



studies, and economics, examples will be given to illustrate how new solutions to current problems can come from thorough analysis. A final example applying treatise principles to an existing abandoned nineteenth century manufacturing building demonstrates how changes in the built environment and in our thinking that place over time. These changes in turn influence our ideas of sense of place, and sense of self, which can be seen in how we regard our communities. The Causal Layered Analysis method allows the consideration of multiple perspectives, and how these perspectives influence each other if one is shifted, even slightly.

I advocate for the expanded adoption of an approach to the housing crisis that is already used, but in a fragmentary manner. Historic preservation embraces adaptive reuse, as do other projects presented in this study. The call to action of this treatise seeks to demonstrate the feasibility of adaptive reuse as a practical solution in a wide range of settings as part of a sustained future for individual and community development. I hope to see adaptative reuse as a tool to ease our housing crisis, as well as stop the degradation of sense of self on a personal and community level.

SENSE OF PLACE AND SENSE OF SELF: THE USE OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION TO  
ADDRESS THE ISSUES OF HOUSING, ABANDONMENT, AND PLACE ATTACHMENT IN OUR  
COMMUNITIES

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## CHAPTER I: RETURNING HUMANITY TO URBAN PLANNING

Give me a lever long enough and a fulcrum on which to place it, and I shall move the world.

–Archimedes<sup>1</sup>

We long to belong and belonging and caring anchors our sense of place in  
the universe.

– Patricia Churchland <sup>2</sup>

### Introduction

This treatise starts with two quotes, centuries apart, seemingly unconnected. The first is the familiar assertion by Archimedes, a third century Greek mathematician and inventor. The second is likely unfamiliar to those not in that field, an observation made by twenty-first century analytic philosopher Patricia Churchland. Churchland’s work concerns the relationship between the mind and the brain. Her belief was that to understand the mind as a source of thoughts, emotions, and value systems, one must first understand the brain and neuroscience.<sup>3</sup> These quotes may additionally seem unrelated not only to each other, but also to the subject of this treatise. However, they in fact contain two basic thoughts which form essential elements of this inquiry.

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<sup>1</sup>Wilfrid Sellars, Kevin Scharp, and Robert Brandom, in *In the Space of Reasons: Selected Essays of Wilfrid Sellars* (Harvard University Press, 2007), 87.

<sup>2</sup> Patricia Churchland, in *Conscience: The Origins of Moral Intuition* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2020), 32.

<sup>3</sup> Patricia Churchland, *Touching a Nerve: The Self as Brain*, (NY: Norton, 2013); *Brain-Wise: Studies in Neurophilosophy*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 56-62.

I focus on housing in this study. But to solve our housing dilemma, we first need a place to stand and a fulcrum<sup>4</sup> with which to produce action. I use the fulcrum metaphor to emphasize we also need a sense of human ability, a belief in our ability to create meaningful solutions to problems, elements of a necessary worldview as discussed in later chapters. For any inquiry to have purpose, we must believe that with the proper fulcrum, the insights of this inquiry, the issues examined, can be solved. That fulcrum in turn can only work if there is a place to stand. What that place is, and how it can be established if not already present, is presented in what follows.

That place to stand is the psychological need and drive to belong, to be part of a community, to have “a place.” The kind of place that should, or even must, be derives from our given human nature, but it is up to us how we use the nature we are given. For Archimedes, “place” was used literally, and for this inquiry, it is used in both a material and non-material sense. Both are necessary to successfully use the fulcrum proposed by this inquiry, the adaptive reuse of structures already present in our built world in addressing the housing crisis.

This viewpoint outlines the basic background to this treatise, resting in the disciplines of psychology and sociology, and theories of architecture and design. Other elements, economic and practical considerations, for example, also are considered. However, as later discussed in this chapter’s section on methodology, the various layers of empirical and theoretical analysis do not exist separately from each other, but as parts of a much broader composite inquiry.

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<sup>4</sup> Fulcrum –the point on which a lever rests or is supported and on which it pivots; a thing that plays a leading role in an activity, event, or situation. *Source: “Fulcrum Definition & Meaning,” Merriam-Webster (Merriam-Webster).*

Ultimately the various empirical layers are joined, as discussed in chapters 3 and 4, by the interaction of people and the built and natural environments. This interaction couples with the emotive and psychological aspects of human nature to produce the individual in the community. It, in sum, returns humanity to urban planning and its attempts to address the housing crisis.

My analysis, therefore, involves a review of literature in divergent fields, but all with the connection point of what it means to be a human being and community member in an increasingly complex, and at times adverse, world. It includes review of work by psychologists including Abraham Maslow, social geographer Edward Relph, and analytic philosophers such as Churchland. Theorists in the field of historic preservation including Thompson Mayes, the “stakeholder” community participation model proposed by Sherry Arnstein, and Jane Jacobs, one of the first to fight against modernist urban renewal. These theories are considered against the views of traditional urban planning found in Housing and Urban Development (HUD) literature, to demonstrate that the battle Jacobs fought against the New York City expressways of Robert Moses is not over but has taken a new form.<sup>5</sup>

Economic and social realities based on federal and local government sources are examined, as is the “broken windows” criminology theory of Wilson and Kelling and why that theory is in fact a potential mischaracterization of cause and effect. Community newspaper and individual stakeholder commentary concerning neighborhood issues are considered, along with

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<sup>5</sup> Anthony Flint, *Wrestling with Moses: How Jane Jacobs Took on New York's Master Builder and Transformed the American City*. (New York: Random House, 2009).

official local government city planning documents. The role of architecture in the psychological sense of place and the ideas of Le Corbusier and others on the symbiotic relationship between buildings and persons is also explored as a key element of sense of self and sense of place. Each chapter concludes with one or more examples illustrating the practical application of chapter theory discussion.

This brings Jane Jacobs into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Jacobs was not a trained urban planner, she was a community stakeholder, who saw and articulated the destructive impact modern planning was having on communities and neighborhoods in New York City. She advocated one of the basic principles set out in what follows, a city is an ecosystem which depends on a mix-of uses and planning based on community.<sup>6</sup> She was highly critical of slum cleaning and high-rise housing, both popular in New York in the 1950s.

*The Death and Life of Great American Cities* published in 1961 argued that urban planners must discover the complexities and unique characteristics that determine *how* places actually work and enhance them, not try to superimpose an idea of how they *should* work crafted by persons outside of the affected community. Communities are reflections of sense of self and sense of place, as the psychologists, sociologists, human geographers had now made clear, and historic preservation as a field is a tool that did not exist for Jacobs. It does however for us, it is our new fulcrum.

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<sup>6</sup> Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1993).

Jacobs noted the importance of the “Third Places” this paper later discusses long before they were given this name. For her zoning laws and the urban renewal being practiced by modern planners separated uses for residential, commercial, industrial, institutional from one another leaving places void of diversity and in many cases eradicating their identity.<sup>7</sup> Mixed use and diversity is the foundation of the economic and social viability of a community, and the David and Goliath story of Jacobs and Robert Moses is Arnstein’s stakeholder theory in action.<sup>8</sup>

Jacobs was ahead of her time in a final way, she practiced in her analysis of community problems and solutions the methodology of futurist theorist Sohail Inayatullah’s Causal Layered Analysis.<sup>9</sup> This methodology ties all the interconnected topics which existed in Jacob’s activism in a 21<sup>st</sup> century setting. Each chapter in what follows addresses a different aspect of treatise research and causal layer, culminating in the proposal for future action set out in chapter 5. What now follows outlines the basics of the research and sets a road map for this inquiry, starting with the nature of human beings and their interaction with their environment.

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<sup>7</sup> Chantry Erwin, *Urban Designer Series*, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://www.smartcitiesdive.com/ex/sustainablecitiescollective/urban-designer-series-jane-jacobs/92116/#:~:text=She%20believed%20that%20a%20city,New%20York%20in%20the%201950s.>

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Flint, *Wrestling with Moses: How Jane Jacobs Took on New York's Master Builder and Transformed the American City*. (New York: Random House, 2009).

<sup>9</sup> Sohail Inayatullah, *The Causal Layered Analysis (CLA) Reader: Theory and Case Studies of an Integrative and Transformative Methodology* (Taipei: Tamkang University Press, 2004).

## The Basic Concepts

People intuitively feel attachment to places, both in positive and negative ways, and contemporary neuroscience and psychology supports the existence of this attachment.<sup>10</sup> Historic preservation, unsurprisingly, emphasizes this connection. Its focus on maintaining or recreating a look into our past selves protects and provides the material necessary to create place attachment, a part of sense of place.<sup>11</sup> Connection to the physical environment creates a sense of pride in those who have had a part in its history or will have a part in its future.<sup>12</sup> For adaptive reuse to be the fulcrum for housing solutions, this must be acknowledged.

### *Human Nature and Sense of Place –the Platform*

To take any action we first need a place to stand, and the existence of that “place” is recognition of the concepts of physical place attachment and sense of place. This recognition is also imperative if historic preservation as a discipline is to remain relevant in the face of the increasing sociological pressures and divisions created by technological advancement in all social levels.<sup>13</sup> Particularly as technology develops and society becomes increasingly invested in

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<sup>10</sup> Patricia Churchland, R.F. Baumeister, and M. R. Leary, M. R. (1995). The Need to Belong: The Desire for Interpersonal Attachments as a Fundamental Human Motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117(3), 497.

<sup>11</sup> M.B. Brewer and W. Gardner, “Who is this ‘We’? Levels of Collective Identity and Self-Representations.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71(1), (1996), 83.

<sup>12</sup> Tom Mayes, “Why Do Old Places Matter?,” Preservation Leadership Forum, March 15, 2015, <http://forum.savingplaces.org/blogs/forum-online/2014/01/08/why-do-old-places-matter-individual-identity>.

<sup>13</sup> Frank Steinicke and Katrin Wolf, “New Digital Realities – Blending Our Reality with Virtuality,” De Gruyter (Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, August 1, 2020).

digital reality, the importance of place attachment and our built environment in physical reality increases.<sup>14</sup>

### *Historic Preservation's Adaptive Reuse –the Fulcrum*

If human nature and sense of place form the basis of where we stand, how do historic preservation practices become the fulcrum? This is accomplished by using the idea of adaptive reuse, and how architecture, frequently the subject of historic preservation, gains significance beyond its physical role in the built environment. Architecture, like a painting or sculpture, has significance as a visual manifestation of an idea beyond what that work contributes to the field of art.

This importance is intimately tied to human experience on many levels. It is not just an aesthetic nicety of life and community, it is a basic component of social existence, regardless of the setting.<sup>15</sup> Architecture can be seen as “human footprints,” representing societal history and its evolution. Although architecture as a physical structure has material value, it is also the representation of culture, society, ways of living, and other abstract concepts of human life, memorializing the ebb and flow of changing societies and civilizations.<sup>16</sup>

Therefore, architecture is a setting for human activity. It contributes to sense of place on a personal level, as well as providing a tangible record of the commercial and industrial forces

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<sup>14</sup> Cyan Banister and Alex Hertel, “We Love Augmented Reality, but Let's Fix Things That Could Become Big Problems,” TechCrunch (TechCrunch, May 9, 2018).

<sup>15</sup> Abhla Haval, Michael Mayes, “The Impact of Architecture in Our Lives,” *RTF | Rethinking the Future*, September 24, 2021, 22.

<sup>16</sup> Haval, 43.

which created the existing urban environment. It is a crucial element of sociologist Erving Goffman's stage set for sense of self discussed in chapter 5 and his theory of stigmatization and "spoiled identity". As Winston Churchill noted in the debate to rebuild the bombed Chamber of the House of Commons, "We shape our buildings, and they shape us."<sup>17</sup> Le Corbusier gave an even more succinct view of houses, as "a machine for living in."<sup>18</sup>

Architecture and its appreciation serve as a means to the end of human self-actualization. It is not just an end in itself. This is what makes historic preservation's adaptive reuse of vacant buildings approach a fulcrum for change as a mindset and worldview. Historic preservation as a discipline is more than keeping "old" things for the sake of preserving history in a vacuum. Rather, it is how two seemingly separate problems, loss of sense of self leading to community disintegration, and what is called the housing crisis, can be addressed by one solution.

These two issues may not seem related. When examined more closely however, they share similarities, most notably they both include people and physical spaces. Community disintegration occurs in part because we have lost our attachment to the places in our daily lives.<sup>19</sup> Inadequate housing availability worsens this, making a key element of community, the sense of home, out of reach for portions of the population. I propose that adaptive reuse can serve as both a theoretical and structural means to address both issues. To get to that point,

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<sup>17</sup> Mark D'Arcy, "Bombed but Not Broken: 70 Years After Commons' Bombing," BBC News (BBC, May 10, 2011).

<sup>18</sup> Le Corbusier and Frederick Etchells, *Towards a New Architecture* (Connecticut: Martino Publishing, 2014), 13.

<sup>19</sup> Charis E. Anton and Carmen Lawrence, "Home Is Where the Heart Is: The Effect of Place of Residence on Place Attachment and Community Participation," *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 40 (2014): pp. 451-461.

however, requires a significant shift in how the housing crisis and potential causes and solutions are analyzed.

*The Built Environment, Individual and the Community*

People being without any housing, and the lack of a wide spectrum of housing options, are serious urban problems. Vacant buildings and abandoned lots are an equally severe problem for community health and social sense of value. This in turn affects the “sense of place” created by environmental surroundings.<sup>20</sup> Place attachment is part of sense of place, and is linked to substantial positive benefits, both personal and to the community. These include greater social and political involvement and an increased tendency to work together for a desired outcome, such as protecting the environment or the social and physical characteristics that define a neighborhood.<sup>21</sup> While at present these issues are not ignored, remedies can be short-sighted, and do not address the fundamental people-centric nature of the problems I discuss.

Urban issues leading community decay and population destabilization are often addressed piecemeal. The adaptive reuse of abandoned manufacturing and other large, obsolete buildings to create affordable, large scale, multi-unit housing, as proposed in this treatise, is a holistic approach. The connection allowing one to solve more than one problem with one solution, one fulcrum, is possible because these issues all have one shared element:

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<sup>20</sup> Anton, *Home is Where the Heart Is*, 454.

<sup>21</sup> Anton, 458.

the human individual who inhabits physical space and that individual's sense of place. This is the individual's "place to stand" satisfying the neuroscientific need to belong. Sense of place is, therefore, created and used not only in the initial stages of establishing the societal importance for a building, but also in helping to maintain its value to a community, even if its first use is no longer necessary or valued.

As noted already, architecture is the visual glue that, often unacknowledged, binds a community, and this architecture includes manufacturing and commercial structures.<sup>22</sup> These structures are often undervalued, yet can represent not only history, but the evolution of design, engineering, and technology. These subjects are all part of the human past and, I believe, our communal future. While this is not the only reason to preserve, it is an important one, particularly in reference to addressing the urban housing crisis as proposed in this treatise.

Part of this process involves experience memory, both for individuals and collectively. Memory in both instances is one of the of building blocks of sense of place. The importance of the memory of what something once was, why it was significant, is often overlooked, when considering the use of abandoned buildings. I propose that memory is one of the intangible elements of historic preservation, and that it is part of a successful solution to the housing issue. Historic preservation is beneficial in understanding ourselves, in keeping us from losing our connection with the past. However, what is not often acknowledged is how that sense of

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<sup>22</sup> James G Cantrill, *Using the 'Sense of Self-in-Place' Construct in the Context of Environmental Policy-Making and Landscape Planning* (Syracuse, NY: Environmental Studies Department, 2001).

connection is created. I discuss the vital role that memory plays in this process and apply that to housing.

### Premises, Themes, and Their Importance

I propose that we must act, not only to address the obvious lack of affordable housing, but we must do this in a manner that addresses the not so obvious continued decline of our sense of self and its effect on our neighborhoods. This view incorporates certain basic premises. What I propose, however, takes groundwork, looking at the premises and themes that are key to understanding the validity of my proposal.

#### Premises

I base my study on three main premises.

1. The affordable housing dilemma is an outward manifestation of increasing societal issues, concepts that are tied to the psychology of sense of self in contemporary society. This is an issue made worse by the fragmentation of communal values and network.

2. This internal sense of self is related to what we experience in the world around us, and, in turn, how we are perceived by that world. Together these perspectives create or destroy a sense of individual self and of community. To combat the issue of the shortage of housing or its affordability and explain its sociological aspects, one must understand sense of self, as well as the last premise, sense of community.

3. The loss of sense of self leads to loss of sense of community. It is loss of that sense of community that can cause or make worse the housing crisis. This occurs through community disintegration and degradation, and the adoption of an attitude of resignation because a situation is seen as irremediable. It is an approach where people, places, and things are considered hopeless due to a socially created mind-set that the perceived amount of time, money and other investment is “too much” for the expected return.

#### *Themes and Their Connection to Premises*

Themes, while they are not premises themselves, contain ideas that are key parts of this analysis, and integrate my three premises. These each illustrate my logical argument progression starting with the premise that we are connected to our environment physically and mentally, that there is value to this connection. Furthermore, in that context, the issue is not the lack of the material commodity of a house, but the missing intangible sense of home.

It is the home, not a house, which is an integral part of the relationship between the individual alone and the individual in society. I consider this relationship to be like an ecological system. There are inter-relationships between various parts, such a housing and human psychological need, which together make a functioning whole. In this case that whole consists if a thriving individual, community, and then society, in an ever-expanding circle of influence. Housing is a smaller material system within a larger societal system, and if it is broken, if there is a physical lack of affordable housing, that lack must be seen for what it is. In my analysis housing issues are a symptom of a much more deeply rooted problem, not the problem itself.

In this context, I use key themes connecting the premises that are extended throughout this study.

There are four primary themes. The first is that the consideration of historic preservation is necessary when looking at solutions to the housing crisis element of deteriorating community “Third Spaces,” which is discussed in greater detail in later chapters.<sup>23</sup> It is defined as the spaces where we spend our time outside of work and home. These spaces are part of the sociological causes of the housing crisis I identify in Premise 1: a lack of affordable housing is indicative of deeper underlying sociological issues.

The second theme is that people have a connection to the surrounding environment. Our sense of self is a crucial element of the communities we form, and it affects our achieving individual and community potential. I propose that this sense of self often appears as the “everyday aesthetic” tracing back to American pragmatic philosopher John Dewey’s work “Art as Experience.”<sup>24</sup> Aesthetic experiences in this use includes encountering not only our built world or things created intentionally as art, but all things, man-made and natural.<sup>25</sup> Sense of place is related to Premise 2, and that internal events become external actions that support or diminish a sense of self and a sense of community. This is a more expansive interpretation of

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<sup>23</sup> Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community* (NY: Marlowe and Company, 1999). 14-26

<sup>24</sup> John Dewey, *Art as Experience*, (New York: Capricorn Press, 1958), 25-32.

<sup>25</sup> Katya Mandoki, *Everyday Aesthetics: Prosaics, the Play of Culture and Social Identities*, (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007).

French philosopher Michel de Certeau's "practice of everyday life," where people take mass culture and make it their own.<sup>26</sup>

The third theme is that there is a practical and psychological need for the sense of community that arises out of sense of self, and this is necessary if one is to thrive, not merely survive. I contend that a sense of community fosters human development, as well as mental and physical well-being. This is related to my Premise 3, that loss of sense of self leads to loss of sense of community.

The final theme is that we owe it to ourselves both in the present and for our collective future to understand and address these underlying issues, as well as the immediate issue of housing. We shape our histories today, with the future of any society dependent on those immediate choices. This last theme idea relates to all the premises and my proposal for action.

These premises and themes use concepts that are accepted in their respective fields. This is not only true for the need to belong of analytic theorists such as Patricia Churchland,<sup>27</sup> but also because of the "place connectiveness" recognized by noted human geographer Edward Relph and others.<sup>28</sup> A "place" in this context is territory as well as people, as defined by the National Research Council:

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<sup>26</sup> Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Steven Rendall (tr.), (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 37.

<sup>27</sup> Churchland, *Touching a Nerve*, 79.

<sup>28</sup> Hashem Hashemnezhad, Ali Akbar Heidari, Parisa Mohammad Hoseinia, "Sense of Place" and "Place Attachment" (A Comparative Study), *International Journal of Architecture and Urban Development* Vol. 3, No. 1, Winter 2013 ; K.E.Foote and M.Azaryahu, *Sense of Place*, International Encyclopedia of Human Geography, (Elsevier, 2009).

A place is distinguished by its people, markets, governments, and institutions, as much as it is by its physical landscape and natural resources, transportation systems (including streets and roads), buildings, and boundaries. Like livability and sustainability, place is an ensemble concept.<sup>29</sup>

This brings into question the reasons *why* we often appear to not consider sense of place or the necessity to belong when building. Why is so little thought given to considering issues of human psychology until after the fact when problems arise? Why is it that the importance of the past and sense of place, especially when it comes to housing, is at the bottom of the list of priorities, if they make that list at all?<sup>30</sup>

Instead of building something more beneficial for the totality of human needs than what was torn down, we all too often take the most materially obvious, fastest, least expensive route to complete a task.<sup>31</sup> While there is nothing wrong with wise financial planning and time management, there is a fine balance between too much and too little. The process must ensure that design and aesthetic value are not completely overlooked for the sake of a bottom line measured only by financial savings.

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<sup>29</sup> *Community and Quality of Life*, National Research Council, National Academy Press, Washington, D.C. 2002, 54.

<sup>30</sup> Sarah Williams Goldhagen, *Welcome to Your World: How the Built Environment Shapes Our Lives* (New York, NY: Harper, 2019), 67-72.

<sup>31</sup> George Ritzer. *The McDonaldization of Society: 20th Anniversary Edition* (United Kingdom: SAGE Publications, 2013, 39-41.

## Definitions

In addition to the theoretical aspect of analysis used, the following terms and interpretations used in this study are important to note.

**Abandoned:** land or property that has been left vacant and neglected for a period, often falling into disrepair, and becoming unsightly and even hazardous.

**Affordable:** being within financial reach of those who call an area home without forcing them to live above their attainable means and without sacrificing other necessities to support a standard of living.

**Everyday Aesthetic:** outward projection of ourselves onto the environment around us, from our personal spaces up to the appearance of society. This includes how the built world reflects our internal perception of an area.

**Broken windows:** Physically broken windows, for instance lead to negative connotations of place, increasing the likelihood of more physical degradation. This stigmatization cycle is the basis of the 1982 criminology theory, "Broken Windows," of James Q. Wilson and George Kelling.<sup>32</sup> Broken windows here, however, are used as a metaphor for disorder within neighborhoods. Wilson and Kelling's theory links disorder and incivility within a community to later occurrences of serious crime. I use it to indicate the

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<sup>32</sup> James Q. Wilson, and George L. Kelling, "Broken Windows Theory," *Encyclopedia of Criminological Theory*, 2010.

development of tolerance for and acceptance of physical decay and degradation, as opposed to a direct link to crime. It is a symptom not the underlying problem.

**Homeless:** being without a place of attachment that would be considered home. For example, the difference between staying on a friend's couch versus having a space that is considered our own.<sup>33</sup>

**Houseless:** being without a physical structure that can be considered a physical place of residence. Until this basic need is met, it is in traditional Western culture almost impossible to create a sense of home.<sup>34</sup>

**Neighborhood Social Cohesion:** refers to the strength of relationships and the sense of solidarity among members of a community; a trusting network of shared values and norms of residents in a neighborhood.

**Poverty:** lacking the minimum financial resources to support more than the bare necessities for life sustainability. This definition is based in part government established income "poverty" levels, but can also have a broader, non-financial aspect in terms of *access* to goods and services.

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<sup>33</sup> While "unhoused" is the now accepted term for this, the term homeless will be used since it expresses the psychological effects by deprivation tied to the concept of "home."

<sup>34</sup> While "unhoused" is the now also the accepted term for this, due to the importance of the concept of house versus home, the term "houseless" will be used to make clear the distinction between a physical "house" and a psychological "home."

**Sense of Self:** one's feeling of personal existence and preferences based on individual existence and past experiences.

**Sense of Place:** when an indoor or outdoor area conveys a presence to the user that is unique to that area's specific characteristics; creating a bond with a place built through memory and experiences.<sup>35</sup>

**Third Space:** a location outside of home and work areas; usually community spaces that are fundamental for establishing and maintaining a living neighborhood.<sup>36</sup>

**Vacant:** a property that has been empty for a designated period set by local law and regulations, frequently a minimum of six months; a property must be vacant before it can be abandoned.

#### Methodology: Causal Layered Analysis

The methodology used in this treatise is that of Causal Layered Analysis (CLA). Sohail Inayatullah developed the analytical approach in the 1980s as a "futures research" method. It is not intended to predict the future, but to create "transformative spaces" for potential alternative futures. Causal Layered Analysis consists of four levels: litany, social causes, discourse/worldview, and myth/metaphor.<sup>37</sup> The challenge is to conduct problem analysis at each level that also moves between these layers to reach different "ways of knowing" the problem and its potential remedies.

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<sup>35</sup> "What Is Placemaking?" *Category - Project for Public Spaces*, Home - Project for Public Spaces.

<sup>36</sup> Ray Oldenburg, *Celebrating the Third Place: Inspiring Stories about the "Great Good Places" at the Heart of Our Communities* (New York: Marlowe & Co., 2001).

<sup>37</sup> Sohail Inayatullah, "Causal Layered Analysis: An Integrative and Transformative Theory and Method," 14.

In analyzing any issue, whether using CLA or another method, we each start with preexisting opinions and biases. This is particularly important for CLA since these biases influence progress through the four layers. Those biases are part of our sense of self, to have them shows that we are thinking human beings, engaged with the world. The issue, therefore, is not that they exist, but if we fail to acknowledge and consider them. They must be subject as well to equal scrutiny, therefore, as one moves through the four levels of CLA. Recognition of these potential biases is part of the methodology I use.

CLA is both an analytical method that looks at the same issue from different lenses of perception, and a description of the process systems by which societal views and problem solutions are developed. At any point in time, as shown by the diagram in Figure 1 below, using CLA one can look at one issue through a different lens, creating different layers of analysis. These results of analysis at each level are themselves connected in a cyclical manner, where they form the basis of the next level in an increasingly non-empirical manner.

These layers cycle to an increasingly theoretical level and then back again, as indicated by Figure 2. The litany level looks at the visible and obvious facts, social causes attempts to reach an analytic, world view adopts a theoretical framework, and myth/metaphor results at the most abstract level of cultural beliefs. The beliefs then cycle to appear in a new litany level analysis. Appendix B, Causal Layered Analysis Chart, sets out in chart form a breakdown of the types of solutions, the allocation of remedy and sources of a particular level of analysis.

