age-restricted housing within an amenity framework as the "AOM" perhaps did; even if age segregation was one factor, it was not the *primary* factor. In the end, Adult Action's use of federal practices as an ostensible precedent might have represented a co-opting of economically oriented policies for their own purposes—particularly what would their financial interests in a private housing market.

In Arizona, rather, there were other variables at play. In the court cases Adult Action pointed to as precedents, *Riley* had more in common with some than with others. In terms of the trio of cases that tended to appear in its materials, and that Doyle

1261 See Adult Action, "Summary of Court Cases Affecting Adult Communities" (1980).

1262 See Nancy Hicks in transcript of *Prime Time*, 6.

discussed and analyzed in the 1970s, the cases decided in New Jersey adhered more closely *Riley* than to *Maldini*.¹²⁶³ “The retirement community anticipated by the *Maldini* ordinance,” she explained, contrasting it with its New Jersey counterparts, “was to be publicly subsidized, and units were to be available to consumers at low cost. Support services were to be provided for those with limited ability to care for themselves. In addition, the ordinance set no precise age limit for exclusion, but rather referred to ‘residences designed . . . for aged persons.’”¹²⁶⁴

If this was the case, then *Riley* differed from *Maldini*, too, with the Arizona case resembling *Weymouth* than the others from the standpoint not of the specific ages used in the restriction but as mobile-home housing.¹²⁶⁵ Even more, Adult Action’s use of the *Maldini* decision in New York State reveals further inconsistencies involving class hidden below the surface, particularly from the standpoint that evidence from the “AOM” suggests how understandings and applications of *Maldini* arguably ran *entirely counter to* the circumstances of the New York case, as age-restriction activists in the mold of Adult Action, on a most basic level, might have tended to have been *owners* rather than

1263 For her excellent and useful analysis of this trio, see Doyle, “Retirement Communities,” 79-87. And for an important useful overview of court cases, see also Welch, “Retirement Communities in Maricopa County,” 72-79.

1264 Doyle, “Retirement Communities,” 85. In terms of the New Jersey cases, which she goes on to discuss, neither, in her discussion of them, met the above issues entirely—that, to summarize her delineation of differences in short, one allowed for class but not age, the other allowed for age but not class. See Doyle on *Shepard* and *Weymouth* in Doyle, “Retirement Communities,” 86-87. In the process of deciding *Weymouth*, however, there was “concern about the exclusionary potential which zoning for senior citizen housing possesses. [FN omitted?] A pattern of exclusionary land use regulation cannot be rendered invisible to the judicial eye by camouflaging it with invocations of the legitimate needs of the elderly.” See *Taxpayers Association of Weymouth Township v. Weymouth Township*, 80 N.J. 6, 364 A.2d 1016 (1976), 1041 [?]. Justice Morris Pashman’s decision quoted in part in Narvaez, “Zoning for Elderly Is Upheld in Jersey.”

1265 And for *Shepard* as perhaps more akin to Sun City, or vice versa, see Doyle and Findlay. Findlay on Sun City perhaps parallels her explanation of *Weymouth*: “The presence of built-in amenities, which increased the price of homes, suggested another difference between Sun City and most other housing for the retired.” See Doyle, “Retirement Communities,” 86-87; Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 173 (quotation).

renters.¹²⁶⁶ And further still, they relied on the legal foundations of homeownership as decided in *Belle Terre*, having cited this in literature. Regardless of the ideological import of invoking this case—whether and how it reaffirmed or challenged understandings of the family—it nonetheless articulated preferences of older homeowners within the framework of homeownership more broadly.¹²⁶⁷ In fact, as one account from the 1980s suggested, cementing this linkage between homeownership and seniors, or seniors *as homeowners*, before going on to cite *Belle Terre*, “a land-use control such as zoning, which is a very effective device for conserving existing land uses and lifestyles, operates to protect the elderly just as it protects the lifestyle and property values of nonelderly residents of a residential area.”¹²⁶⁸

And, to be sure, Adult Action also operated within a framework of homeownership overall. In light of the emphasis on class insisted upon by aging experts like Doyle and advocates and practitioners like the Arizona ACLA representative above, the authors of the Adult Action case study published in the 1970s concluded of the success of the “AOM,” and quite accurately, “The new law, passed in a conservative state, did not focus on a radical issue but rather on one meaningful to the relatively affluent retired and semi-retired persons who could afford to live in special

1266 Although a passage, cited later below, does mention “apartments,” but this might be referring to cooperative apartments—and thus residents having an ownership stake. If not, if in fact referring to rental housing, the thrust of the materials and efforts appears to have been mostly—if not entirely—on ownership in light of the emphasis on “property values,” discussed below as well. See Adult Action, *The Adult Action Story* (first quotation); Adult Action, Inc., “A Case for Land Use Zoning for Senior Citizens’ Communities in Arizona;” December 18, 1978, 1 (second quotation), in case file PDDMC, 80-34. And, of course, see below for discussion in Anderson and Anderson.

1267 For instance, another legal expert writing in the period seemingly makes this point—when extended to homeowners—in suggesting that “*Belle Terre* may not stand for the preeminence of family values or of any other specific policy objective. It may simply uphold the right of local governments...to promote whatever values they deem appropriate through land-use regulation.” See Mahrle, “Neither Seen Nor Heard,” 831.

1268 See Robert Hopperton, “Land-Use Regulations for the Elderly” in *Housing an Aging Society*, ed. Robert J. Newcomer, M. Powell Lawton, and Thomas O. Byerts (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1986), 229 (quotation), 229-30. For broader argument see again 229.

communities.”¹²⁶⁹ A framing around “conservative” or “radical” aside class politics could take the form of *homeowner* politics, and several of Adult Action’s “member organizations” that were listed were in fact identified as local-level groups dedicated to matters of residential politics—those representing area developments named, for instance, the “Apache Wells Residents and Property Owners Association” and the “Sun Lakes Home Owners Association.”¹²⁷⁰ Even if at the most basic level, the “AOM” utilizing methods involving homeowners’ associations itself was strikingly suburban.¹²⁷¹

Additionally, “AOM” participants sometimes harnessed the very tools that opponents of retirement housing in *Maldini* used. Whereas the thrust of the decision of the New York court was fueled by an “inclusionary” logic, in Arizona—particularly with the rise of senior zoning in Maricopa County—zoning could be shaped and adapted to somewhat exclusionary ends.¹²⁷² In the case of Huntington, the zoning change brought

1269 Here, by “radical” they were referring to a piece published by Robert Binstock in the *Gerontologist* in 1972. See Anderson and Anderson, “A Local Movement at Work,” 96. The Binstock piece also appears in the same collection: Robert H. Binstock, “The Politics of Aging: Interest Groups: Interest Group Liberalism and the Politics of Aging” in *The Aging in Politics*, Hudson, ed., 47-73.

1270 Anderson and Anderson, “A Local Movement at Work,” 90. And in terms of the “conservative” angle called into question here, see again framework/s of scholarship discussing suburban political culture and the de-centering of party politics in my Introduction—specifically, the work of Lassiter, Self, and others. And if suburban politics transcended politics featuring Democrats pitted against Republicans, then the “AOM” further demonstrated a strikingly suburban feature of homeowners’ politics: “We don’t care what party they represent,” someone from the RCAY said while organizing legislative support in the mid-1970s. “We want to know who supports us and who doesn’t.” Marion Irvine quoted in Charlene Paraniuk, “RCAY Board Adopts Constitution, By-Laws,” *Youngtown Record*, July 17, 1974 [?].

1271 Furthermore, see also McKenzie’s discussion involving “CID constituency,” perhaps relevant here: McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 26, 192-196 (quotation 194).

1272 Rationale of “inclusionary” from decision as cited in “High Court Backs Rezoning in State for High-Density Housing for Elderly,” *New York Times*, December 2, 1975. For “inclusionary” and definitions of, see also decision itself, *Maldini v. Ambro*, 485-86. For broader trend of housing supply such efforts likely attempting to address, see discussion in David A. Andelman, “Aged on L.I. Find Little to Occupy Their Time,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1971; Andelman, “The Aged: Where Can They Live?” *New York Times*, February 27, 1972. On continuing housing issues later in the century, see Linda Saslow, “Debate on Plan for Elderly Housing,” *New York Times*, November 5, 1995. As another legal expert writing in the period suggests, this could be said of the New Jersey cases as well: “The taxpayers attacking the ordinance in *Weymouth* were concerned that the presence of mobile parks in the community would have adverse effect on property values. A similar concern over a decline in property values as a result of senior citizen communities in a low density residential neighborhood prompted the plaintiffs in *Shepard*.” Travaglio,

about the religiously affiliated organization developing the project triggered opposition from affected homeowners over concerns about property values in light of the increased density brought about by retirement housing under the zoning in question.¹²⁷³

In Arizona, members in the broader “AOM” movement expressed hostile views towards housing of all kinds. Early pronouncements of SYR in mid-1974 are particularly illustrative of rejection of other forms of housing for older Americans, reflecting the class politics at play. The precedent established in federal programs was not class-neutral. “If we are not given the same rights as the F.H.A. by the government,” Edward Johnson wrote, complaining that younger families had “block-busted” Youngtown, “retirement communities will be non-existent, except for sponsored groups, and the F.H.A. Housing for the Elderly, which are glorified ‘Old Folks Homes.’” Yet in addition to denigrating federally backed housing, Johnson articulated a vision of citizenship nurtured by the retirement community that had clear class dimensions and implicitly, perhaps, evoked a strain of anti-welfare politics turned back against beneficiaries of such programs: “The class of Senior Citizens, who by the sweat of their brow, were able to avoid becoming indigent and not a millstone around the neck of the government, are being discriminated against,” he continued. “We are still paying our way, plus paying taxes; yet we can not

“Suffer the Little Children—But Not in My Neighborhood,” 302n55. For this as common denominator including *Maldini*, see also Doyle, “Retirement Communities,” 70-71.

1273 See decision as discussed and cited in Doyle, “Retirement Communities,” 70-71; “High Court Backs Rezoning in State for High-Density Housing for the Elderly.” For these and other concerns in the 1980s and 1990s, see Saslow, “Debate on Plan for Elderly Housing”; Wiley P. Magnum, “But Not in My Neighborhood: Community Resistance to Housing for the Elderly,” *Journal of Housing for the Elderly* 3 (3/4) (Fall/Winter 1985): 101-19. For an excellent overview of various concerns about and methods used against housing for older persons, see Golant, *Housing American’s Elderly*, 287-89 and 290-92, respectively. And for Otis’s work on the Miami area again, particularly opposition involving “property values,” see again Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 103-6 (quotation 103). Meanwhile, for scholarly discussion of “density” as perceived by homeowners thus painting the broader backdrop of suburban politics, see, for example, Self, *American Babylon*, 272-73, 276-81. And yet, one of the issues that Otis also discusses is that of “ageism.” See her discussion of perspective of expert Lawton Powell, discussed and cited in Otis, 104-105, esp. 105 (quotation).

have the same privileges as the indigent, whose rent is subsidized by the government, and whom we are helping with our tax monies.”¹²⁷⁴ And in the early 1980s, when a national non-profit housing developer seeking to build an apartment project for older occupants consisting of primarily one-bedroom units eligible for federal rent subsidies went before Youngtown’s own Planning and Zoning Commission, residents of the retirement community appeared in protest, voicing concerns “that the project could lead to slums, a dependency on federal funds, and an influx of minorities and welfare recipients,” the *Arizona Republic* reported.¹²⁷⁵

Rather, the interests—financial or otherwise—of homeowners largely accounted for activism surrounding age restrictions and anxieties over the potential introduction of families with younger children to retirement communities. In the case that set much of the formalized “AOM” in motion, *Stoves v. Riley*, plaintiffs articulated their concerns about ways in which the presence of children in the neighborhood allegedly undermined the residential environment and experience. But their concerns were in other ways less concrete or tied to specific acts or events and more about the idea of their residency, thus perhaps paralleling preoccupations with monitoring and maintaining the “homogeneity” in residential communities more generally.¹²⁷⁶

1274 Edward Johnson, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, July 31, 1974. Elinor Johnson made a similar point earlier in the month: “I want to live in a retirement community, and not the modern version of the ‘Old Folks Home,’ commonly known as the F.H.A. Housing for the Elderly.” Elinor M. Johnson, letter to the editor, *Youngtown Record*, July 10, 1974.

1275 See Steve Yozwiak, “Youngtown Panel Rejects Housing Plan,” *Arizona Republic*, November 29, 1982; Lynn Newton, “YT Housing Project Plan Draws Fire,” *Daily News-Sun*, November 30, 1982; Susan Felt, “Youngtown Complex Rejected,” *Phoenix Gazette*, November 30, 1982, all of the above from scrapbook, YHSC.

1276 For a parallel here, and also in the evidence at the end of the paragraph below dealing with Adult Action, between events in Arizona and suburban-type politics, see again McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 78. And on preoccupation with, and role of, “any precedent of nonenforcement” of restrictions, which I cite again below, see 41. And for other discussion perhaps relevant here, see also 21.

Illustrating this, when the legal representative for the plaintiffs in the case asked George Stoves himself, “What particular objection do you have at this point to the defendants?” Stoves replied, “I have no objection to Mr. and Mrs. Riley at all. I don’t even know the people. I am objecting to what it’s going to do to our subdivision if we get more people in there like that.”¹²⁷⁷ Citing “distraction” and “noise pollution,” another plaintiff in the case revealed during his deposition that his real fear was a certain capacity of the defendant family that perhaps paralleled what Evan McKenzie has discussed as a preoccupation that “setting any precedent of nonenforcement, however slight or reasonable, will lead to widespread disregard of the rule.” “We don’t feel that it is Riley so much, that it is if they are allowed to stay there, the place will be full of kids.” And when further asked, “So what you are saying is that if you could be assured that nobody else would buy a mobile home lot with children you wouldn’t care that the Rileys stayed there?” the man responded, “Not really. Rileys haven’t done anything to me personally outside of a couple of instances that I talked about. We bought in there with the stipulation that it was a mobile community or an adult community. That is what we would like to have it stay that way.”¹²⁷⁸

As the position advanced by Adult Action made clear more explicitly, changes to the demographics of communities ultimately had a negative impact on homeowners’ interests.¹²⁷⁹ And more specifically, such interests were predicated on access to amenities. “Mixing all ages in ‘adult’ communities does *NOT* work,” it asserted in 1978

1277 See Schultz and Stoves in “Reporter’s Transcript,” 2, 9, 16 (quotation) in *Stoves v. Smith*.

1278 See questions and answers from McLaws and Joe H. Baker in “Deposition of Joe H. Baker and Velois R. Baker,” April 24, 1973, Mesa, Arizona, 3, 14, 15, 16-17 in *Stoves v. Smith*. Quotations, in order, from 14, 15, 16-17. And for McKenzie, see his highly useful discussion here: McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 41.

