

DESIGNING TO SUPPORT INTEGRATED MIXED-INCOME
COMMUNITIES: LESSONS FROM A CASE STUDY
ANALYSIS OF HOPE VI PROJECTS

by

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Much of the current attention on mixed-income housing can be attributed to the high-profile redevelopment of public housing over the last twenty years. The HOPE VI program awarded urban revitalization grants to address the social goals of alleviating poverty and creating inclusive communities within market goals for redevelopment. This translated into the redevelopment of public housing into mixed-income housing that produces physical and management improvements as well as social and community services to address resident needs. In its efforts to create physical improvements for physically distressed public housing, the HOPE VI program enlisted New Urbanist design principles to support diverse, authentic communities. While the definition of this is unclear in practice, 'positive gentrification' efforts shared by the redevelopment goals of the HOPE VI program, clearly stipulate that functional as well as social mixing of income groups is essential in creating inclusive and tolerant communities. Therefore, this study investigates how design supports social mixing in the shared spaces of two HOPE VI projects in order to investigate the role of design in producing integrated mixed-income communities. In the context of this study, integration is measured by

qualitative indicators of social mix in relation to space. Analysis of these qualitative indicators reveals patterns in use supported by consistent design choices. Design factors that support and threaten integration are extracted from this analysis and a discussion of these factors as they relate to non-architecture variables and new models for urban revitalization follows.

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Introduction

The mixing of income groups within neighborhoods has been an ideal for progressive planners in the United States for several decades. Current attention on this type of urban development is attributed to the high-profile redevelopment of public housing over the last twenty years. In 1987 sociologist William Julius Wilson theorized that the physical concentration of poor households in public housing's multifamily projects contributed to severe problems for residents including drug abuse, welfare dependency and joblessness.¹ This theory of social pathology, called *the culture of poverty*, led to further research and the reasoned, shared belief that high density and lack of diversity were among the primary reasons for the severely distressed condition found in certain public housing projects across the nation (Bowly 1978; Hirsch 1998; Popkin, Gwiasda, et al. 2000a; Vale 2002; Venkatesh 2000).

Because of the aging of post WWII public housing and the consensus that the nation must “end public housing as we know it,” the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) decided to reinvent its public housing program.² HUD charged a National Commission in 1989 with proposing a National Action Plan to eradicate severely distressed public housing by 2000. The committee's recommendations called out needed improvements in three areas: management improvements, social and community services, and physical improvements. They also proposed that Congress partner with Public Housing Agencies (PHAs), non-profits, the private sector and residents to obtain additional resources for such a daunting task. As a

¹ Abt Associates Inc., Linda B. Fosburg, Susan J. Popkin, Wilson, William Julius. 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press

² Abt Associates Inc., (1987). *The Truly Disadvantaged*.

consequence of this report, HUD established the Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE) program.³ The program has since evolved to include the following goals:

- ❖ Changing the physical shape of public housing
- ❖ Lessening concentrations of poverty by promoting mixed-income communities
- ❖ Forging partnerships with other agencies, local governments, nonprofit organizations, and private businesses to leverage support and resources
- ❖ Establishing positive incentives for resident self-sufficiency and comprehensive services that empower residents⁴

This study focuses on these first two goals and evaluates mixed-income housing theory and the New Urbanist design principles that were adopted to support the creation of mixed-income communities. Other research has focused on the analysis of comprehensive social services and public-private partnerships. The following section outlines the theoretical framework for this study and makes a case for design-based research investigating the theory behind typical HOPE VI design attributes.

Theory Development

Three primary theoretical frameworks that support mixed income housing development theory provide a basis for studying HOPE VI projects as a means to analyze how design encourages social mixing. These frameworks support the rationale of social mixing as a condition that supports poverty alleviation, positive gentrification and New Urbanist design theory.

³ Abt Associates Inc., Linda B. Fosburg, Susan J. Popkin, Wilson, William Julius. *A Historical and Baseline Assessment of HOPE VI, Volume 1: Cross-site Report*. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

⁴

http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/programs/ph/hope6/about

Mixed-income Housing Theory

The term *mixed income* does not carry a static definition in the housing field. The meaning varies widely according to the person or the housing market being addressed. Some theorists make categorizations of mixed income based on whether income is mixed at the project or neighborhood level, and whether it is sponsored privately/publicly/or a combination of the two.⁵ Other theorists categorize mixed income based on the proportion of mixing that occurs in a development. Alistair Smith defines five such categories of mixed-income housing - moderate-income inclusion, low-income inclusion, broad range of incomes, market-rate inclusion, and affordable mix.⁶ According to this definition, the proportion of different income groups varies widely from project to project in the HOPE VI program. HOPE VI projects vary from moderate-income mix with low income inclusion, to a broad range of incomes with both market-rate and low-income inclusion.

The theoretical basis for many of these projects lies in two schools of thought: mixed-income development as a strategy for the alleviation of poverty; and mixed-income development as a general strategy for urban redevelopment.⁷

Implied in the HOPE VI application of a mixed-income strategy is the belief that such a strategy can alleviate poverty. This is the first theoretical basis for mixed-income

⁵ Schwartz, Alex, and Kian Tajbakhsg. 1996. "Mixed-Income Housing: Unanswered Questions." Presented at the 1996 Annual meeting of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, July 1996. New York, NY: Milano Graduate School of Management and Urban Policy, New School for Social Research (work in progress).

⁶ Smith, Alistair. 2002. *Mixed-income housing developments: Promise and reality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University. Joint Center for Housing Studies.

⁷ Joseph, Mark L., et al. 2007. "The Theoretical Basis for Addressing Poverty Through Mixed-Income Development."

development. Mark Joseph, Robert Chaskin and Henry Webber examine the theoretical foundations for this belief shared by the majority of mixed-income proponents. Their work distills four theoretical propositions for this foundation from “literature on the causes of urban poverty, emerging research on mixed-income development, and [their] synthesis of the stated goals of mixed-income development as articulated by policy makers.”⁸

Their first theory states that *social networks* created through the interaction of different income groups will connect low-income people to otherwise inaccessible resources, information or employment. The second asserts that *social control* promoting order and safety will be generated through the establishment of norms and rules demanding high levels of accountability. The third theory is that *role modeling* by higher income people will promote behavioral change and self-sufficiency for the lower income.⁹ The last theoretical proposition predicts the development of a political *economy of place* introduced by higher income residents due to the market demand their presence produces. This market demand will cause political and economic actors to more readily respond to political pressure resulting in higher quality services and goods available to all residents.

These propositions, in large part, remain propositions. They define the hopes that policy makers continue to have for mixed-income housing development. Continued advocacy for mixed income development is, therefore, still based on faith, dissatisfaction with the low-income housing policies of the past, and a still developing

⁸ Joseph, Mark L., Robert J. Chaskin and Henry S. Webber. 2007. “The Theoretical Basis for Addressing Poverty Through Mixed-Income Development. *Urban Affairs Review*. 42(3) 373.

⁹ Wilson, 1987; Anderson, 1990; Kasarda, 1990.

body of research testing this theory. “Until we can develop a greater understanding of why mixed-income development *should* work and how well it *actually* works” this will not change.¹⁰ In asking these questions, it is also important that we challenge the implicit conditions that mixed-income housing would have to create in order to rise to the propositions described above.

The theories of social control and economy of place require that different income groups be functionally mixed in the social and physical organization of a housing development. However, the theories of social networks and role modeling necessitate interaction between these different income groups. In other words, functional mixing of income groups allows for greater social control and place economy, but social mixing between income groups supports social networks and positive role modeling. Therefore, in addressing mixed-income housing as a strategy to alleviate poverty, the scope of this research is concerned with the on-site interaction between income groups that architectural design seeks to encourage.

While the alleviation of poverty is the historical basis for HOPE VI programs, this emphasis has been shifting over the last decade. After the renewal of the HOPE VI grants in 2006 the program began to focus on mixed-income redevelopment as a tool to revitalize run-down neighborhoods and integrate them into the larger urban fabric. This shift may be due to the fact that in order to be successful, mixed-income developments demand that the housing needs of all income groups are considered and met to a satisfactory level.¹¹ Additionally, housing authorities around the country are recognizing

¹⁰ Joseph, Mark L., et al. 2007. “The Theoretical Basis for Addressing Poverty Through Mixed-Income Development.” *Urban Affairs Review*. 42(3).

¹¹ *Ibid*, 2007.

the potential for mixed-income development as a planning tool to increase the health and attractiveness of neighborhoods while also providing high quality housing to those most in need.

The increasing public interest in urban living as well as the availability of centrally located vacant or underused land has also created immense pressure and opportunity for urban revitalization. In this context, mixed-income developments can serve to “unite otherwise divided political constituencies and generate the financing necessary to secure and redevelop prime inner-city land.”¹² Current public policy encouraging income mix in new urban housing development (e.g. inclusionary zoning) supports this pragmatic basis for the mixing of income groups in today’s private housing developments and is causing mixed-income housing to become more prevalent in urban development.¹³ Therefore, understanding the opportunities and limitations of mixed-income multi-family housing is extremely important to mitigate instances of segregation and take advantage of opportunities to create inclusive communities.

Urban Revitalization and ‘Positive Gentrification’

As mixed-income housing continues to be packaged as a tool for urban revitalization across the country, ‘positive gentrification’ is an idea that supports the policies that aid in their development. As early as the 1960s, authors such as Lowry (1960), Altshuler (1969) and Smith (1971) stated that the benefits of urban revitalization would be seen by lower income groups through a ‘trickle down’ effect.

¹² Joseph, Mark L., Robert J. Chaskin and Henry S. Webber. 2007. “The Theoretical Basis for Addressing Poverty Through Mixed-Income Development.” *Urban Affairs Review*. 42(3).

¹³ Talbert, Cecily T and Nadia L. Costa. 2004. “Current Issues in Inclusionary Zoning.” *The Urban Lawyer*. 36(3), pp 557-569.

Since then, neighborhood revitalization generated by public policy that harnesses private capital and market forces to attract higher-income residents, continues to be under the assumption that revitalization efforts will create more livable, more sustainable, less segregated, and more socially mixed communities despite academic debate that revitalization leads to displacement, segregation and social polarization.¹⁴

Loretta Lees discusses how “the benefits of functionally as well as socially mixed urban communities have become something of an unquestioned gospel in policy discourse.”¹⁵ This unquestioned gospel that Lees identifies is the gospel of ‘positive gentrification.’ It is contingent on the belief that gentrification will help increase social capital and cohesion by increasing social mix, and fostering social mixing.¹⁶ Regardless of the fact that liberal desires for diversity and difference in cities by the new middle class are key to gentrification, the creation of social capital through social mixing is not supported by a strong evidence base.

Social Mixing as Launching Point

As previously discussed, functionally as well as socially mixing income groups is a key component to the *social networking*, *social control*, *role modeling* and *economy of place* that supports mixed-income housing theory for the alleviation of poverty. The efforts of mixed-income urban revitalization can also be understood as efforts for ‘positive gentrification.’ Though the two processes differ, they remain similar in the

¹⁴ Lees, L. 2008. “Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance?” *Urban Studies Journal*, 45(12) 249-2470.

¹⁵ Lees, L. 2003a. “Visions of ‘urban renaissance’: the Urban Task Force report and the Urban White Paper,” in R. Imrie and M. Raco (Eds) *Urban Renaissance? New Labour, Community, and Urban Policy*, pp 61-82. Bristol: Policy Press.

¹⁶ Lees, L., Slater, T. and Wyly, E. 2008. “Gentrification.” New York. Routledge.

‘win-win outcome for all political persuasions’ and in the controversy and resistance they have caused.¹⁷ Low-income residents and their advocates shed light on the tensions that exist in these environments. In their article *‘Positive’ Gentrification, Social Control and the ‘Right to the City’ in Mixed-Income Communities: Uses and Expectations of Space and Place*, Chaskin and Joseph highlight the issues low-income residents in three Chicago-based HOPE VI projects.

These tensions — between integration and exclusion, use value and exchange value, appropriation and control, poverty and development — are often most concretely manifest in responses to competing expectations regarding appropriate normative behavior and the negotiation of these expectations in the context of arguments about safety, order, what constitutes ‘public’ space, and the nature and extent of rights to use that space in daily life.¹⁸

These tensions question the extent to which mixed-income projects integrate low-income residents into a community that gives them access to amenities and opportunities. In their mixed-income character HOPE VI projects deal with these tensions as well. However, explicit efforts are made to manage them through supportive social services and design.

New Urbanist Design Principles

In support of the effort to change the physical shape of severely distressed public housing, HUD drew heavily on the growing national movement of New Urbanism to define the guiding design principles for the program. The Congress for New Urbanism advocates for the design of more livable and diverse communities.

¹⁸ Chaskin, Robert, and Mark Joseph. (2013). “‘Positive’ Gentrification, Social Control and the ‘Right to the City’ in Mixed-Income Communities: Uses and Expectations of Space and Place.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37 (2): 480–502

While the manifesto outlines an extensive list of design characteristics for the design of such environments, HUD and the Congress of New Urbanism outlined fourteen principles in order to achieve the social and architectural goals of New Urbanism in the HOPE VI programs. The goal to “provide a broad range of housing types and price levels to bring people of diverse ages, races, and incomes into daily interaction--strengthening the personal and civic bonds essential to an authentic community” is integral to the aims of the HOPE VI programs (Congress for the New Urbanism, 4).

New Urbanist design principles are accompanied by a host of physical design characteristics that are thought to produce authentic community. Block organization, site planning, and street design are all considerations for a new form of urban living. One of the most apparent differences between this method of housing development and the mass-produced methods of modernism is the difference in scale. New Urbanist developments focus on creating density at what they argue is a human scale. This pursuit translates to an urban form that is evocative of traditional 19th century American neighborhoods.

Research Questions

Primary Research Question

This study does not seek to prove or disprove a particular hypothesis. Instead, this study looks at efficacy. It asks *how* design supports integration between disparate income groups with different needs. Rather than framing this study within applied New Urbanist design principles, the research question is open to investigate the impact of physical factors that are not explicitly New Urbanist.

Guiding Research Questions

Questions that guide data collection in this study vary in their intent to describe difference and analyze impact. Descriptive questions first look at each site at a variety of scales to reveal a logic in design. The urban scale addresses the proximity of amenities and transportation. Where do people access public transportation or where do they park their vehicles when not commuting? What amenities are available within walking distance? At the site level the researcher investigates the scale that renters and owners are mixed for each of the shared spaces. Is there a course or fine spatial grain of how mixing happens on the redevelopment site? While it could be assumed that the desire for integration in these communities would imply a fine scale of physical integration, what level of mix happens in the HOPE VI sites selected for study? Furthermore, at the building scale, what is the construction quality across these developments? What are the visible architectural differences between rental dwellings and private dwellings?

These descriptive questions are followed by ones of analysis. How does building design – for example, through setbacks, entry paths, porches and yards - affect interaction? How does siting of shared spaces impact use? How does it relate to tenure type? How do these relationships impact the integration of different tenures? More fundamentally, how does design mitigate or highlight differences in the needs of the populations in question? While mitigation efforts can support integration, highlighting differences may support segregation.

Qualifying Design Impact

Implicit in asking these questions is the belief that architectural design impacts behavior at some level. Clare Cooper Marcus, a pioneer in social design research states that “design cannot cause behavior, but it can offer the possibility of certain activities taking places. The physical environment of a housing development, for example, can encourage, discourage, or be neutral to its residents’ behaviors.” This is not the same as behaviorism or environmental determinism. It is only based on our human need for predictability and legible environments. In asking these questions, the researcher does not seeks to answer whether the physical design of these communities *causes* them to be successful in integrating different populations. Instead, the researcher selected HOPE VI cases of urban revitalization and then studies how their design *supports* or threatens integrated communities.

The Methodology

The process for designing integrated public space is deeply contextual. Regardless of its scale, public space is impacted by both its immediate constructed environment and the larger social, political and cultural climate it exists within. Accordingly, this credence lends itself to studying the use of public space through a case study method.¹⁹ As Robert Yin stated, “You would use the case study method because you deliberately wanted to cover contextual conditions—believing that they might be highly pertinent to your phenomenon of study.”²⁰

The research design for this study followed a multiple-case study method. Variability in HOPE VI projects that was not related to the topic at hand was reduced through multiple means. Following this, public spaces within each chosen HOPE VI project were selected through a qualitative process to include dwelling contexts of tenure mix as well as tenure isolation. This part of the study selected multiple cases to show different design decisions impacting the same issues.²¹ After this, a long period of qualitative data collection from a variety of sources ensued in order to build an in-depth, contextual description of each case.²² The final step of the analysis was the qualitative coding of the field research.

The unit of analysis in this study is the activity that occurs in the public spaces of HOPE VI. Direct observation of behavior on each site provides an account of the level of integration that happens in the neighborhood through a study of its public

¹⁹ Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

²⁰ Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods*. 13.

²¹ Creswell, John, William Hanson, Vicki Plano, and Alejandro Morales. “Qualitative Research Designs Selection and Implementation.” *The Counseling Psychologist* **35** (2) (2007): 236–264.

²² Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods*.

spaces. The saturation of this data until the researcher begins to see the same activities occurring at each site provides a level of analysis based in grounded theory principles.

HOPE VI Project Selection

The HOPE VI projects were selected with the goal to provide the context in which the concept of ‘positive gentrification’ through social mixing could be interrogated soundly. The first constraint in selecting these sites was to look at HOPE VI projects within major metropolitan areas of the west coast. The rationale for this constraint was both pragmatic and theoretic. First, the scope of research was confined to the geographic region of the West Coast for qualitative research feasibility given that the researcher was based in Eugene, Oregon. Second, major metropolitan areas were chosen due to the urgent demands of urban revitalization created by increasing rates of urbanization. The gap in literature researching social mix in mixed-income developments on the West Coast and the contextual nature of public space strengthened this geographic scope.

The next issue was to determine which projects were mixed tenancy as well as mixed income. This criterion is essential to the study. Because many HOPE VI projects on the West Coast have market-rate housing as for-sale housing, the owner population generally represents the highest income group in the mixing on site. This trend allowed tenure type – for-sale or for-rent – to be used as a proxy for identifying lower income housing and higher-income housing. Additionally, the inclusion of homeowners also introduces a population with significantly different interests connected to housing. The inclusion of this group throws the tensions between income groups and their use of public space in particular relief as different ideas of ownership are introduced into the

context.²³This makes it especially important to study how design can support interaction and integration in these environments. Finally, for-sale housing is used as a tool for neighborhood revitalization to grow a community's tax-base and increase local investment. The latter point is a metric of positive neighborhood impacts used in previous studies of HOPE VI projects to analyze successful urban revitalization.²⁴

With these constraints in mind, six HOPE VI sites between Oakland, San Francisco, Portland and Seattle were established as viable for continued study. After visiting the sites of two of these projects in West Oakland – Bernal Dwellings and Mandela Gateway - it became evident that further criteria needed to be established to effectively study the research question.

While both Bernal Dwellings and Mandela Gateway offered mixed tenure and mixed income, each presented a non-integrated approach in the siting of for-sale units. At both projects, the shared open space were courtyards with limited access that were almost exclusively used by residents living in the surrounding rental housing. The access to the Bernal Dwellings shared courtyard was limited to a key-code security system. Access to the elevated courtyard at Mandela Gateway was allowed through a back stair whose gate was left open during the day. The rental units of this project sat on a podium with neighborhood retail and parking at street level. Entries to rental units were either courtyard-related off of private stairs or from shared breezeways. The private units were at the back of the block facing the street with an alleyway between

23 Chaskin, R.J. and M.L. Joseph. (2011) Social interaction in mixed-income developments: relational expectations and emerging reality. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 33.2, 209–37.

24 Popkin, Susan J., Bruce Katz, Mary K. Cunningham, Karen D. Brown, Jeremy Gustafson, and Margery A. Turner. (2004). "A Decade of HOPE VI: Research Findings and Policy Challenges." *The Urban Institute*. 41

the units and the podium's footprint. The alleyway served as back access into the private garages as well as back stair access up to the elevated courtyard. Street access to the rental units occurred through a front lobby with security detail. Stairs leading up to the courtyard, as well as other amenities to the building, were located off of this lobby area.

After observation, the use of the courtyard at Mandela Gateway seemed to be dominated by residents living in the rental units off of it. The courtyard, including its playground and landscaped pathways, was heavily used by children in play. Supervision happened informally by leaving front doors open, or parents talking above on the breezeways. Older siblings kept an eye on their younger siblings and people knew one another well enough to know when someone was an outsider. The dynamic use of this shared space pointed to the comparative value that observing renter-only and owner-only open spaces would add to enrich the data collection of this study. This last criteria would be adopted later on in the selection of the shared open spaces within the selected redevelopment sites.

One last criteria was used to narrow down the project selection: the proportion of income mix. This criteria defined the proportion of income mix that was most useful to the study. Due to the variable nature of 'mixed income' across HOPE VI projects in the country, it was important to this study to select a definition which was most useful in incorporating the benefits that higher-income groups bring to urban redevelopment without sacrificing the prior needs of lower-income groups. Because of this, only HOPE VI projects that represented a broad range of income groups and included low-income as well as market-rate housing were considered. Furthermore, the proportion of low-

income housing needed to remain in the majority. Though the issue of one-to-one public housing replacement in the HOPE VI program was not directly addressed within the scope of this research, maintaining low-income housing as the majority in the defined proportion of mix was done in an effort to favor projects that prioritize this issue.

The Selected Projects

In addition to the shared mix in incomes and tenure shown in Table 1 below, the two selected case studies for this research resemble one another closely in their historical, geographic and design contexts. These shared characteristics allow the study to focus on drawing comparisons between the open spaces within the HOPE VI projects rather than between the projects themselves. This is possible because the projects are considered repetitive cases due to their similarities. New Rainier Vista and High Point Gardens were built on the sites of previous public housing originally built during World War II to house an influx of defense workers. During the 1950s this housing was designated as public housing to house low-income families and returning veterans under the Lanham Act. After five decades of weathering and use, the wood framed housing provided at these sites became distressed and expensive to maintain.

		For Rent		For Sale	
		# of units	% of total units	# of units	% of total units
Rainier Vista	0-30% MI	411	45.9%	0	0.0%
	0-80% MI	166	18.5%	59	6.6%
	Market Rate	48	5.4%	220	24.6%
High Point	0-30% MI	530	37.5%	0	0.0%
	0-80% MI	250	17.7%	112	7.9%
	Market Rate	70	5.0%	364	25.7%

Table 1: Proportion of Income and Tenure Mix at Selected HOPE VI Projects

These HOPE VI projects are also both located in Seattle and funded through HOPE VI grants awarded to the Seattle Housing Authority. While New Rainier Vista was initially redeveloped prior to High Point Gardens, both underwent years of thoughtful planning with the Seattle Housing Authority that included residents and community members from the beginning. Meetings with community stakeholders, collaborative design workshops and public design reviews created a close cooperation between planners, residents, stakeholders and designers in order to better serve children and people of all cultures and ages. Additionally, New Urbanist design principles were used at both sites “to bring together the neighborhood’s diverse mixture of residents.”²⁵ Narrow streets were designed to slow traffic. Low backyard fences were used to allow for visibility and conversation with neighbors as well as a sense of ownership. Front porches located close to the streets were designed to give residents the opportunity to interact with one another. The private, for-sale development of both of these projects occurred after the design of the SHA housing and, though consistent with New Urbanism, their design varies noticeably from the SHA housing.

²⁵ Seattle Housing Authority (2015). Redevelopment Plan. <http://www.seattlehousing.org/redevelopment/rainier-vis1ta/plan/> (accessed September 25, 2015)

High Point

High Point's redevelopment started in 2004 and incorporated an engaged community, healthy environment and quality design as its major components. Located in West Seattle, southwest of downtown Seattle on a peninsula defined by Puget Sound to the north and west and the Duwamish River to the east. The 120-acre site sits on a slope that descends in a northeasterly direction offering views to downtown Seattle. The site abuts Longfellow Creek to the east. This latter geographic condition created a unique environmental focus for the site's design in order to protect the creek and have a low environmental impact. Since its completion High Point has received numerous awards recognizing innovative landscaping, green building and planning.

The new design realigns High Point's streets with West Seattle's street grid in order to reconnect it with its larger neighborhood. A new Neighborhood House, Seattle Public Library branch location and Neighborcare medical center are among the community services offered in the project. The library and medical center and the West Seattle Food Bank are located on 35th Avenue SW, High Point's west-most boundary. Other commercial infrastructure such as Walgreens, U-Haul, Enterprise Rent-A-Car and Hans Foreign Car Repair fronts this major arterial. High Point's Neighborhood House and central 3-acre park are centralized at the heart of the development. West Seattle Elementary School, High Point Community Center, Walt Hundley Playfield and the Forest Lawn Cemetery anchor the south of the development. A planted green street, High Point Community garden, Viewpoint Park and a forest edge bound the north and west edges.

The site offers a variety of parks at different scales that work to ensure that every resident is within one block of a public green space. Bio-swales and preserved trees work to manage storm-water and preserve the environmental character of the site. Most of the housing on the site is made up of multi-unit dwellings and detached townhouses with the exception of a number of condominiums and an elderly assisted living complex. The site plan below shows the building footprints, parks, streets and landscaping of High Point Gardens.



Figure 1: High Point Site Plan

Rainier Vista

Initial redevelopment for Rainier Vista began after funding was awarded in 1999. Located at the center of the Rainier Valley in South Seattle, New Rainier Vista presents beautiful views of Mount Rainier down its arterial road and is within walking distance of Columbia City's business district. The project is divided in half by Martin Luther King Boulevard which runs north to south and supports the LINK light rail system serving stations between the Seattle-Tacoma International Airport and downtown Seattle. This major arterial also supports small neighborhood commercial such as a few restaurants, an eye clinic, a wireless service merchant and a small goods store. Major community services such as the Boy and Girls Club of America, the Seattle Housing Authority, and a medical center also front MLK Blvd South. Rainier Vista's Neighborhood House is located on the west side of the project, connected to the east side by S Genesee St. Protected pedestrian crossing across MLK Blvd S is achieved through marked crosswalks is limited to the S Genesee St crossing as well as two others south of S Genesee St.

The character of the development at Rainier Vista differs from High Point Gardens in its transit-oriented nature. Housing typology is diversified to include mixed-use apartments and elderly homes that provide greater density. Encompassing approximately 60 acres, Rainier Vista is half the size of High Point Gardens but has around 15 units per acre compared to 12 units per acre at High Point. Bounding its edges, Cheasty Boulevard Park sits on a ridge to the east, commercial retail and apartments anchor the south while market-rate, for-sale housing of the development touches existing neighborhood residential.



Figure 2: Rainier Vista Building Concept Plan

The Case Study Shared Spaces

Shared Space Selection

After selecting HOPE VI Projects that serve as representative cases of positive neighborhood revitalization efforts, public spaces within these HOPE VI projects were selected to represent differences in design and in tenure configuration. Rainier Vista and High Point both have three different configuration patterns associated with their surrounding tenure. Public space is either spatially integrated with just (1) private, for-sale housing, just (2) rental housing or (3) a mix between the two. Studying each of these configurations reveals which behaviors persist in mixed situations and which do not. This also aids in determining which behaviors are unique to mixed situations.

Using this comparative model provides a basis to define behaviors characteristic of each group when not physically integrated with the other in the context of public space and to determine whether the nature of integration itself, threatens these characteristic behaviors. It also serves to inform realistic expectations regarding the degree to which residents interact with their public spaces in isolated tenure environments where physical integration of tenures does not occur off of the space's perimeter.

In order to discover these different shared spaces, the location of private units and rental units was established. Spaces that engaged these different tenure configurations on at least two of their edges varied between 3-acre parks, pocket parks and vehicle alleyways. However, not all of these shared spaces lent themselves to observational study.

The observational piece of this study required that the shared space be public enough to ensure that observational research was not disruptive to the regular use of the space. Compelling spaces that made this difficult were considered accessory spaces rather than primary cases in this study (e.g. the pedestrian alley off of 31ST SW Street). Additionally, the need for observational study by one researcher also limited the size of the shared spaces to one that could be managed within the researcher's field of view. This excluded the study of large acreage parks and vehicle alleyways.

Another significant filter in selecting shared spaces of different tenure configurations was to include only those that had housing facing onto them, whether from across the street or directly off of them. This criterion was especially important in including an assessment of New Urbanist design principles to encourage interaction as part of everyday life. It also allowed the researcher to determine whether residents were owners or renters based off of their entry use.

The age of the park and its surrounding units was also important in the selection of appropriate shared spaces. When possible, shared spaces that had been built in the earlier phases of the redevelopment were chosen over others representing the same tenure. This criterion often meant that the space's landscapes had had the opportunity to reach a level of maturation reflective of the design intent. It also meant that residents living off of the shared space were more likely to have lived there for a longer period of time. Time, in this case, provides greater likelihood that the residents living off of the shared space know or recognize one another.

Though this criteria was not applied at Rainier Vista due to the limited number of open spaces available for study, it was especially important in narrowing down the variety of parks available for study at High Point. Additionally, when multiple open spaces at High Point represented the same design pattern, only one of these spaces was chosen as representative of the others.

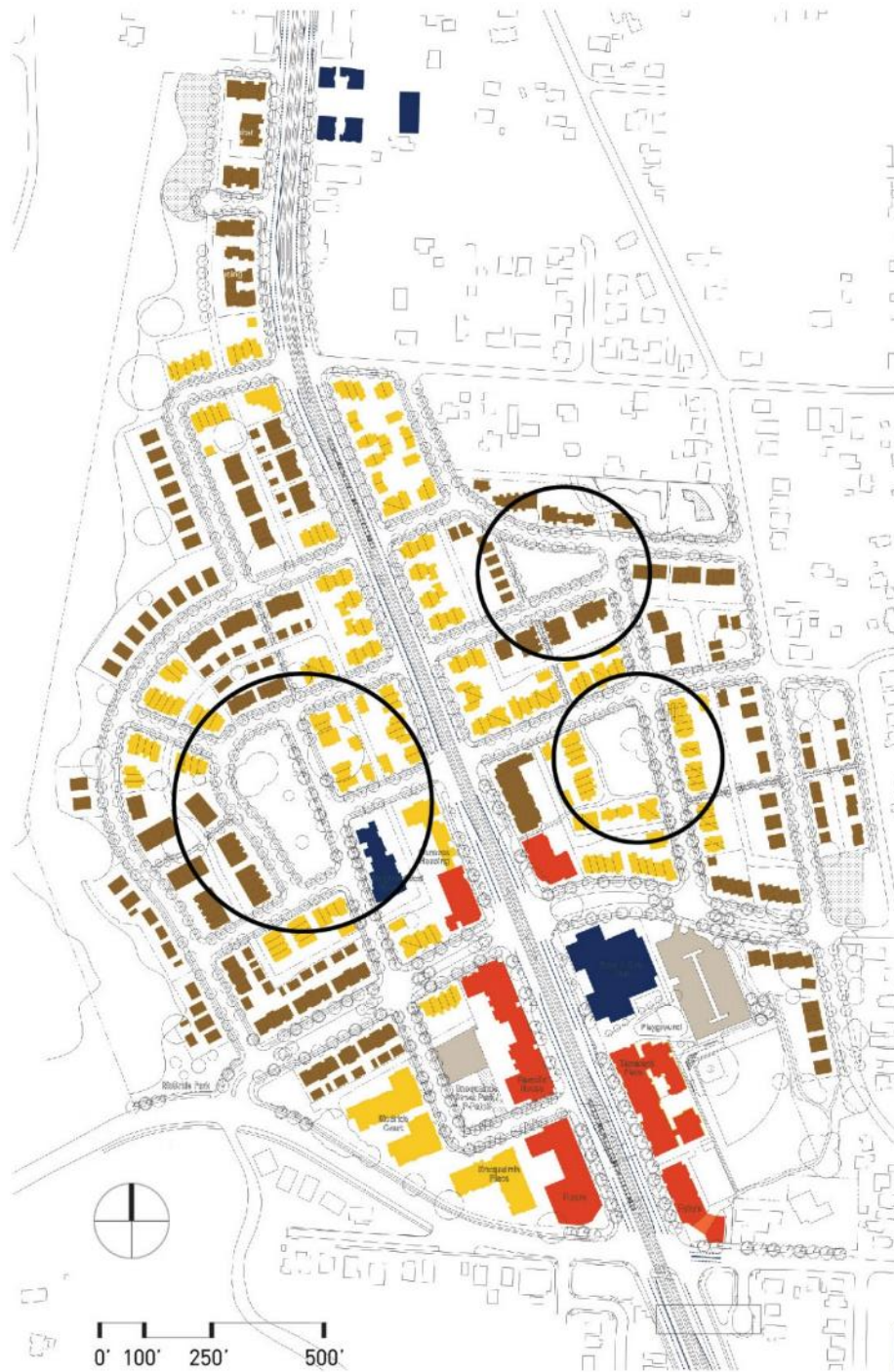


Figure 3: Site Plan showing private and rented units at Rainier Vista

The diagram above highlights the three possible open spaces that fit the criteria described above. In the case of Rainier Vista, these three sites were also the ones selected for further study.