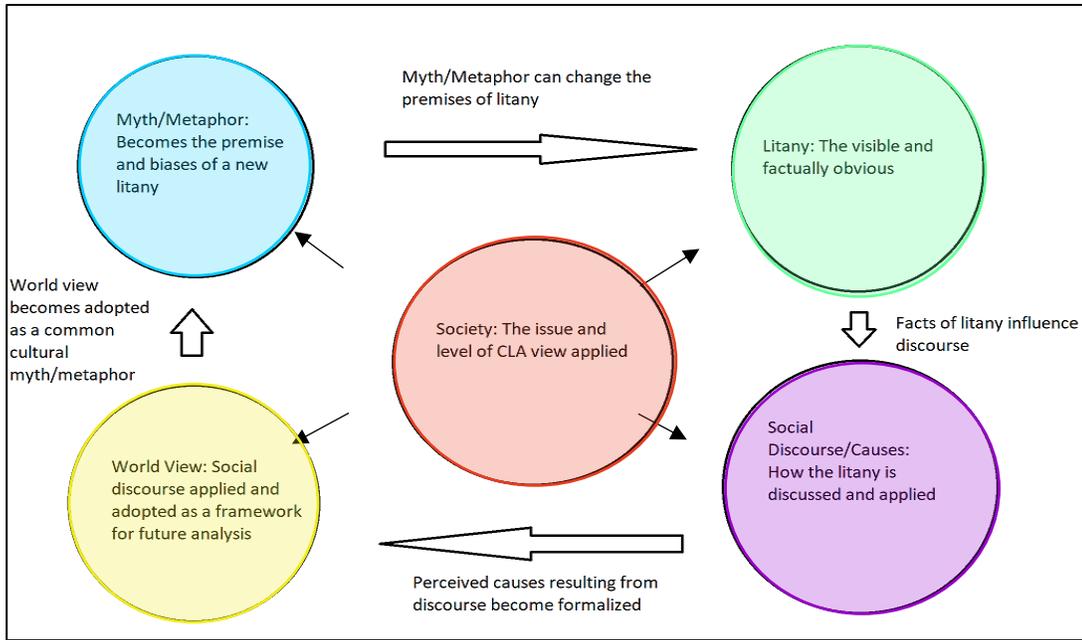


Figure 1: Casual Layered Analysis Level Relationships  
Source: Meghan King (self)

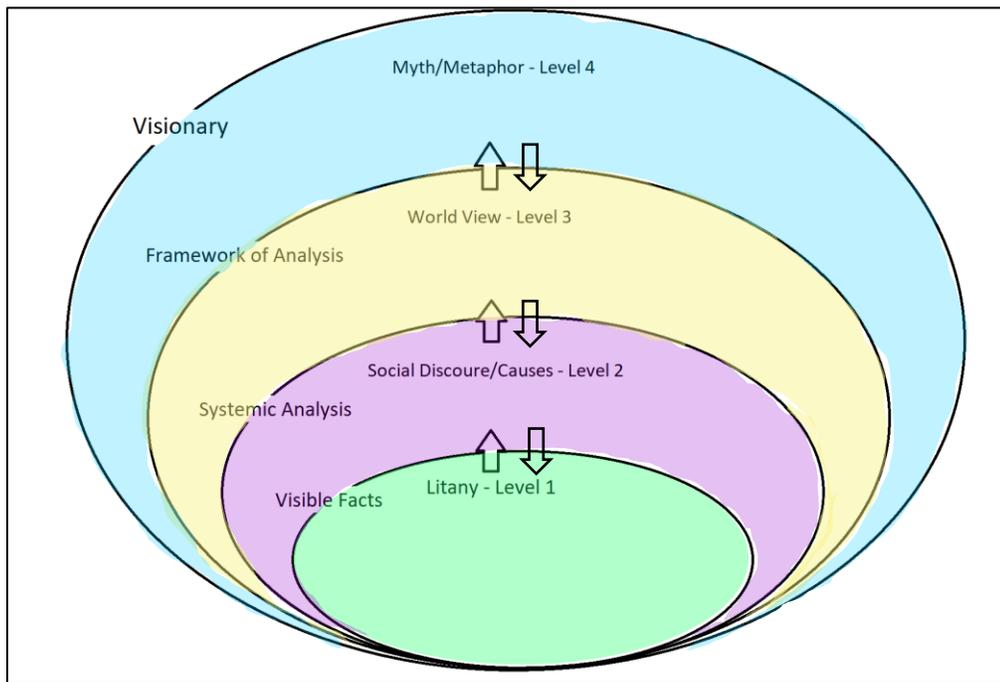


Figure 2: Causal Layered Analysis  
Source: Meghan King (self)

### Litany – CLA Level 1

The first CLA level, “litany,” is the official and often unquestioned view of the future, based on empirical facts. Level 1 often uses quantitative trends, which can be exaggerated and used for political and interest group agendas in other CLA layers. Level 1 is frequently found in the news media, for instance in pronouncements about the “housing crisis.”<sup>38</sup> This layer is narrow and disconnected from alternative means of analysis showing different futures, and reliance on it can produce a feeling of helplessness and/or apathy, since litany can cause that belief that “nothing” can be done by the way a problem is presented. It can also result in projecting solutions onto someone else, since the future is presented as a given, only someone else, not you, can change things.<sup>39</sup>

The sources of litany level content are presented as obvious, and rarely analyzed by people listening to its conclusions, since “it is what it is.” Its assumptions are not questioned, except by competing interest groups with their own litanies based on different data use. This layer can readily be distorted by the biases found in CLA Level 3, “worldview,” creating a subjective slant to empirically objective data. I propose that reliance on only this level of analysis is one of the leading causes, after decades of attempts, of failure to make progress in resolving the housing crisis.

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<sup>38</sup> Inayatullah, *Causal Layered Analysis*, 9.

<sup>39</sup> Inayatullah, 49.

In reciting statistics about the housing shortage, for instance, I propose that data can be used to obscure systemic causes, confusing them with their effect, a housing crisis. This pattern is indicated by a 2002 Minneapolis banking inquiry into the issue:

While our review is hardly exhaustive, we conclude that a shortage of income is largely behind the housing affordability problem despite the current focus on housing. Policymakers should recognize that government financing of new housing units is unlikely to be a cost-effective response to low household income.

Because of our diagnosis, we focus our discussion of policy responses on the link between low incomes and high housing expenditures. If policymakers believe that housing cost-to-income ratios are too high for low-income households, they should provide low-income households with additional cash or federal support, such as food stamps, for accessing other basic necessities such as food and medicine.<sup>40</sup>

The above presents both a CLA Level 1 assumed future, coupled with a CLA Level 2 statement of social causes concluded from the banking system view.

However, the adage that if it looks like a duck, quacks like a duck, it is a duck can be markedly wrong, if one's idea or biases of what constitutes a duck are incorrect. That is the case here as well, and why the often-political pronouncements of "litany" are inadequate. The bank's data was gathered and recited in good faith, and the "social causes" the bank proposed under CLA Level 2 were plausible. The problem is that the less visible or hidden "why" which other CLA layers examine are omitted.

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<sup>40</sup> Ron Feldman, "The Affordable Housing Shortage," Center 4 Affordable Housing. 2022.

### Systems View and Social Causes – CLA Level 2

The second layer of CLA is called “social causes.” These are the social causes proposed by the “system view” of the situation, including economic, cultural, political, and historical factors such as rising birthrates or lack of family planning. At this level interpretation is also given to quantitative data.<sup>41</sup> According to Inayatullah, this type of analysis is usually promulgated by “policy institutes and published as editorial pieces in newspapers or in not–quite academic journals.”<sup>42</sup> This level succeeds at technical explanations as well as academic analysis, and it is here that the role of the state and interests can be found.<sup>43</sup>

It is at this level as well that one finds the HUD reports and action plans discussed in later chapters. CLA Level 2 provides causes of the day–to–day side of the housing crisis, for instance the quoted bank opinion. However, social causes explanations entail more than empirical data, these causes involve the immaterial as well, the “worldview” and “myth/metaphor” perspective found at CLA Levels 3 and 4. CLA 2 highlights some causes, for instance that the higher cost of housing is related to the smaller supply of affordable housing, and that the higher cost of housing is an issue now crossing all economic strata. I consider this to be an inadequate empirical conclusion about cause–and–effect.

It is shallow because it does not examine additional causes revealed by CLA Level 3 “worldview” and Level 4 “myth/metaphor.” It does not look at housing as one system among

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<sup>41</sup> Feldman, “The Affordable Housing Shortage,” 4.

<sup>42</sup> Inayatullah, 17.

<sup>43</sup> Feldman, 5.

many within the much larger system of social community. Those large system concerns involve the house versus home distinction, the issue of personal well-being, and how it in turn affects the community in real time by creating a setting for community degradation and disintegration. The systemic economic, political, and social causes and potential biases which result in negative impact solutions such as traditional urban renewal are not recognized.

For instance, “social causes” concerned only with economics do not address the psychological issues that are a byproduct of high-rise single residency tower solutions, the adverse “gentrification” of neighborhoods which limits former residents, and the broken windows syndrome.<sup>44</sup> These are part of a big picture that goes beyond “social causes” in the sense of demographic and economic data. “Social” means more than statistical data about a community, it includes the non-statistical reasons the community got to the point of producing that data.

### *Structure and Discourse Worldview – CLA Level 3*

The third CLA layer is concerned with “structure and discourse/worldview.” This level of analysis is not a cure, since it may support and legitimize a problem by the view it takes. It is a crucial layer, however, since changes in worldview may lead to systemic change on a broad scale. In this layer, one finds the deeper social and cultural structures that are independent of the person. Structure and worldview concern what is going on in society that the individual

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<sup>44</sup> James Q. Wilson George L. Kelling, “Broken Windows,” *The Atlantic* (Atlantic Media Company, July 20, 2020).

person is not doing to him or herself, but that is being done to that person by external forces.

This level studies norms and their inherent unconscious biases society supports.

I propose that it is at this level that the root causes, not just the effects, of the housing problem may be found. It is here that that one finds the viewpoints and biases that derail constructive solutions. These biases not only affect this level, but they can influence conclusions under other levels as well. However, that effect is more evident at CLA level 3, since analysis at this layer looks at social discourse, and its points of view. Our values are based on our beliefs about the empirical world, and those beliefs create opinion and often bias.

That bias, knowingly or unknowingly, is incorporated into solutions, potentially destroying their viability. Bias can occur at any CLA level. However, its effects are most insidious here because a subjective worldview is used to form what is presented as an objective conclusion. One cannot escape the presence of bias, but one can attempt to identify it where it exists. I consider the following views create biases that hinder innovative housing solutions.

The first of these biases is “we can build ourselves out of the housing crisis.” This bias is associated with the belief that we can simply new build the necessary housing we currently lack and thereby solve all issues. It assumes that there is no better solution than to just build what we need. It uses a litany and social cause level of analysis, coupled with a worldview that to solve any issue, more and new is better. It is damaging not only due to its impracticality but also because prevents examination of all the solutions at our disposal other than new build, for instance, adaptive reuse of unused commercial and industrial spaces as housing options.

The second bias is “If I did it on my own, so can they ... I do not have a reason to help.” This bias is based on a personal belief that if I was able to obtain a place to live unaided, then others can do the same; or, in more general terms, if I did not receive any help, I do not need to help anyone else. This bias presents a personal egocentric view, antithetical to a concept of community. It can evolve into a broader sociological/political view, for instance the rift between what are usually called liberals and conservatives regarding social welfare programs. This bias results from a disconnect of information between those who need assistance and those who are giving it out, with the facts of practical need assumed but not understood. It also demonstrates the more troublesome issue of a wider sociological lack of empathy or sense of community, and resentment related to the “fairness” of opportunity in the world.

The third bias deals with the idea that “people do not care what their environment is, provided they have their basic needs met for food, water, and shelter.” This is associated with the idea that to survive, versus to thrive, is the only human motivation. However, as Abraham Maslow’s hierarchy of needs indicates, this is not an accurate view. Human beings need, not simply want, spaces that are visually positive, consistent with that individual’s sense of self. This produces psychological and practical benefits. I propose that this bias ignores the sense of self and its connection to place attachment, a need that goes beyond mere biologic survival.

The fourth bias is “we do not have a responsibility to consider making a better future, we should worry about the present as our chief concern.” This is associated with the worldview that we only have a responsibility to think of ourselves and of our own betterment in the present. We value commercial products, goods, materials satisfying not only immediate needs,

but also immediate desires, over the possible long-term effects of that desire gratification. The issue with this thought process is that as a collective society based on the Western tradition of social contract theory, we do have responsibility to think of the collective future, to consider that what we do today impacts our range of choices in the future.<sup>45</sup> In addition to the above biases, if one looks at social discourse, one can see the results it has produced that negatively impact housing crisis solutions.

The first of these is the discourse that capitalism and a need for maximum economic profit and rate of return on investments produces a “profit first” focus by stakeholders having significant power over results.<sup>46</sup> Secondly, political agendas are adopted which could influence choices more for personal benefit than the greater good of the community.<sup>47</sup> Thirdly, extreme income gaps lead to a missing middle range of housing options for significant portions of the involved community of stakeholders.<sup>48</sup> Lastly, social and human community needs may be discounted by more powerful stakeholder groups with goals in opposition to those needs.<sup>49</sup> These are the different discourses that I believe have to date framed the housing crisis issue, and it is my proposal these elements of the social discourse must be changed. How to do this occurs under CLA level 4, myth/metaphor.

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<sup>45</sup> Fred D’Agostino, Gerald Gaus, and John Thrasher, “Contemporary Approaches to the Social Contract,” Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Stanford University, September 27, 2021).

<sup>46</sup> Stakeholders refers to developers, property owners, occupants, and those directly impacted by decisions.

<sup>47</sup> Ron Terwilliger, “Pandemic or Not, It’s Time to Make Affordable Housing a Bipartisan Priority,” The Hill (The Hill, September 23, 2021).

<sup>48</sup> National Bureau of Economic Research, accessed March 10, 2022, <https://www.nber.org/digest/jan18/housing-market-crash-and-wealth-inequality-us>.

<sup>49</sup> Enterprise Community Survey, accessed March 8, 2022, <https://www.enterprisecommunity.org/news/survey-affordable-housing-stakeholders-analyze-decade-housing-policy>.

#### Myth/metaphor: CLA Level 4

The fourth layer of the CLA is the level of “myth/metaphor” and provides a “gut/emotional level experience” to the worldview under inquiry.<sup>50</sup> The language used here is less specific, concerned more with evoking visual images and “touching the heart instead of reading the head.” Inayatullah’s words provide a good definition of where one must look to begin to resolve the housing crisis. From the perspective of CLA Level 4, one sees that there is a difference between having a house and having a home, and how each impacts human mental and social well-being.

In looking at this impact we see that we are affected by our surroundings through our senses, especially feeling, sight, and sense of self. These are Inayatullah’s “gut experiences.” We in turn affect our current and future environment based on such feelings. “Broken Windows” criminology theory became a metaphor for community degradation, a part of an urban decay mythology that linked unaddressed petty crime to commission of major crimes. However, the authors did not actually analyze why the windows were broken, they mistook in their myth/metaphor creation a symptom for its cause. An explanation based on “myth” is not necessarily one that is factually true.<sup>51</sup> Myth arises as an explanation, where rational explanation is illusive, and in the case of “broken windows” theory it was a simple answer to a complex problem.<sup>52</sup> To

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Victor MacGil, “Unravelling the Myth/Metaphor Layer in Causal Layered Analysis,” *Journal of Future Studies*, September 2015, 55-69.

<sup>52</sup> Sonja Ross. “Mythology as an Indicator of Cultural Change. Hunting and Agriculture as Reflected in North American Traditions.” *Anthropos* 95, no. 2 (2000): 433–43.

begin to approach the problems of current myths, we should start with the *why*. Instead of just seeing and discussing the broken windows, fixed windows should be included, and be of greater importance.

According to Inayatullah, a “higher” value is placed on the myth/metaphor layer because it “informs” all the other layers.<sup>53</sup> This informing, however, does not mean higher objective “truth” value. The myth/metaphor layer goes beyond worldview but can become equally distorted within a particular group or society, leading to prejudicial perceptions in results.<sup>54</sup> Even if this level analysis is unbiased in particular applications, it may not be the case in others. This is demonstrated by later objections to using the initial criminology–oriented perspective of broken windows theory in a broader application.<sup>55</sup> As pointed out by Eric Klinenberg in his *New Yorker* article, there are other myths/metaphors that result from the fact of broken windows, ones which may be far more beneficial in solving the problem.

As discussed in chapter 5, Looking Forward, the myth/metaphors surrounding the housing crisis are mixed in terms of usefulness and conclusive validity. Solving the housing crisis and related social issues at its root cause as proposed in this inquiry means that we must first address the sources of how we see ourselves and build our communities. This becomes a new worldview, with new myths and metaphors considered more beneficial. This shift in approach

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Eric Klinenberg and Alan Burdick, “The Other Side of ‘Broken Windows,’” *The New Yorker*, August 23, 2018.

on a theoretical level, including recognizing that a “house” rather than a “home” are not synonyms.

Myth/metaphor are created as a sociological process of individuals in community, to hold the same myths and metaphors initially can bind a group in a collective belief. But if that myth contains beliefs destructive to a sense of community, it then has the opposite effect. Each individual carries within him or herself what can be called unconscious stories, which are molded and refined to be a community story. These elements form the psychological and emotional components of our past which in part creates the house versus home distinction, and that baggage can sabotage attempts to solve the housing and homeless crisis.<sup>56</sup> It is also these same preconceptions, to the extent that they exist implicitly or explicitly as myth, which must be identified and revised. It is my position that if they are not, they create inaccurate or incomplete narratives of the problem and/or its solution.

### The Time Scale of Change and Historic Preservation

CLA is an analysis method that works by looking at a problem from various levels, then attempts to make synchronized changes at all levels, creating a coherent new proposal for future action. My survey of the discussion of the housing crisis – in both academic and online discussions – indicates that analysis at various levels has occurred, but this examination has not occurred in an intentional, holistic manner which I advocate. The housing crisis, like many

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<sup>56</sup> MacGil, 67.

others a society now faces, requires strategic planning and future mapping, not unthinking reactions of “build faster, build more”, or analysis where results occur by chance rather than design.

One of the purposes of my treatise, therefore, is to examine and apply to the housing crisis the views of each of the CLA levels to determine where change must occur. I argue that a shift in viewpoint will be necessary at the worldview and myth/metaphor levels, which will in turn change perspective under litany and social causes levels. I will also examine the “time scale of change.” I will structure that analysis on these premises:

1. The problems I review are happening continuously and simultaneously.
2. It will take years for all causes to be felt and noticed by a group.
3. It will take decades to discuss and potentially change worldviews.
4. Myths and metaphors last for centuries and are often ingrained into a culture/society/civilization.

This timeframe may seem discouraging, but expectations of success should be practical and feasible. It is unrealistic to think that a worldview can be changed overnight. When proposing potential future outcomes for the problems I present, therefore, time will be a necessary element to consider in forming pragmatic solutions. I discuss in chapter 5 an immediate action timeline of two to five years for short term physical effects, an extended timeline of ten years for long term impacts, and fifty years to ascertain the long-term viability of what has been done.

### *Housing, Community and Historic Preservation*

CLA provides a methodology for analyzing the housing crisis overall, the various levels each provide a specific lens with which to consider discrete issues, such sense of community

and sense of self, the intangible as well as tangible meaning of “house” versus “home,” the psychological aspects of memory and everyday aesthetics, the role of architecture on its own and in the context of historic preservation. I argue that incorporating such careful analysis into action would provide low– and middle–income affordable housing options and put value back into communities. What is meant by value in this context is what the community does for its members not only in the practical sense of infrastructure services and similar, but in meeting the psychological need to belong to something more than oneself.

A community provides value in this sense when it provides a medium in which individuals can develop, where one can thrive in the intangible aspects of life, not simply survive. That in turn allows the community itself to thrive, the individual nurtures the community, the community the individual. In this approach, historic preservation is one necessary way to utilize the existing environment to combat the issues of personal and community loss described earlier.

One can effectively add to an area’s sense of place and sense of community by taking unused structures and turning them into beneficial spaces. This can occur, for example, through creating rental housing from rehabbed industrial/commercial buildings and turning smaller shop spaces on ground floors into successful Third Spaces. We can move up and down the four CLA layers, but they can also be considered horizontally to see how different scenarios in differing levels correspond and relate to one another when placed side by side. This fluidity of thought is extremely useful when looking at the problems I articulate. One theme, if looked at as a thread, cannot be pulled without tugging others. Each premise rests on another in reaching my conclusions.

## Chapter Previews and Underlying Premises

The following chapter preview is a guide in using CLA to move from its various levels and housing issues to the looking forward and recommendations at the conclusion. The current chapter sets out the basics and is an introduction to the issues and theories involved in the housing crisis. Chapter 2, The Housing, and Its Affordability Crisis, discusses my premises from chapter 1, and my conclusion that the housing dilemma is an outward manifestation of increasing societal issues tied to the individual self, existing in a society fraught with the fragmentation of communal values and networks.<sup>57</sup> This is examined in relation to both the built environment, and how our perception of that environment affects us, with emphasis on mental well-being.

Chapter 2 also reviews current perspectives at the litany and social causes CLA levels, explores potential bias and resulting flawed assumptions regarding the housing crisis. The very fact of the name housing *crisis* is a social, political, and economic identifier that can hinder its correction. That is all part of the stigmatization process that can occur and ignores the distinction between house and home. Chapter 2 also looks at issues from economic and non-economic perspectives. It also discusses existing solutions and whether these apparent solutions are what they purport to be in theory, or do they result from not understanding what I identify as the underlying societal issues. Without knowing our starting point, we cannot have

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<sup>57</sup> Leila Hedayatifar et al., "US Social Fragmentation at Multiple Scales," *Journal of The Royal Society Interface* 16, no. 159 (September 2019).

an accurate understanding of where we need to be looking forward and plan for not just our present but our future selves.

Chapter 3, Causes and Reactions in the Housing Environment, discusses my premise that the internal sense of self is related to how we perceive and experience the world. That sense of self is projected into the world by our actions, which in turn affect how we are perceived. This cycle creates worldview, and it can create or destroy a sense of community. Questions raised here would be those of external perception and how it affects and/or is imposed upon us by the external community. For instance, if there is an empty building at the end of the street, how does it affect our perception of the surrounding area, and our perception of ourselves if we inhabit that street?

Chapter 4, Shaping Perspectives, addresses my third premise, that loss of sense of self leads to loss of sense of community, and that it is loss of that sense of community has at a minimum made the housing situation worse. It brings together my thoughts in chapter 3, and CLA methodology. This chapter looks at the housing crisis from a broad perspective, considering the outside forces of worldview and myth/metaphor that have contributed to the present situation. These include priority of profit margins, “needs” versus “wants,” and the agendas, hidden and announced, that may be acting as external driving forces on individuals.

The topics of profit margins, and “needs” versus “wants,” coincide with a CLA Level 3 worldview analysis, through an examination of the assumed perspectives that shape the current housing climate. How do these outside views influence our thoughts on a preexisting structure’s potential for adaptive reuse versus demolition? Chapter 4 ends with discussion of how historic preservation as a worldview can be utilized to alleviate the housing crisis and

underlying issues of community value. This is presented to address the conclusions of my premises regarding sense of self and sense of community and the problems I have identified.

Chapter 5, Looking Forward, is a summation of earlier chapters, providing potential initiative-taking steps for future progress, as well as theorizing what would happen if nothing were done, and we stayed our present course. It uses changes to myth/metaphor as the basis for the adaptive reuse and related remedies I propose, bringing together in a final example theory into practice. I present in my final call to action the specific steps necessary now and in the future in terms of housing and the context of a local and global sense of community value.

## CHAPTER II: DEFINING THE HOUSING AND ITS AFFORDABILITY CRISIS

Causal layered analysis consists of four levels: the litany, social causes, discourse/worldview, and myth/metaphor. Each of these layers affects how one views housing issues, but it is at the first level that the housing crisis is usually defined. To understand how litany as used by the CLA, it is useful to look at one of Webster's non-CLA definitions, which states that a litany is "a resonant or repetitive chant." In CLA Level 1, it is the "party line," the position on an issue that is promoted to the community by a particular group as the official statement of a problem and/or its solution.

The substance of this chant may rest on empirical data. However, that data, while objective on its own, can be subjectively molded to suit the purposes of the chant. The data of the litany is questioned and explained and questioned at the second CLA level by an attempt to identify perceived social causes, but that effort is often skewed by the need to support what has already been pronounced through the litany. The litany level presents quantitative trends, with problems often exaggerated, and is frequently used for political purposes, for instance HUD reports and plans.

The objective data found in the litany can be useful. It can help identify the facts of the housing crisis, the external economic issues. It also articulates the viewpoint of at least one group of stakeholders, those who created the chant. While that viewpoint may not be accurate, it indicates the attitudes that may need to be changed for progress in problem resolution. These attitudes arise under CLA Levels 3 and 4 which deal with worldviews and assumptions

about how things “are” based in the emotional myths/metaphors of a society. However, basic definitions rest in the litany level.

Most stakeholder groups would agree that there is a severe lack of not only housing units in general, but units that are affordable. They would also likely agree that increasingly the issue of affordability is not limited to those historically considered economically disadvantaged. Quantity and affordability are the echoing chant refrains. Other issues in housing considered less, or non-essential, such as “house” versus “home,” identifying wants versus needs, are rarely a priority, if considered at all.<sup>58</sup>

However, the chant’s refrain of “more” in quantity does not necessarily equal better, and affordable does not necessarily exist in opposition to visual attractiveness. The problem and its solution are far more complex, and the assertion “we cannot build ourselves out of an affordable housing crisis” has proven to be increasingly true as time passes.<sup>59</sup> What we do build is often driven by value engineering<sup>60</sup> and insufficient budgeting, ending up repetitive and bland, lacking any sense of place connection for the people who currently live in that community.<sup>61</sup> We are not creating places to build memories; we are creating transitory spaces that are, outside of fulfilling the survival necessity of shelter, failing to consider intangible

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<sup>58</sup> Lance Freeman, “America’s Affordable Housing Crisis: A Contract Unfulfilled,” *American Journal of Public Health* 92, no. 5 (2002), 709-712.

<sup>59</sup> David J. Madden and Peter Marcuse, *In Defense of Housing: The Politics of Crisis* (London: Verso, 2016).

<sup>60</sup> Value engineering is a systematic, organized approach to providing necessary functions in a project at the lowest cost. Value engineering promotes the substitution of materials and methods with less expensive alternatives, without sacrificing functionality. It is focused solely on the functions of various components and materials, rather than their physical attributes. Value engineering is also called value analysis. *Definition from the General Services Administration.*

<sup>61</sup> Rick De Valence Gerard, *Building in Value: Pre-Design Issues* (Routledge, 2016).

human needs.<sup>62</sup> In accurately defining the housing and affordability crisis, both the tangible and the often–overlooked intangible must be considered.

This includes not only empirical data from HUD and related entities, but also studies in human psychology and environment, public health journals analyzing the physical effects of the housing crisis, Abraham Maslow’s study on the hierarchy of human needs and the work of Jane Jacobs’ on unthinking urban renewal. Location–specific examples from both the United States and abroad are also examined for practical application of the various theories noted throughout the chapter.

#### Human Psychology and Housing: Determining Wants Versus Needs

Psychological studies indicate that even our primary needs for survival level food and water can be influenced by appearances.<sup>63</sup> The visual aspects of our needs moreover are not simply “wants.” The visual, for instance, is a necessary component of experience and interaction with the world. Prioritizing the visual experience of an object gives it importance, and that importance creates value. Our physical shelters are, therefore, also influenced by our visual values.<sup>64</sup> We may value first what we need, but if our needs are met by more than one thing, the greatest value is often placed on the one most pleasing.

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<sup>62</sup> Jenny Pickerill. *Eco-Homes: People, Place and Politics*. (United Kingdom: Zed Books, 2016).

<sup>63</sup> J.F. Delwiche, “You Eat with your Eyes First,” *Science Direct*, accessed March 2, 2022.

<sup>64</sup> Kevin Rooney. *Vision and the Experience of Built Environment* (Manhattan, Kansas: Kansas State University, 2016).

Shoes, for instance, are usually considered a necessity. If we only have one pair, it is highly valued. However, if we have ten pairs, we likely value those that are to us most visually appealing, assuming other factors such as comfort and suitability for a particular use are equal. This value hierarchy is affected by other intangibles as well, including emotion and memory attachment, our “lucky t-shirt,” or favorite jacket because of the past good memories attached to it.<sup>65</sup> This aspect of perceived desirability is an often-ignored part of the housing crisis.

The intangible may be, because of human psychology, a definitional “need.” One must look more deeply, therefore, into what is being considered as a want or need in respect to the characteristics that make us “human” before anything is categorized as one or the other in housing issue definitions. Want and need considerations cannot escape the practical element of economics, but they also are categories easily manipulated by commercial and other interest groups in their litany chant through the media.<sup>66</sup>

Given that the increasing cost of housing is related to the smaller supply of affordable housing, the housing shortage crosses all economic strata, *not* just what is traditionally termed low income.<sup>67</sup> The “want” versus “need” susceptibility to manipulation worsens this problem when the psychological aspects of housing are brought into the discussions of attempting to address housing issues. No matter what income group one is in, the lack of having a *home*, not just lack of a house as shelter, affects people on a personal level which then affects the

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<sup>65</sup> “Clothes-Minded Memories,” The Cooper Point Journal, January 31, 2014.

<sup>66</sup> Laura Crosswell, “Is Advertising Manipulative?,” University of Nevada, Reno (University of Nevada, Reno, August 22, 2018).

<sup>67</sup> Vitor Blotta and Clifford Griffin, “Fragmentation and Solidarity,” Brill (Brill, December 17, 2020).

collective community. This distinction and definitional confusion between house and home has infiltrated the conversations about housing at all levels of analysis and must be corrected to address the psychological as well as economic issues of housing.

### Sense of Place as an Addition to the Litany about Housing

Sense of place enables people to have a sense of connection to a place on a personal level. What is notably missing from the day-to-day discussion about the housing crisis is any recognition of the importance of “sense of place.” Without sense of place, we cannot have place attachment.<sup>68</sup> If we do not feel attachment to something, we will not care whether it flourishes or falls into disrepair. The habit of assuming we will lose something, or that it will not be around “forever,” causes hesitation in forming connections, whether to a person, pet, or object.<sup>69</sup> If, as a society, buildings are routinely torn down, we will not see any value in caring about that place.

### Place Attachment

However, one cannot just build a structure and expect people to value it. There first must be a human/object connection, a psychologically-based phenomenon, place attachment.<sup>70</sup> Space is transformed into “place” when “humans give it bounds and believe it

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<sup>68</sup> L.C. Manzo & P. Devine-Wright, *Place Attachment: Advances in Theory, Methods, and Applications* (2nd ed.) (England, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2020).

<sup>69</sup> “Negative Neighborhood Reputation and Place Attachment: The Production and Contestation of Territorial Stigma.” (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2017).