1279 For overall relationship between deed restrictions and such concerns as property values, see again my extensive noting and citing of scholarship by McKenzie, Liz Cohen, and others in my dissertation Introduction.

in making the case for zoning. “The design for lifestyle is *NOT* compatible. The ‘young folks’ monopolize the facilities frequently aggressively,” it explained. “The character of the community deteriorates and property values drop drastically.”¹²⁸⁰ Furthermore, undergirding this insistence on minimizing—or avoiding entirely—demographic heterogeneity in the community was a broader principle revolving around a tipping point of sorts, thus requiring vigilance. “Any substantive change in the character of the residential ‘norm’ tends to destroy the environment which had been so carefully created. Such a change would result in irrevocable damage to and disruption of many lives. It frequently only takes one maverick in the community to destroy the viability of commonly-owned areas such as recreation areas.”¹²⁸¹

Though they appear not to have connected the dots of the presence of children and control over community facilities specifically to property values, community leaders from different organizations in Sun City voiced support for zoning in 1983 and 1984 for its defensive capacity. The *News-Sun* reported the perspective of the head of SCHOA, for example, who, speaking personally, suggested that “zoning ‘may over the years

1280 See Adult Action, “A Case for Land Use Zoning for Senior Citizens’ Communities:,” 1. Elsewhere, it referred, for example, to—perhaps related to the above—“a recreation center for hobbies, physical and cultural development and opportunity for sharing experiences and talents which so enrich their lives.” See Adult Action, *Age is Always with Us!* Although not specifically discussing here in relation to property values, for discussion of anxieties or opposition to “race mixing” in Sugrue’s work, see, for example, Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 217. Also see my discussion and citing of various scholarship in my dissertation Introduction as relevant here.

1281 Adult Action, *Age is Always with Us!* As a pair of ASU researchers in recent years have found: “Under the assumption that housing preferences differ across generations, age restrictions, whether created by private covenants or public ordinances, can be viewed as a means of ensuring that neighborhood and other characteristics oriented to seniors not only are created but will persist over time.” See the following: Karl L. Guntermann and Seongman Moon, “Age Restriction and Property Values,” *Journal of Real Estate Research* 24, no. 3 (November/December 2002): 263-78 (quotation 265). And, in terms of financial significance, they explain that “the primary objective of age restrictions along with other private limitations is to enhance property values by reducing uncertainty to future owners” (263). For their conclusion about the existence of “an age-restriction premium,” see 276-77 (quotation at 276). For similar work by Guntermann and another research in relation to Youngtown, see Guntermann and Gareth Thomas, “Loss of Age-Restricted Status and Property Values: Youngtown Arizona,” *Journal of Research Estate Research* 26, no. 3 (July-September 2004): 255-75.

prevent a gradual change, ' toward younger residents," while that of the Sun City resident who headed up the successful zoning drive grew out of facilities politics—of fears over potential in-migration of under-age persons flowing from liberalized access to recreational facilities for younger residents.¹²⁸²

What largely bound residents together in retirement communities, then, was homeownership. And Adult Action promoted a class-less mythology of sorts, suggesting that the issue of age restrictions transcended different kinds of properties. "These conditions," it said in relation to the early stages of the battle for age-restricted housing, "could be found in every type of 'adults only' residential developments which are so attractive especially to the older Americans . . . apartments, townhouses, condominiums, mobile home parks and subdivisions, and conventional homes – regardless of the dollar investment."¹²⁸³ In doing so, however, this organization might have smoothed over class differences that nonetheless still existed, however broad the umbrella of retirement-housing politics; after all, Youngtown was not Sun City, nor was Sun City, particularly Phase I, Sun City West.

Nonetheless, homeownership and property values served as a common language and common politics binding members of Adult Action together. They were not, as SYR pointed out, *renters*. Property values fueled political culture in Sun City more generally, particularly evident in the 1980s in opposition to higher-density housing. Some residents of Sun City viewed housing in ways somewhat exclusionary not just along generational

1282 Julius Balick cited in "Senior Citizen Zone Seen as Hedge against Future," *Daily News-Sun*, May 16, 1984; Betty Pearlman cited in Yozwiak, "Anti-Young Zoning Urged for Sun City." For pro-zoning positions of SCTA and the an official of another local group, see that of Jack Salzman cited in Mark Coast, "SCTA Chief Comments on SC, Overlay Zoning," *Daily News-Sun*, May 14, 1984; Jane Freeman cited in "Area Council Member Sees Senior Zone Rule as Preserving Lifestyle," *Daily News-Sun*, May 15, 1984.

1283 Adult Action, *The Adult Action Story*. For additional evidence, see also PZCMC, minutes April 18, 1979.

lines but *within* the population of retired Americans. In some cases, residents of Sun City, *themselves* retired, were the very ones forming the movement against housing aimed at other retired or older persons, particularly members of a population whom did not fit within Sun City's existing housing market.¹²⁸⁴

In particular, residents in Sun City protested the development of new multi-family housing in the 1980s—projects on land apparently acquired by third-party developers.¹²⁸⁵ Whether or not a direct result of changes initiated at corporate headquarters in Phoenix, these transactions had taken place at the same time that the Webb Corporation was flying through heavy financial turbulence.¹²⁸⁶ Casino holdings were particularly problematic in the late 1970s and early 1980s, in part as Webb had expanded into Atlantic City and an investigation into Webb activities—including those stretching back to Las Vegas at mid-century—ultimately stalled efforts to secure an operating license from New Jersey's

1284 In a piece published in the mid-1980s, Robert Hopperton explores the relationships between older Americans and different kinds of zoning, categorizing them as “Age-neutral,” “Favorable,” and “Unfavorable.” In the case of the last category he writes: “Although existing zoning may benefit the elderly, there are various specific zoning obstacles that often confront senior citizens.” In the case of Sun City, one might say that putting up such “obstacles” were retirees themselves. And, in that they took advantage of senior zoning mechanisms similar to the precedents he also cites, Sun City perhaps pursued both *simultaneously*—in the process drawing on the advantages of such mechanisms already in place. See Hopperton, “Land-Use Regulations for the Elderly” in *Housing an Aging Society*, Newcomer, et al., eds., 229-33 (primary quotation at 231). On conflict over density in Columbia, Maryland, for example, see again Forsyth, *Reforming Suburbia*, 158. And for similar and related concerns in Irvine, see Schiesl, “Designing the Model Community,” 74-75.

1285 The case of the CGA specifically is detailed below.

1286 While in the following paragraphs I attempt to identify and explain the context of events in the late 1970s and/or 1980s both providing background narrative on Webb and on the leading up to and constituting that of the political activism of residents, this background and the reasons and issues behind it—in relation to my discussion and analysis—certainly can be revisited to clarify any causation. In addressing the later history of Sun City, in relation to Webb, Blechman seems to suggest what were actions motivated by perhaps multiple or differing reasons. For example, he writes that “Webb had made his money and he was not detaching himself and his company from Sun City. First to go were the shopping centers; then the restaurants, the office buildings, and the professional plazas; and finally any vacant land—all sold to other developers for a quick infusion of cash.” And later on same page, he writes of “Webb’s fortunes ebbed and flowed with fluctuations interest rates and the natural cycles of construction booms and busts.” Blechman, *Leisureville*, 130-131 (first quotation), 131 (second quotation). Whether or not a “quick infusion of cash,” for example, suggests a reason independent from what might have been a standard development trajectory, for example, in the end, my main focus is on how residents responded to new development in the 1980s of land that DEVCO and/or Webb apparently sold—whatever the particular reason.

Casino Control Commission.¹²⁸⁷ Most likely a result of Webb's difficulties more broadly, the departure of several long-time Webb employees followed, with Bob Johnson—chairman of the board since Del Webb's death and company head—retiring in 1981 and John Meeker stepping down from his position as head of DEVCO—whether related to a broader management makeover within the Webb Corporation, to weak home sales in Sun City West, or other factors—that same year.¹²⁸⁸ Under the leadership of new Webb head Robert Swanson continued to unload properties, large and small, to free up cash, including its Mountain Shadows Resort—highlighted by *Time* in its profile of Del

1287 On Webb's financial problems, including relation to its casino businesses in particular, see, for example, Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 126-30, 159-61, 163; Abby Livingston "A Place in the Sun: How the Del E. Webb Corporation Finessed a Financial Turnaround," reprinted from *World* (September 1985) in *Urban Land* (December 1985): 8, 9; Thomas C. Hayes, "The Struggle at Del Webb: New Chief Retrenches," *New York Times*, August 11, 1982, "Webb Corporation—1961–1999" folder, VF, SC/SCW, SCAHS; Mike Garrett, "Webb Chief: Debt to Dividends," *Daily News-Sun*, June 25, 1984; Garrett, "Swanson Returns Hou\$es to Devco Formula," *Daily News-Sun*, June 26, 1984, copy in "Webb Corporation—1961–1999" folder; Phil Andrews, "Devco Chief Quit Amid Hard Times for Firm," *Daily News-Sun*, September 11, 1981, "DEVCO (De. E. Webb Development Co.)" folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. For Boswell perhaps addressing in oral history, see also Boswell, interview. And, for findings of the New Jersey investigation, see, for example, Division of Gaming Enforcement, Department of Law and Public Safety, State of New Jersey, *Report to the Casino Control Commission with Regard to the Application of Del E. Webb Corporation of New Jersey and Del E. Webb Corporation for a Casino License* [vol. 2] (Trenton, New Jersey: 1981), 13, 82-86, part of three-volume set, the first of which was produced by the above division, *Report to the Casino Control Commission with Regard to the Application of Claridge Associates for a Casino License*, with same place and date; Donald Janson, "Jersey Opposes Casino License for Webb Corp," *New York Times*, June 10, 1981. On the Flamingo project, on Webb's involvement according to the investigation, see 82-84. For mention of Webb in Atlantic City, see also Schwartz, *Suburban Xanadu*, 106.

1288 Andrews, "Webb Chief Quit Amid Hard Times for Firm"; "Swanson Named by Webb," *Daily News-Sun*, January 21, 1981; Hayes, "The Struggle at Del Webb"; Debbie L. Sklar, "Ex-CEO at Home on Ranch: R.H. Johnson Recalls Days with Del E. Webb," *Daily News-Sun*, February 4 and 5, 1995, "Personalities I-J-K" folder, VF, SC, SCAHS; Meeker, "A Look Back, 1959-1981," 108, 113, 116, 117; Meeker, "Overview," 22; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 231; Garrett, "Swanson Returns Hou\$es to Devco Formula"; Robert K. Swanson, "To Our Shareholders" in Del E. Webb Corporation, *1981 Annual Report* (Phoenix, Arizona, [1982]), 4. On home sales, a corporate report explained: "A big contributing factor to the reduction of new homes sales was the diminished demand for existing homes in the U.S., including those held by prospective Sun City home purchasers who need the money from the sale of their current homes to put toward a new one." And overall, interest rates apparently had undercut such "demand" in the first place. See Del E. Webb Corporation, *1979 Annual Report* (Phoenix, Arizona, [1980]), 10; Robert H. Johnson, "Chairman's Letter" in Del E. Webb Corporation, *1980 Annual Report* (Phoenix, Arizona, [1981]), 2; Webb Corporation, *1980 Annual Report*, 6 (quotation); Joe Aubin of DEVCO cited in Webb Corporation, *1981 Annual Report* 12.

Webb in the early 1960s and the site where Webb hosted the ULI panel in 1961.¹²⁸⁹ It applied to the retirement-community business as well; in 1980 Webb sold “shopping centers, medical facilities, commercial property and vacant land, all located in Sun City,” its annual corporate report for that year noted, dealing away additional properties in following years.¹²⁹⁰

The ultimate effect, in turn, triggered concerns among some retirement-community residents. Having broached the topic of Webb Corporation management politics, one of the interviewers conducting an oral history of former Webb executive L.C. Jacobson in late 1983 told Jacobson in regards to Sun City specifically that “there is a lot of building, they sold off a lot of land and there are multi-storied apartments setups going up.”¹²⁹¹ Around the same time, the wave of residential development sweeping the

1289 Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 163-67; Livingston, “A Place in the Sun,” 9-10; Andrews, “Webb Chief Quit Amid Hard Times for Firm”; Garrett, “Swanson Returns Hou\$es to Devco Formula”; Garrett, “Debt to Dividends”; Hayes, “The Struggle at Del Webb.” Another important account on disposing of properties comes from Blechman, although he does not specify what, if any, reason existed, although his reference to “a quick infusion of cash” might place it within the framework of financial considerations facing the company. See Blechman, *Leisureville*, 130-31 (quotation 131). For Webb, ULI, and the Mountain Shadows Resort, see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 19; ULI, *Northwest Phoenix Properties*, 4, in “Foreword.” Swanson himself at one point explained it that “it was easier for me as an outsider to sell some of those asserts because I didn’t have emotional attachments that the previous management had; I hadn’t grown up with the company.” Swanson quoted in Livingston, “A Place in the Sun,” 10. For perspectives of L.C. Jacobson, for example, reflecting these or other concerns, see Jacobson and Breen, interview, 22-23.

1290 Andrews, “Webb Chief Quit Amid Hard Times for Firm; Robert H. Johnson, “Chairman’s Letter” in Del E. Webb Corporation, *1980 Annual Report* (Phoenix, Arizona, [1981]), 2 (quotation); Meeker, “A Look Back, 1959-1981,” 110, 112, 113; Swanson, “To Our Shareholders” *1981 Annual Report*, 4; Webb Corporation, *1981 Annual Report*, 11, 31; Meeker, 114, 115, 117; Robert K. Swanson, “To Our Shareholders” in Del E. Webb Corporation, *1983 Annual Report* (Phoenix, Arizona, [1984]), 6; Webb Corporation, *1983 Annual Report*, 16, 27; Del E. Webb Corporation, *’84 Annual Report: New Directions* (Phoenix, Arizona, [1985]), 12, 24. For another noting that “all vacant land was sold to other developers and private interests,” although the chronology here might suggest that this actually involved the later 1970s, see also Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 229-30 (quotation at 230). For evidence suggesting the 1970s, although it is not identified as such, see reference to Sun City West: Freeman and Sanberg, 230. However, see also 228.

1291 This part of the interview transcript no longer identifies who is speaking. But from the context, it is reasonable to assume that this is Jacobson and, given that they were the interviewers, Glenn Sanberg and/or John and/or Louise Byrne. For quotation in text, see Jacobson and Breen, interview, 23. Given broader context of discussion and reference on p. 24, this might be Louise Bryne. Regardless, for discussion on her or another’s part citing specific statistics as evidence of trend, see also 24. In terms of context of why such

retirement community in the 1980s spurred the CGA to speak out against new housing. Voicing concern about the growth unfolding before them, “There have been 755 high-density dwellings built in Sun City in the last 15 months and there is room for at least 1,200 more if we do nothing about it,” Les Merydith put it at one point in 1984 leading up to the CGA calling at mid-year for the Maricopa County Planning and Zoning Commission to suspend such development.¹²⁹²

The politics of homeownership rose to the fore in the process. Aimed at bolstering the effort, the CGA had some members of SCHOA members contact their representative organization, explaining in a mailing, “As a Sun City property owner and member of the Home Owners Association, I am alarmed by the recent influx of high density, multi-story housing that is appearing in various locations in Sun City. The superior planning, zoning, and building standards maintained by The Del E. Webb Development Company for twenty years are being ignored by new developers now operating in Sun City. In my opinion this will have a *deleterious effect on our property values, our life style, and our use of the Recreation Centers.*”¹²⁹³ Merydith himself

property or properties were sold in the first place, broader discussion context of “tremendous loans” by Jacobson, presumably, might connect to narrative of broader company financial turbulence, although the speaker quoted in the text also goes on to say something perhaps more akin to a previously cited Blechman point. See Jacobson and Breen, interview, 22-24, esp. 22-23; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 130-131. And lastly, for Reeve, see, for example, Del E. Webb Corporation, *1982 Annual Report* (Phoenix, Arizona, [1983]), 16, 17.