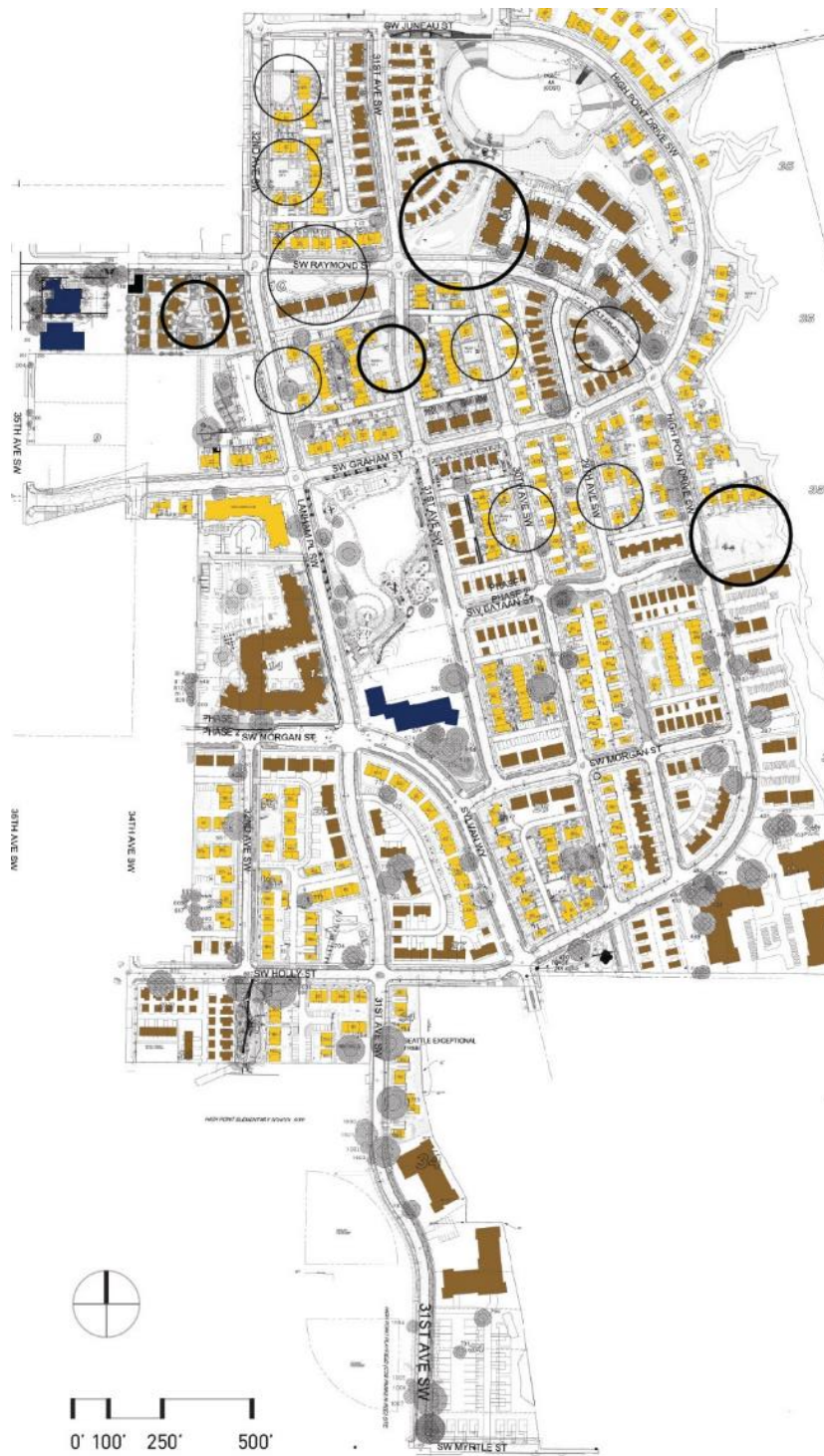


Figure 4: Site Plan showing private and rented units at High Point

The diagram above highlights the eleven possible open spaces that fit the criteria described above. In the case of High point the four selected sites for further study were

chosen for their variety and are emphasized with a darker outline. The Selected Shared Spaces

A description of each of the selected public spaces at High Point and Rainier Vista follows. The descriptions are replicated in their logic in order to provide an understanding of each space's landscape, park design, circulation system and related dwellings. Only features that are relevant to the analysis are included.

Central Park at Rainier Vista

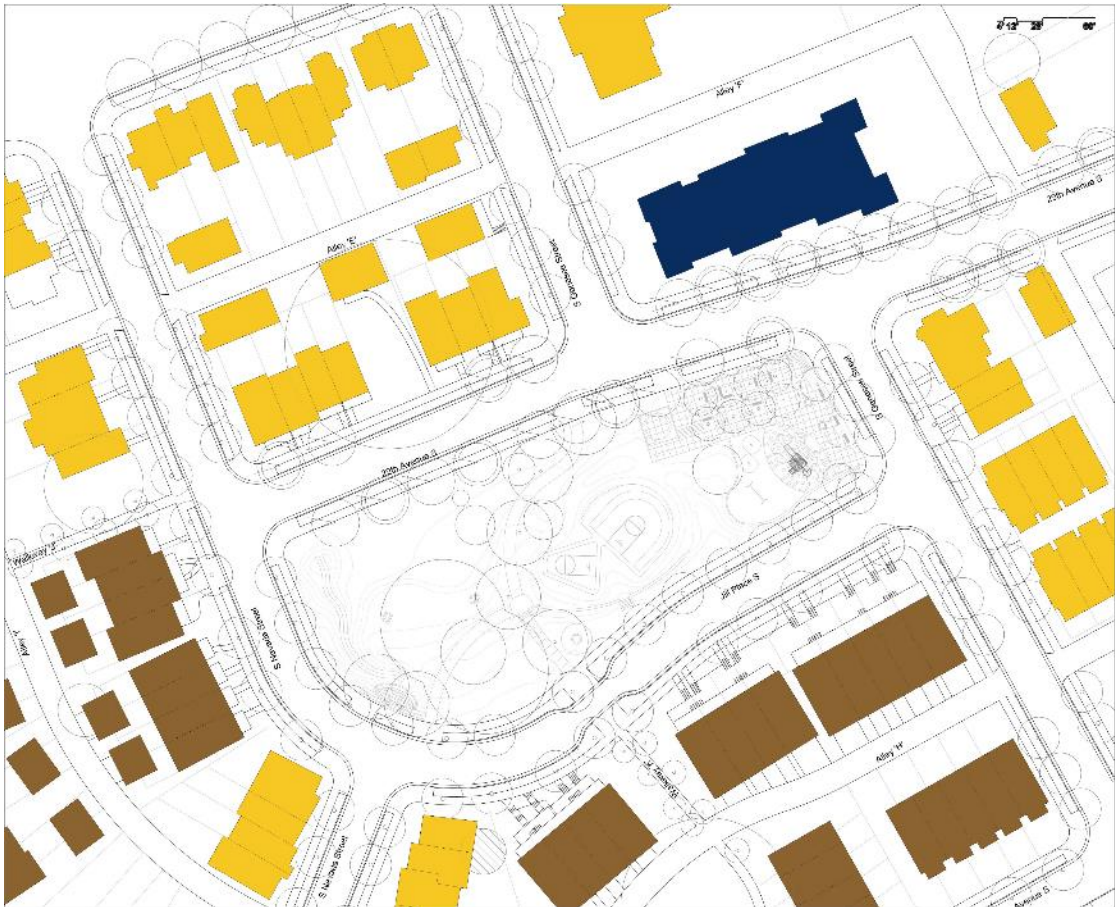


Figure 5: Central Park site plan. North facing left of page.²⁶

Central Park sits at the base of a slope along a border of trees lining the west edge of the Rainier Vista neighborhood. The park itself offers a variety of different uses and activities, including the playground shown in Figure 6, two basketball courts, abundant periphery seating and a large lawn. Central Park is one of three shared spaces at Rainier Vista that are related to facing dwellings, but the only one related to a mix of private and rental dwellings. It is also distinct from these other spaces in its street perimeter.

²⁶ Image created in collaboration with Christopher Jonsson



Figure 6: Perspective of Central Park taken from the southeast corner facing northwest.

Positioned one block west of Martin Luther King Jr Way, this park connects to the main arterial through two short streets. Two other streets at the western corners connect the park to the rest of the development, as do two pedestrian alleyways at the northeast corner and the west edge. The latter alleyway connects to an interior pathway that runs through the middle of the park from west to east. While the homes lining the upper edge of the park are townhouse plats sold at market-rate, the east and south edges of the park are populated by a community center and ground-related apartments for renters of lower income.

The townhouse plats and ground-related apartments are both attached dwelling units with their own entry path, front yard, front porch, and backyard, though the articulation of these different zones varies from private home to rental home and from private home to private home. Figure 5 shows the varying parking options adjacent to residences' backyards or within residences as attached garages. Additionally, the site plan shows the varying approaches to the front entries of each of these residences. These approaches are further illustrated in the figure below showing the differences

between market-rate townhouses to the west and north, and rental ground-related apartments to the east and south.



Figure 7: Private residences to the west (left), private residences to the north (center), rental residences to the south (right).

Genesee Park at Rainier Vista

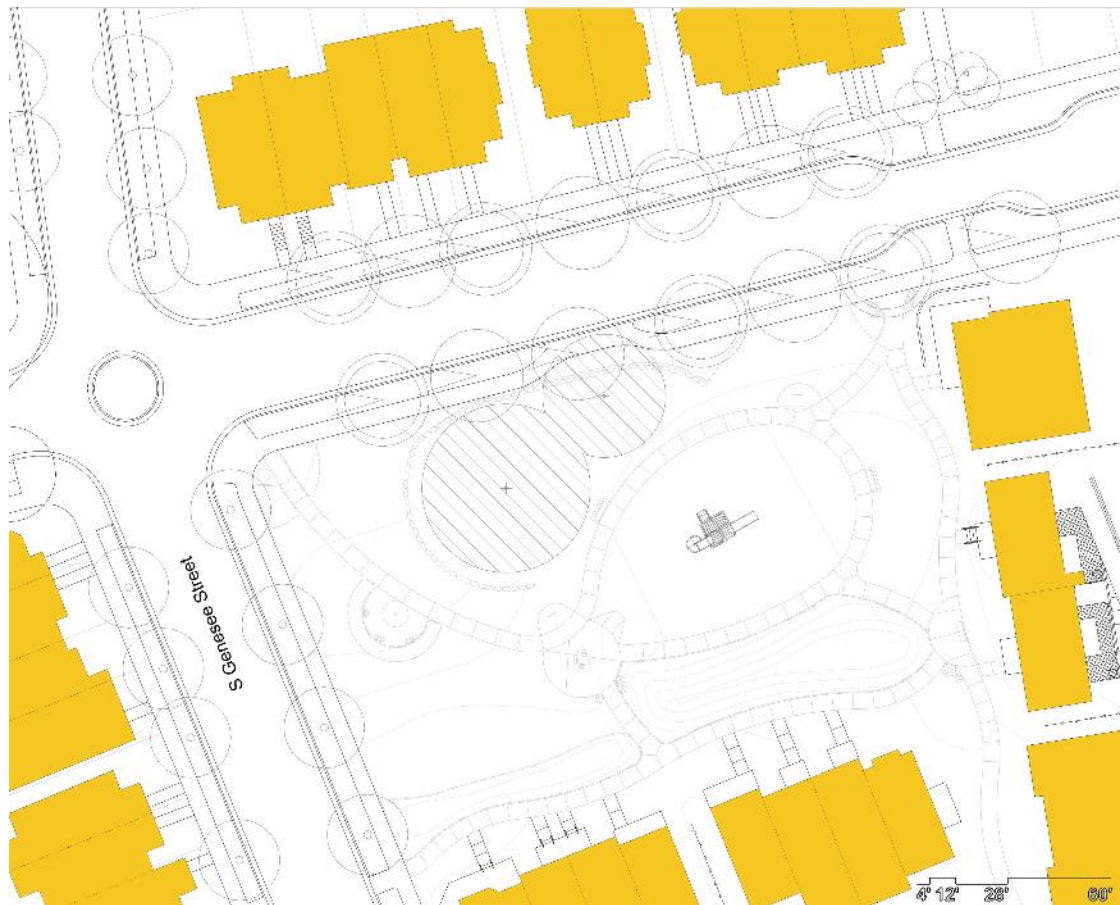


Figure 8: Genesee Park site plan. North facing left of page.²⁷

Located at the heart of Rainier Vista's east side, Genesee Park was built in the third phase of Rainier Vista's development. On the east edge of a large block directly abutting Martin Luther King Jr. Way, Genesee Park connects to the main arterial through a street running along its north edge and a pedestrian alleyway running along its south edge. Additional multi-unit dwellings face onto this pedestrian alley, which is a unique condition not found off of the other parks at Rainier Vista. This alleyway also connects to an alley stair across the street and leads to for-sale housing further east of

²⁷ Image created in collaboration with Christopher Jonsson.

the park. Similarly the path that bounds the east edge of the park connects to a pedestrian alleyway that leads to for-sale housing and another open space north of the park.

Within the park an interior park loop encircles the park's playground. The playground includes a play structures shown in Figure 9 below, and two children's seating areas. At the playground's edges, a picnic table sits at the park's central intersection and two benches sit on opposing sides of the playground, one under the canopy of a large preserved tree that defines a sunken zone encircled by a retaining wall. From the park's central intersection, a path runs to the northeast entrance of the park and provides an additional circular paved seating area off of its west edge.



Figure 9: Perspective of Genesee Park from the southeast corner.

The park is bound on its west and south edges by park-related multi-unit dwellings facing onto it. Its other two edges are bound by street-related multi-unit dwellings, some of which have shared entries (Figure 10). All of these units are rental units that likely represent a moderate mix of incomes. Each rental unit has shared

parking behind the unit, a low-fenced backyard, front porch and entry path, though some share entry paths or have stepped porches.



Figure 10: Park-related entries (left), street-related entries (right).

Adams Park at Rainier Vista



Figure 11: Adams Park site plan. North facing left of page.²⁸

Adams Park was also built as part of the third phase of Rainier Vista's development. It is located east of Martin Luther King Jr. Way, to the north of what is called Rainier Vista East. Adams Park is an open space primarily characterized by its landscape. The triangularly shaped park has planting beds anchoring two of its three points and trees lining a portion of its south edge. Unlike the two other sites chosen for study at Rainier Vista, this park has no playground and an open field with seating and landscaping at its edges (Figure 12).

²⁸ Image created in collaboration with Christopher Jonsson



Figure 12: Perspective of Adams Park from northern edge.

Surrounded by streets on two of its three edges, the park’s third edge is lined by dwellings whose entries face the park. The west-bounding park path running north to south provides access to these dwellings and connects with Genesee Park through a pedestrian alley to the south. The dwellings facing the park off of the park path and from across the street on its other two sides, are all private multi-unit dwellings with three to five units per dwelling. They each have a detached private garage, low-fenced back yard, front entry path and covered entry (though some have stepped covered entries). Besides changes in massing and color palette, these dwelling are very similarly articulated in their design as shown in Figure 13.



Figure 13: street-related dwellings off adjacent pedestrian alleyway (left), park-related dwellings (right).

Bataan Park at High Point

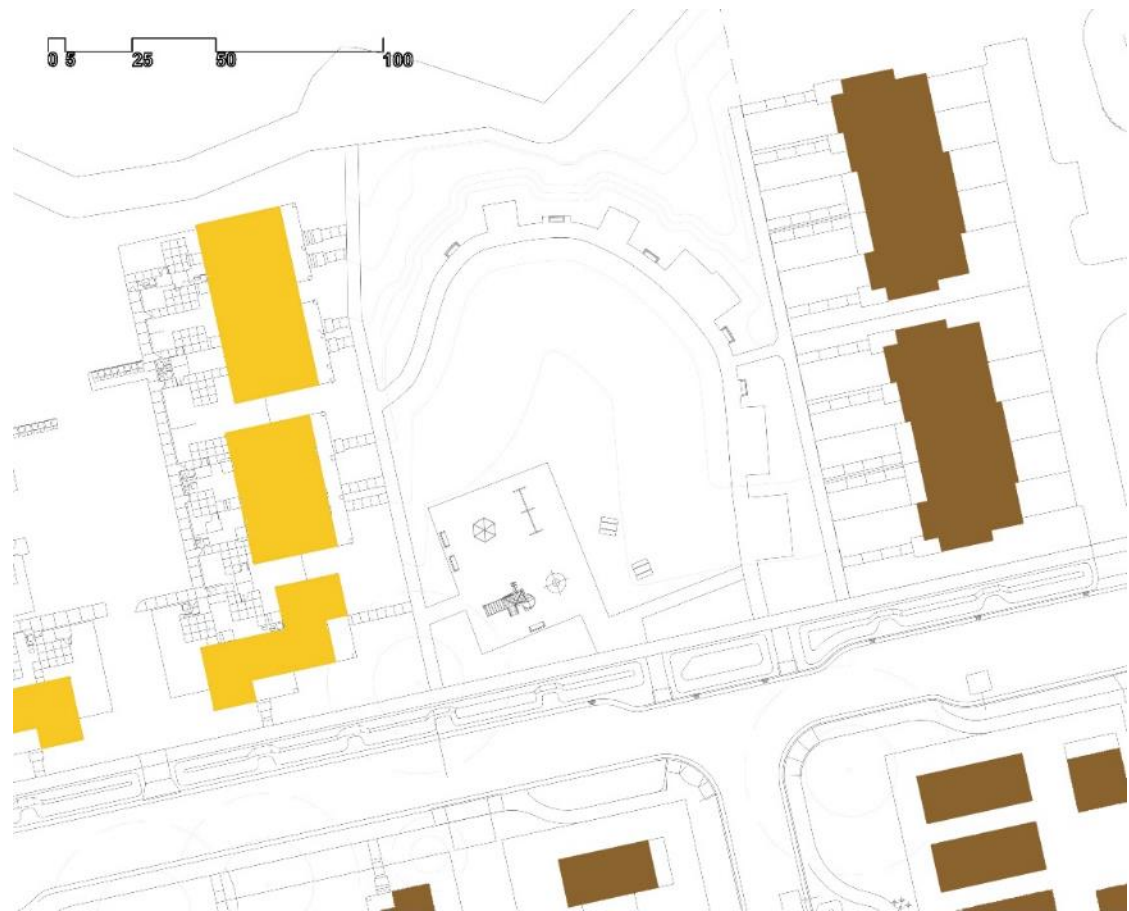


Figure 14: Bataan Park site plan. North faces up.²⁹

Bataan Park was among the last parks in the High Point development to be built and is unique in that it has no street-related dwellings that face onto it. The park sits as an anchor at the end of Bataan Drive with no streets on three of its four edges. Instead, rental and private units face onto pedestrian access paths on the north and south edges of the park. An interior loop that encircles the path connects directly to the north pedestrian path at the east edge of the park, but runs parallel to the south pedestrian

²⁹ Image created in collaboration with Christopher Jonsson.

path, offset by 10 feet. The interior loop that circles the park has benches and a circuit of outdoor exercise machines that come off of the path periodically.