<sup>70</sup> K.L.S. Krueger, and K. Flora. “Place Attachment and Meaning - A Literature Review.” *Green Cities: Good Health*. College of the Environment, University of Washington, 2014.

has value.”<sup>71</sup> This is as a dynamic process, influenced by human perception, cognition, self–concept, social dynamics, economies, cultures, and histories.<sup>72</sup>

Perceptions of place are constantly in flux and connected to personal values, which in turn can create a practice of caring for and maintaining the structure or place.<sup>73</sup> Since place attachment is linked to a personal sense of identity, one’s neighborhood becomes a part of the person. This may lead to attempts to recreate a prior place if one moves or finding an environment that re–creates memories of childhood.<sup>74</sup> It also means that property degradation, the physical evidence of “Broken Windows” theory, are less likely to exist where property, lots and buildings are inhabited by people who have place attachment.

However, from a practical standpoint these residents must also have the means to afford what they call home. Lack of affordability can lead to eventual abandonment, when one cannot carry the cost of upkeep, and abandonment often leads to eventual decay to the extent that building condemnations and demolition is the only solution. Affordability, therefore, is also an important definition, not only from an economic view, but also in terms of psychological impact. As housing prices increase economically, they increase the psychological burden of not being able to afford a home, of feeling excluded from an important aspect of self – identification.

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<sup>71</sup> Mary S. Ainsworth and John Bowlby, “An Ethological Approach to Personality Development.,” *American Psychologist* 46, no. 4 (1991): 333-341.

<sup>72</sup> S. Bott and J.G. Cantrill, and O.E. Myers Jr. “Place and the Promise of Conservation Psychology.” *Human Ecology Review* 10:100-112, 2003.

<sup>73</sup> I. Brook, “Making Here Like There: Place Attachment, Displacement and the Urge to Garden,” 2003. *Ethics, Place & Environment* 6:227-234.

<sup>74</sup> R.L. Rubinstein and P.A. Parmelee. “Attachment to Place and the Representation of Life Course by The Elderly,” in I. Altman & S. Low (Eds.). *Place Attachment*. (New York: Plenum, 1992).

As shown by the graph below (Fig. 1), the increase or decrease in housing prices is directly tied to an increase or decrease in the “housing opportunity index,” the share of homes sold that would have been available to a family earning a median income with a standard mortgage. In 2018, only 56.4 percent of homes sold would have been affordable in this context, excluding a substantial percentage of the population from the traditional “American dream” myth/metaphor of home ownership.

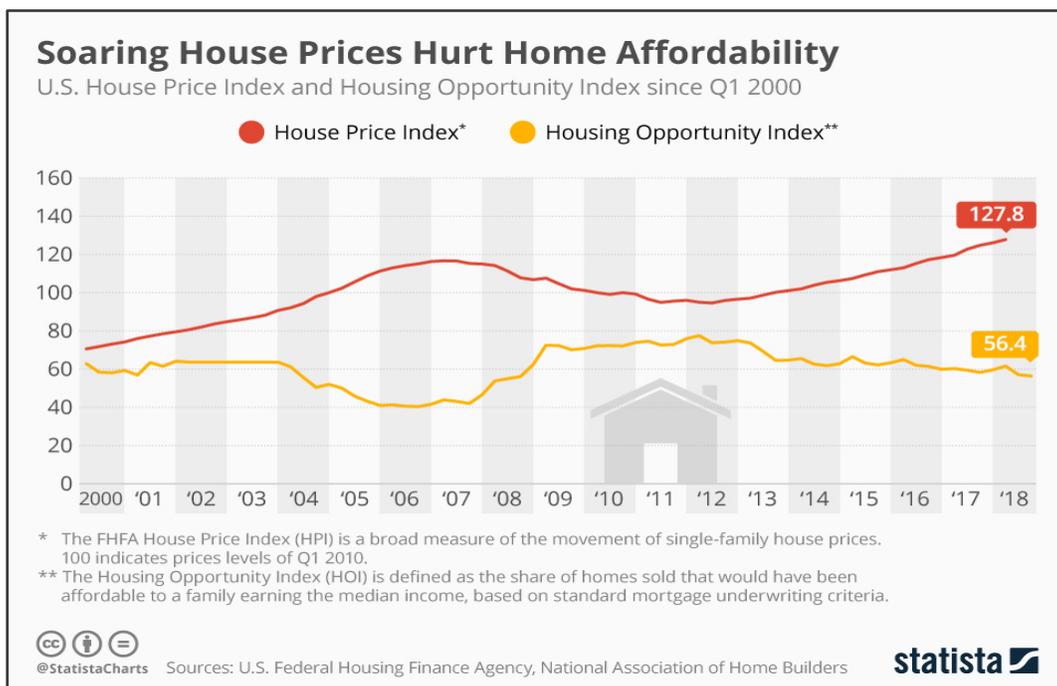


Figure 3 : Rising Cost of Housing  
Source: U.S. Federal Housing Finance Agency, National Association of Home Builders

This is where historic preservation plays such a key role, supporting the importance of sense of place and place attachment. Today, there are recurring debates of restoration versus adaptation, abandonment of properties, and when demolition may be necessary. All are potential practically viable options, all are as well tied to the issue of potential community degradation or enhancement, depending in the circumstances. Therefore, the difficulty is in

choosing what is the “best” all-around solution in each instance.<sup>75</sup> Like the word “affordable,” “best” can be quite ambiguous. What works in one situation may not be the “best” solution for another. Nor can only look at one result to make such a judgement. One must look at the totality of consequences.

Our habits of thought must be shifted to an approach that is more open to variety and change, instead of following a common choice or what has always been done in the past. While there might be an abandoned building that is best torn down on street A, a similar building on street B could have a repurposed use. We cannot continue to apply blanket solutions to fix problems and disregard potentially better options simply because they are different or seem too difficult.

Part of this process requires consideration of what might be constructed, how it will visually add to the current built environment – not only in a physical but also a psychological sense, how it will affect place attachment. As we build, we create our collective sense of self. As we tear down, we may also tear down that same sense of self. This traps us in a cycle of build, wear down, and then tear down not only the built environment but also ourselves. One of the purposes of this inquiry is to break that cycle. However, this cannot happen unless and until it is understood what is being done and why, its human and societal cost.

### Affordability and Place Attachment

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<sup>75</sup> Tim Jackson, *Prosperity Without Growth: Economics for a Finite Planet* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017).

Looking at the current situation, the litany, the empirically obvious day-to-day economic, social, and political facts of the housing crisis chant, holds that there is a statistical lack of affordable housing options, worsened by a higher cost of housing in general.<sup>76</sup> A 2021 FreddieMac—the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation—report states “The combination of low supply (especially entry-level) and high demand (especially entry-level) is causing entry-level prices to rapidly escalate well above overall prices, triggering affordability issues for buyers to come up with even larger down payments.”<sup>77</sup>

This problem is seen in all strata of economic levels, not just what is traditionally termed low income.<sup>78</sup> Whether or not this accurately defines the crisis, however, is not so clear when one looks at other CLA layers. One of the factual points that is made clear by looking at the housing crisis popular litany, however, is that the overall impact of the shortage over substantial economic levels confirms this issue as one that concerns *all* members of a community, not just one specific group.

The impact of a lack of housing and a home on a person psychologically, as well as its impact on the community, is better seen as we consider social and political narratives, but the roots of selecting those causes is in the litany. This emotional and psychological aspect needs to be recognized here. We as people have a connection to our surrounding environment –place

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<sup>76</sup> FreddieMac, *Housing Supply Report*, 2021. 2-53.

<sup>77</sup> FreddieMac, 12.

<sup>78</sup> FreddieMac, 14.

attachment –through our sense of self which has value and impacts our outward thinking and reaching our potential.

This sense of self is not limited to a particular economic strata or social group. It is a need that all human beings share, demonstrated by our individual and collective practices of everyday life.<sup>79</sup> Without having a place to stand, somewhere to call home where we can develop ourselves, we cannot understand who we truly are as an individual or a community, we cannot use a fulcrum to change our future.<sup>80</sup>

### *The Sense of Community*

Seymour Sarason was one of the first psychologists to address the sense of community, which he defined “as the sense that one was part of a readily available, mutually supportive network of relationships upon which one could depend and as a result of which one did not experience sustained feelings of loneliness.”<sup>81</sup> This resulted in part from:

*Personal* relatedness, investment of the self, feeling the right to belong, being a part of the community, boundaries including *identifying people who belong and people who don't belong*, emotional safety (through belonging), feelings of acceptance, willingness to sacrifice for the group, identification with the group, sharing common symbols, and *personal* investment.<sup>82</sup> (Emphasis added).

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<sup>79</sup> De Certeau, 45.

<sup>80</sup> Jenny Fremlin, “Identifying Concepts That Build a Sense of Community,” *Sense of Community in a Mediated World | Online, Offline & In Between*, September 3, 2013.

<sup>81</sup> Seymour B. Sarason, *The Psychological Sense of Community Prospects for a Community Psychology* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977), 4.

<sup>82</sup> Fremlin, 8.

When sense of community is lost, a vicious psychological and social cycle begins.<sup>83</sup> One sees their home less as a place of value, and more as a staging area to return to at the end of the day before the next relocation. Frustration rises as obtaining practical necessities takes increased effort. The real loss, however, is not from the increased length of time to get to a grocery store, but the detachment from a social community. A person's home may become inconvenient, they may relocate, but the new place is often no better than the old, because the true loss was not addressed.

Our environment does more than impact our mental wellbeing; we get subconscious clues for behavior from our surroundings. For instance, we feel safe in an environment because we believe it to be permanent, versus living month-to-month and the feelings of stress and uncertainty that this causes.<sup>84</sup> If a community lacks what we need and we are forced to look elsewhere, our security and community ties are weakened. Yet at the same time there may be empty, underutilized structures that could serve the functions of these now missing places, spaces that if used would bring the community together. The solution is to reorient perceptions of what seems undesirable and imagine instead potential uses to create what is missing.

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<sup>83</sup> Tom Sørensen et al., "From Sociocultural Disintegration to Community Connectedness Dimensions of Local Community Concepts and Their Effects on Psychological Health of Its Residents," *Psychiatry Journal* 2013 (2013): 1-13.

<sup>84</sup> For this study we will be considering the financial and lack of availability causes when using this in discussion.

### *The Urban Landscape and Lower Income Displacement*

A significant housing issue revealed by litany and social cause perspectives is the changes in the urban landscape involving not only affordability, but also the displacement of lower-income residents, often through gentrification.<sup>85</sup> Historic preservation has been viewed from this perspective as a negative factor, a contributor to rising housing costs and a regulatory tool that gives permanent control to a small, powerful elite group of citizens. However, this itself may be a skewed myth/metaphor, as noted even by Jane Jacobs in a World Bank interview that there are cycles of investment and decline:

A city district or a neighborhood that's all high income does not have good staying power. We can see this from so many slums that have what were once very grand mansions and ambitious buildings. It's surprising how many slums have them, much declined and dilapidated... They probably appealed to the people that built those mansions, but not to their children or grandchildren or other heirs who abandoned them.<sup>86</sup>

Therefore, while the issue of gentrification is important, it is not a roadblock to what is proposed. The critical point as Jacobs states is that "All high income doesn't last, what lasts is diversification."<sup>87</sup>

I propose an alternate approach, one that is the opposite of gentrification: reuse in a socially diversified manner that will benefit all. As noted by Jacobs, it is an ongoing discourse, moving into areas of social justice and similar broad topics that are beyond the scope of this

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<sup>85</sup> Glenna Lang and Marjory Wunsch, *Genius of Common Sense: Jane Jacobs and the Story of the Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Boston: David R. Godine, Publisher, 2012). 45-49.

<sup>86</sup> Roberto Chavez, Nate Storrington, and Will Endofer, "Jane Jacobs on Gentrification," Nathan Storrington, February 20, 2015.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

study.<sup>88</sup> However, it is important to understand that reuse of what is derelict is not necessarily equivalent to “gentrification” and its negative connotations.

### The Meaning of “Affordable” Housing and Public Housing Solutions

Asking why the housing crisis has occurred results in divergent answers. One of the most common is at the litany of housing. Part of that litany is the issue of affordability. The National Association of Realtors (NAR) observation is an expression of this, and significant for not only what it says, but that it is being said by the NAR, a lobbying group whose litany chant is concerned not with historic preservation but with economics. If one follows the reasoning of the NAR, the heart of the issue is “underbuilding,” not “affordability” per se. The NAR specifically notes:

While the total stock of U.S. housing grew at an average annual rate of 1.7 percent from 1968 through 2000, the U.S. housing stock grew by an annual average rate of 1 percent in the last two decades, and only 0.7 percent in the last decade.

The large gap in housing production contributed to an escalation in the cost of renting and rapid house-price increases—often the largest expense for households—exacerbating a growing affordability crisis in many parts of the country.

Even inclusive of the mid-2000s construction boom period, compared with the prior historical period (1968–2000) when housing completions averaged approximately 1.5 million housing units per year, the underbuilding gap in the U.S. totaled more than 5.5 million housing units in the last 20 years.

Alternatively, when the loss of existing units, through demolition, natural disaster or if functional obsolescence is combined with the underproduction of new housing units relative to household formation, the implied cumulative housing demand supply gap totals 6.8 million units.

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<sup>88</sup> Erica Avrami, “Making Historic Preservation Sustainable,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 82, no. 2 (2016): 104–112

In order to fill an underbuilding gap of at least 5.5 million housing units during the next 10 years, while accounting for historical growth, building would need to accelerate to a pace that is well above the current trend, to more than 2 million housing units per year. This would represent an increase of more than 700,000 units per year, or approximately 60 percent, relative to the pace of housing production in 2020 of less than 1.3 million units.<sup>89</sup>

However, while the NAR calls this an underbuilding issue, it is obvious that the real question is undersupply, and underbuilding is not necessarily the sole cause of supply deficits. Supply can, and should, be found without building new. The NAR supports the homebuilders trade group, and their agent members could sell units in existing buildings as well.

I believe that we cannot new build our way out of this crisis, particularly since that often translates into building more public housing and similar solutions. The NAR itself recognizes this, and in its report, “more doesn’t necessarily mean all new.”<sup>90</sup> However, the predominate theme in litanies regarding the statistics of housing emphasizes the need to build new housing, even though the terms of “stock” and “units” are heard frequently in discussions. If the idea of housing as infrastructure is key to the problem and its solution, then so, too, is recognition of the fact that at least part of this infrastructure already exists, and new build housing specifically designed for “low income” residency is not the answer. Again, as the NAR notes:

While there is a wide range of potential policy pathways that could help to increase the pace of housing construction, considering the magnitude of the problem, measurable progress will likely require *an all-of-the-above strategy that supports housing of all shapes and sizes across the full income spectrum, including affordable and market-rate housing, urban and suburban housing, new construction, redevelopment and conversions of underutilized non-residential structures*, as well as a mix of single family homes, townhomes, duplexes, and multifamily apartments and condominium buildings

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<sup>89</sup> National Association of Realtors Report, *Unbuilding and Housing*, 2019, 6-23.

<sup>90</sup> National Association of Realtors Report, 42-47.

both large and small. In particular, increased development of below-market or subsidized affordable units is necessary to address the urgent requirements of low-income households most in need.<sup>91</sup> (Emphasis added).

The above report and others as discussed below mention new construction, but they also reference the necessity for use of a broad range of other options such as utilization of non-residential structures.

The adaptive reuse approach is also accepted as feasible by non-preservationist focused groups with more economic interests. Erica Avrami, in her article “Making Historic Preservation Sustainable,” suggests that we should be “Increasing housing supply by incentivizing conversions of older or underutilized commercial space through tax credits or other means.”<sup>92</sup> This is not as counter intuitive as it first appears. It is indicating recognition of economic and practical reality according to American Planning Association:

Following decades of structural shifts in the national economy, many parts of the country have a sizable stock of underutilized commercial space, including former manufacturing facilities and older and largely vacant malls. Moreover, in the wake of the pandemic, shutdowns added significantly to vacancy in the hardest-hit commercial real estate sectors, including retail, hotel, and office buildings.<sup>93</sup>

The NAR report is referenced at length because it demonstrates in a non-preservationist context that what I propose in this study is one of the approaches recognized by the real-estate industry.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> National Association of Realtors Report, 16-19.

<sup>92</sup> National Association of Realtors Report, 27.

<sup>93</sup> National Association of Realtors Report, 21.

<sup>94</sup> National Association of Realtors Report, 30.

### Is “Affordable” Attainable and if so, How?

Is the idea of “affordable housing” illusory, at least in large scale application? The answer is that affordable housing does exist and is possible, but not in the present litany of the housing crisis. It takes commitment on a community scale to work. Affordable housing is not only feasible, but also necessary to provide “homes” in which human beings can prosper and not merely exist; it must become the societal norm and not the exception.

The issue lies in the “how.” There are, of course, newly built housing developments which are specifically planned to be affordable such as government–assisted public housing, and this would need to be part of any plan. However, for too long it has been seen as the only solution, frequently in the context of urban renewal and newly constructed “public housing.” A small number of affordable units in large projects are often a token gesture. The National Institute on Public Housing for instance, noted in 2010 regarding projects in Chicago that:

The authors hypothesized a causal relationship between environmental factors and the poor mental health of the residents, when controlling for age, gender, income, and years lived in the development. Their analysis identified direct and indirect significant pathways to depression. High levels of economic stressors were found to have a direct impact on depression, while social and physical disorder and violence were found to have an indirect effect. That is, environments of distressed public housing units characterized by social and physical disorder and violence were found to increase perceptions of fear and decrease perceptions of collective efficacy (likelihood that neighbors would act for the betterment of their community), which in turn, were found to increase the likelihood of depression.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> National Low Income Housing Coalition, accessed February 15, 2022.

Public housing projects are frequently limited to providing a house more than a home, but this is not to say the subsidized housing is completely ineffective. It is an issue of when, where, and how. Subsidized housing, driven by private versus public development, can be a success.<sup>96</sup>

A 2021 Brookings Institute opinion article notes:

If the goal of federal policymakers is to help as many low-income households as possible, then a strategy of *newly constructed public housing is perhaps the least effective path*. Increasing funds for housing vouchers or for apartments through the National Housing Trust Fund would stretch subsidy dollars to cover many more households more quickly, and often in higher-opportunity neighborhoods. Shoring up the long-term physical and financial viability of existing subsidized properties—such as through HUD’s Rental Assistance Demonstration (RAD) program—would also be more cost effective than new construction.<sup>97</sup> (Emphasis added)

There is a broad range of options which could address the practical and intangible aspects of the housing crisis that are not “new built” solutions. What these alternatives all have in common is the reuse of existing large structures which have been repurposed.

This is an approach that has global not just a domestic application. One of the most dramatic examples may be in the Netherlands, where Dutch prisons were turned into houses for refugees.<sup>98</sup> Much closer to home is a project in California, where hotels were turned into permanent houses in response to the COVID pandemic.<sup>99</sup> The financial arrangements for affordable housing can vary as much as the physical housing itself. Financing may come from federal, state, local sources, or various grants and/or subsidies.

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<sup>96</sup> Jenny Schuetz, “Four Reasons Why More Public Housing Isn’t the Solution to Affordable Housing Concerns,” accessed February 15, 2022. 1.

<sup>97</sup> Schuetz, 2.

<sup>98</sup> Community Toolbox, Example 21, accessed February 15, 2022.

<sup>99</sup> National Public Radio, “California Turned Pandemic Rentals into Permanent Housing,” 2021.

Outmoded commercial and industrial buildings provide a valuable combination of practical worth due to their size and history of collective community importance. Their histories are also a history of the people who inhabited the area and may have worked in those buildings. This creates a potential sociological shift for a building from something of purely practical value to something with a personal attachment.

### *External Forces and Government Regulation*

The lack of housing and the overall cost of housing are controlled by both external and internal forces, often operating in conflict. Urban areas have a multitude of regulations, including zoning restrictions and code requirements which determine what can and cannot be done, even as some question if the results justify the regulatory efforts.<sup>100</sup>

Conservative politicians take a stance that they assert is empirically obvious, concluding that the litany level “facts” speak for themselves: housing costs are so high in many locations because local governments and voters have adopted overly restrictive regulations limiting the construction of new housing. On the other hand, left-leaning politicians have a very different litany, that housing is expensive because “corrupt real estate developers are gentrifying neighborhoods.”<sup>101</sup> The reuse of buildings may be bound by regulations that require out of date structures to be up to contemporary code, including things as basic as stair tread width, ADA requirements, and LEED building requirements. However, while these are appropriate and needed, they are a sometime significant cost factor.

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<sup>100</sup> T. Schilderman, “The Impact of Government Regulations on Urban Development,” accessed March 9, 2022.

<sup>101</sup> Jenny Schuetz, “Who is to Blame for High Housing Costs? Its more Complicated than You think,” 2019.

Other important considerations in terms of affordability are investment return, and if adaptive reuse is practically feasible. Political agendas can mean that groups are competing for the same land or building. Stakeholder inequality pits housing against commercial development, and housing intended for various groups can draw criticism.

### Housing as Infrastructure

The above issues can be characterized as “global,” incorporating a substantial number of theoretical concepts. What happens at a more limited, day-to-day level? From that standpoint, the housing shortage has been a recognized issue for years, and according to business news sources such as *Forbes*, it is now worse than ever:

Low supply and high demand will continue to frustrate aspiring homeowners, according to a pair of new reports and data released Wednesday, throwing cold water on short-term positives like the declining price of lumber following a year of surging demand and prices.<sup>102</sup>

It is also recognized that housing is critical infrastructure.<sup>103</sup> This is yet another version of CLALitany, but one that raises concerns at other levels of analysis. According to a Congressional commentator:

The cost of not investing in housing — of ignoring it as the essential infrastructure it is — will be greater than any legislative price tag: it includes the lost business revenue from consumer purchasing power that evaporates after paying rent; the skyrocketing amount we’ll spend annually on disaster recovery; and increased health care costs to care for people who live in substandard, deteriorating homes.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Graison Dangor, “The Housing Shortage Is Worse Than Ever—And Will Take a Decade of Record Construction To Fix,” *Forbes*, June 2021.

<sup>103</sup> National Association of Realtors, “Housing is Critical Infrastructure,” accessed February 15, 2022.

<sup>104</sup> Priscilla Almodovar, “Housing Is Critical Infrastructure - Federal Spending Must Prioritize It,” *The Hill* (The Hill, May 10, 2021).

Under this viewpoint, decades of underbuilding and underinvestment have caused the national housing stock, a critical piece of national infrastructure, to be seriously neglected and depleted, with a chronic shortage of affordable and unoccupied homes.

This litany level perspective has data support. For instance, residential housing's contribution to the gross domestic product ranged from 4.5 to 5.3 percent from 1980 to 2000, with an average of 5.0 percent. It peaked at 5.9 percent in 2005 and then plunged to 2.5 percent in 2010. Since 2016, the share has inched back up to 3.3 or 3.4 percent, still significantly below the historical average.<sup>105</sup> However, have the most accurate conclusions of cause and effect been drawn from this data?

These statistics can be used to support the conclusion that the scale of underbuilding and the existing demand–supply gap is enormous and requires a major national commitment to building more housing of all types, making new housing construction an integral part of a national infrastructure strategy.<sup>106</sup> It also supports a social causes analysis: this is a problem of wide scope, not bounded by a lack of economic resources, it is a problem “for everyone.”<sup>107</sup> All well and good in itself, but the problem cannot be identified and solved with only these analysis levels and primarily economic data to consider.

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<sup>105</sup> Laurie Goodman and Jung Hyun Choi, “Four Ways Today's High Home Prices Affect the Larger Economy,” Urban Institute, October 11, 2018. 3.

<sup>106</sup> Goodman, “Four Ways Today's High Prices Affect the Larger Economy,” 6.

<sup>107</sup> Ally Schweitzer, “Why the Housing Crisis Is a Problem for Everyone - Even Wealthy Homeowners,” NPR (NPR, January 13, 2020), 2-9.

## Hierarchy of Needs

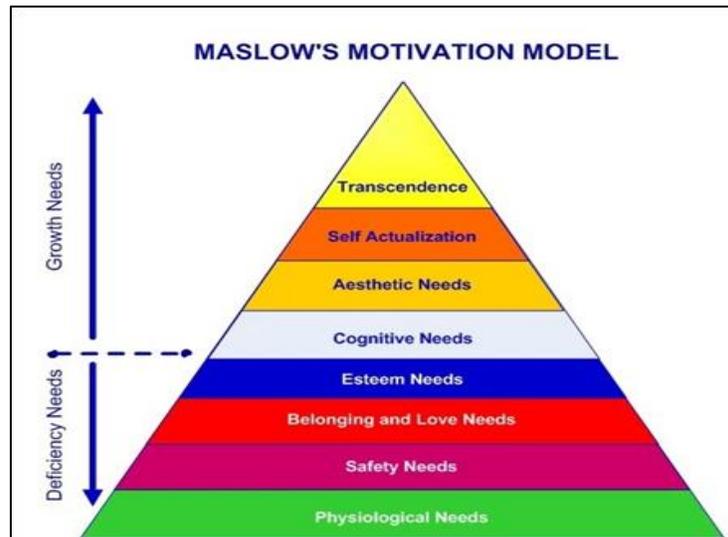


Figure 4: Maslow's Motivation Model  
Source: Dr. Saul McLeod, *Simply Psychology*, 2020

One cannot neatly bifurcate CLA levels of analysis; the very point is their connectivity in problem analysis. All levels are part of one whole seen from different vantage points. CLA's strongest benefit as a method is the fluidity between layers, and nowhere is that more evident than here. In 1943, Abraham Maslow presented in his paper "A Theory of Human Motivation" the idea that people's behavior is affected by their motivation and motivational forces.<sup>108</sup> According to Maslow and his pyramid of needs (Fig. 2), individuals must satisfy lower-level *deficit needs* before progressing on to meet higher level *growth needs*.<sup>109</sup> However, it is important to clarify that the satisfaction of a need level is not an "all or none" phenomenon. In

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<sup>108</sup> A.H. Maslow, (1943). "A Theory of Human Motivation." *Psychological Review*, 50 (4), 430-437.

<sup>109</sup> Needs that arise due to deprivation and are said to motivate people when they are unmet. These levels are physiological, safety, love and belonging, and esteem. Growth needs do not come from a lack of something but a desire for improvement and to grow as a person. They include cognitive needs and higher.

other words, when a deficit need has been satisfied at least in part, that need will go away, and our behavior and activities become focused on meeting the next set of needs.

### *The Importance of Aesthetics*

By necessity, the first level of physiological needs is the most important: air, food water, and shelter. These must be a priority because they are necessary for survival. The second level, safety, deals with feeling secure about one's health, employment, resources, and property. These two levels need to be satisfied before there can be conscious concern about the appearance of our surroundings. This does not mean however, that we are unaffected by those appearances before we consciously recognize that influence. If one had the capacity or ability to have a preference, then each person would naturally choose their own desired everyday aesthetic as a byproduct of living.

The idea of place aesthetic is important because it supports the belief that to successfully address the unhoused population problem, we must take a housing first approach –meaning that for someone to have an improved quality of life, housing is the immediate first step.<sup>110</sup> However, having a “house” is only a step. It does not solve the issue, because of the difference between a house and a home. By giving people housing first, it gives them stability, falling under Maslow's “Safety Needs” tier. This stability then enables one to focus and improve

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<sup>110</sup> Stephen Eide and Nicole Gelinas, “Housing First Is Not the Key to End Homelessness,” Manhattan Institute, April 21, 2020.

other parts of life, allowing one to develop a sense of place connection to the neighborhood as the new house becomes a home.<sup>111</sup>

*House or Home, Issues of Housing and Societal Development*

Being without shelter even in its minimal form is costly to our physical and mental wellbeing; it is necessary for physical survival. However, that is as far as it goes. If we do not have somewhere even semi-permanently to establish ourselves, we cannot begin to think of anything past simple survival, as Maslow's model outlines. Refugees are a tragic example of the bifurcation that can happen when one's house is not where one calls home. The "house" is destroyed, but the inexorable pull to "home" and sense of place, place attachment, remains.<sup>112</sup>

Hierarchy of needs relates in part to conclusions about social causes analysis. Having what is personally considered a nicely decorated house is not a "need," at least on a physical level. However, it becomes significant when one considers the idea of "home." The various litanies discussed focus in large part on solving the housing problem from the perspective of survival needs: food and water and shelter in the most basic sense. However, this is not the same as having a home, it is simply having a means of protection from the elements. House in this context could be living in a car, under an overpass, under foliage, or creating a tent out of available materials.

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<sup>111</sup> The "Housing First" approach will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3 when looking at the current housing situation.

<sup>112</sup> Natalia Fadlalla, "Conceptualizing the Meaning of Home for Refugees," *Spaces and Flows: An International Journal of Urban and ExtraUrban Studies* 1, no. 3 (2011): 139-150.

What is significant is having a place that is comfortable mentally as well as physically, that can be called “our own” in a psychological sense. The goal is more than just a shelter, more than a house. This does not mean that everyone must have the most expensive trends in home finishes. It goes to the sense of place and place attachment that results from having an ability to shape ones’ environment according to individual needs, both tangible and intangible.