¹²⁹² Merydith quoted in Mark Coast, “High-Density Opponents Fill Petitions,” *Daily News-Sun*, May 1, 1984. For events leading up to the request to the County, see Mark Coast, “CGA Assails Zoning Policies,” *Daily News-Sun*, January 27, 1984; Mark Coast, “Jampel Blasts Incorporation,” *Daily News-Sun*, February 14, 1984; Coast, “CGA Fights High-Dense Complexes,” *Daily News-Sun*, April 18, 1984; Coast, “High-Density Opponents Fill Petitions”; Jim Walsh, “Bid to Bar Sun City Multifamily Housing ‘Illegal,’” *Arizona Republic*, June 19, 1984, in “Sun City” folder/s, possibly corresponding to year, in Arizona, CF, PPL.

¹²⁹³ The text of such “cards” mail to SCHOA quoted in Sun City Home Owners Association, Board of Directors meeting, minutes, April 17, 1984, [1] (emphasis added). Again, SCHOA materials viewed at SCHOA office, June 2006. For background of, see Coast, “CGA Fights High-Dense Complexes”; Coast, “High-Density Opponents Fill Petitions”; Coast, “HOA Directors Counter Drive against High-Rises,” *Daily News-Sun*, May 16, 1984; initial aim as cited in Julius M. Balick, “Dear Member,” May 15, 1984, 1,

explicitly stated the political culture at play as well, evident in local newspaper coverage, which reported, “While there may be enough demand for ‘a few hundred’ of the less-priced apartment units being developed in Sun City, Merydith said, ‘it isn’t the place for us homeowners to provide a place in Sun City for everyone who can’t afford to live here.’”¹²⁹⁴

Furthermore, in the brand of Sun Citizenship promoted by the CGA, class not only trumped any common bonds forged out of old age—assuming that such apartments were for older residents—but also *aging*. Produced perhaps by the CGA or Merydith, a document titled “High-Density Housing in Sun City” as of early May of 1984 listed various projects or projects on potential sites in the retirement community. Under a category labeled “TOO LATE--Already built or under construction,” it included one identified as “Royal Oaks Life Care Community,” which had opened in late 1983.¹²⁹⁵

There might have been an underlying anxiety with old age at play here. More generally, one Sun City man later in 1984 complained that “6½ years after moving here, we are

SCHOA. For recreational facilities mentioned elsewhere, see Coast, “CGA Assails Zoning Policies.” And for another mention of “property values,” in newspaper coverage, see again Walsh, “Bid to Bar Sun City Multifamily Housing ‘Illegal.’” For evidence of opposition connected to incorporation politics, see also Harry Eichin, letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, January 10, 1984; Coast, “CGA Fights High-Dense Complexes. And, as a previously cited document possibly produced by the CGA and/or Merydith stated: “IT’S NOW OR NEVER---WE MUST STOP HIGH-DENSITY HOUSING NOW!” See again “County Zoning—How It Works.” On Merydith discussing such housing in his previously cited letter to the editor on zoning matters, see again Merydith letter to the editor of May 9, 1984. For discussion of same or similar concerns, see again those in Jacobson and Breen, interview, 24.

¹²⁹⁴ Coast, “CGA Fights High-Dense Complexes.”

¹²⁹⁵ See “High-Density Housing in Sun City,” on back of “County Zoning—How It Works” [?]. Whether or not this originally was a free-standing document or part of the above document, it appears in the above form in the files of the SCAHS. On Royal Oaks, see Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 161. Another document, also perhaps produced by the CGA, suggests similar thinking about Sun City’s housing market in the big picture as reflecting a broader political culture: “When the home across the street or next door becomes vacant what kind of people will move in? What will our new neighbors be like? Will they be people like us who seek perfection in our environment or will they be more tolerant of their surroundings? Will our kind of people pass up a Sun City that has passed its prime and move into the attractive new developments that are springing up all around us? What will happen to our property values if Sun City falls behind?” See Citizens for Home Rule, *Sun City is Wonderful!*, 2

starting to witness the disquieting results of the aging of “for active people, but for failing patients in various stages of decline and inactivity.”¹²⁹⁶

At the same time, in the debate over housing and housing density, the very treatment of this facility—of reducing and subsuming housing presumably aimed at aging residents seeking housing other than that of single-family homes within the framework pitting housing that was “high-density” against other, implied housing types—suggested the net-effect privileging of concerns of homeowners in the retirement community, backed by a logic of homeownership separating out—if not pro-actively guarding against—any breach of uniformity.

During the CGA’s campaign in 1984, SCHOA addressed this tension, taking a more socially and politically nuanced position in opposition to Merydith and company that accounted for the variable of aging. In what apparently was form letter responding to SCHOA members who had contacted the organization, which overlapped contest-wise with a letter to the editor published in the *News-Sun*, SCHA’s president acknowledged the legitimacy of concerns over “truly objectionable developments” he also acknowledged the existence of “a real need among some Sun Citians. There is a large and growing number of families, particularly one-person families, that can no longer cope with managing their own homes. They wish to remain in Sun City, near their friends, churches, doctors and services. What are they to do?” he asked. “An apartment can offer

1296 Peter Cipriano, letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, September 28, 1984. He continued: “The realities of life are such that our terminal turn will come soon enough. Do we have to be reminded daily by being forced to gaze on an ever increasing number of ‘limited care facilities,’ ‘full care facilities,’ nursing homes, or ‘human warehouses’ everywhere we go in Sun City?” For seemingly similar evidence from her work on retirement in Florida, see again discussion in Otis, “Segregating the Sunset Years,” 115, 115-16. Trolander discusses the balancing act between an “active adult image” and useful housing alternatives—the latter of which echoes the defenses made by SCHOA in the 1980s—and, more specifically, in relation to an example noted below. While I have discussed the former in Part II, and return to this tensions below in this chapter, my emphasis here is on the political culture of homeownership. See Trolander, *From Sun Cities to the Villages*, 214. For Trolander on marketing and aging in such matters, see also 156-57.

the housing alternative that they urgently need.”¹²⁹⁷ Making a similar case in an earlier letter to the editor, he urged, “Let us give some sympathetic consideration to the special housing needs of many of our neighbors who have lived in and contributed to Sun City for many years.”¹²⁹⁸ This letter writer, in the process, also gestured towards homeowner self-interest—in the longer run: “These persons urgently need affordable rental or condominium apartments. And so might many of us, some day.”¹²⁹⁹

Conclusion

Addressing what he saw as negative—and inaccurate—perceptions of Sun City amongst the public in 1986, current DEVCO President Paul Tatz made what he believed to be a critical difference in a DEVCO newsletter distributed to residents of Sun City West. “The Sun Cities are not the child-hating place some people would want others to think. The Sun Cities are pro-adult, not anti-children.”¹³⁰⁰ While for Tatz this distinction was critical to resolving an unfortunate disconnect, they were actually one and the same at the level of the retirement community in the legal and political logic and practices undergirding entire housing markets. But such an environment was predicated on the

1297 Julius Balick, letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, May 19, 1984; Balick, “Dear Member,” 2, 3. Quotations, in order, from 3, 2. Here, Balick also addresses concerns such as traffic and recreation centers.

1298 Julius Balick, letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, February 24, 1984. SCHOA took a similar view in 1983 in a controversy between Sun City homeowners and DEVCO when the developer asked Maricopa County to zone a parcel from commercial to multi-residential previously planned as a shopping center. It argued that, in the end, a “proposed retirement-apartment development with facilities for nursing care seems to us to be a good use for the land.” See incident as recounted in Trolander, *From Sun Cities to the Villages*, 214; Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*, 228; SCHOA, “Statement Adopted March 2, 1983,” SCHOA. For coverage of ongoing controversy over what might have been the same site, see Robert Barrett, “142-Unit Complex Won’t Be Built: Supervisors Deny Special Permit for Congregate-Living Apartments,” [AR?], April 28, 1986, [“Zoning” [?]] folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. Additionally, such persons described by Balick might have shared similarities with older residents in *Maldini*—in discourse and/or experience. See again “High Court Backs Rezoning in State for High-Density Housing for the Elderly”; and also Andelman, “The Aged: Where Can They Live?”; Andelman, “Aged on L.I. Find Little to Occupy Their Time.”

1299 See again Balick letter to the editor of February 24, 1984.

1300 Paul Tatz quoted in John Machay, “Tatz: Sun Citians Not Child-Haters, Just Pro-Adult,” *Daily News-Sun*, August 22, 1986, “Public Relations” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS.

exclusion of under-age residents, and any breach—age-restriction advocates like Adult Action had argued—would be the hole in the dike washing away the walls protecting peace, quiet, and property values in Sun City.¹³⁰¹

1301 My phrase here of “peace, quiet, and property values” is inspired by and a variation on the subtitle of Andrew Ross’s study of a Florida development: Andrew Ross, *The Celebration Chronicles: Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Property Values in Disney’s New Town* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1999).

Epilogue

The story of the two Sun City retirement communities and their sometimes-strained relations with the metropolitan area persisted through the 1980s. After the Dysart school affair and the securing of retirement-friendly zoning from Maricopa County earlier in the decade, tensions between the retirement communities and their neighbors soon appeared over issues ranging from incorporation to yet another round of debate over school taxes. Along the way, familiar themes rose to the surface, particularly those dealing with the broader economic relationship between Sun City, Sun City West, and greater Phoenix.

In 1987, Sun City and Sun City West again landed in the newspapers. In May, their unincorporated status reappeared as a subject of controversy when one Maricopa County Supervisor broached the issue of a move towards incorporation for the two developments—the issue failed in Sun City in the latest vote in 1985—given that the retirement communities might have leaned too heavily on the County for services including street maintenance and police. Supervisor George Campbell stated that “There comes a time that a community should say that it should be on its own. It’s long past the time for Sun City.”¹³⁰² Echoing defenses launched in the 1970s, representatives from Sun City countered any claims of a skewed relationship. Similar to a position taken by the Sun City Taxpayers Association (SCTA) based on its own evidence, Les Merydith asserted, “We’re paying a lot more in taxes than we’re getting from the county,” which, true or not, did not offset the fact that a report over the summer revealed that Maricopa County did, in fact, play a “subsidizing” role in supplying services for which it otherwise would not have been responsible.¹³⁰³

Phoenix-area critics nonetheless called out Sun City. Backing Campbell's efforts in further investigating the situation, an editorial in a Phoenix newspaper insisted, "Taxes are levied for the common good. Financing governmental services is a social contract in which all taxpayers – not just the service users – share responsibility."¹³⁰⁴ Two days

1302 Background from and Campbell quoted in Susan Leonard, "Supervisors Square off over Sun Cities' Taxes," *Arizona Republic*, May 17, 1987, "Taxation, Property" [?] in Maricopa County, CF, PPL. Clipping initially from the City of Phoenix's "Press Clippings."

1303 Murray Karsten on SCTA cited in and Merydith quoted in Leonard, "Supervisors Square off over Sun Cities' Taxes." For subsequent evidence, see Susan Leonard, "\$2.1 Million in County Funding Subsidized Sun Cities Last Year," *Arizona Republic*, August 7, 1987 [CF, PPL?].

1304 Editorial, "Shedding Light on Sun City," [*Arizona Republic*], May 22, 1987, in "Sun City" folder likely corresponding to year in Arizona, CF, PPL. A review of microfilmed newspaper coverage from events around the same time indicates that this was, in fact, the *Arizona Republic*. For context of events of most recent meeting, see Susan Leonard, "County 'Mayor' Sought: Supervisor Plans Initiative for Ballot," *Arizona Republic*, May 21, 1987.

later, the *Arizona Republic*'s Steve Benson, who had mocked Sun City residents after the procurement of retirement-community zoning in June 1984 in a political cartoon featuring an overweight retired couple on horseback accompanied by dogs chasing down children, the wife declaring, "Tallyho! Hunting in Sun City is Such Sport!," derided the retirement community in context of the latest events.¹³⁰⁵ Here, a Benson cartoon pictured a Sun City street scene with a large sign, stating "Welcome to Sun City," in which caricatured residents indulged in various forms of leisure, seemingly evidence of the gluttony and greed of the lifestyle pursued in the retirement community. The text at the bottom of the featured sign mockingly described the development as "UNINCORPORATED, UNTAXED, UNGRATEFUL," conveying Benson's critique of the brand of the political economy of retirement represented by Sun City (Figure E.1).¹³⁰⁶

For their part, residents penned letters to the editor of the newspaper, making up half of a page on one date at the end of month.¹³⁰⁷ "True, we are not incorporated," a letter from two Sun City West residents went, "but 'untaxed' and 'ungrateful' is not true. We are not freeloaders. We pay our fair share of taxes."¹³⁰⁸ And beyond their role as

1305 For 1984, see *Benson*, political cartoon, *Arizona Republic*, June 24, 1984. For response from one Sun City residents, see Morris Beldon [?], letter to the editor, *Daily News-Sun*, July 6, 1984. On Benson and his relationship with Sun City, see McHugh, "Generational Consciousness and Retirement Communities," 301.

1306 See *Benson*, political cartoon, *Arizona Republic*, May 24, 1987, first cited in the following: McHugh, Gober, and Borough, "The Sun City Wars," 636; Gober, *Metropolitan Phoenix*, 90. Although the former correctly identifies and dates as having appeared in May 1987, the latter refers to October 1985. Both, however, use as evidence of tensions surrounding school taxes, although the context here suggests that—although this, along with age restrictions, might have been long-simmering issues—this on a more direct level involved incorporation. See McHugh, et al., 635, 636 (caption to fig. 4); Gober, 90 (and caption to fig. 14).