Within the space defined by the interior park loop the park's sidewalk and the north park path, movable picnic tables sit near the south edge of the playground area. The playground is at the northwest corner of the site, adjacent to the sidewalk and within close proximity to the rental units as shown in Figure 15. The playground includes a play structure, a small merry-go-round, a 4-swing swing set, and a jungle gym. There is one bench off of the west edge of the playground and two benches next to one another off the north edge. The north and west edges of the playground are also bounded by planting beds that screen and buffer the playground from the sidewalk.



Figure 15: Panorama taken from the west edge of Bataan Park

The topography of the site drops considerably in height at the east edge of the interior loop until the grass meets the forest. This slope creates a condition where the entries at the north of the park progressively have more steps to get to their front porch the farther east you go down the north pedestrian path. Additionally, north pedestrian path disappears down the hill to connect to another development across a creek at the base of the hillside. The entry paths for all of the private units on the south side, however, only have one step up to the covered front entry. Importantly, these units have covered front entries rather than porches and low-fenced front yards starting at the edge of their entry paths (Figure 16).



Figure 16: Typical private dwelling (left) and rental unit (right)

Viewpoint Park at Highpoint

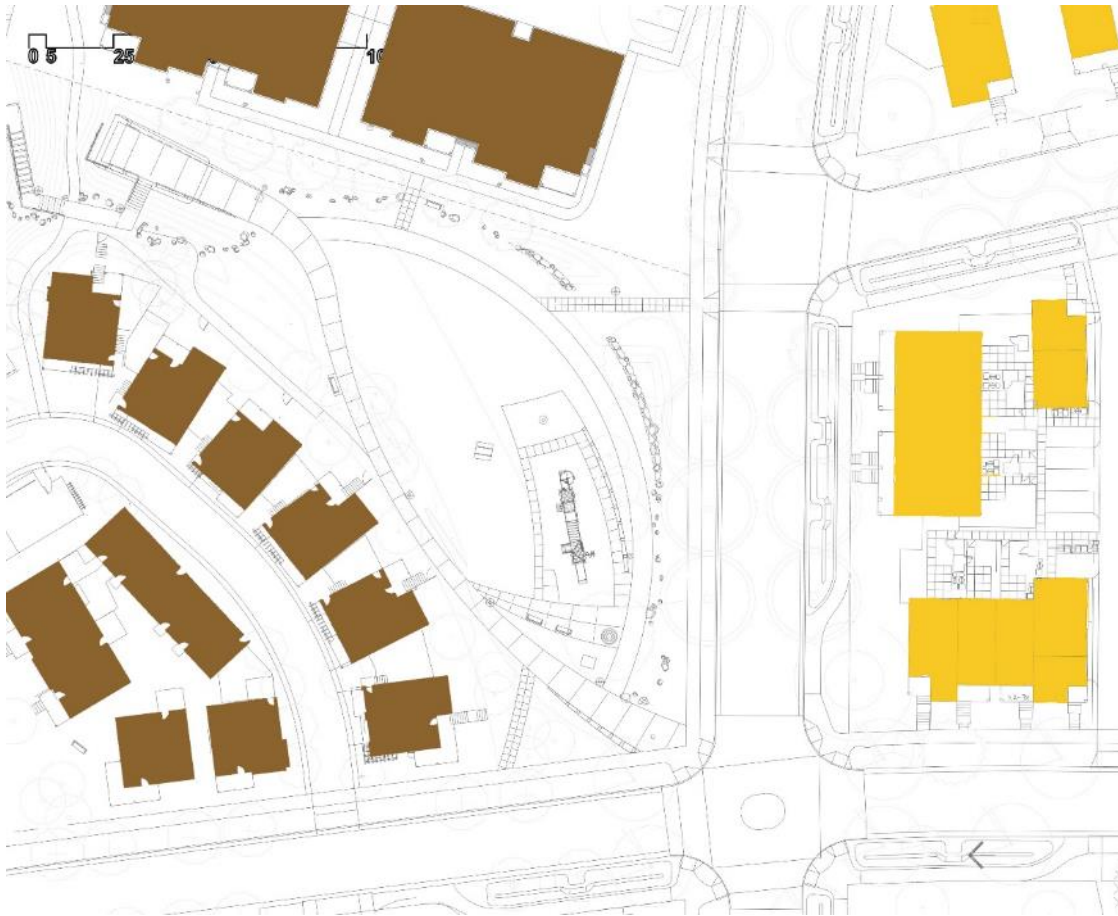


Figure 17: Viewpoint Park site plan. North faces left of page.³⁰

About four blocks North of Bataan Park on High Point Drive, Viewpoint Park sits above High Point's Pond Park and provides beautiful views over downtown Seattle at its east lookout point. Within the park, two curving paths bound an eye-shaped play area with a playground, small ball court and grass field. The grass field within the play area has two movable picnic tables and a small row of aspens off of the north curved path. This north curved path begins at the park's southwest main entry and curves to meet the south curved path, moving past the intersection to project over the landscape at

³⁰ Image created in collaboration with Christopher Jonsson

a lookout point. Between the south sidewalk and the south curved path a small mound and rock wall visually places the ground of the playground lower than the sidewalk above. A bed of plantings wraps around the south edge of the playground and provides a concrete bench to sit on at its playground-side. The perimeter of the playground has its own paved secondary paths for ease of access and a ball court adjacent to its east edge. A secondary entrance from the southeast corner of the park connects the south sidewalk with the south curved path.

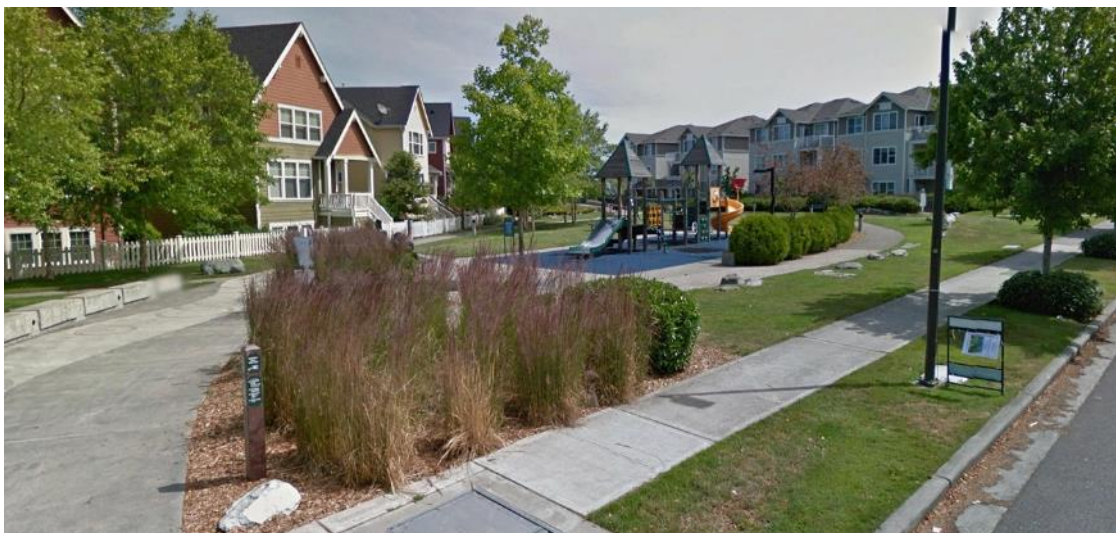


Figure 18: Perspective of Viewpoint Park taken from the northwest entrance.

Like Bataan Park, Viewpoint's related dwellings represent a mix of tenures but its configuration is more varied. Triangularly shaped, the park is primarily bound by dwellings to the northwest, east and south. Private, single-family detached homes with attached garages bound the park's northwest edge with a low-fence. Front stairs leading to the elevated porches of these units are accessed beyond this fence. Two condominium buildings line the park's east edge with group entries into the buildings off an access path buffered from the park by six foot tall plantings and landscaped retaining walls. Collective parking is found behind the buildings housing these units.

The south edge of the park is bounded by High Point Drive and one multi-unit rental dwelling facing onto the park from across the street. The multi-unit dwelling has four stepped front entry paths leading to front porches that overlook the park.



Figure 19: Private single-family dwellings (left), for-sale condominiums (center), rental dwellings (left).

31ST Ave SW: Pocket Park at High Point



Figure 20: Pocket Park of 31st Ave SW. North facing left of page.³¹

The pocket park off of 31st Ave SW is one of ten similar pocket parks built in the first phase of High Point's development. These pocket parks have park-related multi-unit dwellings on three of their four sides while the fourth side is street-bound with multi-unit dwellings across the street facing onto the small park as show in Figure 21. Because of this pattern, one park was selected for further study. All residents of the park were renters and the multi-unit dwelling varied from three four-plexes off of the

³¹ Image created in collaboration with Christopher Jonsson

west edge of the park, two carriage houses off of the north and south edges and two duplexes across the street. These variations are illustrated in Figure 22.



Figure 21: Perspective from the pocket park’s northeast entrance.



Figure 22: Street-related duplex (left), park-related multi-unit dwelling (center), park-related carriage house (right).

Like Adams Park, there is no playground in the design of this pocket park. Instead, the park has a large grass area bounded by the sidewalk and north, south and west park paths, off of which residents can enter their front doors. The west park path runs north to south and connects vehicle alleyways on either side. These alleyways also share parking for all park-related units. On the northeast corner of the park a mailbox

and bench sit in a wood-chip bed directly off of the sidewalk. A path runs around the interior edge of this bed where the mailbox is and joins the north park path. Four trees arranged in the grass area anchor its corners and provide a low canopy in the park during summer months.

S Raymond St: Entry Court at High Point



Figure 23: Entry Court at S Raymond St. North facing up.

Similar to Adams Park at Rainier Vista, the dwellings facing onto the S Raymond Street entry court are all private dwellings. These dwellings are all park-related duplexes with attached garages and shared entry paths connecting to the three main paths of the entry court. Though the court is similar to the pocket park in that one of its edges is bound by the street, the dwellings that face each other at this end of the

“pocket” are sited closer to one another creating a bottle-neck shape to the open space (Figure 24). Additionally, a large tree planted between these edge dwellings screens the entry court from the public street beyond.



Figure 24: Perspective of the park showing the close proximity of facing dwellings.

The open space itself is sloped from west-east, causing the units on the west edge of the court to sit on higher ground than those on the east. Figure 25 also shows the balconies of the western units that provide views over the tops of the eastern units. To the north of the open space a staircase crosses the bottleneck of the park to get from the west path to the lower east path. These paths run at the edges of the open space and step down to the south vehicular alleyway where the mailbox for the private development is also located. Bounding the south end of the open space is a paved path connecting the east and west paths with stepped entries to an elevated duplex. At the southwest corner where the west and south paved path meet there is a planting bed bounded by a gravel path with two benches off of it.



Figure 25: Duplex to the south (left), typical entries for eastern units (center), articulation of western units (right).

In an effort to synthesize the shared and varied characteristics across all seven sites, the table below catalogues the physical attributes of each site and groups them in relation to their tenure configuration rather than their HOPE VI project. This organization reveals trends unique to different tenures within mixed and isolated configurations. As shown in the first third of the table, isolated configurations lack playgrounds, except for the case of Genesee Park at Rainier Vista. This trend alone shows that open spaces configured around a mix of tenures have more amenities that attract use. Additionally, porches are most common amongst rental dwellings rather than private dwellings and no rental dwellings have fences around their front yards. These patterns will be described in more detail in relationship to the observed behavior at each site.

	Mixed-tenure configuration			Isolated renters		Isolated owners			
	HP	HP	RV	HP	RV	HP	RV		
	<i>Viewpoint</i>	<i>Bataan</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>31st</i>	<i>Genesee</i>	<i>Raymond</i>	<i>Adams</i>		
public space									
play structure	●	●	●	○	●	○	○		
swingset	○	●	●	○	○	○	○		
basketball court	○	○	●	○	○	○	○		
other ball court	●	○	○	○	○	○	○		
mailbox	○	○	○	●	●	○	○		
movable picnic tables	●	●	○	○	○	○	○		
heavy picnic tables	○	○	●	○	●	○	○		
benches	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		
trash receptacles	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		
# street edges	2	1	4	1	2	1	3		
rented dwellings									
fenced front yards	○	○	○	○	○				
porch	●	●	●	●	●				
covered entry	○	○	○	○	○				
% street entry	■ ■ ■ ■	□ □ □ □	■ ■ ■ ■	■ □ □ □	■ □ □ □				
% park entry	□ □ □ □	■ ■ ■ ■	□ □ □ □	□ ■ ■ ■	□ ■ ■ ■				
% shared entry paths	□ □ □ □	□ □ □ □	□ □ □ □	□ □ □ □	■ □ □ □				
% single entry path	■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■	□ ■ ■ ■				
# units per dwelling	4	2 - 4	4	2 - 4	2 - 4				
# levels	2	2	2	2	2				
# of front steps	6	0 - 10	0	0 - 10	0 - 6				
owned dwellings									
fenced front yards	●	●	○					○	○
porch	●	○	○					○	○
covered entry	●	●	○					○	●
% street entry	□ □ □ □	□ □ □ □	■ ■ ■ ■			□ □ □ □	□ ■ ■ ■		
% park entry	■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■	□ □ □ □			■ ■ ■ ■	■ □ □ □		
% shared entry paths	□ □ □ □	□ □ □ □	□ □ □ □			■ ■ ■ ■	□ □ □ □		
% single entry path	■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■			□ □ □ □	■ ■ ■ ■		
# units per dwelling	1	5	5			2	4 - 5		
# levels	3	3	3			3	2		
# of front steps	12	1	0 and 11			0 - 9	0 - 5		

Table 2: Summarized architectural attributes across all seven open spaces.

Qualitative Exploration of the Sites

Qualitative Data Collection

A variety of sources contributed to the accurate documentation of the architectural attributes of the public spaces and their dwelling contexts. City archives, project property managers, as well as the architects on record for each site contributed in providing detailed site plans while field observations were used to make any necessary modifications to these plans. Field observations also served to describe these spaces in their materials and sectional character.

Field observation of the use of the public spaces was the primary source of data collection. Conducted during weekday evenings and weekend afternoons, the researcher chose to observe the site outside of regular business hours when it would be most populated by both children and adults. Three data collection periods over the span of six months resulted in observational data in spring and summer. In these observations, the researcher maintained few interactions with residents and presumed no similarities or comparisons between the behaviors in the different sites. Copies of a drawn site plan for each space were brought to the site and each 15-minute observation period was recorded in the annotation of one of these plans. The annotations detailed paths of travels, places of activity and interaction, and the perceived nature of these engagements. The amount of time spent observing was evenly distributed between all seven sites.

During these site visits physical artifacts that described use were also recorded. These traces extended past the public space to include all semi-private and visible private space that engaged with public space dynamics. Physical signs of wear and tear

as well as abandoned objects, items stored on porches and blinds left open, were important indicators to support field observations.

After the second data collection was completed, the architects were contacted to conduct in-depth interviews regarding the design process for each development. The original project architect could not be contacted for either project, and instead supporting designers provided an overview of the design process that occurred at Rainier Vista. However both architectural firms proved useful in providing information on the original residents of these sites and the needs expressed by them in the collaborative design process. These architects were also key in establishing what design decisions were intentionally made to mitigate tensions between low and high-income groups. Both interviews lasted about 60 minutes and written notes were taken directly after each call to ensure that they were accurately remembered and to distill useful information.

Next, Seattle Housing Authority property management and Home Owners' Association management for each site were contacted to conduct interviews regarding the coordination that happens between property management, home owner associations, owners and renters. Having the opinion of both groups presented both sides of the management narrative that occurs at these mixed-income sites. Though only one of the two home owner's association managers were available to interview, these interviews were key in illuminating non-architecture variables that impacted the use of the selected public spaces.