When you ask where someone is from, they will usually answer with their hometown, where they grew up, and then follow up with where they now currently live, if it is not the same place. We do this because no matter where we are, we will always have a connection to our roots, and normally include this in initial conversations when prompted.<sup>113</sup> This is a result of the place connection and place attachment. It is how connections are formed with those who up until that point were strangers. It is a search for a common background, a common idea on which to build what happens next.<sup>114</sup>

What we call “our home” in this example means something to us, and it is not the same thing as house. Take for example someone who is homeless: “John.” He does not have anywhere to go; he would be both without a house and without a home. He not only lacks basic shelter, but also access to somewhere that he considers his own with a personal connection. If John can sleep on his friend’s couch, he is no longer lacking shelter, but he is still lacking a

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<sup>113</sup> Faustina M. DuCros. “That’s Still Home: Constructing Second-Generation Place Attachment and Place Identity via Time Work.” *The Sociological Quarterly* (2019): 677-695.

<sup>114</sup> Philip Browning Helsel. “Loving The World: Place Attachment and Environment.” *Journal of Pastoral Theology* 28:1, (2018): 22-33.

home.<sup>115</sup> His friend's couch is not his; it is not his space or something that he can shape into his liking. It is merely filling his basic need of a shelter. It does not provide him the ability to establish and nurture his own everyday aesthetic and sense of self.

John's example demonstrates why these terms are not the same and are not interchangeable. As noted by one Habitat for Humanity recipient, "Home means a future. Once we had a stable home, we could think beyond where we were going to live from week to week, and we could begin to look ahead to where we wanted to go. Home is the base where everything begins." A house, in contrast, is just a house.

While a house has physical value for the purposes of shelter, it is not necessarily providing anything else to its inhabitants. It may not feel like "ours" and is simply a space that has practical use. This is where we fall short in providing affordable homes, versus just shelter options for unhoused individuals. We are not thinking of how to create practical, affordable homes; only how to create houses. Affordable housing is needed in a physical sense to use as the raw material for individuals to create that home. It is an issue more accurately termed affordable "homing," than affordable housing.

### Buildings without People – People without Houses or Homes

Currently, there are significant numbers of people without houses or homes, and a significant number of buildings without people. These are two problems when taken separately,

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<sup>115</sup> J. Lenhard, L. Coulomb, and A. Miranda-Nieto, "Home Making Without a Home: Dwelling Practices and Routines Among People Experiencing Homelessness," *Housing Studies* 37, no. 2 (February 2022): 183-188.

but in tandem, are a problem and a solution. While every building is not suitable to become housing and then a home, there are undeniably a substantial number of vacant, unused, large buildings that could provide a substantial amount of housing, as well as add to the community value by utilizing something previously seen as a problem site. These buildings also have a potential to provide what new builds cannot: a connection to the past and a sense of cultural continuity arising from their long existence as part of the built landscape and all that it entails.

Frequently, however, these buildings are overlooked, and vacant existing structures with value are torn down and replaced with generic new construction projects that are inharmonious with the rest of the neighborhood. This at best adds nothing, at worst damages, the idea of home, impacting a community's historic sense of self and place. The community becomes unrecognizable to those who once lived there after enough buildings are torn down. Change may be necessary, but we must be mindful of the effects physical changes in environment have not only for the specific site, but for the community.

### Our Societal Housing Shortage

As discussed in earlier subsections of this chapter, current solutions to the housing problem focus on new builds, assumed to be better and more cost effective than adaptive reuse. Preservation is considered a luxury we cannot afford in addressing the housing issue. However, preservation, in fact, provides one of the necessities to addressing fundamental housing issues. It can recreate or establish a sense of place, while at the same time it can also serve as a means to a practical end, housing. This way of thinking connects empirical data about

housing, economic and sociological matters, and the “worldview” of reuse and utilizing structures that already exist.

The lack of a wide spectrum of housing options is as serious an issue as insufficient housing, since sense of place requires differentiation, not standardization. An equally severe problem is the substantial number of vacant buildings and abandoned lots.<sup>116</sup> Both are urban issues that lead to other types of urban decay and population destabilization, and both can be addressed by one remedy, the adaptive reuse of abandoned manufacturing and other large, obsolete buildings to provide affordable, large scale, multi-unit housing.<sup>117</sup>

In 2018 the National Low Income Housing Coalition reported that there was no county nationwide where a renter working forty hours a week and earning minimum wage could afford a typical two-bedroom apartment, in other words are not “cost-burdened,” (Fig. 3). Harvard researchers found in 2016 that almost half of renters were “cost burdened,” spending 30 percent or more of their income on rent.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Robert A. Beauregard, “The Textures of Property Markets: Downtown Housing and Office Conversions in New York City,” *Urban Studies* 42, no. 13 (2005): 2431-2445.

<sup>117</sup> Nataša Petković-Grozdanovića. “The Possibilities for Conversion and Adaptive Reuse of Industrial Facilities into Residential Dwelling,” *Procedia Engineering*, Volume 165 (2016): 1836-1844.

<sup>118</sup> T. Kottke, “Access to Affordable Housing Promotes Health,” 2018.

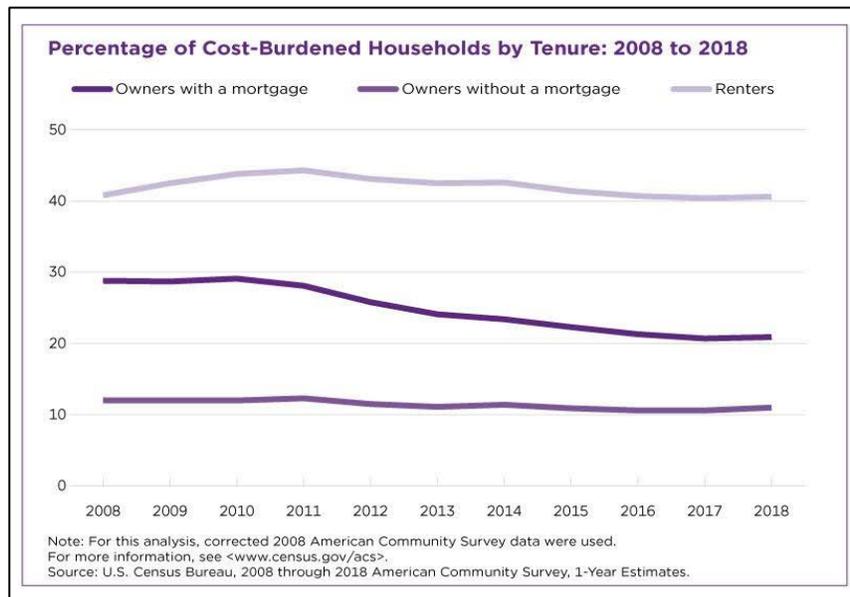
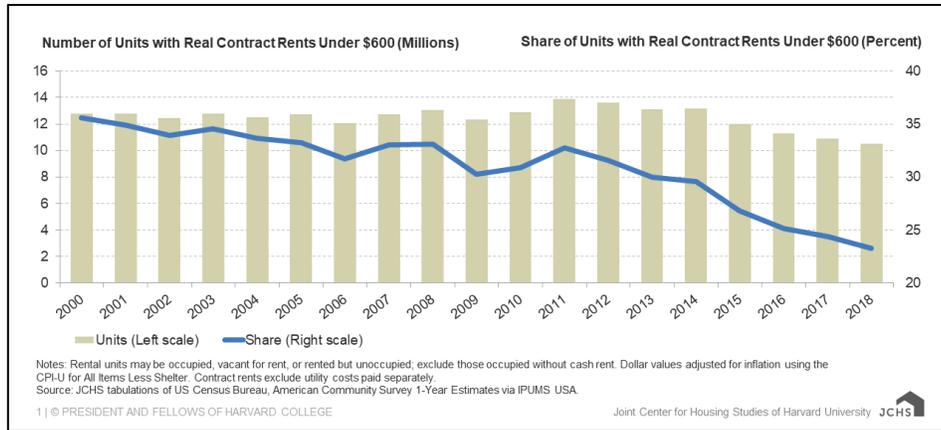


Figure 5: Percentage of Cost-Burdened Households by Tenure  
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

This situation is not just a “low income” population problem. What would be considered high-income earners in expensive coastal cities also struggle with rent affordability. In that study, two-thirds of renters nationwide say they cannot afford to buy a house, and house prices were rising far faster than any growth in wages. The supply of low-cost units in rental stock is shrinking as well, and this exacerbates the problem, there is no affordable rental unit or housing stock available from which to make a home or stabilize a community population.



**Figure 6 : Low-Cost Units Account for a Shrinking Share of Nation's Rental Stock**  
Source: Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard, Tabulation of U.S. Census Bureau

Public management provides another relevant observation involving the increase in the gap between median home price and medium household income between 1975 and 2017.<sup>119</sup> This has led to a significant shift in what is called “home” for young adults, who are turning to rental versus ownership for housing (Fig. 4). This shift has led to an increase in rental prices, creating a vicious cycle of increased demand for affordable housing as a home, with insufficient affordable rental housing options.

In addition, at the intangible layers of analysis, the shift from housing ownership to renting can lower the potential for feelings of “home.” Rental property certainly can be home in the full meaning of the term, but it requires that the attachment of place to the community is strong. This can lead to an unexpected decrease in the perceived value and importance of a structure that not only provides a house but could also provide a sense of home and sense of place.

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<sup>119</sup> Rene La Roche, “Adaptive Reuse of the National Housing Act: Conversions of Manufacturing Facilities to Multiunit Residency,” 2018. 12-32.

## Memory, Economics, and Affordability

The issue of affordability is not just about the dollars and cents; it is about intangible aspects of self-identity as well, and how that, too, has been made unaffordable. Memory is a psychological element key to understanding why this has happened, and psychology in turn has a significant role in the housing crisis, all tied to sense of place. Childhood memories can last a lifetime, becoming passed down as oral history, a significant part of how we define ourselves today. This individual memory expands to the community and can produce the myth/metaphor beliefs that should be considered.<sup>120</sup>

Memories may lie hidden beneath the surface, waiting for a sensory trigger to appear. As a result, memory plays a vital role in how we deal with the physical world around us, and how we connect with each other. It is what allows us to, literally, “imagine our future.”<sup>121</sup> It may be tempting to dismiss theories about memory, sense of place and related concepts as belonging only to the fields of psychology or theoretical sociology not the “nitty gritty” of the housing crisis. However, they are part of the reason that looking at housing only as physical infrastructure often fails.

This is particularly true when the idea of housing as infrastructure is modified by the subjective adjective “affordable.” Discussions can be concrete about certain things, but “affordable” is a relative term, perhaps unnecessarily. A myth/metaphor approach that sees the

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<sup>120</sup> Janet A. McDonnell, “Documenting Cultural and Historical Memory: Oral History in the National Park Service,” *The Oral History Review* 30, no. 2 (January 2003): 99-109.

<sup>121</sup> Daniel L Schacter and Kevin P Madore, “Remembering the Past and Imagining the Future: Identifying and Enhancing the Contribution of Episodic Memory,” *Memory Studies* 9, no. 3 (2016): 245-255.

concept of “affordable” as an unreachable goal makes problem resolution seem unattainable. While “affordable” as a qualitative word has many interpretations, it also is capable of an objective definition, and that can be used to change worldview.

One useful approach provided by housing counselors is based on the basic principle that people should not have to choose between necessities:

Affordable housing is housing that a household can pay for, while still having money left over for other necessities like food, transportation, and health care. That means that what’s considered “affordable” depends on a household’s income.<sup>122</sup>

As is often the case, the federal government has a definition, stating that housing is “affordable” when it consumes no more than 30 percent of a household’s income. What is not necessarily objective is the intangible, “What am I getting for the 30 percent of my income?” Does what I am getting support me in not only the obvious “necessities” issue of shelter, but in all the necessary human psychological and emotive concerns?

That is where historic preservation and adaptive re-use enters, to create with the 30 percent of income attributed to a “house” something that is much more likely to be considered a “home.” Unfortunately, the federal government has equated “house” in the physical shelter sense with “home” in the psychological sense. Nevertheless, the idea of economic ties of a percentage of income to a whole is useful, provided one does not lose sight of community values and expectations in this equation.

It is here that community investment, the inclusion of all community stakeholders is significant, and where often those at the lowest economic end are omitted. For instance,

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<sup>122</sup> “What Is Affordable Housing?,” Local Housing Solutions, February 1, 2022. 2-19.

nationally, more than one in seven households are what economists call “severely cost burdened, paying one half or more of their income on housing.”<sup>123</sup> The lowest–income households are most likely to be in this position. Seventy percent of the lowest–income households (those with less than about \$15,000 in annual income) are severely cost burdened.<sup>124</sup>

This affects moderate income persons as well, and it is not just a “renter’s issue.” Although more than a quarter of renters, eleven million households, have severe housing cost burdens, so do about 1 in 10 homeowners, for another eight million households.<sup>125</sup> This is a social problem, connected to the other social and personal issues of loss of identity and dislocation and community destruction. It leads to the symptom of the broken windows criminology theory of Wilson and Kelling. However, broken windows themselves are not the social issue, as noted by Eric Klinenberg in his article “The Other Side of Broken Windows.”<sup>126</sup>

While “houseless” in a physical sense often means “homeless” in a psychological and social sense they are not the same concepts. Sense of place is as significant to social wellbeing as a physical structure, the two are interrelated, which is why there have been so many problems with otherwise well-intentioned urban renewal.<sup>127</sup> Jane Jacobs made this clear:

The more successfully a city mingles everyday diversity of uses and users in its everyday streets, the more successfully, causally (and economically) its people thereby enliven

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<sup>123</sup> “What Is Affordable Housing?,” Local Housing Solutions, February 1, 2022, 12.

<sup>124</sup> Local Housing Solutions, 18.

<sup>125</sup> Local Housing Solutions, 5.

<sup>126</sup> Eric Kinenberg, “The Other Side of Broken Windows,” The New Yorker, accessed May 18,2022.

<https://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/the-other-side-of-broken-windows>

<sup>127</sup> Roberta Brandes Gratz. *The Battle for Gotham: New York in the Shadow of Robert Moses and Jane Jacobs*. (New York: Nation Books, 2010).

and support well-located parks that can thus give back grace and delight to their neighborhoods instead of vacuity.<sup>128</sup>

There is, nevertheless, a tie to financial poverty, as statistics make all too clear. According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, homelessness is defined as:

An individual who lacks housing (without regard to whether the individual is a member of a family), including an individual whose primary residence during the night is a supervised public or private facility (e.g., shelters) that provides temporary living accommodations, and an individual who is a resident in transitional housing. A homeless person is an individual without permanent housing who may live on the streets; stay in a shelter, mission, single room occupancy facilities, abandoned building or vehicle; or in any other unstable or non-permanent situation.<sup>129</sup>

However, what the federal government is tracking is being physically “houseless,” which may or may not overlap with what it officially calls “homeless,” under a process called the “point in time estimate.” This is a mandatory process conducted by HUD that requires communities receiving funds under certain homeless assistance grants to conduct a count of all “sheltered” persons in January of each year. In 2021 the latest report, ironically this “point” improved slightly due to COVID relief efforts. The statistics overall, however, are still appalling.<sup>130</sup>

On a single night in 2021, more than 326,000 people were experiencing sheltered homelessness in the United States. Six in ten were individuals—that is, people in households with only adults or in households with only children. Four in ten were people in families with children.

The number of sheltered individuals with chronic patterns of homelessness increased by 20 percent between 2020 and 2021.

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<sup>128</sup> Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. (New York, Random House: 1961): 25-28.

<sup>129</sup> Section 330 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C., 254b).

<sup>130</sup> “HUD Releases 2021 Annual Homeless Assessment Report Part 1,” HUD.gov / U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), February 4, 2022.

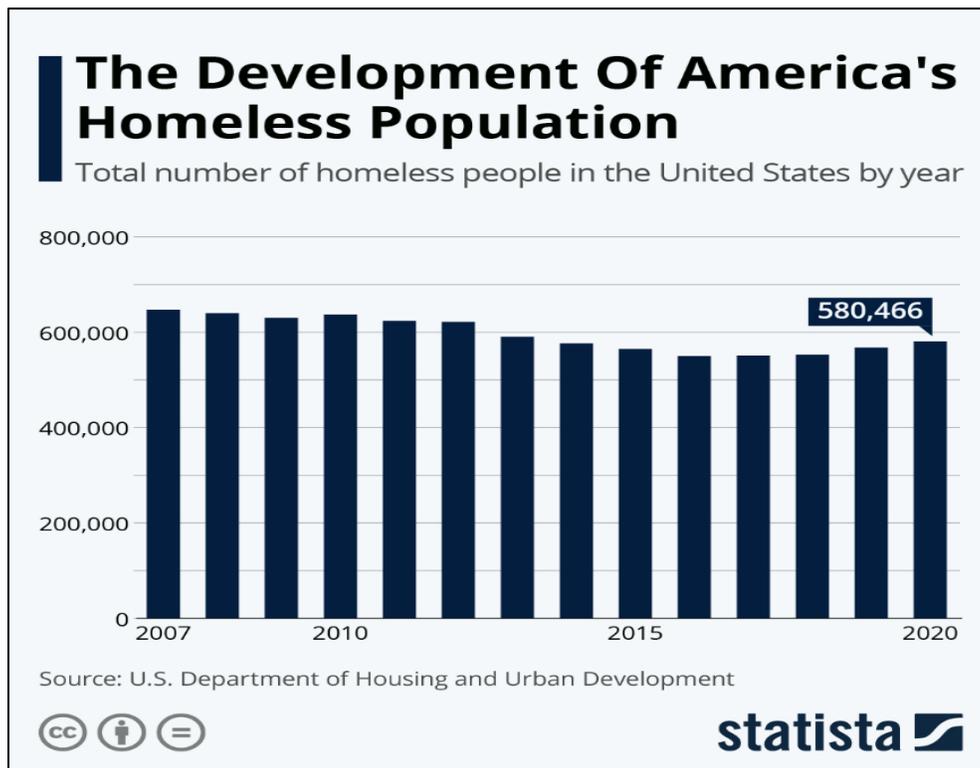


Figure 7 : Number of People Experiencing Sheltered Homelessness  
 Source: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

The population verging on houselessness are caught in a vicious circle: people have no money for “affordable” housing in a fiscal sense (Fig. 5). The housing they do have is not theirs, so they have no connection to it, making what they have unaffordable in a human psychological sense. This leads to property value decrease in both senses.<sup>131</sup> Those in the rental property business, in turn, do not wish to invest in commercial or residential properties without a guaranteed profit and return on investment. That viewpoint is a myth/metaphor that emphasizes the importance of money; value unconnected to profit and loss is overlooked.

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<sup>131</sup> This term is used in quotations for this paper due to the discrepancy between what is in fact affordable versus what is marketed as affordable.

### Low Income Designation Versus Affordability and Desirability Concepts

In any discussion of affordability, it is also important to address the difference between economically “affordable housing” and “low-income housing.” While these two terms are often used interchangeably, they are quite different. Low-income housing, as defined by the HUD is designed to address a specific sociological need, housing for people at poverty level or below.<sup>132</sup> Affordable housing, however, is a much broader concept that addresses housing availability among diverse income levels. The “affordability” is determined based on the economic profile of the community and has a broader range of inclusion as opposed to low-income housing.<sup>133</sup>

As a society, we need both to be successful, and low-income housing must address intangible as well as tangible needs to prevent “homelessness” verses “houselessness.” Home entails psychological desirability, and the issue of customization versus mass production and its assumed savings in time and money. Does one however necessarily exclude the other or is another example of a litany based on one form of subjective worldview?<sup>134</sup> The reality of the situation is far more complicated than any stakeholder litany. It is affected by market forces, governmental policy, and population demographic changes. These same forces are at work in creating urban decay through vacant and then eventually abandoned buildings.

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<sup>132</sup> HUD, *Income Limits Methodology*, 2019. 1.

<sup>133</sup> HUD, *Affordable Housing Percentage*, 2006. 4.

<sup>134</sup> “Advocates Fight for More Affordable Housing from Developers” *Youtube*, accessed April 5, 2022.

It is also the downside of the United States' growth in "superstar cities" based on tech money, too fast and unplanned real estate development which strains city infrastructures.<sup>135</sup> This can cause places with the most opportunity to become the most unaffordable because of a worldview emphasizing the importance of money versus values unconnected to profit and loss. There are, however, alternatives.

Value exists in in different forms and at different layers in our built as well as natural environment. That value in turn is created by the culture who experiences that environment, as part of its worldview and myth/metaphor. For instance, in some Native American cultures such as the Navajo, highly prized structures and implements of living do not have high value in terms of money.<sup>136</sup> Their value comes from the historical past of the items in their specific culture. Western civilizations and urban communities in contrast are prone to tie money to happiness/value, especially in urban environments. However, even in Western culture, that urban viewpoint and litany is not exclusive. For example, someone who owns a familial home going back two or three generations may value it for the house itself, and its memories and family history. These are the elements that are currently lacking in a tract house subdivision.

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<sup>135</sup> Joseph Gyourko, Christopher Mayer, and Todd Sinai, "Superstar Cities," *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 5, no. 4 (January 2013): 167-199.

<sup>136</sup> B.E.S. Duran, "Native American Belief Systems and Practices," accessed March 9, 2022.

## Examples from Current Practice

If one looks at examples in practice, one can identify existing solutions to the housing crisis incorporating the ideas discussed which are successful at a practical level. Looking at these examples demonstrates that theory can successfully be put into practice.

### *San Antonio, TX: Affordable Housing Stock*



Figure 8: Row of small Houses c. 1961  
Source: UTSA Today

In San Antonio, city leadership wanted to highlight the value of the existing housing stock. In the 1960s, they commissioned a study that determined that existing housing stock in combination with a focus on improving what they already had could be used to help stabilize homeownership rates, prevent displacement, and increase the availability of affordable rental units. This approach utilized the theoretical elements discussed in a new kind of litany, based on new approaches under the other CLA levels of social causes, worldview, and

myth/metaphor. San Antonio was ahead of the times in using a methodology consistent with the later idea of CLA, to ask and answer four questions.

1. What is the role that older housing stock plays in meeting the needs of San Antonians in general and households of modest income in particular?
2. What is the location, condition, and ownership patterns of these housing units?
3. Which properties are particularly vulnerable to being demolished?
4. What are the ideas that might be utilized to keep more existing housing units available for sale and for rent?<sup>137</sup>

The results confirmed the point that older housing, not new construction, could meet concerns by stabilizing homeownership rates, preventing and mitigating displacement, and increasing affordable rental units, through preservation and rehabilitation. This study rejected the litany



Figure 9: Shotgun House, Germantown, San Antonio c. 2019  
Source: UTSA Today

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<sup>137</sup> San Antonio Historic Preservation Office, "Opportunity at Risk: San Antonio's Older Housing Stock," Place Economics. 2020. 1

that one can build oneself out of the housing crisis, calling for an innovative approach and a new litany:

Older buildings play an important role in housing affordability across the country. First, housing preservation is typically cheaper and faster than constructing new units and effectively combats blight. Older and historic neighborhoods offer a diverse housing stock at varying prices, sizes, and conditions, and are in close proximity to transit and jobs.<sup>138</sup>

It also noted the fallacy in reasoning about why “older housing” is not useful, a fallacy which adopts many of the biases that can be found in the more abstract worldview and myth/metaphors. For instance, it is cited that:

While older housing is more likely to be in poorer condition, the number of properties needing significant repairs is low—according to the 2017 American Housing Survey, only 2 percent of pre-1960 housing is severely inadequate and only 6 percent is moderately inadequate. Furthermore, these conditions are generally a result of neglect and vacancy, exacerbated by a lack of means to properly maintain them. Often the legacy of past government policies has compounded the challenges of these structures—it is not simply because the buildings are old.

.... keeping residents in existing homes should be a priority. Appropriate and quality new construction must occur but doing so will not magically solve the issues at hand. A city cannot build itself out of a housing crisis—the retention of existing housing stock is critical. These national patterns are also true in San Antonio.<sup>139</sup>

These older houses of San Antonio represented psychological “homes” that I present as so important. They were not just a path to a house, but to personal and community stability.

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<sup>138</sup> San Antonio Historic Preservation Office, “Opportunity at Risk: San Antonio's Older Housing Stock,” 2.

<sup>139</sup> San Antonio Historic Preservation Office, 3.

Louisville, KY: Adapting the Existing

A second example of theory into practice can be found in Louisville, Kentucky. As beneficial as the history of a place can be, it is an example where residences can also be dragged down by its burden. This leads to the creation of a litany based on a worldview and myth/metaphor that is a hinderance to the present and future.<sup>140</sup> This can occur in the context of historic preservation, when one group believes that certain buildings cannot be modified or changed at all due to a reverence for the past. That opinion or litany of one political group can be a subjective and disputed opinion by other community members.<sup>141</sup>

There is an accepted worldview and resulting litany in other situations that certain older buildings have such historic or other value that there is agreement that any change would be destructive, as noted by the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Preservation.<sup>142</sup> However,



Figure 10 : Germantown Mill c. 2013  
Source: Google Images

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<sup>140</sup> Andree Brooks, "The Benefit and Burden of History," The New York Times (The New York Times, August 21, 1983).

<sup>141</sup> Scott Beyer, "Historic Preservation Is Great, except When It Isn't," Governing (Governing, April 26, 2022).

<sup>142</sup> "Cumulative Effect and Historic Character-Technical Preservation Services," National Parks Service (U.S. Department of the Interior) 2019.

there are also standards that apply specifically to rehabilitation that may be used which are more flexible.<sup>143</sup>

For instance, in Louisville, an old milling factory was converted into luxury apartments.<sup>144</sup> This project took place in a neighborhood that was working middle class, with a history of similar economic groups. The same modifications to the building could have occurred, and a profit realized, by converting the factory into units that were more in keeping with the past and present economic strata of the neighborhood. That approach also would have helped avoid one of the key issues of neighborhood “revitalization,” the gentrification of a neighborhood that makes it out of reach for its established residents.<sup>145</sup> However, these issues are only disclosed by analysis that looks at sociological as well as economic factors, at community perspective and worldview.



Figure 11 : Germantown Mill Lofts c. 2021  
Source: Google Images

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<sup>143</sup> National Parks Service, accessed May 18, 2022, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/rehabilitation.htm>

<sup>144</sup> Martha Elson, “Old Germantown Mills 'Hot Place' to Live, Work,” *Journal (The Courier-Journal)*, July 24, 2016).

<sup>145</sup> Chad Mills, “Councilman's Plan Would Fight Gentrification in Louisville Neighborhoods,” *WDRB*, 2021.

## Old Louisville and Limerick



Figure 12 : Aerial View of 3rd Street and St. James Court c. 2020  
Source: Google Images

Entire neighborhoods and not just individual buildings can suffer the same fate, the neighborhood future tied to that of a limited number of significant buildings. For instance, while there were extensive neighborhood plans for the both the Limerick and Old Louisville neighborhoods, the focus in their 2000 area plan<sup>146</sup> was on the use of the existing, large nineteenth century residences used as multi-unit housing. The neighborhood plan designated for “high density, mixed-use development within the Neighborhood Transition-Center as a progression between the Neighborhood Center and the adjacent neighborhood”<sup>147</sup> This took a negative view of developing more multi-family residences:

Corner commercial and multi-family residential uses: A mix of mostly single- and two-family residences with convenient commercial uses anchoring key intersections characterizes traditional neighborhoods. The Task Force recognizes that multi-family residential uses interspersed within the single-family fabric of the neighborhood adds to

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<sup>146</sup> Old Louisville/Limerick Neighborhood Plan, accessed March 8, 2022.

<sup>147</sup> Old Louisville/Limerick Neighborhood Plan, sections 1-6.

its diversity and unique character. *The Task Force carefully balanced the need for this diversity and the need to encourage conformity with the neighborhood’s original single and two-family character by allowing corner commercial establishments at key intersections. Multi-family residential uses are permitted at specifically identified locations depending on the immediate block context and potential for future single-family development.*<sup>148</sup> (Emphasis added)

On paper this may make a good sound bite, using words like “mixed use.” However, overall, the plan constrained the adaptive reuse of extremely large residential structures for anything but single-family residency by those who could afford the accompanying financial upkeep burden, now a nearly impossible task for so much square footage.



Figure 13 : Limerick Home c. 2022  
Source: Google Images

The Plan Task Force “acknowledges the fundamental soundness of Old Louisville’s original urban design, and now seeks to institute a zoning mechanism that will be conducive to restoration of the neighborhood’s original urban character and pattern.”<sup>149</sup> Again, on paper this sounds positive, until one actually walks the streets of Old Louisville, which to a great

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<sup>148</sup>Old Louisville/Limerick Neighborhood Plan, sections 1-7

<sup>149</sup> Old Louisville/Limerick Neighborhood Plan, section 1.1

extent are dominated by mansions of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, commonly referred to as “Millionaire’s Row,” existing at a time lacking in millionaires as inhabitants.<sup>150</sup> There is a distinct difference between keeping large mansion residences in use by making them desirable multi-family housing, and maintaining the mansion’s current condition to allow for new millionaires to move into the area.