1307 For letters, which addressed various issues, see those running in *Arizona Republic*, May 30, 1987.

1308 Thomas A. Taggart and Ardella B. Taggart, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, May 30, 1987. For other letters dealing with taxes/services, see Hazel Jay, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, May 30, 1987; also T.J. Hoff, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, May 30, 1987. Another letter made a point which very well might have been true—that at what presumably was the state level, residents did pay taxes that benefited other communities—by insisting that "We pay state income taxes, gasoline taxes, sales taxes and personal property taxes at the same rate as anyone else. Little returns to our community because of our unincorporated status. In effect we subsidize the incorporated cities. See Eugene Jensen, letter to the

taxpayers, retirees also played that of good neighbors, upholding seemingly middle-class values and representing gains, financial and otherwise, for the area. “We are appalled that the *Republic* permits such continuing flagrant insults to a great many law-abiding, peaceful, respectable citizens who do not contribute to crime, proverty [*sic*] and drug statistics, who only enhance Arizona’s reputation as a good place to live, and who do a great deal to help the economy of Maricopa County and Arizona,” another letter from

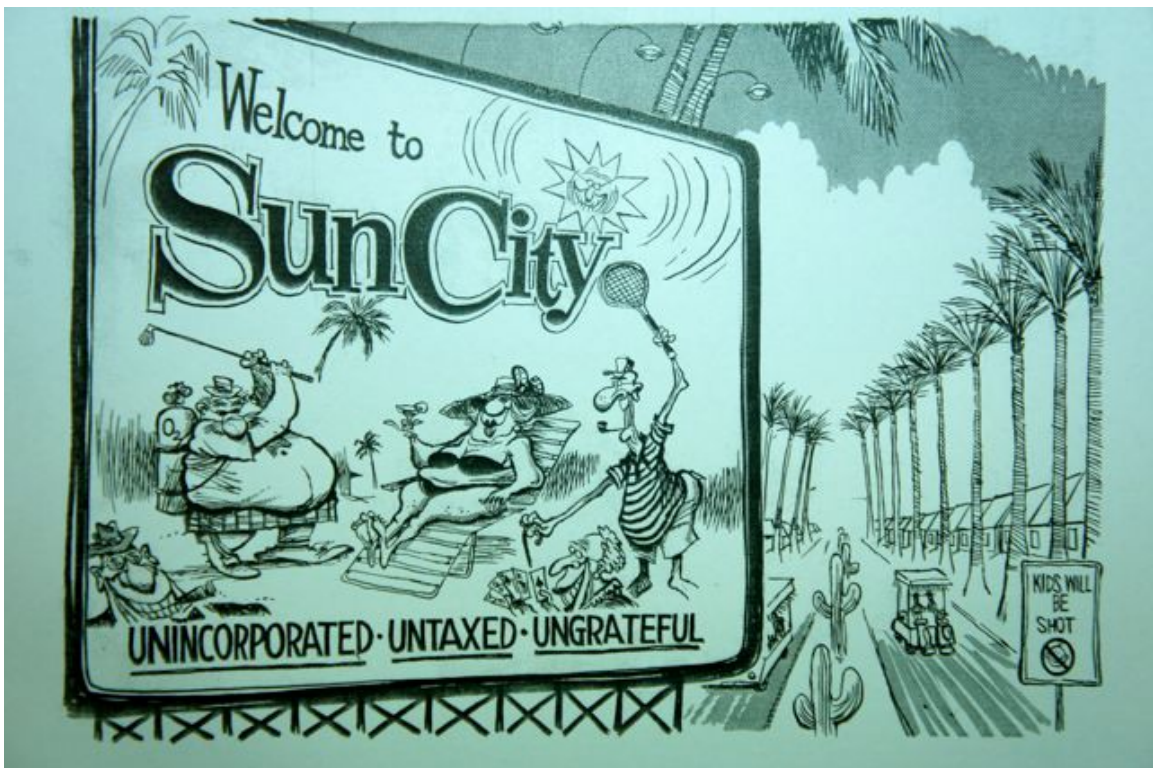


Figure E.1. Political cartoon by Steve Benson of the *Arizona Republic*: Steve Benson *Back at the Barb-B-Que: An Expanded Cartoon Collection by Benson* ([Phoenix, Arizona]: Phoenix Newspapers, Inc., 1991), 132.

editor, *Arizona Republic*, May 30, 1987. This, in fact, was part of the argument that pro-incorporation interests made. For example, see “A Declaration of Independence,” *Sun City Outlook* ’89 1: 6 (February 1, 1989): 1, 3, “Incorporation” folder/s, VF, SC, SCAHS. This was published by Citizens for Self-Government, Inc.

Sun City West asserted.¹³⁰⁹ Another letter asked, “How could he possibly conceive of Sun City people committing their entire life and their time to just golf, tennis and sunbathing when there are many thousands of volunteers (and I am one) who try to make life wonderful for their fellow men?”¹³¹⁰ Politicizing the universality of aging, another Sun City West resident wrote, “Steve Benson’s cruel caricatures of Sun Citians may come back to haunt him. I would hope that he will save a copy of the May 24 paper to review in 30 years. It’s quite possible his perspective will be a little different when he, too, has matured.”¹³¹¹

Benson’s 1987 cartoon has historical significance reaching well beyond incorporation politics, however. It paralleled, in fact, a broader backlash against older Americans that signaled a dramatic transformation in attitudes undergirding the political economy and political culture of retirement in modern America, particularly in terms of Social Security and related entitlements. The political climate by the late 1970s and 1980s reflected the erosion of the discursive momentum and political capital of old-age politics built up over the life course of “the New Deal Order” more broadly, the politics of vulnerability increasingly supplanted by the politics of generational excess and supremacy.¹³¹² Directly or indirectly, the evolving critique of older Americans and the

1309 Ivan and Pearle Burlingame, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, May 30, 1987.

1310 Hazel Jay, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, May 30, 1987. And even if this letter writer was referring only to *internal* volunteer efforts, then other evidence nonetheless pertains to a broader geography as one letter spoke of those “in our own and neighboring communities” as well. See Carol H. Weimer, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, May 30, 1987.

1311 See again Weimer letter to the editor of May 30, 1987. For letters addressing other issues—of aging and health—in Benson’s cartoon, see Hoff letter to the editor of May 30, 1987; Carl A. Dildine, letter to the editor, *Arizona Republic*, May 30, 1987.

1312 For several excellent accounts overviewing this overall transformation, see Powell, et al., *The Senior Rights Movement*, chapter 7, especially 150-51, 158-59, 174-79; Robert H. Binstock, “The Contemporary Politics of Old Age Policies” in *The New Politics of Old Age Policy*, Hudson, ed., 265-68; Schulz and Binstock, *Aging Nation*, 7-10. Binstock appears originally to have pointed to this shift in a 1983 piece. See perhaps Binstock, “The Aged as Scapegoat,” 136-43. Finally, for this periodization of the “New Deal

old-age entitlement complex readily apparent in the 1980s had grown out of Social Security politics in the 1970s, the 1972 Social Security amendments in particular marking the beginning of the end.¹³¹³ Scholars have pointed to both internal and external factors here, including not only “a serious technical error” in the calculation of inflation-adjusted benefits but also the particular economic conditions in which benefits were now delivered under the COLA legislation. “In the mid-1970s, both inflation and unemployment soared,” one account succinctly explains. “Since benefits were linked to inflation and contributions were affected by unemployment, the trust funds were depleted rapidly. Moreover, as high unemployment reduced the income for the trust funds, more people applied for all types of Social Security benefits.”¹³¹⁴

By the 1980s, political discourse more broadly inverted the relationship between old age and American society long-animating policy interventions on behalf of aging persons in the United States. Now, it was perhaps older Americans, through a monopolization of resources and power, who were disempowering and marginalizing *younger* persons. “By 1981, when the Reagan administration came to power, the ‘crisis’ of Social Security had successfully penetrated American culture, both high and low,” one

Order,” see ed. Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989).

1313 Several scholars of Social Security employ a “turning point” framework in discussing aspects and explaining the significance of the 1972 legislation: Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 132-33 (quotation at 133); Tynes, *Turning Points in Social Security*, 133.

1314 For example, see Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 130-33 (first quotation at 133); Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 61-63, 65-67; Berkowitz, *America’s Welfare State*, 71-72; Tynes, *Turning Points in Social Security*, 142-43, 143 (second quotation); Béland, *Social Security*, 141-42, 142-44; Kingson and Berkowitz, *Social Security and Medicare*, 48-49. On 1977 amendments and subsequent events, see, for example, Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 67-69; Berkowitz, 72; Tynes, 162-68. For economic context, see also Powell, et al., *The Senior Rights Movement*, 152, 153. And, on questioning of and opposition to Social Security, see, for example, Powell, et al., *The Senior Rights Movement*, 158; Berkowitz, *America’s Welfare State*, 72-73; John Myles, “Postwar Capitalism and the Extension of Social Security into a Retirement Wage” in Weir, et al., eds. *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States*, 265, 274-79.

scholarly account explains.¹³¹⁵ In the early 1980s, the administration suggested a series of changes to different programs within Social Security, but apparently met political resistance.¹³¹⁶ Nonetheless, ideas about the ostensibly disastrous consequences of old-age entitlements and their beneficiaries apparently had resonance—and perhaps staying power.¹³¹⁷ By the 1980s, several “rhetorical themes” within the discursive attack on retired and older Americans appeared, bearing similarities to representations of Sun City—those, as one account describes them, of “greedy geezers” and “lazy, unproductive elite,” for example.¹³¹⁸

No longer disempowered and marginalized like the older Americans depicted in the 1962 issue of *Time*, which had featured Del Webb on its cover, an issue in 1988

1315 Myles, “Postwar Capitalism and the Extension of Social Security into a Retirement Wage,” 278. On this narrative as promoted, see excellent discussion and analysis in Powell, et al., *The Senior Rights Movement*, 167-71.

1316 On Reagan and Social Security in the early 1980s, see, for example, Berkowitz, *America’s Welfare State*, 73-74, 76-77; Powell, et al., *The Senior Rights Movement*, 156-57, 159-61. See also Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 152-53; Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 77-79; Tynes, *Turning Points in Social Security*, 169; Béland, *Social Security*, 151; Myles, “Postwar Capitalism and the Extension of Social Security into a Retirement Wage,” 265-66, 283; Michael Schaller, *Reckoning with Reagan: American and Its President in the 1980s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 44-46. On commission subsequently formed and the 1983 amendments that ultimately followed, see, for instance, Berkowitz, 74-81; Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 6, 80, 81-99; Tynes, 169-83; Kingson and Berkowitz, *Social Security and Medicare*, 49-51.

1317 For example, see Achenbaum, *Social Security*, 75-76. For examples of evidence illustrating views about health of Social Security, see Achenbaum, 76; Powell, et al., *The Senior Rights Movement*, 159; Myles, “Postwar Capitalism and the Extension of Social Security into a Retirement Wage,” 278. Myles also points to the split between image and reality over Social Security of use here in discussing the persistence of the broader questioning of Social Security and the challenges of the retired American in particular: Myles, 283. Additional evidence discussed below from later in the 1980s further suggests how such ideas continued on even after resistance to Reagan.

1318 Analysis and all quoted material from Powell, et al., *The Senior Rights Movement*, 174-82. For several other excellent accounts dealing with these ideas, see Achenbaum, *Shades of Gray*, 133-34; Haber and Gratton, *Old Age and the Search for Security*, 183-84; and esp. Schulz and Binstock, *Aging Nation*, 8-12; Binstock, “The Contemporary Politics of Old Age Policies,” 267-69; Walter A. Rosenbaum and James W. Button, “Perceptions of Intergenerational Conflict: The Politics of Young vs. Old in Florida,” *Journal of Aging Studies* 6: 4 (1992): 386-87. For excellent discussion of “a new politics of intergenerational equity,” see Oberlander, *The Political Life of Medicare*, 62. For context of broader discussion here, see 61-65. And for discussion calling points into question, while also paying attention to and discussing different levels on which such perspectives took place, see 63, 63-64. On Americans for Generational Equity, also see, for example, Achenbaum, *Older Americans, Vital Communities*, xviii-xix. And on the Concord Coalition, see, for example, Oberlander, 63.

reported the rise of a new kind of aging for at least some older persons in the United States. Featuring a happy couple, the cover reads: “And now for THE FUN YEARS! Americans are living longer and enjoying it more—but who will foot the bill?” (Figure E.2).¹³¹⁹ As Jonathan Oberlander writes, “By 1982, the poverty rate among the elderly had dropped below the overall national poverty rate, and the 1960s public image of the poor elder dependent on Social Security had been replaced by the 1980s image of the affluent retiree playing golf and enjoying lavish vacations.”¹³²⁰

If incorporation never entirely went away, neither did more generationally specific ones. Seeking to generate needed tax revenues, state legislators in 1988 sought—and ultimately passed legislation—to tax areas such as the two Sun City developments northwest of Phoenix benefiting from an untaxed, non-school-district status, provoking responses from retirees and their representatives and allies in the process. As the head of Sun City’s Retirement Community Association vowed, “If they want to make a crusade out of this, we’re ready for them.”¹³²¹

1319 See cover of *Time* February 22, 1988. See caption of figure for more specific information. Schulz and Binstock also discuss and cite this piece as evidence in their analysis of the overall backlash, though they date it as 1980 rather than 1988. For this, as well, as important discussion, see Schulz and Binstock, *Aging Nation*, 8.

1320 Oberlander, *The Political Life of Medicare*, 62-63.

1321 Martin Van Der Werf, “Plan to Tax Retiree Communities for Schools is Favored by Panel,” *Arizona Republic*, June 15, 1988; Robert Barrett, “Proposed Levy Could Spur Retiree ‘Insurrection,’” *Arizona Republic*, June 26, 1988; Sam Stanton, “School Taxes for Sun Cities Called Legal,” *Arizona Republic*, August 6, 1988, all preceding in “Sun City” folder/s in Arizona, CF, PPL; Christine Seliga, “Webb Hires Lobbyist to Fight Tax,” *Daily News-Sun*, January 14, 1989, in “Taxes – School” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS; Howard Fischer, “Politicking: In Sun City, It’s Age before Duty,” column, *[Phoenix] New Times*, March 8-14, 1989, also in “Sun City” folder/s in Arizona, CF, PPL. For quotation, see Kay Sentes quoted in Barrett. For a very brief history of this move and reaction to it, see McHugh, Gober, and Borough, “The Sun City Wars,” 635.



Figure E.2. A new retirement dilemma: front cover of *Time*, February 22, 1988, <http://content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19880222,00.html> (last accessed May 22, 2016).

Residents of the retirement communities took action, and by early 1989 were pursuing remedies to what the *New-Sun* identified as “the so-called Sun City school tax”—in light of what one state senator said was the perception that retirees ducked a “fair share”—via both legislative and legal avenues, igniting groups from the two Sun City communities and Youngtown, as well as the Webb Corporation.¹³²² In late February, a legislative

1322 Christine Seliga, “PORA Joins School Tax Protest,” *Daily News-Sun*, July 15, 1988 [SCTA or PORA?]; discussion from and Senator Pat Wright quoted in M.E. Saavedra, “Sun City Residents Seek to Alter School Tax,” *Arizona Republic*, January 5, 1989, in “Sun City” folder/s in Arizona, CF, PPL; Jacque Pappas, “School Tax Repeal is Doubtful,” *Daily News-Sun*, January 5, 1989 (quotation), “Taxes – School” folder [?], VF, SC, SCAHS; Seliga, “Webb Hires Lobbyist to Fight Tax,” *Daily News-Sun* January 14, 1989, “Taxes – School” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS. The movement that formed here might have even

committee from the Arizona House of Representatives passed a measure that in part halved the previously determined tax rate as “Leaders of several groups representing the Sun City area”—officials from the SCHA, SCHOA, PORA, and Youngtown appeared, in addition to a Webb lobbyist—“contended that they should be given a lower tax rate because they demand few government services, contribute to the state’s economy and live on fixed incomes from pensions or Social Security.”¹³²³

Another committee temporarily stalled the undoing of efforts to tax the retirement communities, voting down the new legislation shortly after. The retirement communities, however, ultimately triumphed, the lower rate provided for under a “revenue package” that cleared the Senate in June while a Maricopa County court, charging that the original tax legislation was excessive in degree, struck down the law altogether the following month.¹³²⁴ Still, the political economy of taxes generated tensions in which the interests

transcended political and ideological differences. For instance, coverage reported forthcoming discussions with “leaders from other groups such as the Union Club, the local chapters of the American Association of Retired Persons and both the Republican and Democratic clubs.” For quotation here, see Seliga, “Webb Hires Lobbyist to Fight Tax.” For background of these organizations, see, for example, Freeman and Sanberg, *Silver Anniversary Jubilee*.

1323 Quotation from and Art Hamilton quoted in Deborah Shanahan, “House Panel Votes to Cut ‘Sun City School Tax’: Foes Assail Bill, Fear Revenue Loss of \$3.75 Million,” *Arizona Republic*, March 1, 1989, in “Sun City” folders, CF, PPL; meeting minutes of Committee on Ways & Means, Arizona House of Representatives, 39th legislature, 1st regular session, February 28, 1989, 1, 3-4, RG 97 SG 1 S3, box 35, ASALPR; Holly D. Remy, “Tax Battle Will Go on, Groups Say,” *Arizona Republic*, March 15, 1989; Fischer, “Politicking.”