Qualitative Data Analysis Methods

Grounded theory originated as a qualitative design in 1967 by two sociology researchers, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss. In contrast to other theoretical orientations in sociology which set up a theory a priori, “grounded theorists held that theories should be grounded in data from the field especially in the actions, interactions, and social process of people.”³² Grounded theory as an analysis method was chosen in this study for three primary reasons.

The first relates to the open nature of the research question. This thesis asks *how* design supports integration in mixed-income communities in order to support a comprehensive examination. Grounded theory allows for a rigorous and structured approach to be taken in answering a very open question. Secondly, because of the scarcity of design research related to integration in mixed-income and mixed-tenure environments, a literature review would likely not allow for an exploration of all the variables³³. Lastly, observation of residents in shared space is able to reveal behaviors of how space is used that may be unconscious or otherwise not reported in interviews. The observational methods of this study look critically at the “actions, interactions and social processes of people” as they relate to their designed environments.³⁴

The process for translating field annotations that recorded space use was two-fold. First the annotations were written as notes to be used later in the qualitative coding process. These notes included the person as well as the type and general location of

³² Creswell, John, William Hanson, Vicki Plano, and Alejandro Morales. “Qualitative Research Designs Selection and Implementation.” *The Counseling Psychologist* **35** (2) (2007): 236–264.

³³ Brophy, Paul C., and Rhonda N. Smith. 1997. “Mixed-Income Housing: Factors for Success.” *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research*, Vol. 3, Number 2.

³⁴ Creswell, et al (2007) “Qualitative Research Designs Selection and Implementation” 249.

each activity in order to make a clear connection between the textual data and the key research question. The field annotations were then translated into use diagrams that recorded the paths taken by users as well as the places where users stopped to spend time in the open spaces and their dwelling contexts. The process of sorting and diagramming the data in this way was helpful “in the theoretical development of analysis by providing logic for organizing data” as it related to specific locations at each site.³⁵ These diagrams produced an initial set of memos where identified patterns were noted for further investigation.

Before beginning the coding of the textual data, predetermined codes were written in two different categories for the ease of tabulating the data later on. The first category coded the location of each activity as it related to the open space, owner residences and renter residences. These location codes were similar to the locations already previously identified in Table 2, summarizing the descriptions of each open space selected for study. The second category coded the type of behavior or activity occurring at the open space in different “coding families” suggested by Glaser.³⁶ The first coding family identified *use* of the open space by different demographic groups and tenure groups. Use of open spaces by multiple populations rather than an isolated population supported a primary level of integration. The second coding family identified *interactions* that occurred between different races or tenure groups at each site. Positive interactions of this kind supported a high level of integration through

³⁵ Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Sage.

³⁶ Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical sensitivity: Advances in the methodology of grounded theory*. Sociology Press.

social mixing. The third coding family is that of *traces of comfort*, such as the personalization of semi-private space, which were identified as a family of codes that reveal typical use across different tenure configurations. When behaviors characteristic of different tenure groups were persistent across sites, it was less likely to observe modified behavior due to mixed tenure. .

These behavior codes were then tabulated with location codes to describe location-based activity. Each open space was looked at separately as well as in combination with others that represented the same tenure configuration. These latter tabulations were compared against one another to see what kinds of interactions happened in each configuration that didn't happen in others. This analysis process allowed for each open space to describe frequent kinds of use. However, despite their frequency or infrequency, inter-tenure and interracial behaviors were called out separately for more thorough analysis.

Memos regarding these behaviors were written throughout the research project, both during and after data collection. Kathy Charmaz emphasizes that memos “explicate analytic notes, fill out categories and allow the researcher to make comparisons between data and data, data and codes and so on.”³⁷ After the first two data collection periods, common behaviors at each site were noted in memos that often focused on a single idea and did not go as far as to compare between different open spaces. Early memos recorded what was happening in the data, and helped to ‘fill out’ qualitative codes later on. These early memos also directed the writing of “advanced memos” which were

³⁷ Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*.

used in describing how categories emerge and in making comparisons.”³⁸The advanced memos were written after tabulation of the data for each site and later after comparison across sites, taking into special account socially mixed behaviors between different tenures and different races. This last process proved to be a back and forth between looking at tabulated location-based behavior data and queried socially mixed behavior data across all sites.

Interviews with property management and architects were used as a means to introduce design intent for the two HOPE VI projects, as well as non-architecture variables that could impact use of the selected open spaces. Interviews with property management also worked to confirm patterns in behavior by those whose long-term management on site made them particularly knowledgeable. These sources were taken into account in the discussion of the analyzed behavior patterns, toward the end of the study.

Theoretical saturation of the collected data limited how much collection took place. Saturation is not the same as repetition of the same events or stories but rather, “the conceptualization of comparisons of these incidents which yield different properties of the pattern, until no or new properties of the pattern emerge.” Integrated with hypothesis, the conceptual density yielded by this level of saturation makes up “the body of the generated grounded theory with theoretical completeness.”³⁹

³⁸ *Ibid*, 13.

³⁹ Glaser, B. G. (2001). *The grounded theory perspective: Conceptualization contrasted with description*. Mill Valley, CA: The Sociology Press. 219.

Alternately, Charmaz points out that “categories are ‘saturated’ when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of these core theoretical categories.”⁴⁰ Therefore, when the same patterns of use were observed at each site, field observation for that site ended.

⁴⁰ Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Sage.

Site Analysis

Rainier Vista

Genesee Park

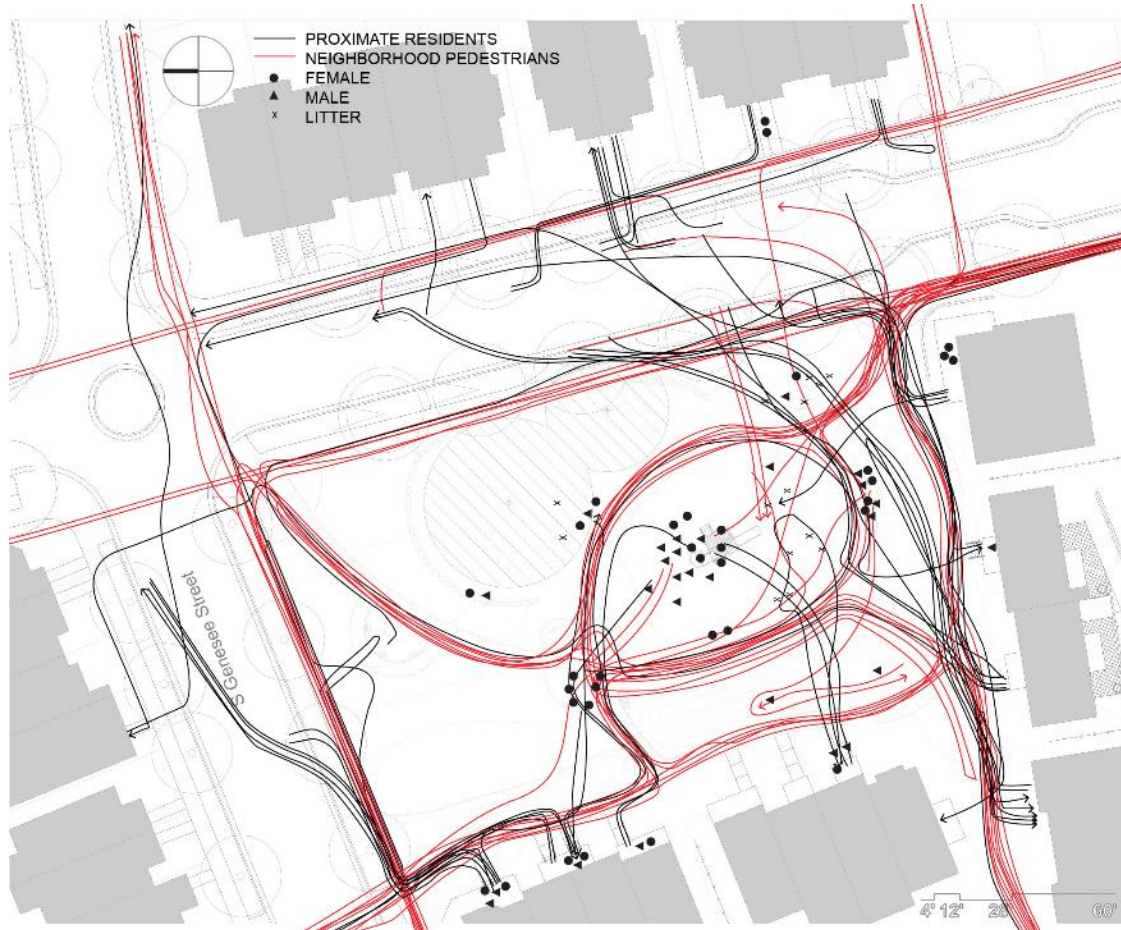


Figure 26: Genesee Park path and activity diagram.

Image created in collaboration with Nicole Ghiselli.

Use. Though representative of an isolated tenure configuration, Genesee Park is used by a variety of demographic groups. These groups include proximate residents of the park (renters) as well as residents that originate from other areas of Rainier Vista. Outside residents visited the park to play at the playground or around the park's

landscape, with parents passively supervising their children from seated locations at the edge of the playground. These groups took three primary paths to the site: the north pedestrian alley which connects to Adams Park one block north, the west interior pedestrian alley leading to Martin Luther King Way, and the sidewalk to the south which connects play facilities owned by the Boys and Girls Club. Children also used this path network to extend their field of object-based play on scooters and bikes.

Balconies at the second floor of residences with street entries were used more often than front porches as places to watch over the park or spend time with others. Semi-private spaces or balconies off of the park and across the street from the park were used briefly when residents gathered to leave home or when they came out to see who else was in the park at that moment. Though the on-grade porches directly off of the park lent themselves to passive supervision of playing children, when children residing at the park did go out to play, their parents followed them, supervising at a closer proximity.

Interactions. Varied, but limited seating at the edges of the playground supported a dynamic process of parents engaging with one another in their shared efforts to supervise their children. The choice to sit down next to someone at a bench, or stand at the edge of the playground when seating was not available, created opportunities for engagement between adults and the children gathered around them. Interactions of this kind, however, were only between adults and children of the same race and between residents who already knew each other by name.

On the playground, proximity between different demographic groups created opportunities for interaction. However, these interactions did not occur often. In one

instance one of the children living a few doors down from the park was playing on the play structure when six other children came and joined him. None of these children engaged with the boy and he quickly ‘slid past’ them without being noticed. On another occasion, a young girl, around the age of 2, approached another child of a different race. Though the other child was being directly supervised by her mother just a foot away, the mother remained actively non-engaged in the situation and the two children soon moved away from one another. There was one instance when a young boy living a few doors down from the park, entered the park and engaged with the researcher asking questions regarding where she was from and what she was doing. This ‘curious engagement’ was positive and interracial and led to further interactions later that day.

Traces. Both of the young boys referenced above played in the park barefoot on several occasions. This trace demonstrated a high level of comfort in the park as they left their house with little thought as to whether or not they needed to wear shoes. For these boys, the park was an extension of their home in their efforts to play and their bare feet were a symbol of ownership in the park. Other signs of comfort and ownership in the surrounding ground-related semi-private space were very few. There was a chair on the on grade porch of one of the park-related units, but most traces of personalization occurred at the second floor balconies of the units across the street from the park. Doors to these balconies were often left open and makeshift window coverings to protect from heat gain were used on the east balconies. Furniture and other stored items also sat on these porches.

Overall, Genesee Park is a high-traffic park with a very public nature. Despite the fact that two of its edges are bound by park-related dwellings, residents are either

using the park, staying inside or in route to access cars parked on the street. Familiarity between users is common, but mixed interactions are rare and positive mixed interactions are even rarer. Despite this lack of deep integration, the park does support a primary level of integration because it is actively used by a mix of demographics and tenures.

Adams Park



Figure 27: Adams Park path and activity diagram

Image created in collaboration with Nicole Ghiselli.

Activity. Unlike Genesee Park, Adams Park does not support structured play. The sloped field that dominates the space is seldom used as a destination, except for

occasions when ball-games are played. These occasions are mixed between visitors who enter the park from the pedestrian alley leading to Genesee Park and owners that live in the private dwellings surrounding the park (one instance of the latter). Besides the handful of instances where soccer, catch or baseball were played on the field, interaction with the open space was relegated to people passing by the park on its sidewalk, residents of the park returning or arriving home after parking on the street or residents returning to their car to collect a forgotten item. Most of the people passing by Adams Park were residents walking their dogs, residents returning home from the direction of Genesee Park or heading in the direction of Genesee Park. The pedestrian alleyway also connected kids on scooters that rode up and down the sloped street adjacent to the park.

Interactions. Few interactions between outside groups took place at Adams Park. Interactions that did occur in the park were car based. On two occasions cars slowed down to talk with familiar people who were walking past the park on the sidewalk. On another occasion a car slowed after a boy fell riding his scooter in order to make sure that he was okay. A resident living off of the park also came out to hail down her friend who was driving around the block looking for her friend. Finally, a young girl waiting on the front steps of her house was picked up by a passing car by her parents. Other interactions that occurred at the site related to formalized events, including a house being shown for sale and a woman having a garage sale.

Traces. The lack of personalization and traces of use in the covered front entries of the surrounding park residences also reflects the lack of active use by park residents. With the exception of one owner who left out their boxes for grocery delivery, objects

were not left at front entries. Additionally, there was only one front entry that was used as a space to spend time and interact with others in the park. This occurred when a family of five used the park to play baseball and the mother and grandmother stayed watching the boys playing from under the covered entry on temporarily positioned camping chairs. Overall, Adams Park is an open space that attracts different populations to passively engage with it as a means to get somewhere else. Interactions primarily occur with passing vehicle traffic or in formalized events such as open houses and garage sales.

Central Park

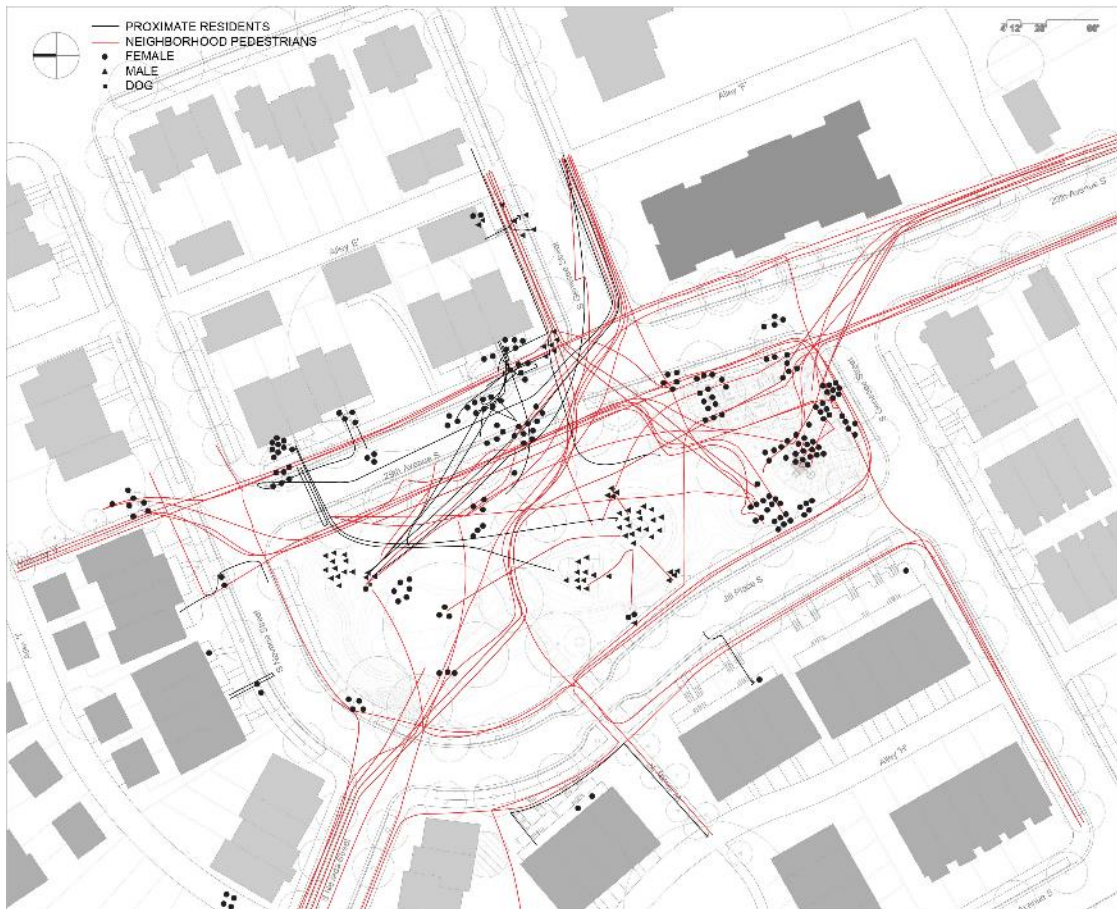


Figure 28: Central Park path and activity diagram

Image created in collaboration with Nicole Ghiselli.