Figure 14 : 1400 Block of South 3rd Street c. 2021  
Source: Google Images

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<sup>150</sup> Lindsey McClave, “Lace up Your Shoes & Take a Walk Through Old Louisville,” 2021.

Also at issue is that while the areas of Old Louisville and Limerick may share a boundary, they are quite different in history and the character.<sup>151</sup> Both have housing that constituted a “cost burden,” taking up more than thirty percent of the residents’ income based on a 2017 study.<sup>152</sup> That problem is not addressed however by the 2000 Plan, with its emphasis on single family housing trapping any owner into spending far more than that amount, setting things up for failure not success.

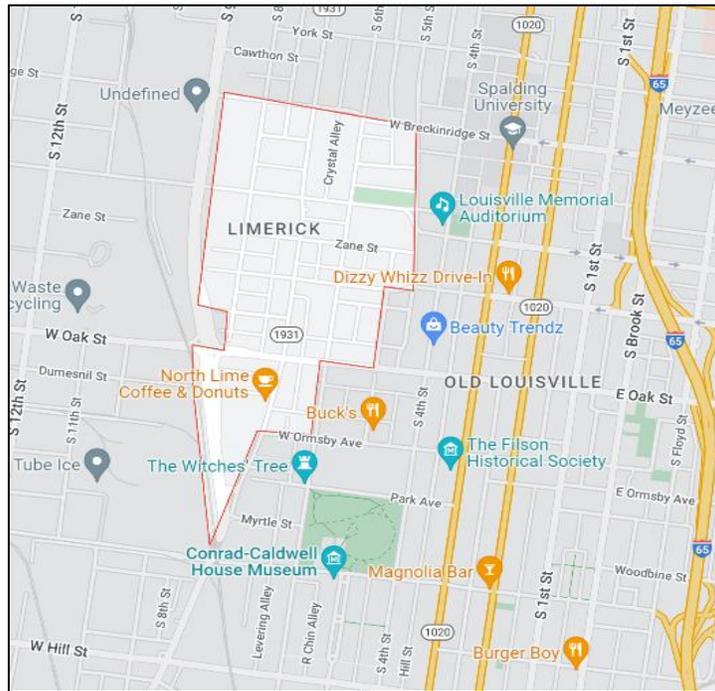


Figure 15 : Map of Old Louisville and Limerick Neighborhoods  
Source: Google Maps

In recent years, there has been mixed results in Old Louisville. More of these mansion homes are now apartments, one or two per story, with three or four stories the average for each home. Some of the smaller (by comparison) mansions have started becoming Airbnbs,

<sup>151</sup> “A Place in Time - Courier-Journal's History of Neighborhoods,” A Place in Time - Courier-Journal's history of neighborhoods - Center for Environmental Policy and Management,. 2019.

<sup>152</sup> Kentucky State Data Center, 2020, 14.

which are especially lucrative for their owners during Derby week. However, they do not do much to add to the value of the community –those who are staying in the AirBnbs are not locals, and often spend their money and time outside of the neighborhood.

### NULU

In contrast to the Limerick area, the New Louisville (NULU) neighborhood is experiencing a different fate.<sup>153</sup> Through the early nineteen–nineties this area thrived as a center for commerce in Louisville. However, when developers shifted focus to Main Street, the residential district soon showed signs of neglect: dwindling desire for locals to use the area, and local gangs making the neighborhood home base led to the area to be federally classified as a “distressed” location.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Louisville Metro Planning and Design Services, accessed February 19, 2022.

<sup>154</sup> Louisville Homes Blog, accessed February 19, 2022.

It is now in contrast “home to the greenest commercial building in Kentucky, significant historic restoration projects,”<sup>155</sup> as well as restaurants offering organic and locally sourced ingredients. It is emerging as a neighborhood with a culture of sustainability and a “new” way of thinking, a new litany and worldview about working and living in a historic urban neighborhood. This can in large part be attributed to a fluid view of the varied layers of analysis, including the historic, the sociological and the personal perspectives.



Figure 16 : The Green Building, NULU  
Source: Jetson Green Website

NULU’s stretch of Market Street is one of four major corridors inextricably intertwined with the history and development of Louisville; the earliest map of the city identifies Water, Main, Market and Jefferson streets. During the early part of the nineteenth century, Market Street was the common address for retailers and service industries supporting Louisville’s development as a center for regional commerce. The new revitalization efforts in NULU seeks to re-establish a sense of place based on these historic roots and the role NULU played in

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<sup>155</sup> NULU Business Association, 2021.

Louisville history.<sup>156</sup> This reknits a torn social fabric, restoring social and individual heritage, creating building blocks for future development.



Figure 17 : Market Street Delivery Trucks  
Source: NLU Website

In contrast, Old Louisville in attempting to preserve the physical manifestations of the historical sociological past of Millionaire’s Row and the surrounding area was trapped in a worldview that was no longer economically valid or desired by most –even highly successful individuals do not have the lifestyle of the residents of a century ago who lived in this area. There is no longer any need or desire in most cases for residential ballrooms or an entire upper floor of a house devoted to living quarters for servants.

These Louisville examples within one city show how quite different litanies can arise from differing worldviews, myth/metaphors perspectives, all within one larger community. What works for one area might not for another, and the negatives of different approaches as well as the benefits exist in each example. Old Louisville and Limerick, while they have

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<sup>156</sup> Louisville Planning Commission, accessed February 10, 2022.

examples of adaptive reuse, are also to a certain extent part of a past built environment that is no longer economically sustainable in that form. Its stakeholders have conflicting litanyes based on differing views under higher levels of CLA. Some recognize the necessity for adaptive reuse, but others compete to preserve the area in a manner that is no longer financially or sociologically feasible.



Figure 18 : NULU Today c. 2020  
Source: Let's Go Louisville Website

NULU has become a highly desired area of Louisville, but gentrified, so that the housing prices are now out of reach for those who used to call the shotgun houses home. One area risks preservation as an icon to a past age, losing contemporary relevancy; another received changes that proved to be too costly to maintain for prior community inhabitants; and a third location has received little or no attention. In all these examples, even where there was some success,

the action taken missed the mark by failing to sufficiently consider the intangible along with the tangible elements of community.

### *From Problem to Solution*

The key question for solving both problems of community loss and beneficial community progression is: how one can create places with present community value, rejuvenate community economics, yet still maintain an existing sense of place? The Louisville examples show that to answer this requires analysis moving back and forth between CLA levels, and the viability of the solution of adaptive reuse. Rather than starting from a blank slate with the idea to build something cheap, quick, and infinitely repeatable, careful consideration of a variety of factors demonstrates more is needed than repeated copies of mass production houses. Adaptive reuse brings into the present not just four walls but also a sense of a place's history that helps us connect to where we live.

In adaptive reuse of industrial or commercial buildings one is not attempting to restore a structure to its original state or use. Rather, the aim is to put a once useful building back into a beneficial state. While one may not be restoring its façade and interior, what is restored is the building's soul as part of an individual's sense of place. It is important to remember what something was, but not to the extent of becoming trapped by the past. This is a pitfall that can catch the unwary, where the past is revered for its own sake, rather than what it can tell us about ourselves as we move into the future of tomorrow.

What is required is an expanded application of the tentative forays of Old Louisville in transforming some mansions into apartment units or condominiums.<sup>157</sup> These projects keep the mixed economic characteristics of the neighborhood, with a promising investment return for the owners. This approach needs to be applied to larger-scale, non-residential facilities, with a broader range of reuse. We should not immediately jump to wanting to build as more projects prove to be successful, even if it is on a small scale in the beginning.

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<sup>157</sup> Old Louisville Guide, accessed February 11, 2022.

### CHAPTER III: CAUSES AND REACTIONS IN THE HOUSING ENVIRONMENT

One of the fundamental points of this paper is that there are levels of physical and psychological values in our connection to the environment, and these must be addressed in attempting to solve any societal issue. Human beings are surrounded by an environment, a physical space, be it natural or manufactured, home, work, or the places in between. Our needs are not met only by a house and a home, but also by these community places in between. These are not our house or home but Third Places. They play a key role in daily life and are utilized by us as a matter of choice, that element of choice an integral part of sense of place and our concept of “home.”<sup>158</sup>

The psychology in sense of self and of community, and the clarification of the issues of affordability and the ideas of “house” versus “home” are important precursors to the present chapter’s analysis of the often-overlooked underlying societal perceptions that form the raw material of both causes and reactions in the housing crisis. Ultimately these separate individual causes and reactions combine to form a societal myth/metaphor that either ignores or acknowledges the distinction between house and home. A myth/metaphor, in turn, which ignores this distinction leads to unsatisfactory housing solutions, since it ignores a basic need of human beings to be “homed” not just “housed.”

Abandoned buildings and urban sociology all involve individual stories of personal perspective that combine into a communities’ myth/metaphor, and it is important to

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<sup>158</sup> Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafés, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community*, 45-64.

understand the at times circular nature of these patterns of cause and reaction. The community myth/metaphor may be embraced by the individual, it may be rejected, or it may be adopted but as something alien, to be tolerated not accepted into one's own personal perspective. This leads to a one of the most important of the psychological effects of the housing crisis discussed by this treatise, a growing feeling of dislocation and loss of sense of place.

That feeling is both a cause and a reaction. People end up rootless, with ties to the community and a shared social history weakened or destroyed by the loss of a community's physical, as well as emotional, center. One might think of a donut, with the city center now the hole, surrounded by a ring of community residents. That ring appears solid but in fact is very fragile, it can, like a ring of pastry, easily be broken apart, since the physical connecting and stabilizing structure of the center is gone.

This weakening occurs because we all are, whether acknowledged or not, deeply connected to our surrounding physical world.<sup>159</sup> That physical world as a cause impacts our self-recognition as well as our community connections. A trend is developing in our cities, however, where a community's sense of self is becoming less and less important.<sup>160</sup> This is hastened by the demolition of "useless" buildings. That demolition then itself becomes a cause of the critical shortage of affordable housing, exacerbated by the underutilization of the existing built environment.

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<sup>159</sup> Goldhagen, *Welcome to Your World: How the Built Environment Shapes Our Lives*, 74-87.

<sup>160</sup> Katherine Robinson and Ruth Sheldon, "Witnessing Loss in the Everyday: Community Buildings in Austerity Britain," *The Sociological Review* 67, no. 1 (November 2018): 111-125.

The missing city center often was where one physically found Ray Oldenburg's "Third Places," it is also where the individual is tethered to the community, through both physical and psychological connections arising outside of work and home spaces.<sup>161</sup> These Third Places are the spaces used by a community, its parks, libraries, commercial spaces, restaurants. They are the literal and psychological "building fabric" or "fabric of place" that binds a community and its members together.<sup>162</sup>

All levels of CLA encounter the influence of physical structures, our buildings, to our social fabric, one of the premises of the paper. As noted by sociologist Thomas Gieryn buildings stabilize social life, give structure to social institutions, solidify society against time and change.<sup>163</sup> They do this imperfectly, they can physically fall into ruin or destruction, but the psychological ties to time and place they created linger in the memory of community where they once stood, existing as place attachment and sense of place. That sense of place, its psychological significance, is as proposed in this paper one of the key elements to understanding the housing crisis and its remedies.

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<sup>161</sup> Ray Oldenburg, *Celebrating the Third Place: Inspiring Stories about the "Great Good Places" at the Heart of Our Communities* (New York: Marlowe & Co., 2001).

<sup>162</sup> Cathy Simon, "The Social and Physical Fabric of Place," SPUR, November 23, 2013.

<sup>163</sup> Thomas F. Gieryn, "What Buildings Do," *Theory and Society* 31, no. 1 (2002): 35-74.

## The Persistence of Memory and Sense of Place

Memory and its role in place connection leads to physical attachment and satisfaction of the human desire to remember our origin story.<sup>164</sup> As people, we create and design our personal spaces to include things of meaning that serve as representations of valued memories, incorporating individual and common history into our environment. Our childhood homes can play a significant part in our adult sense of self, and we may be devastated to see anything changed, even though at the same time we realize to expect no change is unrealistic.<sup>165</sup> We want that kitchen left how we remember it – yellow, dated wallpaper and all.

Change is a negative factor to us in these situations because it tears at our necessary physical connection to our past, and so at who we are. Somehow it seems that if we lose the physical reminder, we lose that part of ourselves. Spaces, buildings, things become the path to these memories. This aspect of human psychology and relation to the world is one of the reasons people have such a fascination and desire to visit historical landmarks and places, and to drive by their old grade school. We are finite, but history has a way of expanding that limit, allowing us to reach back, as well as leaving a mark on the future.<sup>166</sup> That process is as well often on of everyday aesthetic experience.

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<sup>164</sup> Ian Leslie, *Curious: The Desire to Know & Why Your Future Depends on It* (London: Quercus, 2015).

<sup>165</sup> Jerry M. Burger, *Returning Home: Reconnecting with Our Childhoods* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

<sup>166</sup> Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

## Everyday Aesthetic and Sense of Self

Even though positive aesthetic experience is unnecessary for basic survival, aesthetic experience in general is a human element of existence, as noted by social theorist John Dewey and others. Dewey's notion of art as experience, where "life goes on in an environment; not merely *in* it but because of it, through interaction with it"<sup>167</sup> is a CLA higher level world view that allows consideration of this often-overlooked aspect of the housing crisis and its remedy.

Aesthetic is used here not to refer only to that which is considered beautiful, but under a broader definition, as a particular taste for or approach to what is pleasing to the senses and especially sight.<sup>168</sup> When looking at the issues of housing, whether in terms of affordability or basic shortages across all types, consideration must be given to the design of our spaces. The aim cannot be to simply create a box that someone uses for shelter. Instead, we must think of not only how to create the shelter box, but how to create a sense of place so that the result is never "just" a box but a home.

Our homes are, or should be, filled with memories both in the form of physical objects that represent important moments, and our own internal memories of our experiences connected to those objects. These create a "space" of importance because they are where we can be most true to ourselves. We can express who we are with a bold color choice, creating a space of "us-ness," as escape when the world becomes too much, or we lose sight of ourselves. It is not just housing for those who have none, but housing that acknowledges this

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<sup>167</sup> John Dewey, *Art as Experience*, (New York: Penguin Putnam, 1980), 17.

<sup>168</sup> Merriam Webster, accessed April 15, 2022, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/aesthetic>

psychological need which is fundamental to establishing an acceptable standard of human living.

In turn, the ability to have a choice, a preference in our physical environment, allows us to develop a visual sense of self –how we literally see ourselves in our mind’s eye – when we envision ourselves in our thoughts. That, in turn, is a significant part of the material we use to describe ourselves to others.<sup>169</sup> We exercise options in our choice of environment and its manipulation to our wants and needs. As noted by environmental psychologist Susan Clayton in the *Atlantic Monthly* article on this subject:

... for many people, their home is part of their self-definition, which is why we do things like decorate our houses and take care of our lawns. These large patches of vegetation serve little real purpose, but they are part of a public face people put on, displaying their home as an extension of themselves.<sup>170</sup>

The choices are both cause and reaction: “When you visit a place you used to live, these cues can cause you to revert back to the person you were when you lived there.”<sup>171</sup>

### The Importance of Where You Are From

This discussion indicates that the housing crisis is not just about houses, it is about what we call the concept of home, *where* we are from. Home is as unique as are individuals, and memories of home taken together create a type of virtual reality.<sup>172</sup> Entry into this reality is sometimes under our control, and sometimes not. Its existence can lie hidden beneath the

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<sup>169</sup> Julie Beck, “The Psychology of Home: Why Where You Live Means So Much,” *The Atlantic* (Atlantic Media Company, December 29, 2011), 1.

<sup>170</sup> Beck, 2.

<sup>171</sup> Beck, 3.

<sup>172</sup> Beck, 4.

surface until triggered by one or more of our senses. That triggering effect is part of place attachment and sense of place. Smells of baking cookies draw us back to a kitchen and the heat of the oven. That old tree on the playground was base for tag, the corner coffee shop was where lasting friendships formed. Memories can also be a negative factor, as when the loud unexpected noise brings immediate panic from memory of a past war battlefield.

Regardless, it all is part of *us*, and we become more complete in the present from memories of past selves. Community attachment and memory is also what builds community myth/metaphor. The individual myths and metaphors of a person based on experience and memory are shaped to become the shared myth or metaphor of the societal group. These influences of memory on our inner selves affect our future, at the same time shaping other memories.

They are both causes and reaction, reinforcing our connections, personal or otherwise, to events, places, or people. Key to all of this is the physical place involved in the memory. As noted in a popular news magazine:

The human animal is not so different from his ancestors. Just as animals have lairs and mark their territories, people have fundamental attachments to place and space. Even equating home and womb is not too far a stretch. Humans, however, add layers of significance to home and place. Physical places endure while memories and people fade, so homes and neighborhoods become "memory machines" that help us keep alive some of the strongest sources of what has given our lives meaning, well-being, and happiness.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Philip Moeller, "Why Our Homes Make Us Happy: Having a Safe Place Centers Us and Makes It Easier to Achieve Life Goals," *US News*, April 5, 2012.

This expresses in ordinary language a basic fact of existence, and the connection between memory, sense of place and the aesthetic concepts we apply to our environment.

Each of us, whether encouraged or not to develop this trait or not, are in possession of our own everyday aesthetic, which in turn leads to the creation of societal and global aesthetics.<sup>174</sup> This process impacts how we feel about not only about our surroundings but also ourselves. The integrity and “selfness” of a community is connected to the physical buildings that we become accustomed to seeing day after day, and how they are consistent with, or jar our individual aesthetic values.

As noted earlier, the development of our own aesthetic impacts how we feel not only about our surroundings but also ourselves. This is emphasized even more in a community environment, where one can be pressured and influenced by others and their own opinions. The development of an individual aesthetic therefore is a psychological process that has material effects, impacting how we build and thereby shape our physical world.<sup>175</sup> We will gravitate towards and feel a connection with that which satisfies our individual aesthetic sense.

### Visual Perception, Human Needs and Third Places

This aesthetic viewpoint exists sometimes in tandem, and sometimes in conflict, with our essential survival needs. Aesthetics can in extreme examples cause us to shun something

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<sup>174</sup> Crispin Sartwell, “Aesthetics of the Everyday,” *Art History Versus Aesthetics*, (2012): 126-128.

<sup>175</sup> Sartwell, 126.

that is physically needed. We may be desperately hungry, but unable to eat something that appears unappetizing. One of the most basic survival needs is for food, but as Apicius, a 1st Century Roman gourmand purportedly stated, “*We eat first with our eyes,*” and a growing body of evidence from the cognitive neurosciences is concluding the truth of that aphorism.<sup>176</sup> Visual perception and our individual aesthetic sense is therefore an essential part of how the human brain works with its environment. It follows that we evaluate our built environment first through our visual perception and opinions of it.

These are places where we can socialize because we feel comfortable in that space, our comfort level arising from the space’s consistency with our aesthetic outlook, our visual experience, and how that translates to satisfaction of a human need. Ray Oldenburg considered home our “first” place, where we work our “second” place.<sup>177</sup> Third Places are locations where we exchange ideas, have an enjoyable time, and build relationships. One writer noted that for lower-income Americans, the local fast-food McDonalds are becoming the equivalent of the English “pub,” short for “public house”: groups of people meeting and, in the process, building a community.<sup>178</sup> The pub, or McDonald’s, becomes the “living room” of society.

When a community’s sense of place starts to degrade, it tends to begin with the loss of these Third Places. Closed eateries, grocery stores, and shops, the growing hole in the center of the donut analogy, eventually lead people to seek other places to live. This is not only from loss

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<sup>176</sup> Charles Spence et al., “Eating with Our Eyes: From Visual Hunger to Digital Satiation,” *Brain and Cognition* 110 (2016): 53-63.

<sup>177</sup> L.N. van der Laan et al., “The First Taste Is Always with the Eyes: A Meta-Analysis on the Neural Correlates of Processing Visual Food Cues,” *NeuroImage* 55, no. 1 (2011): 296-303.

<sup>178</sup> Ray Oldenburg, “Project for Public Spaces,” RSS, 2018.

of convenience, but also from the loss of a sense of community, of opportunities for community interaction. Rather than being able to meet with friends and neighbors just around the corner at the local restaurant, one must travel somewhere else, outside of their home community. This leads to a lessening of attachment to where one lives, and an increased focus on the transitory destination to which one travels.

The places we go and the visual experience we have on the way, the architecture we see in transit and when we arrive couple with memory creating stability on various levels. Thomas Gieryn's sociological conclusions about the stabilizing effect of architecture were noted earlier. "Buildings stabilize social life. They give us structure to social institutions, durability to social networks, and persistence to behavior patterns."<sup>179</sup> We construct buildings, and they then shape us.

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<sup>179</sup> Susan E. Cozzens and Thomas F. Gieryn, *Theories in Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1990). 23-67.



Figure 19 : Cornell Biotechnical Building  
Source: Google Images

Gieryn used a specific example, the construction of a biotechnical building at Cornell, to demonstrate how during the process of its construction thoughts about its future and other diverse factors were at play (see Fig. 19). The “final design [became] what it had to become for construction to commence: it had to satisfy the interests of wide range of people – architects, biologists, environmental safety officers, University Trustees,” as well as those who would be using the spaces, even down to the “Ithaca landscape of rock, gravity, and snow.”<sup>180</sup> The building process was a visual and psychological process addressing human aesthetic and other needs. His observations about the ability to address diverse interests and needs at one time are

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<sup>180</sup> Gieryn, 56.

applicable to the adaptive reuse of commercial buildings, and why this reuse is sociologically significant.

Part of the success of the Cornell biotechnical building is the fact that its construction and design focused on more than its fundamental use. It appeals to the people who use the spaces by incorporating aspects that have value to them, that fit their own aesthetic, for instance taking inspiration from the landscape. This psychologically creates a sense of pride in users of the facility simply from being where they are. One can say, "This is a beautiful space, it has value, and therefore I have value as part of it."

Our connection to the visual is considered in psychological studies to be one of the unique aspects of "being human" and our "episodic memory" system:

The past is undeniably special for human beings. To a large extent, both individuals and collectives define themselves through history. Moreover, humans seem to have a special way of cognitively representing the past: episodic memory. As opposed to other ways of representing knowledge, remembering the past in episodic memory brings with it the ability to become a witness. Episodic memory allows us to determine what of our knowledge about the past comes from our own experience and thereby what parts of the past we can give testimony about.<sup>181</sup>

Human beings naturally bond over shared experiences, and the visual of the places where these experiences occurred exists within us on varied psychological levels, conscious and unconscious. The physical stage setting for what occurred, its sensory content, in turn become part of a representation of our past selves, at a significant moment in time.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> Johannes B. Mahr and Gergely Csibra, "Witnessing, Remembering, and Testifying: Why the Past Is Special for Human Beings," *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 15, no. 2 (2020): 428-443.

<sup>182</sup> R. Smith, A.J. Lehning, and K. Kim, "Aging in Place in Gentrifying Neighborhoods: Implications for Physical and Mental Health," *Innovation in Aging* 1, no. suppl\_1 (2017): 1273-1273.

## Vacant, Abandoned, and Sense of Community

Vacant and abandoned property is another circular situation where causes become results which are then additional causes. Cities across the United States are having to face the issue of the existence of vast amounts of unused property, ranging from empty lots to single family homes to blocks of commercial and industrial spaces. These structures significantly harm a community's sense of value, which discourages further investment and overall community improvement in a vicious circle.<sup>183</sup>

Unused buildings in our communities normally fall into two categories, "abandoned" or "vacant," and it is important to understand that these terms are not synonymous. This becomes at times a legal issue, defined by local statutes.<sup>184</sup> Often communities use six months to distinguish between the two, abandonment occurring after a six-month vacancy.<sup>185</sup> This is the definition used in this paper. Based on these differences, the starting point for any curative action by a community or city government must be to intercept buildings between these two stages, preventing the negative progression from one to the other.

Abandonment represents a failure to proactively manage the community environment, it creates a sociological as well as economic downside for the property owner on part due to

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<sup>183</sup> Katrin B. Anacker, "Bringing Buildings Back: From Abandoned Properties to Community Assets," *International Planning Studies* 17, no. 2 (2012): 205-208.

<sup>184</sup> "A Complicated Web: Vacant and Abandoned Property Law," *Legal League* 100, 2019.

<sup>185</sup> "All around Pennsauken," *All Around Pennsauken*, RSS, 2022.

the collateral legal liability issues abandoned buildings create.<sup>186</sup> Vandalism and crime are likely, leading to costly repairs from both intentional damage and natural damage caused by weather.

Additionally, the cycle that abandonment perpetuates is more destructive than realized. An abandoned building of any type adds nothing to the community, it provides no economic or aesthetic improvement. It sits as a forgotten and unwanted place. Furthermore, inaction implies that one is abandoning any type of proactive effort to find a solution, instead simply walking away. This destroys rather than creates community bonds. Vacant buildings present similar problems of insecurity and function as nuisances, leading to break ins, vandalism, and illegal occupancy.<sup>187</sup> This also had both direct and indirect effects on the community, causing the perceived as well as actual value of the building and the area to decrease.

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<sup>186</sup> “Vacant and Abandoned Properties: Turning Liabilities into Assets: HUD USER,” Vacant and Abandoned Properties: Turning Liabilities Into Assets | HUD, 2020.

<sup>187</sup> Hilde T. Remøy and Theo J.M. van der Voordt, “A New Life: Conversion of Vacant Office Buildings into Housing,” *Facilities* 25, no. 3/4 (June 2007): 88-103.

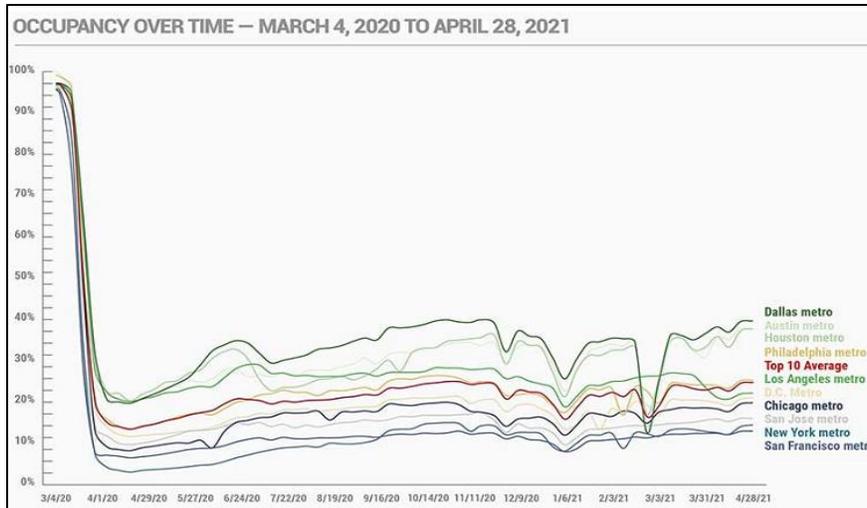


Figure 20 : Occupancy of Office Buildings Over Time  
Source: Wolf Street Website

Since 2000, the number of vacant commercial spaces and office buildings especially has risen worldwide (see Fig. 20). This number is only getting higher as working from home becomes more prevalent.<sup>188</sup> Transforming a vacant space into something else entirely or doing smaller renovations is only one of the possibilities a property owner has available. They can also choose to demolish the building or wait for someone to rent or buy the structure as is. While there is nothing wrong with these last two options, they are not necessarily beneficial to the community since they only delay but do not stop deterioration.

A key factor in choosing the next approach to a vacant building is its architectural characteristics and quality. However, that viewpoint can exclude structures that might be perfect candidates for adaptive reuse and be significant to the community due to place attachment. Therefore, we cannot judge a building’s value purely by its physical characteristics, and why any analysis of housing issues must understand pre-conceptions and biases, as well as

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<sup>188</sup> Lydia Saad and Ben Wigert, “Remote Work Persisting and Trending Permanent,” Gallup.com (Gallup, March 21, 2022).

the possibility of an innovative approach based on a distinct set of assumptions that emerge through this type of analysis.

### Dislocation and Stigmatization in Community

Frank Lloyd Wright maintained that “No house should ever be on a hill or on anything. It should be of the hill. Belonging to it. Hill and house should live together each the happier for the other.”<sup>189</sup> This is an observation at both world view and myth/metaphor levels, which incorporate sense of place principles. Inadequate solutions to housing shortages encumber space having more viable options, and if these solutions prove unsatisfactory, they become a new negative, becoming unoccupied and themselves falling into a state of disrepair.<sup>190</sup>

When communities become overrun with unused buildings, people’s desire to live in that area decreases, and relocation occurs, a process tied to the sense of community.<sup>191</sup> Community members judge where they live through their own everyday aesthetics and based on how that location is perceived and valued by others, low opinion by others lowers personal opinion, and for a community to be resilient, it must be valued by its members. A 2014 HUD report recognized this:

For many communities, the nation’s foreclosure crisis escalated the already challenging problem of vacant and abandoned properties. From declining property values to increasing crime and municipal costs, the deleterious impacts of vacant and abandoned

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<sup>189</sup> Art in Architecture, “Frank Lloyd Wright Reflects on Creativity, Nature, and Religion,” *Open Culture*, 2018.