1324 Steve Yozwiak, “‘Sun City Tax’ Cut is Killed,” *Arizona Republic*, March 7, 1989, in “Sun City” folders in Arizona, CF, PPL; meeting minutes of Committee on Rules, Arizona House of Representatives, 39th legislature 1st regular session, March 6, 1989, 1, RG 97 SG 1 S3, box 35, ASALPR; Fischer, “Politicking”; Remy, “Tax Battle Will Go on, Groups Say”; Jacque Pappas, “SC School Tax Trimmed in Budget Deal,” *Daily News-Sun*, June 14, 1989, “Taxes – School” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS; Pappas, “School Tax Ruled Unconstitutional,” *Daily News-Sun*, July 27, 1989 (quotation), “Taxes – School” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS; Brent Whiting, “School Tax Targeting Retirement Communities is Ruled Illegal,” *Arizona Republic*, July 27, 1989; Susan Leonard, “\$10 Million in ‘Sun City Taxes’ Ordered Refunded by State Court,” *Arizona Republic*, January 18, 1990, in “Sun City” in Arizona, CF, PPL. For reactions in March of 1989, see again Remy, “Tax Battle Will Go on, Groups Say.” For subsequent events, see Jacque Pappas, “Denney: Don’t Challenge School Tax,” *Daily News-Sun*, September 6, 1989 [SCTA?]; Leonard, “\$10 Million in ‘Sun City Taxes’ Ordered Refunded by State Court”; Peg Keith, “Judge Orders State to Return SC School Tax: How or When Yet to be Decided; State Expected to Appeal Court Decision,” *Sun Cities Independent* January 24-30, 1990, “Taxes – School” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS; Pappas, “State Told to

of retirees clashed with those of other citizens. Writing in June to a Sun City West resident who recently had served as the head of PORA, one state senator explained the political bind he faced in context of forthcoming votes on “budget and revenue bills” in the legislature, affirming his support of the retirement-community movement and pledging his backing on an as-needed basis while expressing concerns about potential deficits accruing the following fiscal year. “I realize my ‘no’ vote will be a lone cry in the jungle; however, someone has to cry out for the poor taxpayer and I hope you understand and will support me.”¹³²⁵ Benson responded by picturing the “Sun City Tea Party” in yet another cartoon, this one showing the revolt of the retirees, who tossed children and boxes of “PAMPERS” overboard.¹³²⁶

Meanwhile, in the late 1980s and 1990s, various efforts undertaken in Sun City sought to defend the retirement community from criticism by promoting the political economy of retirement. In terms of the efforts of retired residents, a booster organization seeking, among other things, “To enhance the public image of Sun City through an ongoing Valley-wide advertising and publicity program that highlights individuals, groups, and the community, itself,” calculated and made public in 1989 estimates of Sun City’s generosity in labor, dollars, and cents. That same year, the SCTA conducted another investigation, “looking at it from a pocket book issue, because economics may hit

Refund School Tax,” *Daily News-Sun*, February 27, 1990, VF-Taxes, School; Brent Whiting, “Credits or Refunds Ordered for Illegal Tax: ‘Sun City’ Case Collected \$10 Million,” *Arizona Republic*, February 27, 1990, in “Sun City” in Arizona, CF, PPL; Ian Mitchell, “School Tax Case Winds to End,” *Daily News-Sun*, December 3, 1992 [SCTA?]; “Tax Group Pushes for Payment of Legal Fees,” *Daily News-Sun*, April 7, 1993 [SCTA?].

1325 Bob Denny to Sanford G. Goldstein, June 12, 1989, personal papers of Sandy Goldstein, former resident of Sun City West, Arizona, copy in possession of author. Webb management also wrote to Goldstein, praising him for his role in the events leading to the legislative victory in June. See Charles T. Roach to Sandy Goldstein, July 10, 1989, also from Goldstein’s personal collection and copy in possession of author.

1326 *Benson*, *Arizona Republic*, July 28, 1989 [SCTA?]. Note: To be clear, this is reference to possible location in materials viewed at SCTA, Sun City, Arizona.

harder than other factors, like all the volunteer hours Sun Citians put into the community.”¹³²⁷

After it found negative attitudes toward the retirement communities on such matters as school taxes, Del Webb for its part rolled out “The Sun Cities Care” later in 1989, an effort, according to one Webb official, based on “an aggressive publicity plan and an outreach program.”¹³²⁸ In the early 1990s, Webb’s Public and Community Relations Department assembled several packets of clippings from area newspapers covering various volunteer and charitable efforts on the part of Sun City and Sun City West residents.¹³²⁹ And conceived of by a Sun City retiree who explained, “We want to let people know that there is an awful lot of volunteering going on in this community,” Sun City featured perimeter signs, thanks to Maricopa County, that identified the retirement community as a “City of Volunteers” by 1993.¹³³⁰ History, however, had a powerful effect, one Webb spokesman suggested in 1990. “It took 30 years for people to develop their perceptions. We hope that in a year or two, people will look at the Sun Cities in a different light.”¹³³¹ Despite changes within the Webb Corporation, retirement communities, and industry in general, the past survived into the late twentieth century.

1327 For the first organization, the Sun City Ambassadors, see Mike Garrett, “Sun Citians Contribute Big Bucks,” *Daily News-Sun*, March 23, 1989; Sun City Ambassadors, Inc., *Sun City, Arizona: A Challenging Future*, pamphlet, n.d., “Sun City Ambassadors” [?] folder, Pamphlets, SC, SCAHS. For SCTA, see Werner Chilton quoted in Jacque Pappas, “Studies of Sun Cities Explore Image Problem,” *Daily News-Sun*, October 12, 1989, “Public Relations” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS.

1328 Pappas, “Studies of Sun Cities Explore Image Problem”; effort discussed and Chuck Roach cited in Phyllis Gillespie, “Sun Cities Launch Drive to Polish Soiled Image,” *Arizona Republic*, November 5, 1989, “Public Relations” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS; Pamela Manson, “Polishing the Image of Sun Cities’ Residents,” *Arizona Republic*, December 28, 1990, “Public Relations” folder, VF, SC, SCAHS.

1329 See *Sun Cities Good News Clippings*, May 1990-May 1991; *More Good News from the Sun Cities*, May 1991-May 1992; *Children Benefitting from the Sun Cities*, May 1992-May 1993, all prepared by the Sun City West Public and Community Relations Department, in “Volunteers” folder, Pamphlets, SCAHS.

1330 Efforts described and retiree George Hartman quoted in Lori Baker, “Signs Display Sun City’s Volunteerism,” *Arizona Republic/Phoenix Gazette*, June 28, 1993, “Volunteers,” VF, SC/SCW, SCAHS.

1331 Martha Moyer quoted in Manson, “Polishing the Image of Sun Cities’ Residents.”

And though it tried in different ways, and over many years, Sun City never could escape metropolitan Phoenix.¹³³²

The issue of age restrictions re-emerged around the same time as well. Although both Sun City communities had secured via senior-zoning status in 1984, federal legislation later in the decade threatened to shake up the Sun City arrangement that of county-level zoning more broadly. In late 1980s, Congress voted in favor of, and President Reagan approved, the Fair Housing Act Amendments of 1988, which, among other aspects, acknowledged and explicitly addressed the restricted landscape of rental housing with which some younger families had to contend. “It precludes,” according to a recent scholarly account overviewing the state of housing for older Americans, “discrimination in the sale or rental of housing based on familial status; property owners cannot prevent occupancy of families with children.” But in doing so, the 1988 legislation simultaneously made exceptions for *retirement* housing, subject to certain definitions and terms.¹³³³

1332 See again Findlay’s important framework here: Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 204-208, 209-210.

1333 For 1988 legislation, as allowing for both, see the following: Nicole Napolitano, “The Fair Housing Act Amendments and Age Restrictive Covenants in Condominiums and Cooperatives,” *St. John’s Law Review* 73 (Winter 1999): 276-78, 280-81; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 69, 70; Panjwani, “Beyond the Beltway,” 182-83; Golant, *Housing America’s Elderly*, 298-99, 300; Welch, “Retirement Communities in Maricopa County,” 81-85; Jon Pynoos and Christy M. Nishita, “The Changing Face of Senior Housing” in *The New Politics of Old Age Policy*, Hudson ed. (2005 edition), 248-49 (quotation); Ball, *Livable Communities for an Aging Population*, 136. On the amendments overall, and the legislative history behind, see, for example, “House Backs Move to Strengthen Enforcement of Housing Rights,” *New York Times*, June 30, 1988; Thomas J. Leuck, “The New Teeth in the Fair Housing Law: H.U.D. Officials Now Will Sue in Cases of Discrimination,” *New York Times*, March 12, 1989; Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, “Some Questions and Answers on the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1987,” [n.d.?], 1, 7, Dennis DeConcini Papers, University of Arizona, box 219, folder 10; Ritzdorf, “Adults Only,” 31-32; Christopher Bonastia, *Knocking on the Door: The Federal Government’s Attempt to Desegregate the Suburbs* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), 145-46; Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 209-11. Despite some activity at the state level, and even at the municipal level in the case of a handful of U.S. cities, supporters of housing reform for American families, such as Marian Edelman Wright, head of the Children’s Defense Fund, and whom I discuss and cite in the text shortly below, called for federal intervention via fair-housing legislation. For existing efforts at the state level and below, though incomplete and, of course, far from comprehensive on a national

Like age thresholds created and employed by some of the earliest players in the retirement-housing market in the 1950s and 1960s, picked up by and relayed in industry materials, the “exempt” classification for older Americans both included and operated outside of frameworks determining age eligibility. On one hand, the exclusion of children was permissible in government-backed housing and also that for “persons 62

scale, see, for example, Schober, “Exclusion of Families with Children from Housing,” 1123, 1139-45; Ritzdorf, “Adults Only,” 27, 28-29; Marian Wright Edelman, “‘No Children,’ Landlords Say. Stop It,” *New York Times*, November 24, 1983. For developments in California, see Ashford and Eston, *The Extent and Effects of Discrimination against Children in Rental Housing*, iii, 1n1. For various support for federal efforts see Edelman; Ashford and Eston, *The Extent and Effects of Discrimination against Children in Rental Housing*, 40; Ritzdorf, 31. Additionally, for events at the state level in California over “seniors’ housing,” also see discussion of *O’Connor v. Village Green Owners Association*, 33 Cal. 3d 790 [1983] and politicking in the wake of, in McKenzie, *Privatopia*, 161.

On the background of and need for such efforts in addressing discriminatory practices, which also—evidence indicated—played out along race and gender lines, leading up to the amending of the Fair Housing Act of 1968, see the following. On discrimination in general, see Andrea D. Panjwani, “Beyond the Beltway: Housing for Older Persons Act of 1995” in *Aging and the Law: An Interdisciplinary Reader* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 182; Marsha Ritzdorf, “Adults Only: Children and American City Planning,” *Children’s Environmental Quarterly* 3: 4 (Winter 1986): 27-28; Lindsey, “‘Adults Only’ Housing Policies Appear to be Spreading.” For an excellent overview here, also see Blechman, *Leisureville*, 68, 68-69. For various evidence from a HUD-sponsored study published in 1980 on findings of practices effectively barring children, see R. Marans, M. Colten, et al., prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Research and Development, *Measuring Restrictive Rental Practices Affecting Families with Children: A National Survey* (Washington, D.C., 1980), cited in Ritzdorf, 27-28, esp. 28 for figures. And, importantly, alerting me to such issues and efforts as point of departure, see discussion of “study” in Blechman, 70-71 (quotation 71). And, in terms of racial and gender discrimination, another study published in 1980 investigating trends in urban areas in California, for example, found: “Exclusion of renters with children from a major portion of the rental market is, in effect, excluding most minorities and women.” For this study and its findings, see Dora J. Ashford and Perla Eston, *The Extent and Effects of Discrimination against Children in Rental Housing: A Study of Five California Cities*, The Fair Housing Project (Santa Monica, California: Fair Housing for Children Coalition, Inc., 1980), v-vii (quotation at vi), 23, 29, 31. For discussion of race, and whether either of the above documents, see also Blechman, *Leisureville*, 70-71; Panjwani, “Beyond the Beltway,” 182; J. Michael McGuinness, “Betsey v. Turtle Creek Associates: All-Adult Housing Policy May Violate the Fair Housing Act,” *Campbell Law Review* 47 (1985-86): 63-65; Ritzdorf, “Adults Only,” 26-27; James A. Kushner, “The Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988: The Second Generation of Fair Housing,” *Vanderbilt Law Review* 42 (1989): 1094. As Blechman’s account explains, for example: “Minorities were routinely turned away from potential rentals on the pretext that children were not permitted.” See again Blechman, 71. And again, Blechman goes on to speak of a HUD “study”—and although he does not provide a title or specific date, this reference might be to one of the studies cited above, for which I search after reading his account here. And although one study, cited by several of the above accounts, found that “female-headed households and minority groups are no more likely to suffer from no-children policies in the rental market than other groups,” there were—the above accounts point out—at least differences of geography and race: Marans, Colton, et al., *Measuring Restrictive Rental Practices Affecting Families with Children*, 71, 72 (quotation), 73. On gender—single mothers—and various restrictions, see Ritzdorf, 26, 30; Edith M. Netter and Ruth G. Price, “Zoning and the Nouveau Poor,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 49: 2 (Spring 1983): 171-81, especially 176; Greene and Blake, *How Restrictive Rental Practices Affect Families with Children*, 34.

years of age or older,” which mirrored—and perhaps implicitly followed—an age cut-off employed in more standard policy contexts in corresponding to what presumably was the earliest age at which one could have collected old-age insurance benefits under Social Security. On the other hand, it allowed for “55 and older housing”—but only as long as it included, in particular, a mix in which “80 percent of the units...are occupied by at least one person 55 years or older” and “significant facilities and services specifically designed to meet the physical and social needs of older persons.”¹³³⁴

Although the effect of the legislation in the long run very well might have served as a federal sanctioning of age-restricted housing—one popular account of retirement, past and present, cites the fact that “age-segregated housing was specifically protected under fair housing legislation” as yet another way in which Webb depended on the state—the legislation that passed in the late 1980s did not *originate* with Webb nor retirement-community residents. Rather, they entered the political debate after it already was underway, resulting in negotiations between industry players, interest groups, and political leaders, and activism on the part of residents.¹³³⁵

As the 1988 amendments worked its way through the House, the legislation in progress enjoyed support from various organizations representing both older and younger Americans. In March and April, the AARP and others all backed the bill. “Weaknesses

1334 In addition to summaries provided in the accounts cited in the previous note, see, for discussion and all quotations here, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, “FAIR HOUSING ACT FACT SHEET: Housing for Older Persons,” February 1990, DeConcini Papers, box 219, folder 15. For example, also see Blechman, *Leisureville*, 69, 70. And Blechman points out the rationale of “special needs” in his discussion (69). On “55” here, see again Ball, *Livable Communities for Aging Populations*, 136.