Use. Central Park is the largest park that was observed in this study. Its diverse design provides a variety of opportunities for structured play and gathering. It is also the only park at Rainier Vista that offers a basketball court and a swing set. Pedestrian alleyways to the north and west as well as four intersecting streets maximize the park's connectivity to its surroundings and bring in people of different tenure and race.

Use of the park by its surrounding residents was far more prevalent among the rental group to the east of the park. Active households in the corner units of the multi-

unit dwellings on this edge of the park regularly populated their porches, the street and the park beyond. This active use led to a familiar group of users with a strong social network between them. Residents from opposite corners of this street were regular playmates and often sought one another out. Additionally, the use of street parking by these households and their visitors created an active street life due to people visiting at the windows of idling cars or on the hoods of parked cars. The narrow street width of this street was designed to park cars on only one side, therefore, parking on both sides slowed passing traffic considerably as did frequent pedestrian use.

Park residents of the private dwellings west of the park was significantly lower than those living on the east side. The entries to these 3-story townhouses were elevated from the street by 1-story and require ascending 14 steps to reach the front door. As such, only one resident was observed to enter their home through the front door after parking on the street and only one family was observed to exit through their front door to a different park. These units also had elevated front-yards at the height of their entries and a low-fence that encircled their entire front property. Though these households used their balconies at times and maintained their yards, these locations were so far removed from the park that their presence was not felt as part of the park environment.

The ownership units to the north of the park are different in their design and siting, however. These households had entries and front yards on grade with the street without an encircling low-fence. Therefore, occasional use of front yards and adjacent sidewalks was a visible part of the park. Additionally, their siting near the north pedestrian alleyway and the pocket landscape that existed there placed them in close

proximity to constant activity and supported their physical integration with the rest of the open space.

Within the park, edge seating adjacent to the park's sidewalks supported the engagement of passer-by with users of the park sitting at these edges. This was especially the case for the landscaped ledge and stair on the west edge of the park. Additionally, the many benches around planters at the southeast corner of the park supported the gathering of over fifteen women listening to one another speak in a focused discussion.

Interaction. Like Genesee Park, the playground at Central Park generated behavior of active non-engagement from adults directly supervising their children. However, for every negative interracial interaction at Central Park there was also a positive one. One example of this was when a mother directly supervising her young daughter on the playground encouraged her to speak to a child of a different race that her daughter was approaching. The mother stooped down to head height with the children and instructed her daughter to say hi to the other child. The mother of the other child smiled at this, though did not say anything in reply (possible language barrier here). Positive interracial interactions between children and adults also occurred between two elderly woman sitting at a park bench and a young girl playing in the playground near them. The two woman reached out to the girl admiring her and wanting to play with her. Additionally, an older man walking around the park stopped in at one of the basketball courts to join in a bit of basketball with two teenage boys.

The existence of basketball courts played an enormous role in the level of integration that happened at Central Park. Boys and girls of different races and tenure,

arriving at the park from all different locations and from rental residences facing the park on the east, joined others to play basketball on the two courts. Conversation, cooperation and affection were all showcased through the interactions between youth on these courts. The teen boys who primarily used the courts all spoke the same language and regularly organized into teams and different basketball games.

Traces. Personalization at Central Park was limited in the semi-private spaces of multi-unit rental dwellings but extensive in the front yards of the on-grade private units at the north edge of the park. Owners living in these residences had patio furniture and vibrant planted gardens. This was also the case for owners living at the west edge of the park, 1 story above street level, though these front yards were barely evident from the park.

High Point

Bataan Park



Figure 29: Bataan Park paths and activity diagram. ⁴¹

Use. Bataan Park is regularly used by three households on its north edge. These rental households represent active users of the park who are normally seen playing on the playground or in the field. Residents at the south of the park (owners) primarily leave and return home without passing through the park, however, some use the park's paths in their pursuit of exercise or an evening walk. In addition to the use of the park

⁴¹ Image created in collaboration with Nicole Ghiselli.

by its residents, Bataan Park's small playground also attracts a mix of residents from elsewhere at High Point Gardens.

Interaction. Unlike Central Park and Genesee Park, there was less observed presence of supervision at Bataan Park. Though this is partially due to a smaller use population, many children typically came to play at Bataan Park came with older siblings acting as their informal supervision. Parents who did come to the park were often accompanied by only one child whom they supervised in a very direct manner. Therefore, interactions between supervising adults and unfamiliar children were interactions between supervising adults and unsupervised unfamiliar children. In cases where these children were park residents who often used the park unsupervised, visiting parents talked with the child, sometimes even offering to share their child's toy or offering their assistance to use different playground equipment.

Another source of interaction at Bataan Park was caused by the heavy use of the swing set there. The need to share the resource led to interactions of active non-engagement by children who did not want to share, but it also led to an exchange between parents seeking a turn on the swings for their children.

Traces. The active residents of Bataan Park often forgot objects or clothing at the park. Additionally, a few of the children would run around the park barefoot, even on the wood chip playground. Lastly, both rental residences and private residences showed a similar degree of personalization and use. Rental units further east from the park had a variety of objects stored on their porches, while owner units had elaborate gardens and fine patio furniture within their low-fenced front yards.

Viewpoint Park

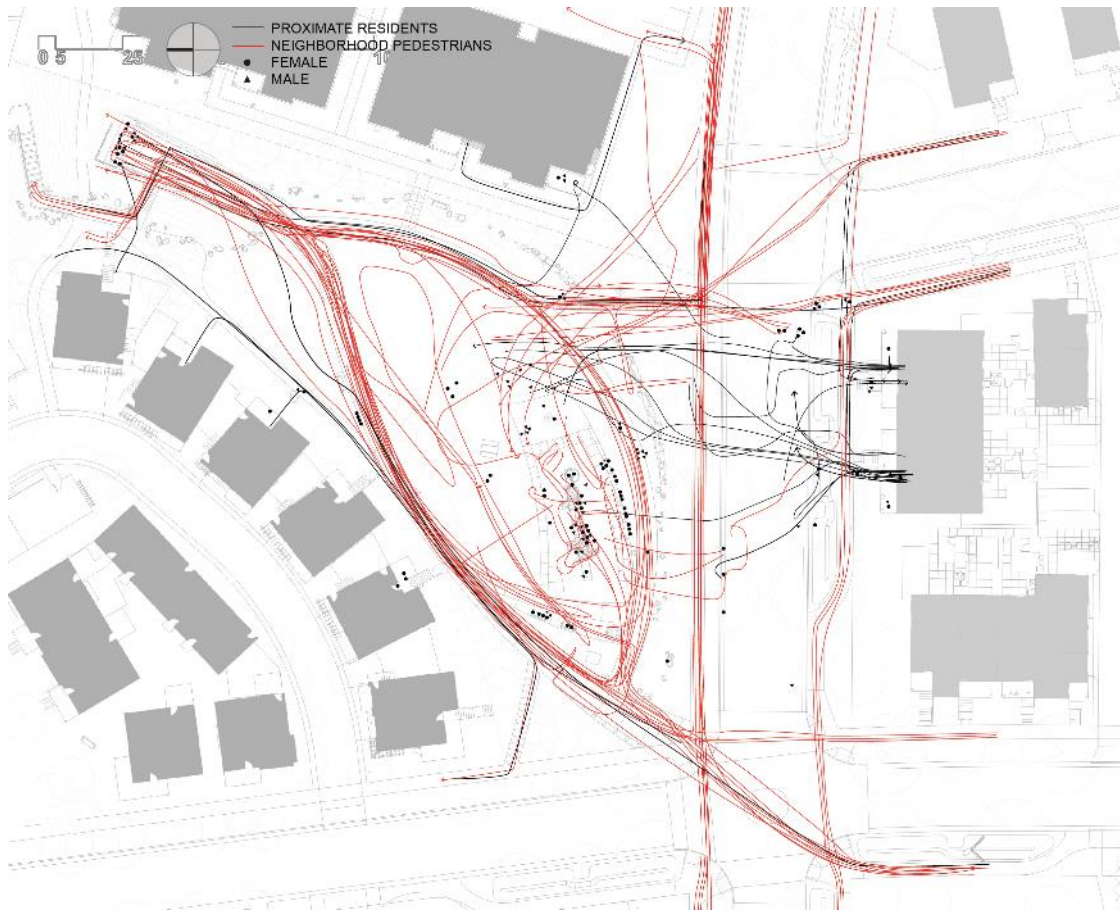


Figure 30: Viewpoint Park paths and activity diagram.⁴²

Use. Viewpoint Park is primarily a destination park for all of the residents of High Point Gardens. Besides being actively used by the four rental households across the street from the park, residents of the private dwellings related directly to the park engage with the open space only to pass it in leaving or returning home. Those who live in the condominiums to the east can leave and enter their building on a screened path that virtually eliminates any passing connection to the park.

⁴² Image created in collaboration with Nicole Ghiselli.

Visitors to the park partake in three main activities: passive supervision, object-based play, and structured play. While kids rushed to play on the play structure or scooter up and down the park paths, parents sat or stood in the vicinity to passively supervise their kids. In some cases parents supervised from their cars parked on the south curb of the park. Unlike Bataan Park, Genesee Park or Central Park, few parents directly supervised their children when on the playground. This could have been due to the fact that an abundant amount of seating is provided very close to the playground's play structure or it may be due to the fact that the high volume of kids playing on the play structure impedes the possibility of direct supervision. A majority of parents visiting the park are mothers who sat together at the playground ledge or at the picnic tables and chatted amongst themselves until their children required their attention.

Similar to the behavior at Genesee Park, the children living in the south rental units use the park as an extension of their home. In the span of an hour these kids will go to and from the park, grabbing warmer clothing or recruiting other neighbors or siblings to come play. The children living in these units know one another. Older siblings, as well as parents, often share the responsibility of caring for younger children that are not related to them.

Interactions. A considerable amount of park traffic comes from the north stair that connects Viewpoint Park with residents walking to and from Pond Park directly below. Many of these residents simply pass through the park walking their dogs or continuing on their evening walk, but on a few occasions, when the park experienced a high use volume, these residents ran into children on the park paths. This occurred when children engaged in object based play, crossed into the paths of passing residents. On

one occasion a soccer game between a large group of boys caused a boy to almost run into an elderly woman in his pursuit of the ball. The woman proceeded to reprimand the group of boys in a negative interracial interaction concerning proper civility. On another occasion, however, a man walking his dog down the path was intercepted by a young girl wanting to pet his dog. The interaction was friendly and interracial.

The path network at View Point Park represents a unique case among the parks where a connecting pedestrian path is directly absorbed into one of the interior park paths. Unlike other path systems of the studied spaces where connecting pedestrian alleys intersect with park sidewalks or a perimeter park path, residents passing through the park from Pond Park are funneled into the very heart of Viewpoint Park. Because this path network also encourages a significant amount of object-based play running into others or joining other children in play happens often at Viewpoint Park.

Additionally, the long stretch of seating at the south edge of the playground supported an increased level of interaction between children and non-familiar adults. In one instance, a mother sat with her child near a larger group of children of a different race playing on the play structure. After starting to blow bubbles for her son the other children quickly joined in on the experience and the mother happily obliged everyone. In another situation, a child was hurt on the playground and one of the mothers, seeing this, stood up to offer him her assistance though she was not familiar to him.

The last interaction worth noting was between park residents of different tenure. The first involved a man that was barbequing on the patio of his corner condominium unit close to sidewalk and east park path. While barbequing the man called out to greet a boy crossing into the park from one of the active rental units across the street.

Traces. Two children from one of the active rental units south of the park crossed the street between their house and the park barefoot several times. Not wearing shoes is significant because it shows that the children treated the park as an extension of their home rather than a destination requiring a certain level of preparedness. Additionally, most balconies of the condominium buildings were populated with outdoor furnishings and potted plants. The detached houses on the west bounding edge of the park employed a significant degree of personalization in their front yards, but these yards were separated from the park by a low fence and therefore, they are of a private rather than semi-private nature. Front porches of the multi-dwelling unit across the street from the park are sparsely populated by furniture or any trace of personalization. This difference between highly personalized owned semi-private space and sparsely personalized rented semi-private space was also observed at Central Park in Rainier Vista.

31st AVE S: Pocket Park

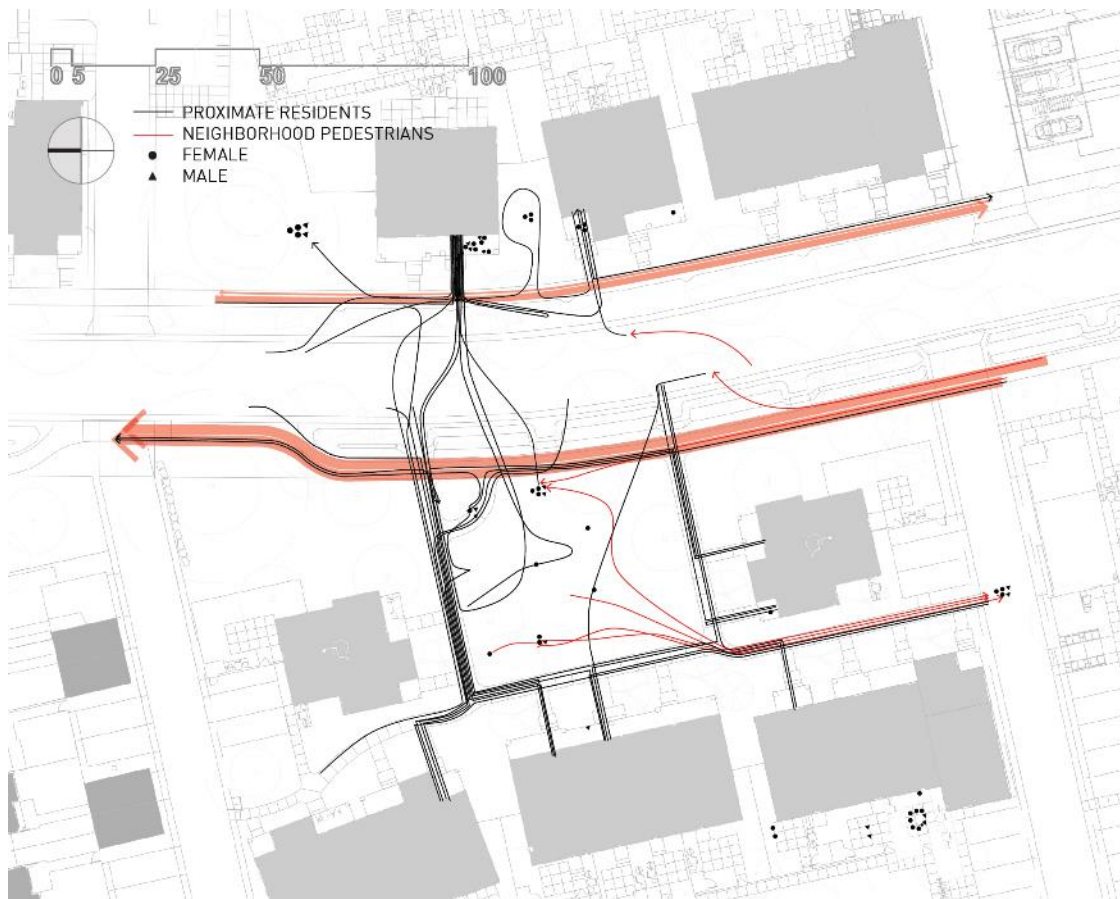


Figure 31: Pocket Park paths and activity diagram.⁴³

Use. Active use of the pocket park is relegated to its residents and the children that join in their play. As shown in Figure 17, residents of the park leave and return home from their cars parked on the street, get their mail from the corner mailbox and leave their homes to maintain their porches and cars. Outside residents only pass by the park, with most of the traffic passing on the park's sidewalk going south away from Viewpoint Park to the north.

⁴³ Image created in collaboration with Nicole Ghiselli.

Interaction. Object-based play engaged a variety of different spaces making use of path networks and interstitial spaces surrounding the pocket park at 31st Avenue SW. Moving through different locations created variety and increased the likelihood of children ‘running into’ one another and ‘joining in’ group play in an effort to share resources or engage an object they were curious about. For example, the active household on the top right corner of Figure 17 housed a group of three children who constantly engaged with their neighbors to the south. These children would ‘pick up’ other children and play in the alleys as well as the pocket park closest to their home. In one instance a passing boy offered his basketball for them to play with and thus, joined their group. Using the active household as the base to return to regularly, these kids played without much supervision.

Traces. The site is rich with personalization of front porches and backyards. These traces of personalization included: statues standing at the corner of one porch, Christmas lights adorning the entry onto a different porch and a small garden of potted plants on a third porch. More than half of the porches had porch furniture and some were used as a place to store bikes, scooters and other outdoor gear. Other traces of use included litter generally concentrated to parking areas behind and in front of units as well as unattended objects left out after play in the park.