<sup>190</sup> “Strategies for Vacant and Abandoned Property Reuse: HUD User,” *Strategies for Vacant and Abandoned Property Reuse | HUD*, 2019.

<sup>191</sup> Joongsab Kim and Rachelp Kaplan, “Physical and Psychological Factors in the Sense of Community,” *CiteSeer*, 2015.

properties are well documented. Although vacant properties present daunting challenges to their communities, they also offer opportunities — some vacant properties can be repurposed to provide affordable housing while others can be turned into gardens and farms, adding to a community’s green space.<sup>192</sup>

However, good intentions have not always reaped demonstrable effects, and it is also possible to jump to too dire a conclusion. All is not lost for a community that has one unused building; it is a wake- up call, that one can quickly multiply to many.

This occurs through the stigmatization of certain communities or portions of communities. All communities face this issue:

Vacancy and abandonment are not limited to struggling communities. Once associated with the older industrial cities of the Rust Belt, these problems have spread to formerly stable areas in the aftermath of the foreclosure crisis. As such, policymakers need to acknowledge that even growing communities can be vulnerable to vacancy and decline and should have systems in place to proactively address them, cautions Kildee. Such an approach entails reengineering the public systems involved in vacant property management and disposition, such as code enforcement, tax collection, and foreclosure processes. In many communities, the sale of tax-delinquent properties benefits speculators, who treat the properties they purchase only as commodities.<sup>193</sup>

We often base our judgements on the resulting preconceived ideas of what to expect, see, or hear, arising from what we as individuals have encountered before in our own lives. It is not, however, just the individual memory that is significant; it is also our societal or collective memory. Stigmatization occurs in part based on the products of persistent memory influencing our current, and therefore future, selves. This has been described as a mutual relationship

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<sup>192</sup> “Strategies for Vacant and Abandoned Property Reuse: HUD User,” Strategies for Vacant and Abandoned Property Reuse | HUD, 2014. 24.

<sup>193</sup> HUD, 27.

between “place identity and place attachment,” becoming a connection which transcends generations, sometimes outlasting the culture that established the memory in the first place.<sup>194</sup>

History in a “big” sense results from the small pieces of individual history, the old family photograph, or a family heirloom quilt. These items automatically tie into the connection noted above about collective memory, shared physical experiences and sense of place.<sup>195</sup> Items themselves are representations of “places” we can take with us as we traverse life, and in this manner create the scenery backdrop against which history on a large scale occurs. Without a particular set, there would be a quite different play.

This is a sociological process, cause by and resulting from places attachment and sense of place. Sociologist Melinda J. Milligan asserts that

Physical sites (however defined by the participants) become the stages for social interaction, stages that are both physically and socially constructed, two processes that are both linked to and distinct from one another. In general, the permanent (or relatively permanent) physical aspects of a site are constructed by individuals who may be thought of as the set designers of the stages for social interaction: the architects, facility managers, property owners, and others who make decisions regarding the physical form of a site, often long before a given performance occurs. [...] The social construction of the built environment, however, is much more under the control of actors in the sense that the meanings of specific objects, including the site itself, emerge in the ongoing processes of interaction.<sup>196</sup>

The built environment is a key element of this, without a physical environment, there is little chance for place attachment. Mental comfort comes key elements of visual and emotional

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<sup>194</sup> Patrick Devine-Wright, “Rethinking NIMBYism” *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 19, no. 6 (2009): 426-441.

<sup>195</sup> Melinda J. Milligan, “Interactional Past and Potential: The Social Construction of Place Attachment,” *Symbolic Interaction* 21, no. 1 (1998): 1-33.

<sup>196</sup> Milligan, 27.

experience, and if we are not mentally comfortable in our environment, we cannot feel attachment to that environment.

### Theory into Action

All the theories discussed have real world situations, and the examples that follow are representations of praxis into action. As in earlier discussions, one can apply various CLA levels of analysis to see how a change in worldview and myth/metaphor can create changes in lower levels.

### Green Lab

Green Lab rehabilitation programs, and the study of existing housing and buildings coupled with the older, more modest financial investments are examples of how a change in world view or myth/metaphor changes the litany and social discourse of a community.<sup>197</sup> The two initiatives noted have an approach which looks at building function from a new perspective, where prior use does not dictate or constrain a different use. This opens the way for a new litany and social discourse on housing, one that considers the adaptive reuse of large manufacturing buildings for two purposes, commercial on the first floor and residences above. This approach is also consistent with other emerging world view and myth/metaphor concerns.

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<sup>197</sup> Martin Holladay, "Preservation Green Lab Will Promote Rehab of Historic Buildings," Green Building Advisor, August 8, 2018.

The National Trust founded the Preservation Green Lab in 2009 to strengthen the connections between environmental sustainability and historic preservation. The Green Lab “produced a series of ground-breaking research reports on the environmental benefits of historic preservation, including ‘The Greenest Building’ and “Saving Windows, Saving Money.’”<sup>198</sup> The initial concept was a partnership with selected cities and states to suggest innovative sustainable development policies for existing buildings and neighborhoods and serve as a national clearinghouse for best practices for green rehabilitation. Three cities, Seattle, San Francisco, and Dubuque, worked with the new lab as pilot cities.

This project has now been renamed in recognition of its expanded scope and role, as the National Trust for Historic Preservation’s Research & Policy Lab. It will continue to undertake research and develop policy innovations to support the conservation and reuse of older and historic buildings across the country. Stated agendas can be an excellent source for determining perspectives in CLA. The Lab’s agenda demonstrates this, presenting a shift in world view and myth/metaphor CLA levels to:

... expanded to encompass a broader set of economic, social, environmental, and cultural issues, captured in reports such as “Older, Smaller, Better,” which documented the connections between older buildings and key urban performance metrics—from the age of residents to the presence of women- and minority-owned businesses.<sup>199</sup>

This program can develop data and link it with broader issues to model new myth/metaphor perspectives.

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<sup>198</sup> National Trust for Historic Preservation, Research Policy Project, 2009.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

## Historic Preservation and the Value of Place as a Myth/Metaphor

One of the most fundamental concepts in historic preservation is the idea of sense of place, and sense of place is what makes a house a home. It is also proposed that loss of sense of place is one of the leading causes of personal and community disintegration, and that it is here that one must start to address the housing crisis. "Place" in this context includes more than houses, and the solution to the housing crisis lies not just in houses. It includes community Third Spaces.

This concept was popularized and explained by human geographer Edward Relph<sup>200</sup> beginning in the 1970s, who defines "place" as "... everything that has to do with places and the concept of place."<sup>201</sup> To lose a sense of place creates "placelessness," a state of being where there is a "casual eradication of distinctive places and the deliberate making of standardized landscapes and the weakening of the identity of places to the point where they both look alike and offer the same bland possibilities for experience."<sup>202</sup>

The result is shopping malls, strip malls, and chain restaurants, all which might be referred to as placelessness. Human psychology contributes to this, as much as we seek place attachment, people are creatures of habit, and in general prefer the predictable to the unexpected. Chain restaurants and supermarkets are popular because no matter where you go

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<sup>200</sup> Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2008). 13-76.

<sup>201</sup> David Seamon and Jacob Sowers, "Place and Placelessness (1976): Edward Relph," *Key Texts in Human Geography*, 2008, 43-52.

<sup>202</sup> Relph, 54.

to a Kroger or Old Navy, in Kentucky or Maryland, they will be predictably the same. This “placelessness” of these spaces is what draws people to them; it is also what destroys a sense of community.

As Relph acknowledges, there is a time and place for “placelessness” in our modern society, but it must exist alongside the unique, the historic. The shift from somewhere with a sense of “place” to somewhere with “placelessness” can happen without notice. It is a subtle process and is not inherently deliberate destruction. One may not realize it has happened until it is too late. All can see the physical results of the tear down of a historic building. What is far less obvious is the replacement of the unique individually owned and operated community coffee shop with the contemporary mass-produced chain Starbucks.

To the extent that preservation focuses only on the “historic,” or architectural significant value of a building in the abstract, it negates the human element that is one of the fundamental reasons for preservation, the connection to our past, all of it, not just the most obvious. We preserve not in the abstract, but for a purpose, and that purpose, though it is often unacknowledged, is in large part to preserve our sense of place through time. Preservation efforts that do not include this concept as an important part of the calculations of what should or should not be preserved impedes success on more than a physical level.

Maintaining a sense of place represents a value as addressed by historic preservation researcher and scholar Randall Mason. Not purely ethical values, but a range of values that are brought to the preservation field. Mason states “the sense in which “values” is used ...does not refer to ethics or morals, but to the simple insight that any particular thing or place has a

number of different values in the sense of characteristics.”<sup>203</sup> The idea of “place” in this context is complicated, and it ties preservation to the society and human inhabitants of any “place” at large.

One of the points that Mason makes supports the earlier chapter discussions of memory and its role, appearing for Mason as a “memory culture.” According to Mason, there are distinctive periods of memory culture, for instance between the early 20th century and today. Mason argues that these cultures differ in three main ways: the current memory culture is more grassroots and therefore less elitist, although these are more matters of emphasis and degree, and not absolute terms; it is more openly politicized, and the awareness of unequal power among agents in the memory culture is very evident, as illustrated by contemporary concern with “participation” and “access” and, contemporary memory culture is inseparable, or nearly so, from the marketplace.<sup>204</sup>

This phenomenon is why, according to Mason, “value centered” theory and its development as “sense of place” is so important. By centering a model of preservation on the perceived values of places, as opposed to a focus on the observed physical qualities of a structure, values-centered preservation acknowledges the multiplicity, changeability, and varied sources of values. By embracing the idea that heritage is valued in myriad diverse ways, by myriad different people, by institutions with different worldviews and epistemologies, the

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<sup>203</sup> Randall Mason, “Theoretical and Practical Arguments for Value-Centered Preservation,” *Department of the Interior*, 2006. 1-63.

<sup>204</sup> Mason, 35.

material of CLA myth/metaphor among other CLA layers, values-centered theory will lead practitioners to “inquire and consult widely” in performing research on places and in creating plans for their use.<sup>205</sup> This consultation has the promise of including many points of view and CLA layers, avoiding many simplistic pitfalls of previous problem solving methods.

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<sup>205</sup> Mason, 48-52.

## CHAPTER IV: SHAPING PERSPECTIVES

As discussed, sense of community, of shared values and pride in where one lives, stem from a sense of connection to one's neighbors and neighborhood. This can go one step further in that if we have a connection to our community, we have a perspective, a world view and myth/metaphor that will cause us to be inclined to help it survive.<sup>206</sup> Community survival in this manner becomes the litany and social discourse of problem solving. This chapter reviews how this can occur, how perspectives are shaped, examining the work of Thompson Mayes on the value of "old places," alongside the existing litany of the statistical data of HUD, and the existing social discourse housing solutions of SROs to demonstrate why a new world view is needed.

### Connection as a "Myth or Metaphor"

The idea of connection appears at the higher levels of CLA, and its existence is the foundation for the world view that the elements of connections, place attachment, sense of place, are literally the ties that bind each "piece" of ourselves into a cohesive, community whole. When this is lacking at the myth or metaphor level, the importance of "home" is also missing or impaired. This also involves an often-overlooked point: our feelings of connection to architecture and design throughout history. Like a plant in a garden, we are sometimes happiest, or feel the most secure and safe, when rooted to something.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> K. van Balen and Aziliz Vandesande, *Community Involvement in Heritage* (Antwerpen: Garant, 2015). 84

<sup>207</sup> D. Hummon, *Community Attachment: Local Sentiment and Sense of Place*. In: I. Altman & S. M. Low (Eds.) (New York and London: Plenum, 1992): 253-277.

## The Importance of First Impressions

Earlier chapters discussed aesthetics in everyday life and the idea that human beings are visual creatures.<sup>208</sup> Not only do we increase engagement with a visual component, but we also usually prefer the visually pleasing, the beautiful, over anything else. Sight serves practical purposes as well, as we use social visual clues to gage our interactions with one another. Primary to all of this is the speed at which it can occur. First impressions form within the first fifteen seconds after see something, making it hard for anything visually unappealing to stand a chance of positive recognition.<sup>209</sup>

This human habit to judge by sight is what can lead us to make assumptions about a structure based on its appearance only; we do not look deeper into what something could be, instead we see only see what is in front of us. We miss the past connections to a place, only putting value in the “right now” benefits. This is unfortunate because it creates a tendency to cause us to overlook viable solutions, being unable to see the underlying beneficial value of our existing environment.<sup>210</sup>

Technology and our short-term thinking often lead to places becoming obsolete. We think that what we have today will be replaced by something “bigger and better” tomorrow, so today really does not matter. On a small scale this is planned obsolescence for our phones, our

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<sup>208</sup> “Humans Are Visual Creatures,” Visual Communication of Science • Workshops & Webinars. 2017.

<sup>209</sup> Frank Schab, “The Psychology of First Impressions,” 2014.

<sup>210</sup> Dilanthi Amaratunga et al., “Quantitative and Qualitative Research in the Built Environment: Application of ‘Mixed’ Research Approach,” *Work Study* 51, no. 1 (January 2002): 17-31.

computer, our car, but widen the view and this reaches into our communities.<sup>211</sup> What is ignored in all of this is that we value our places, our homes, because we have an attachment to them that goes beyond what is the newest or most advanced.<sup>212</sup> That preference, in turn, is the product of both innate psychological tendencies and conditioning by our environment, including the presence or absence of a sense of place.

### The Physical Object and the Emotive Response

What we visually see gives us sub-conscious information, subsequently used to form opinions about the characteristics of the environment around us; if you see children outside playing in the park, you are more likely to think the neighborhood is safe and therefore desirable. If there is trash on the sidewalk and scattered in the park, then those outside of the community will think less highly of the area. Conclusions are made about the people who live in that place without knowing much outside of the physical. This process of physical object relationship to emotive response applies at the most basic of commercial levels. For example:

Imagine that you are looking for a mortgage and have made an appointment with a local bank. Before the appointment, you receive a parcel from the bank which contains a beautiful riffled, carbon-colored folder and a note saying “For your mortgage documents. We look forward to discussing your mortgage needs with you.” How would the experience of holding this folder affect your likelihood of becoming a customer of this bank and, more importantly, why?<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> “Smart Tech, Dumb Design: Planned Obsolescence and Social Responsibility,” Smart Tech, Dumb Design: Planned Obsolescence and Social Responsibility | Environmental Law Institute, October 11, 2017.

<sup>212</sup> Göksenin Inalhan and Edward Finch, “Place Attachment and Sense of Belonging,” *Facilities* 22, no. 5/6 (January 2004): 120-128.

<sup>213</sup> Nora Nägele et al., “Touching Services: Tangible Objects Create an Emotional Connection,” *Business Research* 13, no. 2 (February 2020): 741-766.

The business community is putting this effect to good use, since research indicates that physical facilities where the service takes place strongly influence consumers, and “service-scape” elements such as a building’s design not only influence the perception of the service-scape itself, but also of the quality of the service provided.<sup>214</sup> This is on a small scale the same process that occurs in the built structure of a community.

### Architecture and World View Perspective

The importance of architecture has been a long-standing motivation in historic preservation for both practicing architects and on a more theoretical level.<sup>215</sup> It also is in physical form a reflection of a world view. The physical walls of a structure both contain and establish the setting for world view and myth/metaphor perspectives, it is a visual manifestation of a discourse that a society has had and is having with itself.

Buildings provide a unique and singular glimpse into our past that cannot be articulated in another form. The physical architectural experience cannot be replaced by the “place-making” approach that often is favored, which “capitalizes on local community assets and potential with the intention of creating public spaces that promote community health, happiness, and well-being.”<sup>216</sup> New “place making” may improve community physical

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<sup>214</sup> Nägele, “Touching Services,” 754.

<sup>215</sup> Mohammad Sadegh Taher Tolou Del, Bahram Saleh Sedghpour, and Sina Kamali Tabrizi, “The Semantic Conservation of Architectural Heritage: The Missing Values - Heritage Science,” SpringerOpen (Springer International Publishing, July 14, 2020).

<sup>216</sup> American Planning Association definition

infrastructure, but it is not capable of replacing the feelings of connection we have to our architectural environment due to place attachment. Thompson Mayes in 2015 argued “old places matter!” but it is not as simple a concept as is often portrayed.<sup>217</sup> Mayes introduces several reasons for the need for historic buildings; he describes importance arising from “Continuity, Memory, Individual Identity, Civic Identity, and continuing with Beauty, History, Architecture, Sacredness, Creativity, and Sustainability.”<sup>218</sup> These are all components of the intangible aspects of human psychology, elements that combine sense of self and sense of place.

When looking at these areas of architectural design and place value importance, it should be understood they are interrelated, what happens to one affects the other. The structural side of our environment, architecture, design, and physical elements, impact how we use a space and its overall functionality and practicality. The psychological side of our environment is how we internally process the external, how architecture makes us feel, how it connects us to physical space as an entity. Hence, architecture has exterior, practical, as well as inner psychological importance.

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<sup>217</sup> Thompson M. Mayes, *Why Old Places Matter: How Historic Places Affect Our Identity and Well-Being* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018).

<sup>218</sup> Thompson Mayes, “Historic Preservation,” Weitzman School of Design, January 1, 1970.

These are separate perspectives, often seen as being at odds with each other. However, it is not only possible but necessary to address the housing issue situation with both in mind. Historic preservation and design are fluid, multidimensional concepts that resist being rigidly forced into straight and narrow categories. We can utilize architecture and design to grow and maintain people's interest in *using* a space. We can nourish the community's sense of place attachment by the choices that we make.



Figure 21 : Canterbury Cathedral, England  
Source: Architectural Digest

In Gothic architecture, for example, the towering cathedral towers were the physical manifestation of the cultural ideal.<sup>219</sup> While that societal cultural ideal, its world view or myth/metaphor changes over time, that architecture is constant. It represents the way that society felt at that moment in its history, and architecture as a result is tied to our sense of self as a society. Its manifestation is one of the best representations of the evolution of how we view ourselves in the built and natural environment. We remain moved by the towering spire of a

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<sup>219</sup> S. de Jong, 2019. "Experiencing the Gothic Style," *Architectural Histories*, 7(1), 25.

cathedral or taken aback by the way a grand entry way leaves one in awe. These architectural elements which can elicit such reactions are a part of our past selves that continues to exist centuries later. These same connections to architecture and the visual are present for the everyday places in our lives as well, not just grand cathedrals. Throughout our lives, these everyday places are the sources for many of our memories. Without memories of where we spent our childhood, we do not have a connection to that important stage of our development. These memories then form our individual perceptions, we use them to draw conclusions about how the world is, or should be, the basis of myth/metaphor.

### The Financial and Human Reality of Adaptive Reuse Projects

One of the primary sources for initial funding of housing projects as well as mortgage and rent support is the federal government, and this source becomes increasingly important if one attempts to reduce private investor speculation. However, the perspective of these approaches is often one of a house viewed as a commodity, ignoring that a house's primary purpose is as a home, not an investment.<sup>220</sup> The myth/metaphor of a house as a commodity over the past decades however is prevalent, and has skewed litany and social discourse on this topic, as the following examples demonstrate.

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<sup>220</sup> Alex Morrell, "A Wharton Professor Explains Why You Shouldn't Consider Buying a Home an Investment," *Business Insider* (Business Insider, October 28, 2016).

### Single Room Occupancy Units

The federal government participates in this scenario with ever-changing programs, but for the purposes of the “house” versus “home” issue, a close look at Section 221(d) (12 U.S.C. 1751(d)) and Section 223(g) (12 U.S.C.1715l (d)) of the National Housing Act is useful. The program under these regulations insures mortgage loans for multifamily properties consisting of single-room occupancy (SRO) apartments. There are no federal rental subsidies involved with this SRO program. Rather, this program is aimed at those tenants who have a source of income but are priced out of the general rental apartment market. SRO projects normally require assistance from local governing bodies or charitable organizations to reduce rent to affordable levels. Although SRO housing is intended for very low-income persons, the program does not impose income limits for admission.<sup>221</sup>

The purpose of Section 221(d)(4) is to insure lenders against loss on mortgages, and the Program encourages construction or substantial rehabilitation of single-room apartment buildings with financing insured by the FHA to HUD-approved lenders. The goal is to enable people with extremely limited incomes to find clean and safe housing. However, there is unfortunately a significant shortfall between the intended goals and actual results of this Program, in large part because the element of “home” is missing in the analysis of benefits versus detriments of a house as a commodity.

Insured mortgages may be used to finance construction or substantial rehabilitation projects consisting of five or more one room SRO units, with no more than 10 percent of the

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<sup>221</sup> “Program Section 221 (d) (4),” HUD.gov / U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

total gross floor space dedicated to commercial use (20 percent for substantial rehabilitation projects). Each SRO apartment can have its own kitchen or bathroom facilities, or these facilities may be shared by more than one apartment. Apartments can be designed to allow for more than one occupant, but the number of people living in a unit cannot exceed the number permitted by occupancy requirements in State and local codes and the Fair Housing Act.<sup>222</sup>

The maximum amount of a Section 221(d)(4) profit motivated loan is 90 percent of the estimated replacement cost. The maximum mortgage term is 40 years or up to three-fourths of the building's remaining economic life, whichever is less. Contractors for new construction and substantial rehabilitation projects must comply with prevailing wage standards under the Davis-Bacon Act. The Program is used by nonprofit organizations, builders or sellers teamed with a nonprofit purchaser, limited-distribution entities, profit-motivated firms, or public agencies. Cooperative lenders or investors are not eligible.<sup>223</sup>

Additional requirements are that residents are subject to normal tenant selection procedures. There are no income limits for admission. This program cannot be used with project-based subsidies. Applicants must document (1) a clear need for the proposed SRO, (2) its experience operating SROs, (3) local government support of the project; and a relocation plan, if needed. There is also a requirement that the sponsor have a preapplication conference with the local HUD Multifamily Hub or Program Center to determine preliminary feasibility of the project. The sponsor then must submit a site appraisal and market analysis application

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<sup>222</sup> "Program Section 221 (d) (4)," HUD.gov / U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), 14.2.

<sup>223</sup> "Program Section 221 (d) (4)," 14.5.

(SAMA) (for new construction projects), or feasibility application (for substantial rehabilitation projects).

Following HUD's issuance of a SAMA or feasibility letter, the sponsor submits a firm commitment application through a HUD-approved lender for processing. Considerations include market need, zoning, architectural merits, capabilities of the borrower, availability of community resources. If the proposed project meets program requirements, the local Multifamily Hub or Program Center issues a commitment to the lender for mortgage insurance. The program is administered by the Office of Multifamily Housing Programs, Office of Production, Program Administration Division.<sup>224</sup>

This program seems to present a complicated yet useful solution to the housing crisis, at least based on economic margins. As we consider this solution and its outcomes, we must ask: does it meet the minimum margins of “success?” How do we measure that success? And is it truly adequate? I argue no since the problem analysis occurs on no more than the most basic litany level. It also uses a housing type, the SRO, which existed at the end of the nineteenth century with decidedly negative connotations.<sup>225</sup> It is coming back now rebranded by HUD as the micro apartment, to engender a favorable shift in perspective. This is a shift however, that is a regression not progression in housing crisis solution. However, simple rebranding does not eliminate its drawbacks. That past perspective has not been shaped at all by what is now known about human psychology; the SRO persists with detrimental consequences.

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<sup>224</sup> “Program Section 221 (d) (4),” HUD.gov / U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

<sup>225</sup> Matthew DiLallo, “How to Invest in Real Estate,” The Motley Fool, . 2021, 1-8.

SROs enjoyed their best reputation in the late 19th century, when young, single working women emigrated from Europe or transplanted from the Western states to New York in search of work, prospects, and a better life.<sup>226</sup> At the same time, men were living in all-male SROs, with a far rougher reputation as housing for transient and struggling men. Only the YMCA, an “early SRO-developer/manager juggernaut,” evaded that reputation.<sup>227</sup> By the nineteen-fifties, attitudes towards SRO building had changed, and SROs were seen as unfavorable.

Another modern take on the SRO is co-living like that in 19<sup>th</sup> century boarding houses, shared kitchen, and dining areas, though sleeping quarters are private. This housing type is promoted and backed by HUD, which makes new construction economically feasible. If investors are given a solid economic prospect, it could be a “promising idea” with “proper regulation,” at least that is the theory. Bluntly put, the reality may be anything but positive. As noted in one study:

Certain establishments (e.g., alcohol outlets or pawnshops) attract or generate crime because they operate with little oversight and are often located in poor or disordered neighborhoods. Single room occupancy (SRO) facilities share some of these characteristics. SROs tend to be rundown motels or apartment buildings that offer affordable housing for low-income clientele. It is likely that SROs also generate and attract criminal activity that affects the neighborhood.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> DiLallo, “How to Invest in Real Estate,” The Motley Fool, 2021. 5.

<sup>227</sup> DiLallo, 6.

<sup>228</sup> Julie M. Krupa et al., “Noxious Housing: The Influence of Single Room Occupancy (SRO) Facilities on Neighborhood Crime,” *Crime & Delinquency* 67, no. 9 (2019): 1404-1428.

Moreover, SROs have been noted as a health risk for members of the very socio-economic levels of the population they were intended to serve, particularly in mental health.<sup>229</sup> As noted by Dak Kopec, director of design for human health at Boston Architectural College and author of *Environmental Psychology for Design*:

Home is supposed to be a safe haven, and a resident with a demanding job may feel trapped in a claustrophobic apartment at night—forced to choose between the physical crowding of furniture and belongings in his unit, and social crowding, caused by other residents, in the building’s common spaces. Research ... has shown that crowding-related stress can increase rates of domestic violence and substance abuse.<sup>230</sup>

This observation presents an expected result, based on known elements of human psychology, and therefore, is at times a prediction of what similar physical conditions have produced in other contexts. However, it presents facts that are relevant to shaping our perspectives in housing solutions.

These kinds of studies indicate that the new built micro-unit world of the SRO may fall short of positive results, except for the real estate speculator. Certainly, there must be adequate positive economic margins to encourage rehabilitation investment, and certainly Federal and other public funding is a part of this, but in the context of the sense of place, community and psychological elements discussed earlier, this is not a perspective that withstands analysis.

In contrast, the rehabilitation approach utilizes a sense of community; stresses connection to the environment, both physical and psychological; looks to mixed use

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<sup>229</sup> Kelly R Knight et al., “Single Room Occupancy (SRO) Hotels as Mental Health Risk Environments among Impoverished Women: The Intersection of Policy, Drug Use, Trauma, and Urban Space,” *The International Journal on Drug Policy* (U.S. National Library of Medicine, May 2014).

<sup>230</sup> Jacoba Urist, “The Health Risks of Small Apartments,” *The Atlantic* (Atlantic Media Company, May 8, 2018).

commercial and residential, which also enhances economic return; and encourages mixed age and income inhabitant levels, as occurs in a naturally evolved community.

### The Economic Margin Perspective: Results that are Successful, Harmful, or a Failure

No project, no matter how well intentioned or theoretically beneficial to community well-being in other ways can succeed unless it also is economically feasible. Economic motivation and justification are the concerns of litany. There are margins of success in every endeavor, minimums that must be met, but in the housing crisis, it is economic margins that for better or worse usually have the most influence. A balancing act exists between a result that is clearly successful versus one that is clearly harmful, compared to an effort that simply fails to accomplish anything, good, bad, or indifferent.

Too often efforts fall into that last category. They do not affirmatively worsen the problem, but they also fail to make it any better. This occurs in part due to a failure to have defined benchmarks for what the various stakeholders wish to accomplish, together with a failure to recognize and then reconcile conflicts in those goals. Without this recognition of conflicts, there will be no profit margin that is considered a success. For instance, an economic profit margin of 3 percent may seem inadequate to justify effort, but together with meeting the margin of 10 percent decrease in the homeless it may be considered an outstanding success. Each competing stakeholder must yield a bit to see not just an individual margin to reach, but each as a part of a whole.

It has been a struggle for the non-economic benefits to achieve attention, for analysis under sociological levels, or those of “myth/metaphor” to gain traction in the real versus academic world. This conflict is indicative of a societal issue:

It seems like everyone is talking about housing these days. For many, it is in a state of crisis. But for others, it is a market doing exactly what it should be doing: making money. The crux of the housing problem is that it is both a basic human right and a commodity from which to extract wealth.

Most housing debates largely ignore this contradiction. Those who oppose new developments and those who believe we need more housing both focus on numbers, design, zoning, and density. *These perspectives miss key questions about housing for whom, against whom, who profits and who is excluded.*<sup>231</sup> (Emphasis added).