1335 For quotation, see Freedman, *Prime Time*, 63. My point here is not that political negotiation did not take place, in which developers and residents sought to protect their own interests, but rather that these efforts were somewhat defensive or at least reactionary in nature even if they benefited in the long run, they did not set the process in motion. On efforts of developers in this broader context, see Blechman, *Leisureville*, 68-69; Trolander, see *From Sun Cities to the Villages*, 202-3, 204. Efforts in subsequent revisions after 1988 discussed below.

in the current law that deny minorities, the disabled and families with children the opportunity for decent and affordable housing must be corrected,” a letter from the Gray Panthers to the House Judiciary Committee stated. “H.R. 1158 will correct these deficiencies and yet avoid any disruption of retirement communities, the housing choice for a segment of the older population.”¹³³⁶

Although the legislation passed the House that summer, there were critics and unresolved issues. The National Association of Realtors, for instance, argued in favor of casting a broader chronological net in the allowance for retirement housing. “In many market areas there is demand for housing that is limited to adults only,” the organization argued in late February. “While this demand is particularly strong among retired and elderly persons, it is also a preferred lifestyle for many persons under the age of 55 years.” And, it continued, “This lifestyle choice is not unreasonable or socially unacceptable, and private developers, investors, and property owners should be permitted to respond to the demand for housing of this type.”¹³³⁷

1336 Horace B. Deets of AARP to Congressman Don Edwards, chair of the Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, March 4, 1988; Frances Humphreys of the Gray Panthers to Peter W. Rodino of the House Judiciary Committee, April 7, 1988 (quotation); Eric Shulman of the National Council of Senior Citizens to Edwards, April 14, 1988, all of the preceding in DeConcini Papers, box 219, folder 13; support of organization as noted in George Miller, Mike Synar, Edwards, Hamilton Fish, Bruce A. Morrison, Constance A. Morella and Claud Pepper of the U.S. House of Representatives, “Dear Colleague,” letter on “Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988,” June 20, 1988, DeConcini Papers, box 219, folder 7. For reference to “the special needs of older persons,” see also Marian Wright Edelman of the CDF and Horace B. Deets of the AARP, “Dear Representative,” letter, June 21, 1988, DeConcini Papers, box 219, folder 12. Again Blechman points out that “landlords’ groups and advocates for senior citizens argued that some housing should be reserved exclusively for older citizens because they often have special needs, as well as a preference for an age-homogenous environment.” See again Blechman, *Leisureville*, 68.

1337 National Association of Realtors, “Proposed Amendments to Substitute for H.R. 1158 Offered by Representative Edwards,” February 26, 1988, n.p. [language under “Rationale” for “Amendment 8”], DeConcini Papers, box 219, folder 14. For similar evidence, see also Government Relations Division, National Association of Realtors, “Briefing Papers on Legislative and Administrative Issues: Mid-Year Meetings – Washington, D.C., May 6 – 10, 1988,” 6, DDC, box 219, folder 14. This particular page is dated April 15, 1988. See also view in, and various points, the included “H.R. 1158 -- A Civil Right or Wrong?” n.p.. And for additional evidence of support for a broader age threshold akin to the notion of “choice” cited in text that was articulated by the Arizona Multihousing Association earlier, in 1987, see

Meanwhile, Webb was still engaged in the residential retirement market; activities included, along with the ongoing development of Sun City West, the undertaking of a new retirement community in the Tucson area in recent years.¹³³⁸ In fact, under the direction of a new CEO, Phil Dion, towards the end of 1987, the company streamlined its businesses, unloading additional casinos and embracing a more exclusive emphasis on homebuilding for retirement. As Dion wrote in the Webb Corporation's *1989 Annual Report*, "We set a course to revitalize Del Webb by focusing the Company's energies and financial resources on development of active adult communities."¹³³⁹ And as corporate publicity material put it, "Del Webb has returned to what it does best."¹³⁴⁰

Indeed, signaling the transformation of Webb's activities in Nevada, and in its business endeavors overall, Senator Harry Reid praised the company in the

William S. Trottier to Dennis DeConcini, June 19, 1987, DDC, box 219, folder 14. A Florida attorney who appeared before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee holding hearings on the fair-housing legislation in 1987 made the case for a wider chronological window as well, also invoking "choice" and addressing the constitutionality of age discrimination: Jay Steven Levine to Members of Senate Judiciary Committee, "Position Statement in connection with testimony by Jay Steven Levine on April 9, 1987 before the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Senate Judiciary Committee," April 7, 1987, pp. 1 (quotation), 3-4, 5, 6, DeConcini Papers, box 219, folder 8. For additional discussion, see also Levine to Senator Edward M. Kennedy, August 26, 1987, pp. 1-2, DeConcini Papers, box 219, folder 14.

1338 For example, see Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 177-78, Robert K. Swanson, "To Our Shareholders" in Del E. Webb Corporation, *1986 Annual Report*, 2; Webb Corporation, *1986 Annual Report*, 6. In fact, under Robert Swanson had secured total ownership and control of DEVCO with the acquisition of Boswell's long-time stake in 1983: Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 165; Robert K. Swanson, "To Our Shareholders" in Del E. Webb Corporation, *1983 Annual Report*, 6; Webb Corporation, *1983 Annual Report*, 16, 17.

1339 On transformation of the Webb Corporation during this time, see, for example, Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 169-76, 178, 180, 186-87, 189; Philip J. Dion, "To Our Shareholders:" in Webb Corporation, *1987 Annual Report*, 3; Charles T. Roach, interview by Beverly Brown, August 21, 2006, C254, transcript, 10, SCAHS, "Oral History Project," bk. 3, SCAHS; Philip J. Dion, "To Our Shareholders" in Webb Corporation, *1989 Annual Report*, 2 (quotation); also Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 165-167. For a secondary account identifying this shift, see Schwartz, *Suburban Xanadu*, 106. Suggesting a shift of sorts, Rothman puts it in his account, whether involving gambling in part or more exclusively: "Webb's signature development, the retirement community, offered a fast way back to financial health." For quotation, and context, see Rothman, "The Face of the Future," 156. And for another account of new direction, though not linking to context of casinos nor specifying exact chronology, also see Blechman, *Leisureville*, 33.

1340 Public Relations News, [Del Webb Corporation?], "Del Webb Corporation: An Overview," n.d., 1, in "Webb Corporation" or similarly titled folder, VF, SC/SCW, SCAHS. Handwriting on p. 1 dates as 1990.

Congressional Record in 1990: “I wish to congratulate the Del Webb Corp. on the completion of over four decades of achievements in the fields of construction and gaming and I extend best wishes to Webb and Philip J. Dion for continued achievement as a developer of active adult communities and as a responsible corporate citizen in Nevada.”¹³⁴¹ As a recent popular history of Sun City West captures this transformation as reflected through Sun City, “Webb’s biggest gamble, retirement communities, had become the future, and such communities are found across the country today.”¹³⁴²

Over the summer of 1988, the Webb Corporation entered the political jockeying over the fair-housing legislation. “The Corporation,” Webb’s Paul Tatz wrote to Senator Dennis DeConcini, Arizona’s Democratic counterpart to Republican John McCain, who had won election to Barry Goldwater’s seat upon the long-time political figure’s retirement, in mid-July, “is very concerned about the impact of the bill on existing adult communities in Arizona, as well as the long term effect it will have on the senior adult housing industry.”¹³⁴³ One point addressed what ultimately involved Sun City brand of retirement with regards to aging. “The report from the House Judiciary Committee talks about the ‘significant facilities’ portion of the exemption in terms of ‘frailties of old age’ and such services as congregate dining facilities, social, health and welfare counseling, handrails, grab bars and wheelchair access,” he wrote. “Anyone who has visited the Sun Cities know that the great majority of their residents are affronted by this philosophy and

1341 Comments of Harry M. Reid in *Congressional Record*, September 24, 1990, reprinted in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 134.

1342 Allen, ed., *Sun City West Silver Celebration*, 7.

1343 On Goldwater’s retirement and succession by McCain, see Goldberg, *Barry Goldwater*, 302-3, 327. For Tatz letter and quotation, see Paul H. Tatz to Dennis DeConcini, July 14, 1988, 1 DeConcini Papers, box 219, folder 14. See letter for different issues discussed.

perception.”¹³⁴⁴ And a few weeks later, before the Senate voted, a Webb attorney wrote to DeConcini, reiterating the developer’s position “that the ‘significant facilities and services’ which must be provided...are not confined to those types of facilities needed for the physically infirm, but can also represent a substantial investment in facilities and services which are of benefit to the active, healthy, senior adult.”¹³⁴⁵ Over the next several years, critics pointed to still-unresolved issues involving aging yielding legislation by the mid-1990s that in part “eliminates the ‘significant facilities and services’ requirement and replaces it with a four-prong, fact-based bright-line test to be employed when making a determination of whether a housing complex is legitimately exempt from the Fair Housing Act under the ‘housing for older persons’ (or senior) exemption.”¹³⁴⁶

1344 Tatz to DeConcini, 2-3. For evidence from the previously cited Florida attorney Jay Steven Levine, see Levine to Edward M. Kennedy, April 24, 1987, 1, DDC, box 219, folder 8; Levine to Kennedy, August 26, 1987, 3.

1345 F. Timothy Hoyt, Jr., for Paul H. Tatz and the Webb Corporation, to Dennis DeConcini, August 1, 1988, DeConcini Papers, box 219, folder 13. Webb continued to distance itself from associations with older ages in the 1990s: See Mary S. Alexander to Peter Kaplan of HUD, March 12, 1993, 3, 7, DeConcini Papers, box 219, folder 15. Here, the letter does mention the developer’s “‘Easy Living’ features,” though this naming also might reflect a strategy going back to the 1960s by Webb and others (2). Below, however, I discuss how Webb also acknowledged aging in the built environment it created. For two marketing scholars, who provided a context of strategies involving aging in the late twentieth century, see Stanley C. Hollander and Richard Germain, *Was There a Pepsi Generation before Pepsi Discovered It? Youth-Based Segmentation in Marketing* (Lincolnwood, Illinois: NTC Business Books and the American Marketing Association, 1992), 111-12. Account, if not also pages, first cited in Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 322.

1346 See, for example, Trolander, *From Sun Cities to the Villages*, 233; Panjwani, “Beyond the Beltway,” 183-84 (quotation at 183); Blechman, *Leisureville*, 70; Napolitano, “The Fair Housing Act Amendments and Age Restrictive Covenants in Condominiums and Cooperatives,” 281-89, especially 285, 287; Guntermann and Moon, “Age Restriction and Property Values,” 264-65; Karl L. Guntermann, “Mobile Homes, Affordability and the Housing for Older Persons Act of 1995,” *Journal of Housing for the Elderly* 16 (2002): 6-11, 12-13. For relationship in the latter Guntermann publication to property values, see 11-12, 16. For what he discusses as “unintended consequences” of amenities and retirement housing, also see 13-14, 16-17 (quotation at 16). For evidence of discussion at the time of strategy in positioning housing to adhere to then-in-effect stipulation, see comments of Florida attorneys Mark Schorr and Robert Tankel in Andree Brooks, “Residents Fight for Privileges,” *New York Times*, May 17, 1992. On questions about associations with aging prior to the legislation formally taking effect, see Napolitano, 283; Carl A.S. Coan, Jr. and Sheila C. Salmon, “The Fair Housing Act and Seniors’ Housing,” *The Urban Lawyer* 27: 4 (Fall 1995): 828-29. Coan and Salmon first cited in Napolitano, immediately above. And on “disabilities,” see again Trolander. Here, see also Tankel and HUD official Gordon H. Mansfield cited in Brooks. On

When the 1988 legislation took effect in 1989, the new law undermined the retirement-community zoning in place via Maricopa County. Retirement-community residents in Sun City and Sun City West mobilized in support of adjusting the existing threshold of 50 years of age up to that of 55 years of age, with SCHOA and PORA coordinating transportation of residents to a meeting of the Planning and Zoning Commission. Their efforts were defensive in nature; newspaper coverage later reported, “Hundreds of retirees attended the commission meeting...because they feared some members would try to end a 10-year policy of promoting and protecting senior adult communities.”¹³⁴⁷ The commission responded favorably, as did the Board of Supervisors over the summer.¹³⁴⁸

The form that retirement-community housing took in federal policy beginning in the late 1980s ultimately represented the staking out of a legal and political space that helped to define and further promote a new stage of the life course for older Americans—one that took root somewhere between middle age and old age.¹³⁴⁹ In his colorful account of the contemporary retirement-community scene, journalist Andrew Blechman perceptively identifies a fault line running beneath the retirement market. “To be sure, our elders have special needs, which are all too often sadly ignored by our youth-centered society,” he writes. “Age restrictions can be appropriate (if not redundant) for

questions of class as reflected in the 1988 legislation, see, for example, AARP lobbyist Don Redfoot cited in Candace S. Hughes, “Exemptions Protect Retirement Communities,” *Daily News-Sun*, November 13, 1990, VF-Zoning-Age Restrictions, SCAHS. On “confusion” over the stipulation, also see Pynoos and Nishita, “The Changing Face of Senior Housing,” 249.

1347 Holly D. Remy, “Supervisors Plan Hearing on Revising Adults-Only Zoning: Sun Cities Units Will Bus Residents to County Forum,” *Arizona Republic*, May 31, 1989 [PORA?]; Foley, “Revision Backed for Age Zoning”; Jacque Pappas, “55-Age Limit Awaits Supervisors’ OK,” *Daily News-Sun*, July 5, 1989 (quotation) [PORA?] Webb and retirement-community interests also voiced support before the commission. See comments of various parties recorded in PZCMC, minutes, June 8, 1989, 6 [?], 7 [?].

1348 Pappas, “55-Age Limit Awaits Supervisors’ OK”; BOSMC, minutes, July 10, 1989, 300-302; Jacque Pappas, “Age 55 Zoning is OK’d,” *Daily News-Sun*, July 10, 1989, in “Age Restrictions” or similarly titled folder, VF, SC, SCAHS.

1349 See again Ekerdt and Clark, “Selling Retirement in Financial Planning Advertisements,” 65.

institutions designed to address these needs, such as specialty care facilities or vitally needed low-income senior housing.” Here were the limits of legitimacy. “But housing for senior citizens,” he continues, “is one thing; ‘adult’ housing is another. Just what ‘special needs’ do today’s wealthy middle-aged boomers have?”¹³⁵⁰ The discourse of “needs” thus seemingly has served to allow for the pursuit of other values and agendas not entirely in line with those deemed more pressing or legitimate.

And yet, such perspectives run the risk of conflating multiple markets and populations, thus missing the ways in which the classification developed and promoted by HUD operated on actual differences, no matter how marginal. Webb sought to reject any retirement distinctiveness linked to old age, instead playing up commonalities stretching across middle age—commonalities between Sun City retirees and others varying more in terms of degrees. “Senior adults have the same likes and dislikes, hobbies and pastimes, physical and social needs as their younger counterparts,” Tatz wrote of the language of the legislation from the House. “The only real change that our experience has shown is that they desire to pursue these interests at their own pace and physical level.”¹³⁵¹ Webb thus faced the ongoing project of buffering age-based difference accommodated in Sun City from notions of “needs” associated with physiological decline or other undesirable aspects of aging. In other words, while Webb

1350 Blechman, *Leisureville*, 220-21. One scholar of Phoenix-area retirement communities astutely identified seemingly similar slippage in her study in the midst of evolving fair-housing legislation, writing: “If a complaint were to be filed and followed by an investigation by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, it would be discovered that many area ‘retirement communities’ are really only very profitable real estate developments, which are designed exclusively for middle-aged adults and young retirees.” See Welch, “Retirement Communities in Maricopa County,” 86-87. For questioning of the legitimacy surrounding lower age-restriction thresholds, see the comments of an attorney with the National Center for Youth Law earlier in the 1980s: James Morales, on 1983 fair-housing legislation to a Missouri state legislative committee, cited in Mark Coast, “Restricted-by-Age Communities [sic] Gain Backing in Courts,” *Daily News-Sun*, May 16, 1984.