S Raymond St: Entry Court

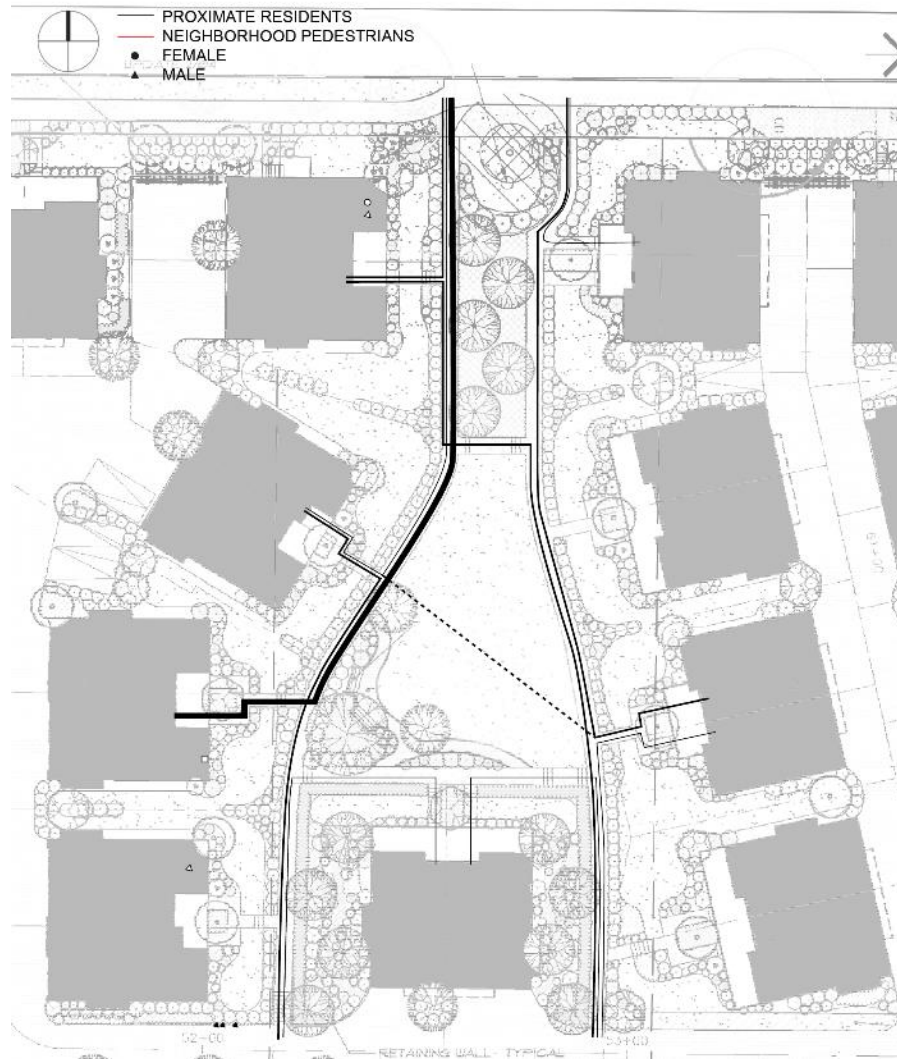


Figure 32: Entry Court paths and activity diagram.

Use. The open space off of S Raymond St is used by residents of the surrounding private units leaving or returning home, getting their mail in the alley at the south or walking their dogs. The use of balconies is the only instance of residents engaging with their open space in a prolonged manner. In Figure 18 this use is shown in the outline of the female and male symbols. In both, cases balcony doors were left open and inside activity was heard from the open space. Though these engagements were

passive in their nature they were observed to be preferred by the residents of the entry court.

Interactions. Despite persistent inactivity, two residents leaving and arriving home at the same time greeted one another by name over the short span of the open space (this is shown in Figure 32 by a dashed black line). Additionally, this interaction pointed to the very real possibility that residents know each other though they do not actively use the open space.

Traces. Open balcony doors and second floor windows expressed a desire to have the outside come in and a comfort with the outside surroundings. Delivered packages, patio furniture, barbecues and bikes left at covered front entries also showed a sense of security shared by all residents.

Discussion

Principles of Design that Support Social Mixing

Sharing Resources: the power of structured play

Genesee, Central, Bataan and Viewpoint Parks all provided designs that supported a variety of expected behaviors for play. For example, slides were used to slide down or climb up, swings were used to swing on and jungle gyms were used to climb on. Combined with a high volume of park visitors, these structures often require that users share a particular resource due to high demand. How this sharing took place depended on the nature of the resource.

In some cases, the use of a resource by younger children included the active supervision or assistance of adults. Swing sets, jungle gyms, monkey bars and slides were among the resources used by children with the assistance of an adult nearby. The proximity of children and parents passing by one another during the use of these structures often supported engagements between children of different races. These engagements were encouraged by parents who instructed their children to introduce themselves. While this level of interaction promoted inclusion in the playground, the conversations were short and formal in nature.

Designed play that required people to take turns or join a larger group already in play, supported a deeper level of interaction because they required coordination. These designs were often those in highest demand at their respective parks. The swing set at Bataan Park and the basketball courts at Central Park were primary examples of this trend. In the first case, the popularity of the swing set was the impetus for a parent - in

use of the swings with her two children - to offer the spots to an approaching family headed in that direction. In the second case, the inclusion of a large and small basketball court supported multiple games simultaneously which in turn allowed children of different skill levels and ages to take part. These courts proved to increase positive social mixing at Central Park five-fold compared to the other selected open spaces.

Familiar Users: designing for 'check-in' supervision

As mentioned in the analysis of the previous section, active residents of open spaces were a common agent in the positive social mixing that occurred at the mixed-tenure parks - Bataan Park, Genesee Park and Viewpoint Park. The interactions between park visitors and park residents at these three parks supports the notion that active users foster familiarity between tenures. One of the cases that illustrates this theme most clearly is the case of Soriah, a six year-old girl living at the eastern edge of Bataan Park. Soriah and her brother live in a rental duplex on the north side of Bataan Park. Though their home is the rental unit farthest away from the playground, their porch is elevated to provide views to the playground that are unobstructed by plantings or changing topography. Designed in this way, Soriah's parents can simply access their front porch when they need to make sure their children are safe and close by.

Central Park and Viewpoint Park also had active households facing onto them that took advantage of porches to informally supervise their children. In both cases the same design criteria supported this method of supervision. From the porches of these residences the active use areas of each park (i.e. Basketball courts, play structure or grass field) were clearly visible either through minimal plantings or elevated porches that provided views over obstructions. Additionally, when children of active households

wandered out of eye sight, the close proximity of the residence made finding them possible by calling out for them or taking a short walk further into the park,

Because of this convenient design, children can play outside without scheduling their play around the responsibilities of householders. Depending on whether or not this allowance is taken advantage of, these children have the ability to spend countless hours in an open space making their presence familiar to other adults and children who come to the park at varying times. In the observations of this study this familiarity and lack of direct supervision proved to be a bridge between different tenures and races.

Pedestrian Activity: supporting active use

While the above principles work to support a deeper level of integration through interaction, increased pedestrian activity supports the use of open space by surrounding residents and the larger neighborhood. This principle is essential in ensuring that both owners and renters use open space, despite different frequency of use. In observing owner isolated open spaces and renter isolated open space, owners typically used their neighboring open space significantly less than renters.

Through interviews with both the home owners association and the Seattle Housing Authority at Rainier Vista and High Point, household size came up as a confounding factor that affected this different frequency of use. Renters generally have a household size of about 4 people, while owners have a smaller household size of 2 to 3 people. Many of these smaller households are either young families with up to two children or families with no children. While renter households may have older siblings that are able to take on the responsibilities of supervising younger children, owner households often do not. Considering this, younger children of private residences were

often at the park accompanied by an adult directly supervising them. The check in method of supervision that occurred with some proximate residents was only observed as a method of supervision for renters, not owners. Understanding the impact that these factors had on open space use, the analysis was directed to focus on the design principles that supported the unique uses of both renters and owners in order to maintain regular use by both groups.

In order to encourage the increased use of open space by owners to match the presence of renters, pedestrian activity must be supported. Unless owners are using one of the neighborhood's playgrounds, they most often occupy the public realm to exercise or walk their dogs, and to access their cars parked on the street. Both of these activities are pedestrian oriented and rely on two different design aspects.

The first aspect is the inclusion of detached parking for all residents. Though all rental residents have shared parking in vehicle alleyways behind their unit, private residences either have attached or detached garages. In the latter case, detached garages are often repurposed as garden sheds or further storage for owners. As a result, these residents continue to use the street to park on and this increases their presence on the periphery of their neighboring open spaces. For residences with attached garages, however, this is not the case. The residences to the west of Bataan Park and the residents surrounding the entry court of S Raymond St all have attached garages. Only a handful of these residents used their front door to leave and return home and this really limited the presence of owners in the open space.

Detached parking also served to slow down traffic around open spaces due to the high volume of people parking their cars on the street. The narrow street width of

Rainier Vista and High Point was designed to allow for two lanes of passing traffic and only one lane of street parking. In reality, however, both sides of the street are used for street parking and cars have to slow down to pass one another. This unintended use further encourages pedestrian activity by making streets safer to walk across. Additionally, car-dominated use at Triangle Park and Central Park supported street-based interactions between passing pedestrians or passing vehicles.

Pedestrian pathways connecting open spaces to the greater neighborhood also promoted pedestrian activity by increasing safety and creating a pedestrian realm separate from vehicles. At High Point these pathways connected parks to one another and to sidewalks. They were heavily used by dog walkers and older populations using their neighborhood path system for exercise. At Rainier Vista, on the other hand, pedestrian pathways were designed as alleyways that connected parks between blocks and offered shorter distances of travel between them. The pedestrian alleyways that link Adams Park and Genesee Park connected these parks to a larger network of users and, in turn, supported integrated use by owners and renters despite their same-tenure surroundings. More generally, these pedestrian pathways support a deeper design principle: that of access.

Public Access

Connecting and attracting the rest of the neighborhood to each open space is necessary to maintain a healthy level of mixing in the context of these HOPE VI projects. Due to the fact that isolated tenure configurations do not provide the opportunity for social mixing through their surrounding tenure, this opportunity should be provided by increasing the space's accessibility to the rest of the neighborhood. At

High Point isolated tenure configurations are further isolated because they remain unconnected to the rest of the neighborhood. The renter pocket park off of S 31st Street and the owner entry court off of S Raymond St both share only one of their edges with the street. The edge at the entry court is further reduced with a large tree that screens the court from the people passing by on the sidewalk. Neither the entry court nor the pocket park offer the level of accessibility that Rainier Vista does in both of its isolated tenure parks. Here, Genesee Park and Adams Park both remain connected to the rest of the neighborhood through a system of pedestrian alleyways and two street bounding edges. The latter design choice ensures that at least one of the parks' corners is exclusively public. The former design choice allows the park to be used as a pedestrian 'throughway.' Central Park shares this design choice in the inclusion of a pedestrian path that runs through the middle of the park. This path provides an easy connection for pedestrians making their way from MLK Way to the opposite side of the park.

Additionally, the provision of a variety of amenities in open space design leads to a broader and more diverse user population. The outdoor exercise equipment available at Bataan Park saw use by both adult and youth populations. Central Park is also an apt example of providing amenities that encourage public access. A variety and abundance of seating options supported elderly groups watching people from the center of the park, large groups of fifteen women conversing, parents passively supervising their children and teenage girls watching basketball. The small and large basketball court at this park also supported young children and teenagers alike. In their nature as destination parks, Central, Genesee, Bataan and Viewpoint tended to be far more public

than their foils: Adams Park, 31st Avenue's Pocket Park and S Raymond Street's Entry Court. However, a few of these latter parks did have their strengths.

Challenges Associated with Making Open Space More Public

The Advantage of Mixing at the Neighborhood Scale

Many of the design principles shown to support integrated use and interaction in this study are predicated on a scale of mixing that supports a unified identity. The open spaces at Rainier Vista and High Point sit within neighborhoods that, in their density, resemble their urban neighbors to the north more than their direct suburban neighbors. Because of this, these neighborhoods have defined edges that are sometimes additionally defined by natural systems such as wetlands or forested parks. These physical characteristics, combined with community events and social services, identify residents with a particular place. The open spaces within these neighborhoods benefit from a shared sense of place. Most users of these spaces are part of the same neighborhood and therefore, people who would otherwise be considered strangers in other contexts, are considered neighbors. This unified identity alone is incredibly powerful in integrating disparate populations, and it is the distinct advantage of mixing income groups at the scale of the HOPE VI projects selected for this study. However, the factors that have been shown to encourage social mixing at this scale also present instances that challenge unified identity and compromise a high level of security.

Loss of Security

Though increasing public access to open space supports a greater mix of users and interactions, this design principle also reduces the level of security in a shared

space. The pocket park and entry court studied at High Point both expressed a unique sense of intimacy provided by the isolation of each design. Both of these cases represent owner-only or renter-only configurations and have entries off of the shared space on three of their four sides. In either case, traces of comfort were rich without any privacy barrier to control entry areas with the greater shared space. As mentioned in the analysis, valuable objects such as bikes, deliveries and furniture, were left at the entries of the entry court and the pocket park. Porches at the pocket park were also heavily personalized with decorations and religious objects appearing on a few of them.

In contrast, residents of Genesee Park and Triangle Park (also isolated tenure configurations) did not claim ownership in the same way that residents of High Point's pocket park and entry court did. Both Genesee Park and Adams Park showed few traces of personalization in the semi-private entries for each unit. The lack of ownership and observed at these parks revealed an inverse relationship between integration and ownership. While Genesee Park and Adams Park succeeded in being more integrated in their use, greater exposure to other populations threatened the intimacy found in the parks described above. Figure 33 shows how decreased security without this level of intimacy resulted in the storage of valuable items on balconies rather than front entries. Because the entry court and pocket park at High Point were spaces that saw little to no use by other neighborhood residents, a majority of the users of these spaces were neighboring residents of like tenancy (either all owners or all renters). This exclusive open space use introduced a high degree of security unmatched by the other five parks in this study.

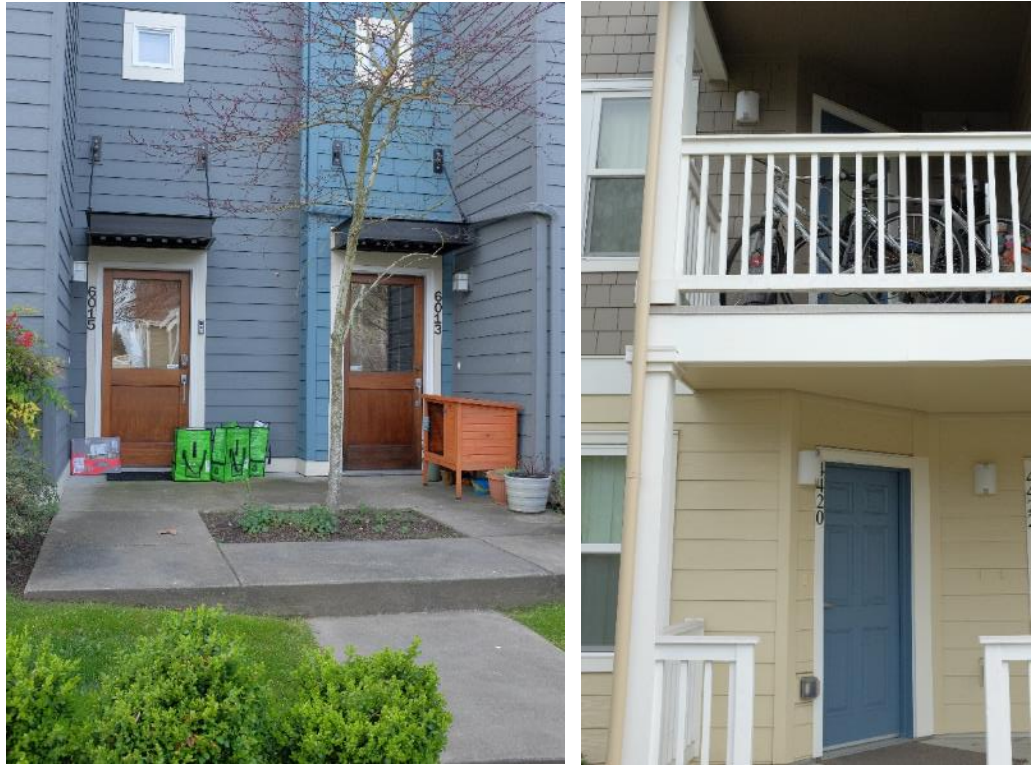


Figure 33: Changes in front entry use dependent on level of access to open space

Front entry use at the entry court (left). Front balcony use at Genesee Park (right)

When users of an open space are limited to residents of their direct vicinity, easy identification of ‘outsiders’ allows for better security. This is especially important to residents who are concerned with the public safety of their neighborhood parks.

Interviews with management at Rainier Vista revealed issues around public safety in the development’s largest and most public park: Central Park. Discussed earlier as a park that experiences a great amount of social mixing by virtue of its public accessibility and amenities, this park is also subject to drug activity. Noted by one HOA staff member as “a wonderful place for people to gather during the day,” when it gets dark, Central Park is a place where outsiders can come and go without being noticed or recognized.