The above quote is from a Canadian researcher in social change; however, it is equally applicable to the United States. The issue is the perspective of whose “margins” matter most.

Fixation on economics led in Canada, as in the United States, to seeing housing as a commodity, losing the sense of housing as a home, an element of human life in the fullest sense. Speculators both increase demand for housing and determine the supply that is built; they also shape the perspective of the role housing plays in human and community existence. For instance, investors can be attracted to small condos, located in the towers that now dot many skylines, filled with small studio and one-bedroom units.<sup>232</sup> This investment not only does little to address the actual shortage of housing as shelter, since these units are often out of the economic reach of low- to moderate-incomes, it seriously reduces any chance of success in creating the benefits of “home.”

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<sup>231</sup> Brian Doucet, Canada Research Chair in Urban Change and Social Inclusion, “Housing Is Both a Human Right and a Profitable Asset, and That’s the Problem,” *The Conversation*, December 14, 2021. 1-54.

<sup>232</sup> Doucet, 24-26.

The impact of this kind of investment and the benefits of high-rise living has been investigated and criticized.<sup>233</sup> One study specifically looked at the psychological impacts of tall buildings on their occupants; it focused on whether tall buildings increased or diminished one of the following: housing satisfaction, psychological stressors, suicide, behavior problems, crime and fear of crime, positive social relations, or helpful child rearing. These results, and later studies, confirmed that high rise living had serious negative consequences.<sup>234</sup>

However, these studies also found remedies, specifically noting that people’s well-being depends not on simply having a “house,” but that happiness and mental health depends upon what happens on the street, inside their residences, and in that space between street and residence, all of which combine to create “home.”<sup>235</sup> This research supports my assertion that sense of place and community are important, and this should be acknowledged.

The approach that encourages high-rise residential construction by applying the building technology now available to that end is not the only solution, nor is it the best solution.<sup>236</sup> I propose the adaptive rehabilitation of existing buildings as an alternative. However, this widespread use of alternatives to micro-units in high-rise buildings is most likely to happen only if perception shifts so that the measure of success is not only the economic

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<sup>233</sup> Robert Gifford, “Architectural Science Review,” 2014.

<sup>234</sup> Danica Larcombe et al., “High-Rise Apartments and Urban Mental Health—Historical and Contemporary Views,” *Challenges* 10, no. 2 (2019): 34.

<sup>235</sup> Larcombe, 42.

<sup>236</sup> Jason Barr et al., “The High Life? on the Psychological Impacts of Highrise Living,” *Building the Skyline*, February 1, 2018.

margins of housing as an economic commodity, to include the human margins of housing as a home.

### The Triple Bottom Line Approach

What is needed is the adoption of a “triple bottom line” perspective.<sup>237</sup> The triple bottom line is a concept holding that businesses should commit to measuring their social and environmental impact in addition to their financial performance, expanding their focus beyond the standard “bottom line.” It consists of three elements, profit, people, and the planet, and is an approach that needs to replace what might be categorized as a current CLA level four myth/metaphor for what constitutes success in business.

The economic margins of profitability and affordability must be combined with these other non-economic aspects. As noted in one commentary, in looking at housing, “we need to confront its roles as both shelter and commodity. Housing supply needs to grow with our population, but it must address need, and not investor demand.”<sup>238</sup> Solutions need to focus on “decommodifying” housing and the accompanying focus on profit margins. How this may be accomplished is examined below.

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<sup>237</sup> “The Triple Bottom Line: What It Is & Why It’s Important,” Business Insights Blog, December 8, 2020.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

## Practical Examples of Newly Shaped Perspectives

The remainder of this chapter again offers examples of what can be accomplished with newly shaped perspectives, a new world view and resulting myth/metaphor for planning and action.

### *Chicago and Policy Framework*

To put theory into practice one needs policy, and this can be seen in the city of Chicago, where there was a policy framework to keep rental housing affordable in the metropolitan area.<sup>239</sup> The 2020 Preservation Compact Report described housing preservation solutions and a policy framework to keep rental housing affordable in metropolitan Chicago that represented a shift in perspective. Chicago and Cook County presented a major challenge. New construction cost over \$300,000 a unit, making it anything but “affordable.” Yet the remedies also were a risk, as noted by the report: investment in rehabilitation presented opportunities as well for graft and miss-application of funds.<sup>240</sup>

The commodification of housing and code compliance was a key issue in the rehab efforts,<sup>241</sup> and is necessary in any rehab effort. The Compact report noted:

In recent years, attracted by comparatively low prices and the potential for high returns, several out-of-state investors targeted Chicago’s low and moderate-income neighborhoods. Three large investors alone acquired an estimated six hundred buildings with more than 3,600 units.

Unfortunately, many buildings in these three portfolios have suffered building code violations and widespread vacancies. The investors paid above market prices with

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<sup>239</sup> “The Preservation Compact,” 2020 Report | The Preservation Compact, 2021.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

inadequate provisions for rehab. The conditions were so pervasive that the Cook County Circuit Court established dedicated Housing Court calls just for these three owners.<sup>242</sup>

It also proposed the solution:

When CIC's Troubled Buildings Initiative and the City of Chicago initially identified the problem, they aggressively pursued code compliance issues. Meanwhile, The Preservation Compact joined the effort to address root causes. The Compact convened partners to develop policy strategies, including mapping properties to identify concentrations of buildings, understanding state property tax exemptions, and working with the Attorney General and other state agencies to discourage similar activity in the future.

This is the necessary change in perspective required for the rehabilitation of abandoned commercial and manufacturing facilities to address the issues of the houseless and homeless. It is also what creates a joint community effort and stakeholder interest in preservation of the sense of place and all that entails, the most important path to a solution.

### *Cincinnati, Ohio*

One city can be the location of different housing approaches, as the earlier examples in Louisville, Kentucky demonstrate. Cincinnati, Ohio offers a similar opportunity to see different approaches, and the results of each.

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<sup>242</sup> Ibid.

## Over the Rhine



Figure 22 : Over the Rhine c. 2021  
Source: Urban Adventures Website

The area named Over the Rhine (OTR) in Cincinnati, Ohio is an example of the pros and cons of urban renewal, even when undertaken as a rejuvenation rather than complete tear down and new build. Local news commentary on this topic highlights the divide that different litanyes can create, for instance one that stresses the positive results of urban renewal verses one that sees the negatives of excessive gentrification from that renewal.<sup>243</sup> Each of these litanyes produces a different social discourse as well about cause and reaction. OTR today is the product of a major urban renewal effort that has prompted significant controversy. That

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<sup>243</sup> Stephen Starr, "Over-the-Rhine: Is This a Model for Urban Renewal or a Warning Sign?," BBC News (BBC, February 22, 2021).

controversy is indicative of a clash between the social discourse, world view and myth /metaphor perspectives of competing groups of stakeholders.

OTR is therefore a microcosm example of the larger issues of the housing crisis, both theoretical and practical. On a typical, pre-pandemic weekend, thousands of people would converge on the now revitalized OTR district. They take advantage of the lawn at Washington Park, shop at new boutiques or meet for a beer at Rhinegeist Brewery. Twenty years ago, it was a vastly different place, when police shot and killed Timothy Thomas, a 19-year-old unarmed Black man wanted for outstanding traffic and other non-violent misdemeanors.<sup>244</sup>



Figure 23 : Over the Rhine, pre-2008  
Source: Google Images

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<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

The anger that ensued resulted in examples of the worst rioting in the United States since the Los Angeles riots of 1992.<sup>245</sup> The unrest of those riots unfortunately has continued to the present.<sup>246</sup> While This is not a treatise about social unrest, however, these expressions of social unrest are factors that shape perspectives of any issue. For OTR, it began an era of decline and neglect – stigmatization – so that by 2009 the news reports and public opinion perspective was that Over-The-Rhine ranked among America's most dangerous districts.<sup>247</sup>

However, this “litany” level of analysis did not go unchallenged.<sup>248</sup> One urban newspaper defender of OTR cited very different statistics than those leading to the “most dangerous city” categorization:

Instead of relying on data from websites trying to drive traffic, we should examine the data produced by the Cincinnati Police Department and U.S. Census Bureau. If you use their data, Over-the-Rhine, with a population of 6,497 and 371 crimes, has a rate of 57.1 per 1,000 residents and would not make the list of the 25 most dangerous neighborhoods. This legitimate data also indicates that Over-the-Rhine has seen crime decline 38.7 percent since the redevelopment efforts began in earnest in 2005.<sup>249</sup>

Each viewpoint proves how divergent perspectives can be, even at the litany level where “objective” statistical data is used to support a non-empirical agenda.

Regardless, 2009 is history, and much of the OTR district has undergone a massive, expensive, regeneration. It is in a number of ways unrecognizable from the past, and that is the

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<sup>245</sup> Anjali Sastry Krbecek and Karen Grigsby Bates, “When La Erupted in Anger: A Look Back at the Rodney King Riots,” NPR (NPR, April 26, 2017).

<sup>246</sup> Tim Arango, “In Los Angeles, the Ghosts of Rodney King and Watts Rise Again,” The New York Times (The New York Times, June 3, 2020).

<sup>247</sup> TCR Staff and Andrea Cipriano, “Cincinnati Neighborhood Called Most Dangerous,” The Crime Report, June 23, 2009.

<sup>248</sup> Randy Simes, “Over-the-Rhine Is Not One of Nation's Most Dangerous Neighborhoods,” 2019, 1.

<sup>249</sup> Simes, 2.

root of the current divergent viewpoints on whether this has all been for the good.<sup>250</sup> The reasons for this split echo those noted in the Old Louisville discussion and the issue of “gentrification” and the economic exclusion of past residents from their historic community.

One can argue that at the myth/metaphor level that all communities grow and change, that this is part of a natural and ultimately beneficial overall change. However, does that stand up to close analysis from other perspectives? Certainly, OTR evolved from its beginnings, named for German immigrants who moved here from the mid-1800s to work in local breweries and slaughterhouses. In this respect it is similar to the Germantown area which borders Old Louisville. By the early 1900s, Over-The-Rhine was a strong community of tens of thousands. However, anti-German sentiment during the First World War, and Prohibition in the nineteen-twenties led to job loss and a large exodus from the area. This was the result of a perspective on its population shaped not by urban renewal but by world events.<sup>251</sup>

In the 1940s, a new community arose, composed of migrant workers from Appalachian regions, fleeing cramped living conditions in poorly maintained tenements. This as well shaped a new perspective, and stigmatization of the area. By the 1960s, Over-The-Rhine became home for displaced African American residents forced from a bordering district by the construction of a new interstate highway.<sup>252</sup> These changes were also shaped by politics and events outside of the control of the residents. The population shifts were changes that caused the perception of

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<sup>250</sup> Stephen Starr, “Over-the-Rhine: Is This a Model for Urban Renewal or a Warning Sign?,” BBC News (BBC, February 22, 2021).

<sup>251</sup> Starr, 2.

<sup>252</sup> Starr, 2.

the value of the area to decline, leading to actual decline in the area's safety, services, and other aspects necessary for place attachment.

The perspective in 2021 has drastically altered. New "Third Places" have turned OTR into a popular entertainment destination, and its collection of 19<sup>th</sup> century German Renaissance Revival<sup>253</sup> and Italianate architecture ranks among the largest in the country, attracting millions of visitors every year. In 2017, the American Planning Association named Over-The-Rhine one of the nation's five "great neighborhoods," in part as it "serves as a national model of neighborhood revitalization."<sup>254</sup> Quite a spectacular leap from the most dangerous city in America in a brief time.

Much of this progress is the result of changes in perception due to the shaping powers of financial investment, and the intervention of corporate entities, both for-profit and non-profit. 3CDC, a non-profit developer established by the City of Cincinnati and local corporations Procter and Gamble, Fifth Third Bank and the supermarket giant, Kroger, led that investment. 3CDC invested a proximately \$800m in the area, and when 3CDC began in 2004, there were almost 3,000 vacant buildings, lots, and housing units in OTR. in Over-The-Rhine. 3CDC investment specific to Over-The-Rhine has restored 173 buildings, another forty-four new buildings constructed, and acres of "civic space" and two civic buildings refurbished.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> This style is found in American communities with strong German heritage, where architects chosen for important building projects tended to have German training or were familiar with German architectural guides and styles. Their structures echoed those styles. Examples of German Renaissance Revival architecture include the Joseph Kalvelage House, built circa 1890, and the Frederick Pabst House, built around 1890 - 1892, both in the Milwaukee area.

<sup>254</sup> WCPO Staff, "American Planning Association Recognizes over-the-Rhine as 1 of 5 Great Neighborhoods," WCPO (WCPO, October 4, 2017).

<sup>255</sup> 3dc, accessed March 23, 2022, <https://www.3cdc.org/about-3cdc/>

It has also built close to a thousand condominiums and 468 apartments, 283 of these as affordable housing units, as well as facilities for the homeless and hundreds of thousands of square feet of commercial space.<sup>256</sup> There is however a negative side to this, revitalization has come at a cost, and has created a furious debate, centered on access to affordable housing and displacement. It has raised the unavoidable question of whether the changes have been positive for the existing community, or simply a graphic illustration of successful gentrification.

All this success created an economic, not a sociological, viewpoint, that money could be made from revitalization, from speculation that invested in housing as a commodity, not a home. How you view what happened depends on who you are as a stakeholder, and your own personal world view and myth/metaphor assumptions. For instance, a proposed \$77 Million mixed-use development project at the intersection of Liberty and Elm streets, in which 3CDC is not involved, has been publicized as the latest example of local Black families being left behind and excluded. Rents at the development are set to range from \$1,400 to \$2,800 -- out of reach for most locals -- while the developers are seeking a \$20M, thirty-year tax abatement. A 2016 report produced for the Community Council found a 73 percent drop in affordable housing in Over-The-Rhine between 2002 and 2015.

Supporters have argued the project would be an overall positive for the district, through job creation and greater urban density. Their perspective is shaped by the facts that members of the local Black community for whom Over-The-Rhine has been home for generations still

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<sup>256</sup> Starr, 3.

suffer from chronic housing and jobs shortages. Housing blight and all-too-frequent literal building collapses remain an issue. Two years ago, a centrally located supermarket closed, replaced by a new, bigger store, the first to open since 1969. On the surface, it was beneficial to the community. However, for residents in the northern areas, it meant an added mile round trip to collect groceries.

Violent crime and shootings, though fewer than in the past, continue to plague the area. The racial issues of the past decades still exist, as Cincinnati Black Lives Matter protests in 2020 demonstrated.<sup>257</sup> The COVID pandemic hit this area hard, but while CDC restructured its debt to assist with rent reductions and relief programs for restaurants and tenants in the OTR area it supports, concern remains about the fractures to the social fabric of OTR. That concern is summed up by a long-time resident stakeholder's comments:

They (developers and landlords) are making profits off Airbnbs rather than giving people a place to live in our community," ....

"The neighbour [sic] next door to me rents it out for Airbnb. I don't know who my neighbours are anymore. It's terrible."<sup>258</sup>

Who decides what is progress? It all depends on what level of analysis is used, from what perspective? This is the point of Premise 3 of this paper: well-intended but misplaced action can easily occur, and shaping of perspective can be an impediment, depending on what basis this occurs.

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<sup>257</sup> Sarah Brookbank, "George Floyd Protests in Cincinnati: Big Crowd, Driver Questioned, Cranley Confrontation, Minneapolis Police," *The Enquirer* (Cincinnati Enquirer, June 8, 2020).

<sup>258</sup> Starr, 3.

In OTR, the effort was not necessarily to be “too much” for the perceived return on investment, it was the nature of that return that was and is at issue. The real question is if a return that instead of focusing on commercial success focused on a smaller economic return coupled with preservation of community heritage, a classic triple-bottom line approach, would have generated similar investor enthusiasm. Could one shape perspectives where value centered on preservation of a true neighborhood rather than the creation of a world of Airbnbs, like what is happening in Old Louisville with its mansions?

*Columbia-Tusculum, Cincinnati*



Figure 24 : Tusculum Hill  
Source: Sibcy Cline Realtors

The second area examined, Columbia-Tusculum, has elements common to OTR, but in some ways quite different, as the result of stakeholders dominating the shaping perspective for action. In Columbia-Tusculum, that perspective was shaped based on Premise 1 of this paper,

the importance of pride in ones' community and its connection to pride in oneself, and connection to the past.

This area began as the settlement of "Columbia" in 1788. After two years, the settlement was home to fifty cabins, a mill, and a school and became a popular trading post. Repeated flooding prevented it from transforming into a major center for commerce, and in 1815 the settlement moved to its location at the foot of Tusculum Hill. In contrast to the extensive existing 19th architecture of OTR, just two homes from this period still survive, the Kellogg house and the Stites house, both built in the 1830s.<sup>259</sup>

The village incorporated in 1868, and in 1873, Columbia was annexed by the city of Cincinnati. Throughout the 1900s, the neighborhood experienced booms and busts in growth. Today, Columbia-Tusculum promotes itself as having a "a keen sense of community pride that resembles the close-knit sentiment of the early days" where "...with continued restoration of



Figure 25 : Tusculum Neighborhood  
Source: Google Images

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<sup>259</sup> Zach Grainger, "A Guide to Cincinnati's Columbia-Tusculum Neighborhood," Wander Cincinnati, May 29, 2020. 1-4.

old Victorian buildings and ongoing community council projects, this neighborhood is rich with culture and is as community-oriented as ever.”<sup>260</sup>

However, this is not the full story. In fact, in the mid-1990s it was considered a “blighted area” in one urban renewal study, with 50 percent of its structures deteriorating, 51 percent older than forty years, although none were considered to be functionally or economically “obsolete.”<sup>261</sup> This and related studies set out an unfavorable perception, like that of OTR. However, area stakeholder residents became the driving force in shaping a new perspective, in an effort that was quite different. By 2021, there was a process for organized community stakeholder input in the decision-making process.<sup>262</sup>

This action group, under the call to action of *Do You Live CT?* has established working groups for a “neighborhood plan,” with “theme areas” to guide conversations moving forward and assist in the formation of goals and strategies identified in the plan. These include working groups in various areas:

#### *Transportation & Connections*

Increasing safety and efficiency to promote a vibrant and diverse neighborhood for residents and visitors by implementing pedestrian safety, traffic calming, and beautification. Thereby creating connectivity within a balanced network of transportation and recreation options including enhanced roads, walkways, and trails.

#### *Business*

CT strives to preserve and grow its strong collection of local businesses through emphasizing business diversity, walkability, and accessibility to Cincinnati’s greatest playground while honoring our colorful heritage as Cincinnati’s oldest community.

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<sup>260</sup> Grainger, “A Guide to Cincinnati’s Columbia-Tusculum Neighborhood,” 2.

<sup>261</sup> “Urban Design & Transportation - University of Cincinnati,” 2022.

<sup>262</sup> “Do You Live CT?: Columbia Tusculum,” Home - City of Cincinnati, 2022.

### *Housing & Development*

CT is a community embracing its historic roots and is inclusive to all incomes and backgrounds. We strive to maximize the 15-minute community model with an emphasis on walkability and accessibility, integrate business assets and housing in a safe and "green" way, and grow with a diverse range of structure types, sizes, costs, and uses.

### *Public Space & Community*

Building on our history, CT is committed to developing and preserving a safe, walkable neighborhood filled with charm and areas for recreation and community engagement.<sup>263</sup>

These areas are part of a sense of community that did not seem to be part of shaping OTR decision making perspectives. No one group in CT is disenfranchised, since comments are solicited from all who are interested, complete with an email contact address for comments or working group participation.<sup>264</sup>

Stakeholder involvement is stressed in other forums as well specifically addressing housing concerns.<sup>265</sup> For instance, the Housing and Urban Redevelopment Corporation ("HURC") active in Hamilton County where Columbia-Tusculum is located includes in their mission statements:

Through partnerships with a variety of federal and state agencies, the HURC provides communities with property acquisition assistance to confront some of the most pervasive problems facing disinvested communities, including vacancy and blight. The HURC is the regional contact for National Community Stabilization Trust, which facilitates access to national lenders working to resolve complex issues facing communities with foreclosed properties.

The HURC is dedicated to improving the quality of housing stock and increasing affordable homeownership, providing a quality product with minimal overhead.

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<sup>263</sup> "Do You Live CT?: Columbia Tusculum," Home - City of Cincinnati, 2022.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid.

<sup>265</sup> "About Us," Homesteading & Urban Redevelopment Corporation, 2022.

The HURC runs two major home rehabilitation programs – focus neighborhood and scattered site preservation. We also work with neighborhood CDCs to acquire property in alignment with their revitalization goals.<sup>266</sup>

However, even in a setting where community values and cohesion are strong, there is a pull the other way, competing shaping forces.

For instance, a new planned apartment residence in Columbia-Tusculum for “empty nesters,” has an interior courtyard spa; and suitably high-priced rent.<sup>267</sup> Despite its appeal on more than one level, it is open to discussion if this really aids in community cohesion, or instead creates housing choices and economic enclaves. Columbia-Tusculum overall, however, is taking the considered approach, one that includes higher levels of CLA analysis, valuing the world view and myth/metaphor perspective of impacted stakeholders.

### *Villages at Roll Hill*

The last example explores the issue of biases and assumptions in shaping perspectives, and whether “rebranding” a community can occur successfully on a deeper level than appearances. The Villages at Roll Hill is nothing like OTR or Columbia-Tusculum; it a planned community in every sense of the word. A recent project included the demolition of seventeen

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<sup>266</sup> “About Us,” Homesteading & Urban Redevelopment Corporation, 2022.

<sup>267</sup> Quinlan Bentley, “New Apartments for Empty Nesters Coming to Columbia Tusculum Feature a Private Spa,” The Enquirer (Cincinnati Enquirer, June 8, 2021).

multi-unit buildings, increased security, and a community rebranding. It represents a community make-over, a shaping of an old perspective by material change in appearances.



Figure 26 : The Fay Apartments  
Source: Google Images

The Villages at Roll Hill It is the product of and run by Wallick Development Corporation, and has received favorable press attention and awards; the project has been called a “Shining Example of the Power of Affordable Housing Rehabilitation,” earning LEED certification and is “considered the largest green renovation of affordable housing development in the country.”<sup>268</sup> It finished ahead of schedule and under budget, with the City of Cincinnati receiving the Audrey Nelson Community Development Award and the Secretary of HUD attended its grand opening.

The number of apartment units reduced from 893 to 703, security was upgraded, and green space increased with the demolition of buildings. According to one internet neighborhood summary, it is now a niche neighborhood:

Villages at Roll Hill is a neighborhood in Cincinnati, Ohio with a population of 2,348. Living in Villages at Roll Hill offers residents an urban suburban mix feel, and most residents rent their homes. In Villages at Roll Hill there are a lot of bars and parks. Residents of Villages at Roll Hill tend to be liberal. The public schools in Villages at Roll Hill are above average.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> “Villages at Roll Hill,” Wallick Communities, June 28, 2016.

<sup>269</sup> Local Resident Opinion Page, “Living in Villages at Roll Hill,” Niche, January 6, 2022.

This is not OTR, Columbia-Tusculum or any of the examples discussed elsewhere, but the planned reconstruction of a new community to replace one that was notorious for all the negative associations one could list. That community was the Fay apartments.

The Fay, built in the 1980s, was subsidized housing at its worst in all overt appearances, ripe for demolition and “rebranding.” Its replacement, the Villages at Roll Hill, is often noted as subsidized housing at its best: “green,” and resident “friendly.” It also however is “any town” USA. What existed before was detrimental in significant aspects, an example of “broken windows” criminology theory, reflecting serious negative social causes.



Figure 27 : Village at Roll Hill  
Source: Google Images

Its reincarnation as the Villages at Roll Hill seems to have succeeded, its rebranding and the reshaping of its reputation a success. Current advertisements for the units show a community in good condition, with community amenities. The area is like other places not immune to crime, with personal violence increasing.<sup>270</sup> There is however a sense of community,

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<sup>270</sup> “Villages at Roll Hill Neighborhood Report - Cincinnati,” 2022.

which despite the changes on outward appearances, has survived rebranding, and the reshaping of public opinion perspective. The continuity of sense of community despite physical change and rebranding warrants attention. The Villages at Roll Hill is as remarkable for what did not change as it is for what did. What the Villages at Roll Hill shows is the survival power of a community world view, myth, and metaphor.

One current news article on the community described it this way: “You’ve heard the African proverb ‘it takes a village to raise a child’ ...That message is at the heart of Roll Hill.”<sup>271</sup> Roll Hill is the tenth poorest ZIP code in Ohio. Families struggle to meet basic needs like food, housing, and clothing, and it stays afloat now as it did when the Fay, by efforts of community outreach efforts, particularly in the necessities, such as food.<sup>272</sup> Now as before, most families run out of money on EBT card by the seventh day of the month. Food is gone by the fifteenth, and a local foundation “Childhood Food Solutions” tries to fill the gap.<sup>273</sup>

A social worker’s observations about the Fay and her images of life inside the neighborhood speak more clearly than any YouTube videos or news about its condition past or present. She referred to the area as an “island of humanity,” one that the new kitchens, windows, doors, fences, and a new name did not fundamentally alter. The logistics seem implausible, a neighborhood managed by an out-of-town property manager, replacing nearly in its entirety what residents knew, yet it worked.

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<sup>271</sup> Ibid..

<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

Appearance, not fundamental community sense of self, was shaped. This same social worker had experienced both the old and the rebranded community:

Yet, what struck me most about the Fay or the newly dubbed village of Roll Hill was the humanity. The humans all living behind cinderblocks with concrete floors, all isolated with one entrance and one exit. The people trying to beat the odds, the ones that despite one set back after another persevere and keep moving forward. The crime and poverty maybe more obvious, but the kindness, the hard-working men and women, the moral choices, and deep empathy that exists despite or perhaps because of the poverty stayed with me in equal measure.

Things that others do not see or are scared to look at you can see up close at the Fay but that up-close view reveals more than the stereotype or reputation of the neighborhood.

There was a vibrant economy that did not exist with money but rather bartering, favors and keeping track of who you owed and who owed you. ... I met all the definitions of families you could imagine that live there. What separated them from my urban neighborhood was diversity of income not diversity of being. No sea of humanity is one thing and despite the poverty and a concentration of all the urban problems you can name, I witnessed amazing spirit and creativity, time and again. <sup>274</sup> *Maura Kennedy Anaya, 2012*

What is described is that sense of self identity that creates community identity, even under the most unlikely circumstances. What can be taken from the Villages at Roll Hill as well as the other examples is that rebranding can help, as can thoughtful urban renewal. It can shape external perception, but that whatever is done must take care to not damage the cultural and community perception of its unique heritage.

It is unclear if this was a part of the intentional plan for Villages at Roll Hill. It appears to have been of far less concern than the advertised benefits discussed. However, what is important is the community spirit that existed and remained under a new name. This will not

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<sup>274</sup> "Villages at Roll Hill Neighborhood Report - Cincinnati," 2022.

be the case in all situations, as shown by OTR and perhaps in Columbia Tusculum, Old Louisville, or the other earlier examples. Therefore, while rebranding, and perspective shaping from the level of appearances can be a success, it is success as a veneer on already existing values and sense of community, which must be left intact.

## CHAPTER V: LOOKING FORWARD

The preceding chapters proposed that continuing to follow our current assumptions about the housing crisis and its solution will not solve the root causes of the issue. Instead, this treatise proposes that we examine and attempt to solve housing issues from different perspectives, one utilizing solutions connected to historic preservation methods and the redevelopment and re-use of abandoned and vacant commercial and industrial structures. Simply put, rather than turning to demolition and then new construction as the assumed best remedy, ignoring what we already have, historic preservation practices can be a tool to successfully reutilize the existing built environment and reinforce community identity.

This is how the necessary new litany and social discourse of problem solving arises. It entails not only a look to the future, but an approach that better ensures success. It puts the emphasis on the underlying societal causes, and the myth/metaphor views that contribute to both a lack of affordable housing and community disintegration as both cause and effect of the housing crisis. The increasing loss of sense of place connection and self-identity in contemporary life are other deep issues. We are losing, in both a literal and non-literal sense, our traditional community structures, our “places.”

The importance of community, of sense of place, of human psychology and our needs are principal aspects of analysis using the CLA method, particularly at its highest layer of myth/metaphor. It is also at this level that future planning must occur to be successful. To that end, this chapter is based on an extended example of a site location in Louisville, KY – 801 Logan Street. The work of theorist Sherry Arnstein and her “ladder” theory of participation, as

well as that of the theory of “territorial stigmatization” are reviewed and play an important theoretical role in the practical solutions proposed by this treatise.<sup>275</sup>

### CLA Method Results

CLA as a method does not exist only as theory; its usefulness in a particular application must be evaluated for its viability. Nor does the use of particular myth or metaphor, or world view guarantee results. It does however expand options and give alternative solutions for consideration. This paper maintains that the CLA method applied to the housing crisis is useful, and that results using CLA support the conclusion that the current emphasis on a “new build” solution has not worked and fails to satisfy both practical and human nature concerns.