1351 Tatz to DeConcini, 2. See also 3 for additional discussion. For context of physical difference in the 1988 legislation, see Pynoos and Nishita, “The Change Face of Senior Housing,” 250.

and residents often spoke of particular “needs,” they ran the risk of invoking language and ideas in public policy revolving around vulnerability. At the same time, even if only a matter of degrees, the Sun City lifestyle nonetheless was defined in opposition to middle age.

And, finally, other aspects of retirement-community culture made the case for retirement distinctiveness. Referring to the 1988 legislation, DeConcini pointed out that “the law will not protect communities of relatively younger persons where the only purpose for excluding families with children is a desire to live without children. This is precisely the type of discrimination the new law is designed to prohibit.”¹³⁵² Paul Tatz in 1988 further spoke, for example, of “an environment where they participate in these activities with others of their own age, with similar physical skills and abilities.”¹³⁵³

Retirement development, Del Webb-style, continued into the 1990s and the early years of the new century. After two California communities for which it had secured land in the late 1980s and along with continued efforts with the first of what ultimately was two communities in Las Vegas—it had followed the Tucson project several years

1352 DeConcini, “Explanation of the ‘Housing for Older Persons’ Provisions of the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988,” 7. For example, see discussion of legislation in relation to apartment markets in metropolitan Washington, D.C.: Kirstin Downey, “Housing Bill Slams Door on Adult-Only Apartment: 40,000 Locally Could Open to Children,” *Washington Post*, August 14, 1988, DDC, box 220, folder 1 [?].

1353 Tatz to DeConcini, 2. On context of “more leisure time” under the original legislation, see again Pynoos and Nishita, “The Changing Face of Senior Housing,” 250. Webb embraced a position privileging distinctiveness in the 1990s in a letter to HUD. On one hand, Webb did continue to distance itself from housing for considerably older residents, thus seeking to establish a more northerly age boundary, however formal or visible. “It should not be necessary that a particular community meet the needs of *all* persons age 55 or older,” a company attorney wrote in 1993. On the other hand, Webb, too, acknowledged the significance of a more substantive and comprehensive definition of a residential retirement landscape, noting, “The legislative history and existing regulations. . . make it clear that Congress intended to require that an important housing need be met in age-restricted communities that goes beyond just offering housing without children, and thus an environment that is relatively more quiet than conventional housing.” Alexander to Kaplan. Quotations, in order, from 5 (emphasis added), 2. For context of letter, see 2; Dennis DeConcini to Peter Kaplan, April 16, 1993, DDC, box 219, folder 15. Although this might have been self-serving, more rhetoric than reality, at the very least it represents a contribution to the discursive construction of this category of housing. For examples illustrating the specializing of the Sun City landscape, see Alexander to Kaplan, 4.

earlier—Webb began operating on a broader, national level, first moving into markets in South Carolina and Texas before undertaking another “Sun City” development outside of Chicago later in the decade.¹³⁵⁴ In 2001, Pulte Homes acquired the retirement-community developer and went about building upon efforts on Webb’s part already underway involving, as the *Arizona Republic* described it the previous year, “building Sun Cities where the sun rarely shines, because many seniors, even those from cold climates, want to stay close to home after they retire.”¹³⁵⁵

1354 Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 177-78, 183-84, 186, 189, 189-90, 191, 191-92, 193, 194-95, 196, 197-98, 199, 203, 204, 219, 220 (photo and caption), 221. On events of the 1980s, see Del E. Webb Corporation, *1987 Annual Report*, 6; 7; Philip J. Dion, “To Our Shareholders” in Del Webb Corporation, *1988 Annual Report*, 3; Webb Corporation, *1988 Annual Report*, 11; Del Webb Corporation, *1989 Annual Report*, 7, 11. For Webb in Las Vegas specifically, see also Rothman, “The Face of the Future,” 155-56, 156. And for presence and performance in later years in the market, see also 157. And for a source that is a particularly effective reference for the projects—and their order and specifics—developed in the 1980s and into and across the 1990s, see “Del Webb Sun City Locations” in Catherine Reagor, “Retirement’s Midlife Crisis: Del Webb Looks to the Future of Golden Years for Its Strategy,” *Arizona Republic*, February 6, 2000, in “Webb Corporation 2000 – ” folder, VF-IC, SCAHS. And for new projects in the Phoenix area and others elsewhere in the 1990s, see also Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 203, 208, 209, 221, 222, 223, 223-24, 225, 226, 228 (caption). In text and a note shortly below, I discuss the differences between “Sun City” and other named developments under Pulte.

1355 On Pulte and Webb, see, for example, Catherine Reagor, “Del Webb Being Bought by Pulte: Stock Swap Deal Worth \$1.8 Billion,” *Arizona Republic*, May 1, 2001; Reagor, “Del Webb OK’d for Buyout: Pulte to Purchase Phoenix-based Home Builder,” *Arizona Republic*, July 28, 2001; also Reagor, “Pulte to Ax 91 Del Webb Jobs Locally: Third of Builder’s Staff; Biltmore HQ is for Sale,” *Arizona Republic*, August 23, 2001, all of the above in “Webb Corporation 2000 – ” folder, VF-IC, SCAHS. On Webb’s efforts, including an excellent overview by Findlay, which dates this back to the 1980s, see Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 212, 357n176; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 189-90, 219; Reagor, “Retirement’s Midlife Crisis” (quotation); Catherine Reagor, “Pulte Shifting Strategy for Its Webb Unit,” *Arizona Republic*, August 26, 2001; Reagor, “Webb Expanding to E. Valley: Retirement Community Planned,” *Arizona Republic*, February 7, 2002; Reagor, “Del Webb Division Retired by Pulte: Builder Plans to Keep Name,” *Arizona Republic*, May 16, 2002, all in “Webb Corporation 2000 – ” folder, VF-IC, SCAHS. In fact, as one local newspaper reported in early 2006 on the extent of operations under Pulte, for example: “There are 41 Del Webb communities open for sale in 16 states. Twenty-one new Del Webb communities are springing up across America through late 2006, just as much of the aging Baby Boomers will be make [*sic?*] the transition into retirement living.” See Annie Boon, “Del Webb Makes History, Again: Builder Opens 2 More Sun Cities in Valley,” *Daily News-Sun*, January 6, 2006, also in “Webb Corporation 2000 – ” folder, above. On shift to development elsewhere, also see the following, some of which cite Del Webb efforts specifically: McGinn and Murr, “Not Your Father’s Retirement,” 56; Blechman, *Leisureville*, 192, 193; Dan Kadlec, “Not Your Mother’s Retirement Community,” *Time*, November 15, 2007, <http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,1684545,00.html> (accessed March 24, 2010); Kelly Greene and Jennifer Levitz, “Retiree Havens Turn Younger to Combat the Housing Bust,” *Wall Street Journal*, December 1, 2008, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB122809427244267951.html> (accessed February 15, 2011). For development in relation to “current community,” although not making regional point of other accounts and although doing so in terms of employment, see discussion and PulteGroup’s Deborah Meyer cited/quoted in Keith Schneider, “For Modern Retirees, There’s No Place

Illustrating this emphasis, literature for one “Del Webb” development explained, “For many, Michigan will always be home – it is where family and friends are, and these strong ties lend themselves to embracing what the four wonderful seasons in Michigan have to offer.”¹³⁵⁶ In the process, the same literature also advanced themes seemingly similar to DEVCO’s advertising of Sun City, Arizona, writing, for example, of the potential for “Learning new skills while discovering yourself along the way.”¹³⁵⁷ And yet, the residential landscape of retirement had been updated, evident in discussion of a new Arizona project developed as a “Sun City” community, a distinction made in relation to “Del Webb” communities based on size in which the former exceeded the latter—though both appear to have fit within a broader trajectory of the shrinking of

Like Home,” *New York Times*, March 12, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/13/business/retirementspecial/for-modern-retirees-theres-no-place-like-home.html?_r=0 (last accessed January 19, 2015). For discussion of factor of employment, see, in addition to Schneider, Kadlec. And for discussion of “expansion program” in the 1980s, whether connected to subsequent engagement with “the idea of geographic diversification” or not, see evidence and discussion in Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, 178, 181, 183 (first quotation), 186, 189 (second quotation). Whether evidence from Webb or elsewhere and involving family and work, also see Blechman, *Leisureville*, 191-92. For discussion involving other types of housing for aging Americans, meanwhile, see, for example, McGinn and Murr, 53, 56-57; Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, *Suburban Nation*, 123-24; Blechman, 59 but also 192; Schneider; Glenn Ruffenach, “Making Suburbia More Livable,” *Wall Street Journal*, September 19, 2009, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970203674704574330801650897252.html> (accessed October

26, 2010). Also, for chapter from which the Blechman pages cited above come, where he discusses a homebuilding conference and various issues raised, see also Blechman, 180-200.

1356 Del Webb Corporation, *Grand Reserve: A Legendary Name and Legendary Living*, brochure booklet and folder (Royal Oak, Michigan: Del Webb Corporation of Michigan, 2006), n.p. [8], copy in possession of author.

1357 Webb Corporation, *Grand Reserve*, n.p. [1]. As evidence of emphasis on the quality and perhaps quantity of resources, it also explained, for example: “Grand Reserve features resort-style amenities, thoughtfully designed facilities and a wealth of social activity, including clubs and classes, readily available for almost any interest” (n.p. [4]). And, material included in the folder section of this booklet stated: “Grand Reserve is a place where active adults can experience the luxury of a resort style community and discover new passions.” See Del Webb Corporation, “Getting to Know Grand Reserve,” information sheet (Royal Oak, Michigan: Del Webb Corporation of Michigan, 2006), n.p. [backside], in Webb Corporation, *Grand Reserve*. Referring perhaps to what was age segregation for those “people 55 years of age or better,” it spoke of “Connecting with people who share your ideals and values” and, elsewhere, of “friendly neighbors who share your interest in living life to the fullest.” See again Webb Corporation, n.p. (first quotations n.p. [1], third quotation n.p. [2]).

developments initiated in Tucson in the 1980s.¹³⁵⁸ “There will be no shuffleboard courts or bowling alleys, the hot amenities when retirees began coming to communities like this nearly a half century ago,” *Newsweek* reported on Sun City Festival. “Instead, there will be the accouterments better suited for modern-day retirees: Pilates classes, home offices, high ceilings and marble countertops.”¹³⁵⁹

Meanwhile, the issues of school taxes and age restrictions once again have resurfaced in Webb’s first retirement development, Sun City in Arizona, in recent

1358 For example, While I address and cite the Arizona community below, for the relationship between the two from the standpoint of size, see both Pulte’s top Mark O’Brien and analyst Carl Reichardt cited/quoted in Reagor, “Del Webb Division Retired by Pulte.” Whether attributing to O’Brien or not, this article also included explaining: “But the Sun City name is on the shelf for now, except for Pulte’s large developments, those of more than 1,000 acres.” See again Reagor. On “smaller” shift, see, for example, Reagor (quotation); Webb president Anne Mariucci cited/quoted in Reagor, “Pulte Shifting Strategy for Its Webb Unit”; Reagor, “Webb Expanding to E. Valley”; Reagor, “Del Webb Division Retired by Pulte.” On “Solera” community, also see for example, Boon, “Del Webb Makes History, Again” (quotation); “Webb Opens Community in Chandler,” *Daily News-Sun*, February 7, 2002, in “Webb Corporation 2000 – ” folder, VF-IC, SCAHS. On range of sizes of new developments, see Boon; Patrick L. O’Toole, “Weaving a New Del Webb,” *Professional Builder*, December 2001, <http://www.probuilder.com/weaving-new-del-webb> (last accessed January 20, 2015). For discussion of what apparently was issue of size prior to Pulte acquisition, thus illustrating the above, see also Reagor, “Retirement’s Midlife Crisis.” More recent coverage addresses the issues above, writing, for instance: “Pulte’s Phoenix-based Del Webb division is now developing smaller boutique retirement communities without the iconic name.” See Catherin Reagor, of the *Arizona Republic*, “New Boomer Community Rethinks Life after 55,” <http://www.usatoday.com/story/money/personalfinance/2013/12/23/boomers-life-after-55/4179169/> (accessed January 19, 2015). And in terms of broader trajectory going back to the 1980s, the new “Sun City” community, Sun City Festival, which, again I return to below, was larger—in one or both respects—from many undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s but also smaller, as least as envisioned, than those in South Carolina and Texas—and, of course, Sun City and Sun City West. First, for shift in size in 1980s, see again Findlay, “Sun City, Arizona,” 212; Finnerty, Blanc, and McCann, *Del Webb*, 181, 183. And for projects, size-wise, in 1980s and 1990s and those of Sun City Festival, see again, for example, “Del Webb Sun City Locations” in Reagor, “Retirement’s Midlife Crisis”; McGinn and Murr, “Not Your Father’s Retirement,” 53. Finally, for another account on size shift in more recent times, reflective of Sun City or more generally, see also, for example, Blechman, *Leisureville*, 192.

1359 Daniel McGinn and Andree Murr, “Not Your Father’s Retirement: Boomers are Redefining the ‘Golden Years’ by Buying into Communities that Feature Pilates over Shuffleboard, Moving back Downtown—or Even Staying Put,” *Newsweek*, October 23, 2006, 53. Thank you to Matt Lassiter for pointing me to this piece in the wake of its publication. At the same time, the extent to which Sun City Festival broke with the past might be examined in order to place and understand more recent practices in historical perspective. A comment of a Webb representative in 2006 is useful in doing so. As the *Daily News-Sun* quoted her: “The new communities on the surface look very different – bigger, more luxurious homes, amenities that are state-of-the-start, very unique and unprecedented. But what every one of the communities has is a commitment to lifestyle. What hasn’t changed is that the people create the community.” See Jacque Petroulakis quoted in Boon, “Del Webb Makes History, Again.” For my purposes here, it might be added—if not the mention of “lifestyle” above, for example, was not already doing so—that a broader process and practice of offering retirement-sensitive homes and amenities persisted.

years.¹³⁶⁰ Over the summer of 2010, retirement-community residents protested a charter school potentially locating in Sun City. “We can’t even begin to imagine what the impact would be of having a school in an age-restricted community like Sun City,” the *Daily News-Sun* quoted a SCHOA official, who told of the “hundreds of calls, e-mails, walk-in visitors” received on the issue in the concern voiced to the organization and that administering the community’s recreation facilities. “We just don’t know. We know for sure it will mean an increase in traffic, and we also wonder if this is a backdoor way into getting our residents to pay school taxes in the future.”¹³⁶¹

While community resistance apparently prevailed, deterring the organization backing the school from proceeding, state representatives for Sun City followed up with efforts focused on pre-emption, pursuing what the newspaper described at one point as “legislation that would bar such schools from opening in age-restricted communities.”¹³⁶²

1360 I have not studied any, if they exist, tensions over school taxes, for instance, in relation to newer Webb projects, although other or future research might look into this.