Located one short block from MLK Jr Way, the public location of a few unnamed

properties surrounding the park contributes to this ease of access by outsiders who are not familiar to the community. Anonymity of these users is further maintained by the large trees that obstruct lighting in the park. Drug activities have been known to take place in the park and in cars parked at its edge. Resident reaction to this is varied. One active member of the resident association who lives at the park's periphery responded by warning possible perpetrators herself from the safety of her balcony. A group of residents have also collectively responded by deciding to use their park more in order to better monitor its users. In response to an instance of violent crime that occurred within the last year, home owners agreed to an increased home owner's association fee to cover the cost of greater surveillance hours by Rainier Vista's private protection agency. While these social initiatives are being put in place to increase security, the role design plays in public safety should also be considered. At Bataan Park, for example, a path that runs between High Point and another housing development across the creek at the bottom of the hill, has supported drug activity in the past. Figure 34 shows this stepped path. Though issues of public safety are less pronounced at High Point they also exist in correlation with outside access and decreased visibility.



Figure 34: Stepped path connecting Bataan Park to neighboring development

Increased Privatization of Owned Semi-Public Space

The design factors noted in this study to support integration in mixed-tenure environments are derived from a design context that is not very spatially integrated to begin with. Small, intimate shared spaces like those of the pocket park and the entry court at High Point, were not configured as mixed-tenure spaces. The scale of tenure mix would have to be smaller to allow for mixed-tenure pocket parks or entry courts. This would require that parcels sold for private development become smaller and less secure.

As is, the neighborhood structure of both Rainier Vista and High Point groups tenures according to the design dogma of “like faces like.” This dogma is not unfounded. It is pragmatic. Providing desirable plots of land to private developers assists in the successful completion of HOPE VI projects. Siting these plots so that they

face other for-sale plots of the same property value assures developers that value will be maintained until the sale of the final home.

As a result of these concerns, for-sale homes only faced rental homes if they were configured around large open spaces that served as a buffer between ‘unlike’ faces. The mixed-tenure parks chosen for this study are representative of these buffers. Contrasting other open spaces at Rainier Vista and High Point, these ‘buffer’ parks are also destination parks with a variety of amenities that encourage access by the rest of the neighborhood. Surrounding residences are, therefore, more exposed to public use and, as noted previously, less secure than other more exclusive open spaces. This public context creates a set of issues that are particular to the development of for-sale housing.

Unlike the open front yards of rental units facing the three mixed-tenure parks of this study, for-sale front yards at these parks are distinctly private. Rental units that face these parks are similar in the design of their front semi-private zones: they have an entry path, open yard and covered porch with no fences or gates to make them strictly private. Though some front porches may be raised a number of steps from the level of the sidewalk, the front yards of these units remain part of a semi-public realm shared by the entire neighborhood. The ownership units of these parks, on the other hand, have front yards that are configured in a variety of ways to ensure privacy and ownership.

For-sale units facing Bataan Park have front yards delineated by a low fence that separates each unit’s front entry path, yard and covered entry from the public path. The low fence and front gates mark each of these three zones as private. In all cases a low fence is also used to separate the front yards between neighboring units. The only circumstance in which this is different is where the covered front entries share the same

concrete ground plane and no partition wall is used to provide the privacy between neighboring entries (see figure 35). This particularity express the priority to create privacy between the park and the units rather than between neighboring for-sale units.

Viewpoint Park encounters this same issue of inequitable privacy zoning. Porch entries to ownership residences on the west bounding edge of the park are raised one story above street level. Additionally, tall plantings at this edge of the park obscure three of the five residents closest to the active area of the park (the playground). Lastly, a low fence and individual front gates to access the entry stairs for each of the raised porches separates the front yards of these units from the access path.

Furthermore, increased isolation through increased setbacks add another dimension of privacy for owners. The entries into the rental homes facing Central Park are about eight feet from the public sidewalk while entries into the private homes on the western edge are setback 22 feet from the sidewalk. These homes are raised six feet above grade and include a fenced front entry path that climbs this elevation gain in 14 steps before accessing the fenced front yard. While the north, east and south dwellings all have on-grade entries, the western dwellings stand apart, looming over the park. This pattern of isolation is also seen at Bataan Park where ownership townhomes are set back 25 feet from their access path and 35 feet from the park's public path.



Figure 35: Increased privatization of for-sale residences across mixed configurations
For-sale residences at Bataan Park (top), Central Park (center), Viewpoint Park
(bottom).

It is important to note that the privatization of semi-public space for private residences did not occur at any of the other open spaces that were observed in this study. Though the isolated configuration of owning residents at Rainier Vista (Adams Park), was much more public than its counterpart at High Point (S Raymond St entry court), these residences did not have designs that increased their privacy thresholds. This difference illustrates how the interests of private developers favors the idea that destination parks and mixed tenure configurations require added privacy thresholds to maintain a high property value.

Striking a Balance between Public and Too Public

Architectural differences and isolated configurations in HOPE VI projects create physically segregated environments. This is readily apparent at High Point and Rainier Vista. We cannot ignore the possibility that there are real and negative social impacts to this. Careful study of these spaces revealed factors that helped in mixing between tenure groups and income groups, but these factors require open access that introduces a different set of issues. How can we mitigate the challenges of public space while still creating functionally and socially integrated mixed-income developments?

Mitigating Private Development

If serving the interests of for-sale developers continues to support the dogma of like facing like, the design of private dwellings around mixed open space should be further mitigated to avoid sharp design contrasts between private and rental units. Private residences should be designed to provide the level of ownership and security that appeals to prospective homeowners without making design choices that separate

these dwellings from public and semi-public realms. Additionally, the design should seek to neutralize the unique interests of homeowners rather than highlighting them. Doing so allows high and low income groups to be considered more equitably in relationship to where they live.

The townhomes at the northern edge of Central Park are an example of where interests of prospective homeowners were moderated to build homes that return front property to the greater semi-public realm. In contrast to the dwellings shown in Figure 35, these dwellings present the only instance of owner front yards facing mixed open spaces that are on grade with an open front yard and a similar setback to their neighboring rental dwellings. The design of these homes relocates expectations of privacy and ownership from front yards to where they are more appropriate: front balconies. Figure 36 illustrates how balconies allow owners to enjoy the advantages of privacy, while open front-yards allow the neighborhood to enjoy integrated and equitable semi-public space.



Figure 36: Balconies at for-sale residences north of Central Park

Design Open Space for the Neighborhood, Not the City

In describing the challenges associated with making open space more public to foster greater social mixing, public safety was called out as an issue of concern. For the most part, the open spaces at Rainier Vista and High Point benefit from their status as neighborhood parks. However, when this status is threatened, the presence of outsiders compromises security. This underlying quality is essential in supporting frequent use of open space and must, therefore be designed for at the urban scale. Public hierarchy should be established in order to limit access to neighborhood open space without controlling or monitoring it.

At both Rainier Vista and High Point public hierarchy is a design strategy carried out in varying degrees. Rainier Vista – designed as a transit-oriented

development – maintains commercial land-uses along its main arterial running down the center of the development. This arterial acts as a ‘landing zone’ for commuters to get on or off public transportation without entering into the rest of the development. In a similar manner, commercial land uses and access to public transportation for the High Point development are located one block away from its western edge. Contrastingly, at High Point the main arterial that connects the development to its greater urban context (West Seattle in this case) runs along one edge rather than straight through it. This further isolates the High Point development and may contribute to fewer issues of public safety. However, the exclusive neighborhood use that benefits open spaces in these projects can also be designed for without isolating the entire development from commercial streets.

A variety of design mechanisms can be used to ensure that neighborhood open spaces sustain the security afforded by exclusivity. For example, shared spaces can be sited a distance away from ‘landing zones.’ View Point Park and Bataan Park are both parks that are sited at least three blocks away from the neighborhood’s commercial street. Conversely, Central Park and Genesee Park at Rainier Vista are only one block away from MLK Jr Way, Rainier Vista’s main arterial. However, this problematic proximity is mitigated by streets that run to the open spaces but not through the neighborhood. As a result, outsiders that do not already have Rainier Vista in mind as their destination are not exposed to the open space amenities that it offers. Lastly, the buildings that line MLK Jr Way are about five stories tall. This limits visibility into the development and acts as a protective edge between the neighborhood and the city.

Conclusion

The pursuit of New Urbanist design principles often translates to an urban form which is evocative of traditional 19th century American neighborhoods. As a result, few HOPE VI projects approach the heights of traditional models for urban housing. In large part, the relic of abandoned high-rise towers of the post war housing projects continues to deter exploration of high-rise development. However, this is changing. HUD's new program of Choice Neighborhoods has modified the HOPE VI agenda to include struggling neighborhoods with distressed public housing rather than just the latter.

One of these choice neighborhoods is currently underway in Seattle in a redevelopment project estimated to cost nearly \$2 billion dollars after it is completed in the next 15 years. Parks and open space planned for at Yesler Terrace have four associated goals: to express a unique urban environment, build a healthy community, serve all residents and grow a green urbanism. The goal to build a healthy community is supported by the effort to “maximize social interaction through inviting and active year-round spaces” and to “encourage walk and healthy outdoor activity through safe connections and a dynamic mix of uses and settings.”⁴⁴ The need to provide safe connections is further supported by the future implementation of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design principles – a step away from New Urbanism but a continued pursuit of defensible space.

These principles closely align with the design factors established in this study to support integration in mixed income communities. Connected pedestrian networks,

⁴⁴ Seattle Housing Authority. (2011). Yesler Terrace Development Plan: Bringing Home a Better Future. 9.

passive supervision, attractive amenities, and public space that serves all residents are all design principles being utilized in the design of Yesler Terrace. However, the structure of this urban development varies drastically from that of current HOPE VI projects. In Yesler Terrace the unit of housing mix will occur at the scale of the apartment building rather than the multi-unit dwelling. Mid-rise affordable housing will stand next to high rise market-rate buildings with the added effort to make sure that “affordable buildings are not distinguishable from market-rate buildings.”⁴⁵



Figure 19: Yesler Terrace’s “pocket park.”⁴⁶

Managing the use of open space to promote neighborhood identity is the primary challenge in this new development. Due to the increased scale of Yesler Terrace and its close relationship to Downtown Seattle, the project is implicitly much more public than those investigated in this thesis. The pocket park shown in the figure above will likely

⁴⁵ Seattle Housing Authority. 2011. Yesler Terrace Development Plan: Bringing Home a Better Future. 8.

⁴⁶ Courtesy of GGLO Architects.

not provide the same intimacy that was observed in the pocket park at High Point. Though this is beneficial for the purpose of providing open access to the rest of the neighborhood and making sure tenure types are not isolated, the new pocket park also brings forward the challenges associated with making open space more public. Additionally, ground-related dwellings – shown to support informal supervision and encourage frequent resident use in this study – may disappear in this development. Figure 20 suggests a vertical network of semi-public space to exist within the building scale. Clear sight lines from front entries to semi-public space will be difficult to achieve in this orientation. Furthermore, ground-related housing at the courtyard is suggested as a potential in the drawing rather than encouraged as a necessary goal. These are all concerns that are brought to light because of the design principles revealed in this study.

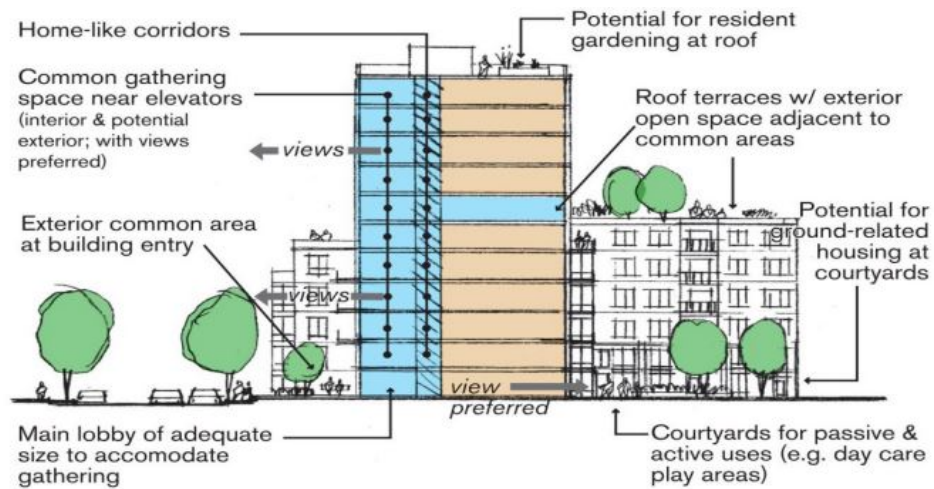


Figure 20: Typical Housing Type for Yesler Terrace⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Courtesy of the Seattle Housing Authority

Regardless of scale or context, the design principles and design challenges described in this thesis are pragmatic and applicable to the development of future mixed-income housing. Open space that supports shared resources, passive supervision, pedestrian activity and neighborhood access are important design goals to keep in mind when working toward integrated mixed-income communities. Mitigating private interests and designing public hierarchy are also principles that support the unified identity and neighborhood security that are vital to successful communities. Using all of these principles to interrogate and deepen designs can support a degree of integration that moves beyond the level observed in the HOPE VI projects of this study and onto the next generation of urban redevelopment.

APPENDIX A

Interview Questions

For Property Managers of the Seattle Housing Authority and Managers of the respective Home Owners' Associations

1. What do you think are the biggest influences on social mixing on the site in general?
2. Which open spaces do you find most successful in encouraging interactions between different income groups? What are the key aspects of these open spaces or the surrounding unit designs that encourage social mix?
3. How do renters/owners living next to open space enjoy living there?
4. Which open spaces are particularly challenging to manage? What issues or complaints have come up?
5. Are there rules in place for the use of open space and semi-private space for renters? If so, how are these enforced and which rules are most often violated/reported by renters/owners?
6. What is the average household size for renters/owners?
7. What security measures are taken on site?

For Architects

1. It seems that all private properties face other private properties or are buffered by open space if they face SHA property. Could you tell me a little more about what went into this siting?
2. Can you tell me a little bit more about the choice to have fenced front yards for the private residences of Central Park/Bataan Park and Viewpoint Park?

3. (High Point) The pocket park on Block 10 represents a space planning type that is used for all SHA property that lines 30th Ave NW. Can you tell me a little bit about what influenced the planning and design of this type? What programming needs were these spaces satisfying?
4. (High Point)The narrow courtyard on Block 10 was a design not patterned elsewhere in the design. What was the processed that led to the courtyard's existence and design and why was it not replicated?
5. (High Point) Can you tell me a little bit more about the choice to connect Bataan Park to the neighboring housing development on the other side of the creek? Were there concerns of this in the planning stages of the design?

APPENDIX B

Qualitative Codes

Behavior Families

Use

Object Play - activity or interaction that involve objects, whether these are scooters, bicycles or footballs.

Structured Play - play that is supported by site infrastructure such as play structures, swing sets, ball courts and jungle gyms.

Informal Play: play that required no object or infrastructure to occur. This included children chasing one another, having running competitions or running around the landscape.

Exercise: residents running, biking or walking past the park for exercise.

Dog Walking: any play or exercise associated with dogs. Due to the absence of other types of animals, dogs were the only ones considered.

Waiting

Passing Through – using park paths to get from one end of the park to another

Passing By – using proximate sidewalks to pass by the park

Resident Street Parking – qualified as visible or not visible from front entry of the driver

Resident Semi-Private Space Use – resident of the park uses his/her front porch or covered entry

Resident Open Space Use

Returning Home

Leaving Home

Direct Supervision: supervision in which parent is within 5' of child

Passive Supervision: from a distance, check-in only when conflict emerges

Check-in Supervision: people engage or re-engage with open space to see if someone is there or if someone is okay

Maintenance: cleaning or organizing

Smoking

Interaction

Expressed Concern: people change behavior to see if another resident is okay

Familiarity

Formalized Socialization: involving the instruction of how a child is to interact

Greeting

Civility: apologizing for a certain behavior, sharing resources, taking turns

Neighbor Visit:

Outside Assistance: a resident 'outside' a group helps someone else in need of help

'Running Into': often path-based interaction where one or both parties are on their way somewhere

Sharing Resources

'Sliding Past': when close proximity or another's passive recognition would normally call for engagement, but this engagement does not happen; the individual may actively avoid interaction while crawling over them in play, etc.

Passive Observation: people watching

Curious Engagement: the presence of a dog or another child of like-age may lead to engagement or just recognition, but interaction of some kind does take place

'Joining In': occurring in different play settings, when an outsider or outside groups is accepted into an inside group

Traces

Noise: This code refers to noise heard from within the buildings and further off of site. It does not refer to the noise within the public spaces.

Crossing Privacy Thresholds: this was an important activity to code because it breaks the rules of design space and expresses an informal and comfortable interaction.

Open Privacy Barriers: actions taken to ensure privacy within units or in park

Security Presence - The sound of sirens and the passing of protective service vehicles (including police cars and privately contracted cars).

Personalization

Unattended Objects

Barefoot

Without Supervision

Litter: picking it up, or creating it

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