1361 See SCHOA’s Bill Szentmiklosi quoted, at two different points, in Jeff Dempsey, “Church Explores School Options at Sun City Location,” *Daily News-Sun*, July 14, 2010, http://www.yourwestvalley.com/suncity/article_e4377304-8f65-11df-9faa-001cc4c03286.html (first accessed July 16, 2010). For same or similar discussion and/or quotation from Szentmiklosi on residents voicing concerns, see also Jeff Dempsey, “New Joy Ministries to Move School out of Sun City,” *Daily News-Sun*, July 30, 2010, http://www.yourwestvalley.com/topstory/article_4a64a286-9b79-11df-a637-001cc4c03286.html (last accessed January 17, 2015). For coverage elsewhere citing Szentmiklosi on such issues, see also Nora Avery-Page, “House Approves Bill to Keep Charter Schools out of Sun City,” *Daily News-Sun*, February 19, 2011, http://www.yourwestvalley.com/topstory/article_58341986-3b98-11e0-ba2e-001cc4c002e0.html (last accessed January 17, 2015). However, elsewhere the newspaper pointed out that “the opinion is not unanimous.” For this and relevant evidence of, see Jeff Dempsey, “Town Hall Examines School Details,” *Daily News-Sun*, July 19, 2010, http://www.yourwestvalley.com/topstory/article_bfccc2b0-9363-11df-b435-001cc4c03286.html (last accessed January 17, 2015). And for the legal landscape on which this potentially transpired, one Maricopa County official explained, for instance: “The SC overlay zoning district has no bearing on the commercial zoning districts.” See Max Wilson, chairman of the Board of Supervisors, quoted in “Wilson Decries School Proposal in Sun City,” *Daily News-Sun*, July 17, 2010, http://www.yourwestvalley.com/suncity/article_0ad7e8ce-913f-11df-b5c0-001cc4c03286.html (first accessed July 19, 2010).

1362 See, in order discussed here, Dempsey, “New Joy Ministries to Move School out of Sun City”; Jeff Dempsey, “Pastor Blasts School Critics,” *Daily News-Sun*, August 15, 2010, http://www.yourwestvalley.com/topstory/article_19747f18-a748-11df-a39c-001cc4c002e0.html (last accessed January 17, 2015); Arizona state representative Debbie Lesko cited/quoted in Jeff Dempsey, “Sun Citizens Voice Opposition to Charter School,” *Daily News-Sun*, July 22, 2010,

As one representative explained before a legislative committee the following January, the rights of retirement alive, well, and seemingly realized through the accumulation of a political capital of sorts across the life cycle, “These people have raised families and lived their lives and now they have chosen to live in a retirement community where children are not allowed and they did not want to have children and school buses and that type of thing within their community.”¹³⁶³

In the wake of the charter-school affair, the *New York Times* in late August of 2010 surveyed the troubled landscape and volatile climate of age restrictions in contemporary Sun City.¹³⁶⁴ The piece laid out the logic running beneath a slippery slope down which retirees feared they might slide, sans enforcement. “The vigorous search for violators of Sun City’s age rules is about more than keeping loud, boisterous, graffiti-scrawling rug rats from spoiling residents’ golden years, although that is part of it,” it explained in relation to efforts addressing an explosion of cases in recent years. “If Sun City does not police its population, it could lose its special status and be forced to open the floodgates to those years away from their first gray hair.” And, it continued, pointing to the layered, inter-connected politics of age segregation at play in the retirement community, “The end result would be the introduction of schools to Sun City, then higher

http://www.yourwestvalley.com/suncity/article_b91a5d94-95a0-11df-9de1-001cc4c002e0.html (last accessed January 17, 2015); Nora Avery-Page, “Panel OKs Local School Ban,” *Daily News-Sun*, January 27, 2011, http://www.yourwestvalley.com/topstory/article_128626ec-2a34-11e0-9328-001cc4c002e0.html (last accessed January 17, 2015); Avery-Page, “House Approves Bill to Keep Charter Schools out of Sun City.”

¹³⁶³ See Lesko quoted in Avery-Page, “Panel Oks Local School Ban.”

¹³⁶⁴ Discussion in the piece of the charter school, including efforts involving the legislative pre-emption discussed and noted above, points, for example, to possible origins for the coverage here and, in the process, provides narrative continuity for my own purposes here. For this reference and, more generally the piece itself, see Marc Lacey, “Retirement Haven Hunts Youthful Violators,” *New York Times*, August 28, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/29/us/29children.html?_r=0 (last accessed January 17, 2015). Thank you to both Matt Lassiter and Marty Pernick for alerting me to the coverage back in 2010.

taxes and finally, an end to the Sun City that has drawn retirees here for the last half-century.”¹³⁶⁵

1365 Lacey, “Retirement Haven Hunts Youthful Violators.” Citing the same SCHOA official as coverage earlier in the summer on the charter school, the article here addressed the factor of younger family members seeking shelter from the financial storm of the recession. See Bill Szentmiklosi cited in Lacey. For similar evidence in this vein from elsewhere, although the specific financial pay-off might differ from the rationale provided above, as well as for similar discussion of the relationship between age restrictions and school taxes, see also Szentmiklosi quoted in E.J. Montini, “Age Restrictions Stay Tough in Tough Times,” E.J. Montini’s Columns & Blog, *Arizona Republic*, November 8, 2009, <http://www.azcentral.com/members/Blog/EJMontini/66963> (accessed February 15, 2011). Elsewhere, shortly after the *New York Times*, Szentmiklosi cited an additional factor: “But part of it is also an increase in communication. People are more aware now than ever of the importance of maintaining the age overlay and we have so many methods we use to reach out to the residents now. Those people are now more likely to let us know if an age violation is occurring.” See Szentmiklosi quoted in Jeff Dempsey, “SCHOA Handles Rise in Age Violations,” *Daily News-Sun*, September 2, 2010, http://www.yourwestvalley.com/topstory/article_b8872e98-b5f3-11df-9ea3-001cc4c002e0.html (last accessed January 17, 2015). And for discussion of another practice apparently tied to the recession, or early recession—that of the lowering of age thresholds in communities for eligibility in order to spur sales serving different interests while also bringing about tensions, or potential tensions, in the process—see, for example, Greene and Levitz, “Retiree Havens Turn Younger to Combat the Housing Bust.” And for discussion of proposed developer-friendly legislation in New Jersey, see Bill Ness, “Will Lowering Age-Restrictions Increase Sales at Retirement Communities?” 55Places.com Blog, March 28, 2009, <http://www.55places.com/blog/will-lowering-age-restrictions-increase-sales-at-retirement-communities> (last accessed January 17, 2015). Finally, The Lacey article addressed the issue of “peace” later in the article, seemingly illustrating this by citing, in concluding, what presumably was DEVCO’s *The Beginning* based on its description: “The narrator said then what many residents say now: ‘Of course we love them and enjoy their visits, but you deserve a little rest after raising your own.’” See again Lacey. For film and language, or more exact language, see again DEVCO, *The Beginning*. Also of relevance in Lacey is the piece’s opening. Perhaps casting the retirement community and its brand of age segregation in a familiar light playing up a sense of curiosity, if not popular condemnation, of such practices, the piece opened by profiling the SCHOA official featured in local newspaper coverage earlier that summer: “From behind the wheel of his minivan, Bill Szentmiklosi scours the streets of Sun City in search of zoning violations like unkempt yards and illegal storage sheds. Mostly, though, he is on the lookout for that most egregious of all infractions: children.” See again Lacey.

Meanwhile, evidence suggests that ideas and practices involving schools and taxes have existed not only in relation to Sun City but also in relation to retirement housing more broadly—or housing in which aging Americans have elected to live within housing markets more generally. A piece in the *Wall Street Journal* in early 2014 dealing with “downsizing to a smaller home” quoted one financial planner, who stated, for instance: “All it may take is moving out of a good school district and into a mediocre one, and sometimes taxes will drop.” See Lawrence Glazer quoted in Tom Lauricella, “When Should Retirees Downsize Homes? If You’re Going to Do It, Sooner is Better than Later,” *Wall Street Journal*, January 25, 2014, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702303448204579338571140024380> (last accessed January 21, 2015). And, as evidence of issues in the twenty-first century from another angle, retirement development in recent years has factored into local politics, whether as part of a trend of “vasectomy zoning” or as paralleling it. See “vasectomy zoning” quoted and discussed in Blechman, *Leisureville*, 233. For newspaper coverage of practices and examples of, see Laura Mansnerus, “Great Haven for Families, But Don’t Bring Children,” *New York Times*, August 13, 2003, <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/13/nyregion/great-haven-for-families-but-don-t-bring-children.html?pagewanted=1> (last accessed January 21, 2015); Charisse Jones, “Housing Doors Close on Parents,” *USA Today*, May 5, 2004, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/2004-05-05-child-proof-housing_x.htm (accessed January 21, 2015). As this last account explains: “Besides the preference for

The history of retirement in Sun City, Arizona, points to the importance of paying attention to the vulnerabilities and particularities of retirement and old age, and the extent to which policies and practices further well-being. “To be sure, our elders have special needs, which are all too often sadly ignored by our youth-centered society,” Blechman writes in laying out his definition of age-related legitimacy. “Age restrictions can be appropriate (if not redundant) for institutions designed to address these needs, such as specialty care facilities or vitally needed low-income senior housing.”¹³⁶⁶ And yet, reflected in the planning and politics of Sun City, they also have included more than financial and physical health. In particular, if retirement—past, present, or future— involves a lived experience akin to Ben Huggins in Del Webb’s *The Beginning*, then the end of stages of life anchored by such forces as work and family very well might represent very real disruption or change. If one no longer has the same interaction or relationships with co-workers, friends, neighbors, and children that once revolved around shared professional or personal interests inherently tied to earlier points in the life cycle, then seeking out residential environments offering social and physical spaces in which he or she might engage with others living a same or similar reality of retirement might be

senior housing, some local officials are limiting the options for working-class families by tacking on costs for the developer that make apartments and condominiums prohibitively expensive, in addition to restricting the number of bedrooms.” See Jones. And both of the accounts immediately above discuss the role of the 1988 fair-housing legislation. As one explains: “Some communities that may not want to increase their school-age population can embrace the elderly. That is socially acceptable, and because the federal Fair Housing Act allows senior-citizen developments to prohibit younger residents, it is legally acceptable.” And as the other puts it: “The federal Fair Housing Act was amended in 1988 to prohibit discrimination against families with children. But age-restricted communities for seniors are legal, and local officials seldom say explicitly that they don’t want more schoolchildren moving to town.” See, in order, Mansnerus; Jones. And for this in relation to “Mount Laurel obligations” in New Jersey, see Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 238. For point in general, see also Frug, “The Legal Technology of Exclusion in Metropolitan America,” 213. Future research might further explore the apparent tension between the 1988 legislation and how it played out, as well as explore age-restricted housing’s trajectory compared to and also role in housing segregation more broadly.

¹³⁶⁶ Blechman, *Leisureville*, 220. For same or similar point defining the legitimate, also see 234.

entirely understandable and also effective. And, Gerald Frug has written that “new urbanists’ designs can accommodate the desire both for age-based segregation and for integration. Walkable neighborhoods can be built to provide a variety of housing types that would serve the needs of the elderly, with some of this housing constructed on blocks that provide seclusion for elderly people while still being located within walking distance of commercial life and younger neighbors. There is no reason that housing for the elderly has to fill a whole community.”¹³⁶⁷

At the same time, other factors, of course, inform—if not rival—age and, in particular, old age. Even if age segregation has productive purposes, and even if—as supporters of the associated legal mechanisms relied upon are right—they are necessary in allowing for segregated spaces in the long run, a political culture protecting age-segregated communities preoccupied with property values and other points might privilege self-interest over greater accommodation in relation to crises experienced by individual families and inclusiveness from standpoint of different housing types and, in turn, potential social diversity.¹³⁶⁸ A similar tension between the aging collective and

1367 Frug, *City Making*, 159. Whether his usage of “seclusion” involves defining the interests of older persons in opposition to younger ones or whether it might include interests defined in terms of a more age-homogenous social landscape, he discusses benefits on both fronts within this perspective. For this, see again 159. And while my discussion earlier in this paragraph focusing more on the power of the commonalities within aging, benefits also might be derived in some ways from literally rebuilding the built environment in ways that do not allow for other age groups to undermine or compromise the interests of the members of older ones—an idea DEVCO illustrated with the case of Ben Huggins in *The Beginning*, discussed in particular on this point in my Chapter 5. It also is worth noting that Blechman in his account entertains a half-step between different models: “Age-targeted housing in ‘naturally occurring retirement communities’ seems like a far fairer compromise.” See Blechman, *Leisureville*, 221-22 (quotation 221). His support, reluctant or not, for the first part of this equation might overlap with factors identified by Frug, suggested by his citing of “safety” and also those such as “built-in social networks” cited at earlier points in the chapter from which this discussion comes. For Blechman, see, for example, 219 (second quotation), 221 (first quotation). For Frug, who cites “security,” see again Frug, 159. For Blechman addressing the marginalization of older Americans, see also 227. Finally, for Blechman on definition of the housing he suggests, see Blechman, 181.

1368 In terms of the former, see, for example, the following cases from Sun City of under-age or otherwise ineligible persons: Paul Berhow in Montini, “Age Restrictions Stay Tough in Tough Times”; SCHOA’s

aging individuals and groups runs beneath “fixed-income” politics. On one hand, many older Americans no doubt have wrestled with the realities of negotiating a financial landscape with, for instance, less income in retirement than they had before retiring. On the other hand, as the case of Sun City also suggests, there were income differences between Sun City and older Americans at large, as well as amongst residents of the retirement community.

In the end, studying the political culture of retirement and retirement communities in the mold of Sun City raises questions about the relationship between age and class. “Sun Citizens” living in Del Webb’s very first retirement development were not only retired Americans but also home-owning and tax-paying Americans. Their identities and interests were limited neither to one nor the other: rather than playing the part of overly politicized older citizens in popular narratives, they embraced and participated in a suburban-style politics, and while their political values and efforts often involved taxes and property values, residents framed issues and articulated positions in terms emphasizing a distinctiveness of retirement—a distinctiveness that, real or imagined, nonetheless was constructed and deployed in pursuing the privileges of “Sun Citizenship.”

However, in exploring and explaining the politics that took shape and prospered over the decades in Sun City, this project does not suggest that all older Americans were “Sun Citizens,” nor that all “Sun Citizens” were affluent and prioritized class over age; such representations otherwise might reify narratives of apparent generational privilege treating older Americans in monolithic terms when many very likely have faced actual

Gene Turiano on unnamed man in Dempsey, “SCHOA Handles Rise in Age Violations.” For discussion of one scenario, ultimately trumped by policy, see Szentmiklosi cited and quoted in Dempsey. And in terms of the latter, see resistance to different types of housing and also to older residents discussed earlier.

financial, medical, and other challenges.¹³⁶⁹ Rather, looking at the different ways in which class interacts with old age helps to avoid painting over real and important distinctions amongst older Americans. In terms of Sun City, understanding how class politics shaped and sometimes drove retirement politics puts economics on the analytical table, ultimately perhaps reversing the obscuring of those who were less fortunate. But on the terrain of retirement that Webb developed and residents defended, where the vulnerabilities and particularities of retirement began and the privileges and priorities of “Sun Citizenship” ended was never entirely clear.

1369 See again Blechman, particularly on income: Blechman, *Leisureville*, 220-21, esp. 220, 234.

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- Julian P. Kanter Political Commercial Archive, Political Communication Center,
University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma
Various Television Spots
- Property Owners and Residents Association, Sun City West, Arizona
Various Scrapbooks
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Vertical Files
Webb Spinner

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* This bibliography is not comprehensive in terms of the sources utilized in this project. Specifically, most of Chapters 5-7 and the Epilogue are not included. However, sources used can be found in the notes accompanying these chapters.