The “build more” approach may find support under analysis at the lower CLA levels of litany and social causes/social discourse, as these levels rely on empirical information. However, it can mistake the result for the cause if we do not also consider the world view perspective of CLA level 3 and myth/metaphor CLA level 4. As the examination of The Villages at Roll Hill, Over the Rhine, or Old Louisville and NULU indicate, one’s presumptions and biases existing at the more abstract world view and myth/metaphor levels can drastically alter the conclusions one draws from tangible facts at the lower CLA levels of litany and social discourse.

Preservation and adaptation to a new purpose of buildings plays a role in these levels, but it has been undervalued. For instance, the argument arises at times that certain architectural elements of a building ought to be preserved as they were, a cornice, façade, or

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<sup>275</sup> Loic Wacquant, “Territorial Stigmatization in Action - Sage Journals,” 2018. 26-89.

stained-glass window, because of their significance to the building's aesthetic, their illustration of a particular architectural style. This is a value judgement, based on empirical appearance data.

However, there is another level present, if considered at the CLA levels of world view and myth/metaphor. At those levels one turns from the physical presentation to what that presentation means in a non-physical sense. This shifts our premises for action. Adaptive reuse can be successful under litany and social discourse level analysis, provided that the shift at more abstract levels occurs to embrace the value of putting a once useful, now abandoned, building back into service in a new way. While we may not be restoring its complete façade, there may be aspects that are kept, now also considered valuable in our litany and social discourse because of the intangible issues discussed in earlier chapters

The question that remains is how this can be done economically. How can one invest in an abandoned or neglected big building, rehabilitate it for another use, keep cost reasonable, yet still maintain a unique sense of value and sense of place for people who will live there? This is possible but requires a new perspective of adaptive reuse as our litany, our social discourse, our world view, and myth/metaphor.

This is manifested in diverse ways at each layer, but all rest on a new concept that replaces the existing world view, myth/metaphors and their resulting litanies and social discourse. Rather than starting from a blank slate with the idea to build something cheap, quick, and infinitely repeatable, the goal becomes creating something that is more than just a copy, more than just four walls. Adaptive reuse brings into the present not just four walls, but also a unique sense of a place's history, creating a connection to the place we inhabit.

Most importantly, and basic to world view and myth/metaphor, is the issue of community involvement, stakeholder considerations, and the need to work in conjunction with city planners and other city officials. Elected officials and city planners for instance are significantly involved in CLA Levels of litany, and social causes/social discourse. This is where political talking points are generated and used. Many examples exist of choices that have a negative effect on sense of self and sense of place: Jane Jacobs and her fight against urban renewal, the construction of SROs, the examples of OTR, NULU, and Old Louisville.

I argue that historic preservation practices are part of the solution because they are part of urban renewal efforts that focus on regeneration, not removal, and adaptive reuse. They can also alleviate the housing crisis but also the growing issue of abandoned buildings considered “obsolete.” The benefits will continue, allowing us to save a community’s integrity, taking a building that would otherwise be ignored or demolished and making it into a place that serves as a positive community symbol, and continues a community’s history. This occurs in the context of time, as discussed in the next section.

### The Built Environment and the Timeline of Change

I propose that the various components of the built environment affect everyone, directly or indirectly. As that environment changes, we adjust our habits, and that in turn affects what we build, how we use what already exists, creating a never-ending cycle of cause and effect. The more engrained our habits become, the more they influence our future, creating the world view and myth/metaphor of CLA levels 3 and 4. This is the process by which our actions create our world, and our world then alters us. The importance of this cycle is that

we exercise considerable control. There are outside factors of course, the availability of materials and natural restrictions caused by weather or location. However, these are not the final determination of what is produced.

These processes are part of the time scale of change. It is a practical consideration alongside those of the CLA method, not only in terms of what is done but in judging the success of implemented changes. One can evaluate change in total by using each CLA level to look at the circumstances both of single buildings and communities over the short term, 2 to 5 years, a longer horizon of 15 years, and into the future, 50 years. In this manner, we can see the potential results tomorrow of what we do today, assuming our analysis is accurate. The remainder of this chapter does this, looking at projected results over time based on various chosen courses of action. The conclusions that are drawn from this become our call to action based on this study.

#### *Evaluating Potential Change Over Time Using CLA*

The purpose of CLA as an analytical method is to take a problem and determine a solution for that problem based on four various levels of perspective and approach, each of which provide a specific lens which can be used to evaluate the housing crisis and other societal issues. This multi-level approach is especially helpful when looking at the problem elements of affordable housing, community, sense of self, on the one hand and valuable, vacant commercial and industrial spaces on the other.

The following sections will contain discussions of proposed potential outcomes based on a given scenario involving a singular building (801 Logan Street) or a group of buildings in the

Smoketown area of Louisville, surrounding the Logan Street property. Each scenario will be evaluated using the four CLA layers based on the given time frame and expected changes.

## 801 Logan Street, Louisville, KY



Figure 28 Current State of 801 Logan Street - Merchant's Ice Tower  
Source: Google Images

To understand 801 Logan Street, its significance and how it has and may evolve over the next 2 to 5, 15, and 50 years one must first understand its history (Figure 28). The buildings located at 801 Logan Street were originally built in 1881 by the Schaefer-Meyer Brewing Company (Figure 29). In 1901, Schaefer-Meyer Brewery combined with several other companies under the name Central Consumer Company and began producing Fehr beer. The brewery went out of business during the prohibition period in 1919. The business then changed to a cold storage and ice production facility in 1920, under the name Merchants' Ice & Cold Storage Company.

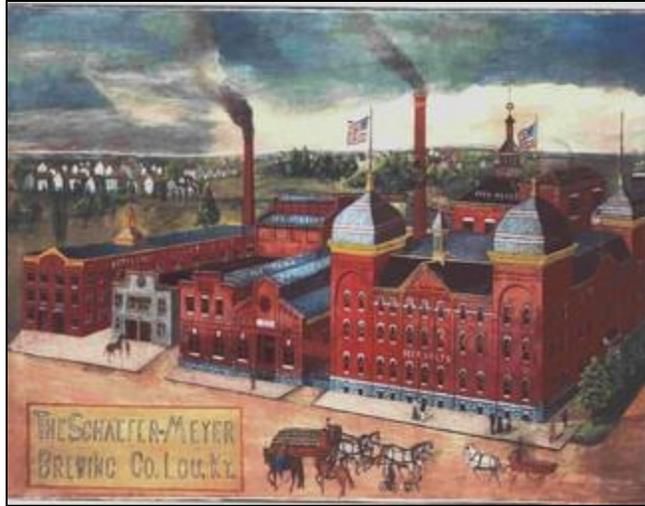
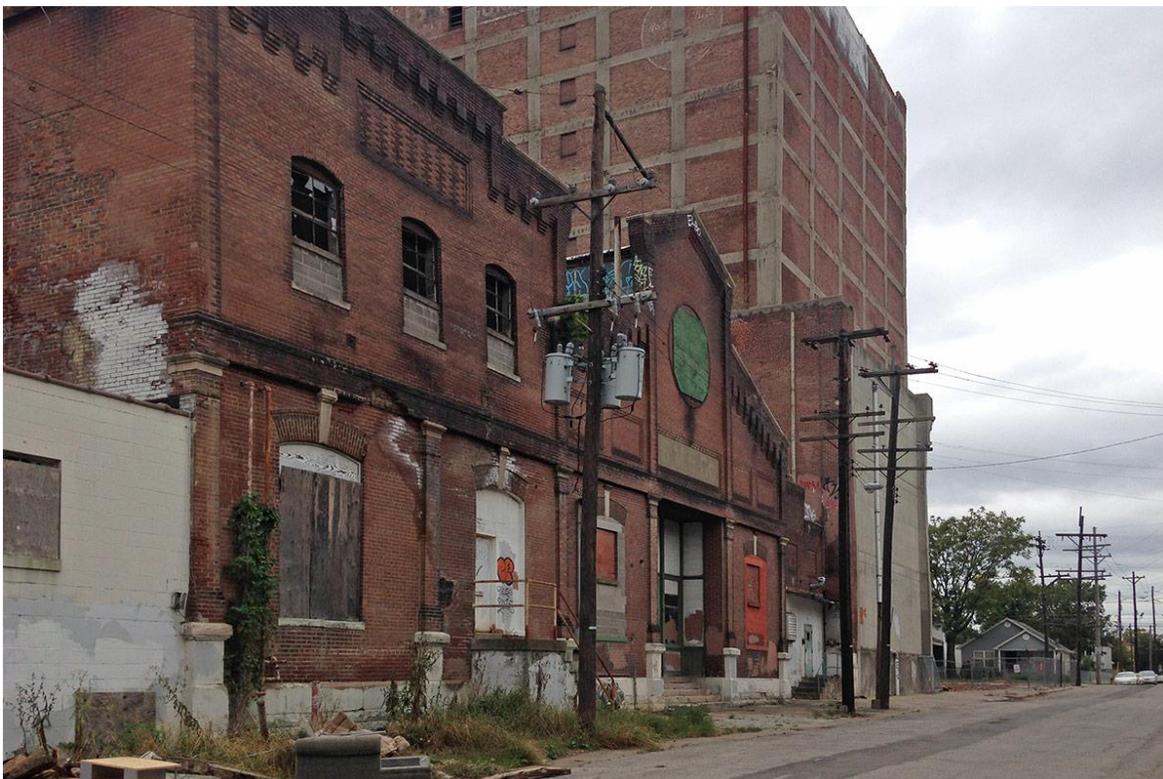


Figure 29: The Schaefer-Meyer Brewing Company  
Source: Broken Sidewalk Website

It is unknown when exactly Merchants' Ice & Cold Storage went out of business in the Tower, but records indicate that diesel tanks for the trucks were maintained through 1981. The property therefore at the very least is a physical example of evolution under all CLA levels from 1881 to the early 1980s, its physical use changed based on social and political agendas such as prohibition, and then the changes brought about by the adoption of refrigeration and the need for larger cold-storage facilities. Owners repurposed the building, successfully until early 2000 when visions of any useful future stalled. Up until then one could say that all CLA levels were not in conflict.

Potential buyers considered purchasing The Tower over the past decades, but none of these projects materialized. This situation can be attributed to a failure of viable analysis under CLA levels 3 and 4, the world view, the myth/metaphor that surround Logan Street remained those of the past, with no replacement to reflect current society changes. A development group purchased the building in 2002, and in 2006, proposed a mixture of retail and residential space, but this project did not take place.

Had this occurred, it would have represented a new CLA world view of potential use for these kinds of structures. The high-end senior living facility group Atria considered purchasing the building in 2010, but the company decided to use another property. And so, The Tower has been vacant for the past eighteen years. The current state of the building is very deteriorated. If one is to use the CLA level 4 world view for instance going forward for the next 2-5 years, it will take extensive CLA level 1 and 2 analysis and commitment about empirical practicalities, and political agendas.



*Figure 30: Street View of Brick Buildings, with the Tower in the Background*  
Source: Google Images

## Current Condition-CLA levels 1 and 2

The two smaller industrial brick buildings are in somewhat better condition than the larger tower. They still feature detailed brickwork on the front, giving character to an otherwise overlooked structure. The reinforced concrete tower features large loading bay windows around the first floor above ground level, advantageous for the retail space contemplated by this scenario. These physical attributes are coupled with the demonstrated demand for housing in this area, as well as the resulting need for small commercial establishments for groceries and related products.

For instance, at present, the area around Logan Street is considered a food desert, only featuring gas stations with their limited food options, and fast-food chains. This building, especially considering the first floor's potential for retail space, could serve as a key neighborhood location, improving the local neighborhood value and the quality of life for those who now live there, as well as drawing future residents. The interior has space for potential restaurants, retail space, offices, and living spaces. Considering the previous plans to make it a senior living facility, it is also feasible to consider this as has alternate living space potential besides just standard apartments.

The building's location plays a key role in its feasibility to become a community focal point. 801 Logan Street is situated at the cusp of the intersection between the Smoketown historic district and downtown in Louisville. Looking at the entire area, the Tower is a pivotal

location for the improvement of Smoketown as well as the downtown. Smoketown, as discussed earlier, is the oldest continuous, African American neighborhood in Louisville.

It therefore represents a long-standing community and cultural world view and myths/metaphor beliefs similar to those expressed by the social worker comments in respect to the Villages at Roll Hill. It has inhabitants who share over a century of common history, whose ancestors literally built the community, created it from nothing. It is the product of the ideas and reactions of that community to events over that passage of time, passed down to in material form through generations. It was the stage set of those past lives, the foundation of the present.

As shown in Figure 31, this district is bounded by Broadway, the CSX Railroad tracks, Kentucky Street, and Interstate 65. The red star shows this key location, where the Smoketown community meets the newly redeveloped NULU downtown neighborhood., shaded in grey, discussed in chapter 3. This puts the Merchant's Ice Tower at a key physical location for both the improvement of Smoketown and adjacent downtown area. It also, however, is an area with

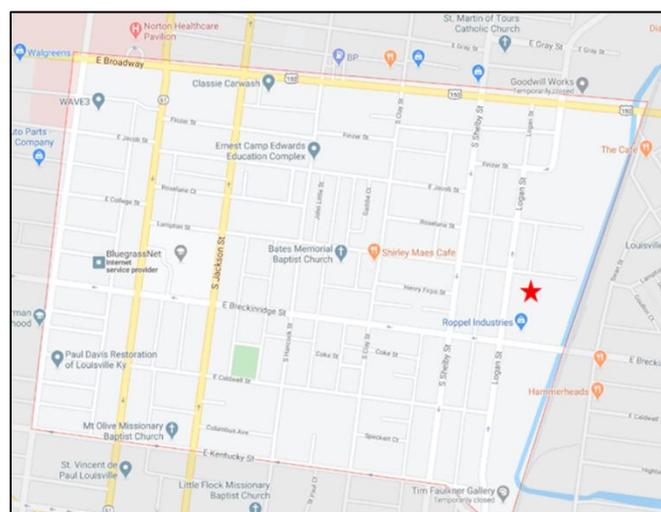


Figure 31: Location of 801 Logan Street  
Source: Google Maps

low-income demographics, and a currently stigmatized litany and social discourse about its future.

This marginalization is a product of what Loic Wacquant has termed “territorial stigma,” where the “blemish of place” impacts not only the immediate residents of disparaged districts, but also surrounding area inhabitants, commercial operations, and political officials.<sup>276</sup> It is tied to sociologist Erving Goffman’s theory of “spoiled identity.” According to Goffman, a person is like an actor on a stage.<sup>277</sup> The concept of environment as a stage set was introduced earlier, and Goffman’s research supports this, with what he calls “dramaturgy.” In his view persons use “impression management” to present themselves as we hope to be perceived. Each situation is a new scene, and individuals perform distinct roles depending on who is present.<sup>278</sup> In any scene there needs to be a shared reality between players, and that is the world view or myth metaphor of CLA Levels 3 and 4.

Goffman defined stigma as an “attribute that is deeply discrediting.” A discredited attribute may be easily seen, such as skin color, or it could be hidden but stigmatizing if revealed, for instance a criminal record or mental illness. For Goffman, stigma is a general aspect of social life, one which complicates all interactions on a “micro-level.” Most people experience the role of being stigmatized “at least in some connections and in some phases of life.”<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> Wacquant, “Territorial Stigmatization in Action”, *Sage Journals*, 45-46.

<sup>277</sup> Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963).

<sup>278</sup> Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, 65-67.

<sup>279</sup> Goffman, 138.

The various layers of CLA are all inter-connected, world view and myth/metaphor affect litany and social discourse, as well as the reverse. This creates a closed loop of negative cause and effect in the case of stigmatization, one which must be altered if change is to occur in addressing housing or any other social issue. That change must occur through a reorientation of fundamental beliefs, at our personal world view and myth /metaphor levels to be joined in a community accepted view. This is what must happen in Smoketown.

### Current Community Value - World View CLA level 3

The historic stakeholder interests of Smoketown share a unique perspective of world view, as is indicated by the surge in recent years of community engagement in expressing sense of place and place value through local events, fundraisers, and the creation of community gardens. There are frequent local neighborhood get-togethers and local artist creations, including murals and outdoor sculpture on or near prominent buildings in the area, all with local approval.

Specific economic redevelopment plans are now in place, consistent with this scenario. Prominent buildings in Smoketown include the Bates Memorial Baptist Church, and one of Louisville's nine Carnegie libraries. It is also the location of Muhammad Ali's boxing training site, and the original Louisville Slugger baseball bat company location. These are all anchors for development and reclaimed identities that can affect litany and social discourse, creating Goffman's stage sets for social interaction that foster a community sense of place seen as significant under world view and myth/metaphor.

If the current community is engaged in promoting a new higher-level perspective, the issue becomes how that community perspective fits with those same level perspectives of the city as a whole. What is the city's litany versus that of the Smoketown community? Stakeholders are competing for the same funding and resources. It is here that Wacquant's concept of stigmatization must be acknowledged, since this will be used by competing groups to shut out the stigmatized stakeholders. One cannot in this process, therefore, over emphasize the role played by human psychology.

The Smoketown community participates in efforts to revitalize the area, to change patterns of stigmatization, and by creating a new "stage set" in that process. This is shown by various partners coming together to build the Smoketown Community Collaborative. This includes Smoketown Neighborhood Association, Coke Memorial Methodist, Manhattan on Broadway, Simmons College, University of Louisville, Christ Church Methodist, Fund for the Arts, Meyzeek Middle School, and many others.<sup>280</sup> One example of the current success is the Smoketown Family Wellness Center, which works to bring needed resources back into the community with the aim to increase overall wellness for youth and their families. The Center houses a teaching kitchen, multipurpose space, literacy corner, and six medical exam rooms.<sup>281</sup>

#### Potential Possibilities - Litany and Social Discourse CLA Levels 1 and 2

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<sup>280</sup> Smoketown Voice, 2019.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

Based on area research, there is a viable reuse potential for this building as a multifunctional location, including both retail and residential spaces. Residential use is supportable for varied reasons in this urban location. In Smoketown, vacant industrial buildings such as the Tower become part of a broken windows criminology litany, obscuring the psychological factors discussed in earlier chapters. This land use would also significantly benefit the city as well as the Smoketown community, versus other uses which would involve building demolition.<sup>282</sup> Smoketown lacks historically accessible and affordable housing, as well as local food shops and restaurants to help establish a meaningful connection as a community, and this would remedy that deficit.

Due to its size, the Ice Tower would provide ample rentable space, though it would require extensive rehabilitation and therefore financial cost. However, the eventual benefit to the community and use of the building would be worth the upfront expenses, particularly when viewed from a CLA level 3 and 4 analyses using the “triple-bottom line” return on investment and sustainability approaches.<sup>283</sup> It would make the most sense for the building to be converted into some type of housing, as contemplated by past proposals, whether that be as an assisted living facility as proposed in 2010 or some other form of mixed housing, consisting of a range of price points and size options to fit the needs of the community.

In addition to the possibilities of the tower structure, the smaller industrial brick buildings have potential uses as well (Figure 32). They are unique in appearance, and have

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<sup>282</sup> Steven Wiser, “How to Solve Louisville's Affordable Housing Shortage Now,” 2021.

<sup>283</sup> Timothy Sloapher and Tonya Hall, *Indiana Business Review*, 2021.

characteristics not found elsewhere in Smoketown or other downtown neighborhoods. This provides a great advantage when it comes to getting the community to embrace them as valued Third Spaces if they are utilized with the neighborhood's needs in mind. They could serve as sites for a local library, small café, or even be used as community space for events and after school programs. The possibilities are in a way, endless. It all comes down to being able to see past the current state and look towards the future of what could be created.



Figure 32: Industrial Brick Buildings at 801 Logan Street  
Source: Google Images

### 801 Logan Street Transformed

The first floor of the reinforced concrete tower, with its loading bay warehouse doors could serve as an “open air” shopping and eating area. This would invite locals walking up and down the street to stop in and experience this historical location, adding to the community sense of value for its history. There is a significant consumer market within three square miles, as well in in the immediate area, but investors must take the plunge, and that has proved

difficult.<sup>284</sup> A plan for a grocery store stalled, but there are small restaurants that are successful, one even making it to Food Network fame.<sup>285</sup> This all demonstrates the power of not only litany and social causes, but also of the world view of those outside, not just inside, the community. That view supports Smoketown as a place to go for ethnic food, even as the location does not support the economics of a major grocery store. Smoketown is a living example therefore of both the negative and positive potentials of Goffman's theory.

It is necessary to ask in any proposal dealing with these ideas if adaptive reuse is feasible under practical as well as theoretical levels of analysis. There is a balancing act that must occur between economic viability and an attractive adaptive reuse and improvement that takes the structure into a world inaccessible financially to its initial community inhabitants who created the area's original sense of place.

In this regard, there is a comparison project that shows the economic benefits, as well as the challenges and non-economic issues of adaptive reuse. A similar project in the Germantown neighborhood of Louisville, now known as the Germantown Mill Lofts, involved a complete renovation of a former cotton mill, turned at first into an antique mall, which maintained the area's status quo as very modest small homes intermingled with commercial properties, and then into a residential complex of more than 180 apartments with a contemporary design, averaging around 1,100 square feet per apartment. It contains as well

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<sup>284</sup> Isaiah Martinez, "Negotiations Just Fell Apart': Plans Stall for New Community Grocery Store in Louisville," [whas11.com](http://whas11.com), February 8, 2022.

<sup>285</sup> "Smoketown USA," Food Network, 2022.

rentable retail spaces for a café, coffee shop, and convenience store. It provides housing, the issue is at what cost, with rents in this project range from \$700 to \$1,300 per unit.<sup>286</sup>

That building offers residents units with patios, a fitness center, pool, and outdoor entertainment areas, and has to a certain extent changed the neighborhood character. This so far has been beneficial; it is now considered a very desirable place to live.<sup>287</sup> It is an apparent success financially, stopped a rapidly deteriorating building that could not be maintained without adaptive reuse generating significant revenue, and provided an anchor to revitalize the area. The most obvious potential concern is whether the original sense of the neighborhood has been lost in a detrimental manner. This project was only completed in 2016, so the timeline for community change is still in its early stages, and that question remains outstanding. However, it does provide an example of what can be accomplished, even if that example has some cautionary aspects.

That overall project cost \$23 million (about \$110 per square foot for 210,000 total square feet included in the project). Similar to the Logan Street proposal, that project also took advantage of historic tax credits, claiming 20 percent of allowable project costs, along with getting additional funding from the city of Louisville through the Louisville Affordable Housing Trust Fund. This Fund would also provide a percentage of funds to the Merchant Ice Tower project if it were executed.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>286</sup> German Mill Lofts, accessed March 23, 2022, <https://germantownmilllofts.com/>

<sup>288</sup> No exact figure is given since this is intended for example purposes only.

## Specific Two to Five Year CLA Projections

The purpose of CLA is to assist in future planning, it is a means to theoretically project outcomes to decide which has the most benefit overall, under a multi-layered analysis. In this way it attempts to avoid the pitfalls of using only one perspective, one set of stakeholder interests, one set of biases inherent in any world view. This also must be done in the context of time, as an effort of future planning. A brief view of what 801 Logan Street might become is set out above, and it is possible to estimate in a time frame of two to five years, based on certain actions.

In this brief time span, changes will be more evident on a smaller scale. As mentioned previously in the CLA method analysis, it takes much longer for permanent, large-scale change to occur. Changes in worldview and myth/metaphor changes are not presumed to be evident before a minimum of ten years, if not longer.<sup>289</sup>

### *CLA Level 1: Litany*

801 Logan Street analyzed from this first level demonstrates the problems and issues of lack of housing and unused existing commercial/industrial spaces. It is a straightforward, empirically based discussion, and the building's location provides an equally empirically based situation. By converting the space into housing, one can address not only housing availability concerns from a quantitative perspective, but also the existence of a vacant building. If this building were converted into a multi-use housing and retail space, it would also provide a

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<sup>289</sup> Sohail Inayatullah, *The Causal Layered Analysis (CLA) Reader: Theory and Case Studies of an Integrative and Transformative Methodology* (Taipei: Tamkang University Press, 2004).

location for much needed Third Spaces. Instead of being a blight on the landscape, it could become the fulcrum of long range, stable change for this part of the Smoketown neighborhood.

The announcement of an achievable plan would have a positive impact on the community almost immediately, as an improvement in the visual environment. It would also address the less obvious psychological and sociological benefits. The work on the building itself can provide jobs to the local community, as well as bringing in outside visitors and potential cash flow to the local economy for the few already existing eateries and convenience shops. These places are often owned and operated by locals in the neighborhood, and impact therefore has a double effect, commercially and personally.

After the building's completion, it would provide ongoing jobs when retail spaces and other services are opened inside the building in addition to housing. This is an important benefit of the mixed used approach. In a "best of all possible worlds" scenario, someone might live and work in the same building, reducing their transportation costs for employment, while increasing community ties. The building would serve as an important portion of the community's fabric.

The planning stage of this kind of project could take two years, depending on how aggressively it is pursued and the extent of stakeholder conflicts. Construction may take an additional three years. The result would be in five years a building that is fully established as a central part of the community. It would create community Third Spaces on the lower level, serving as a place for those in the area to come together, interact, and develop their sense of community attachment.

This would only strengthen over the years, assuming that the building is maintained, and the community continues to foster its improvement and value. It is considered that it takes three to five years for a small business to become profitable, so within this time frame if done correctly these businesses have a good chance of becoming stable neighborhood additions.<sup>290</sup>

### *CLA Level 2: System Views and Social Causes*

When looking at this building and neighborhood area from the system views and social causes, the predominating issue presented is a lack of perceived community value by those outside of the neighborhood, the social stigmatization discussed above.<sup>291</sup> The buildings on this property are seen as negatives because of their current condition, run down, damaged, and featuring quite a few broken windows, and a high crime rate.<sup>292</sup> Its appearance prevents many from seeing the potential that it has. This does not mean that it is not valued by some groups, for instance its historic residents, as the only Louisville neighborhood with a continuous African American population since the Civil War.

However, the interests of one stakeholder group are not adequate to support community development, particularly in a large multi-faceted city like Louisville, where “red lining” and related policies were and remain prevalent issues based on presumptions and biases

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<sup>290</sup> Ellis Davidson, “The Average Time to Reach Profitability in a Start up Company,” Small Business - Chron.com (Chron.com, April 9, 2019).

<sup>291</sup> Areavibes, “Smoketown Jackson, Louisville, KY,” Smoketown Jackson, KY, 2022.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.

related to world view and myth/metaphor.<sup>293</sup> Due to a lack of overall perceived value of the existing built environment, it is unlikely in any traditional urban renewal approach that a distinction will occur between tear down or renovation, provided that something is done. This conclusion is incorrectly reached because no thought or analysis is given to place attachment and related concepts as discussed throughout this treatise.

Ironically, this leads to flight by the very members of the community who would benefit the most from its re-use, creating a cycle of increasing neglect and undervaluing. These neighborhoods are at times “rescued” by “urban pioneers,” but usually at the cost of all the downside of uncontrolled gentrification. While at first the re-use and redevelopment of 801 Logan Street would not alleviate the lack of sense of place and community value for this site, the longer it exists in a beneficial way, the more people’s opinions about it change, morphing into a positive aspect of their neighborhood.

As time passes and people’s connection to the site increases as predicted with the litany analysis, 801 Logan Street would be able to affect the social views of the building, casting more of a positive light on the area, decreasing stigmatization. It is possible, especially closer to the five-year mark, that the benefits of this rejuvenated site begin to affect the community reputation and system views of the Smoketown neighborhood. Give a neighborhood a strong

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<sup>293</sup> “Redlining Louisville: Louisville Metro Open Data,” Redlining Louisville | Louisville Metro Open Data, August 29, 2020.

focal point, Archimedes' place to stand to use the fulcrum of adaptive reuse, and community value will strengthen and spread.

### Fifteen Years

The long-term perspective of world view and myth/metaphor are more influential on a broader spectrum. In the time frame of fifteen years, the Smoketown neighborhood will show the effects of changes in these CLA levels. The litany and societal analysis of 801 Logan Street will still apply, with the improved conditions noted in the two-to-five-year discussion assumed to have occurred. As community value increases, as sense of place and of value given to this area by individuals expands to a wider community view including Smoketown, earlier perspectives, and biases shift, in myth/metaphor evolution. This begins at CLA level 3.

#### *CLA Level 3: Structure and Worldview*

The third level of CLA, world view, is concerned with the deeper social and cultural structures that are not dependent on an individual. These structures are the product of individuals, who may be competing stakeholders in an adaptive reuse plan. What is going on in society becomes an external force on the individual, leading to individual changes which ultimately become a new world view. The interplay of causes and effects of an adaptive reuse for the 801 Logan Street building and on the Smoketown neighborhood overall hinge on a CLA Level 3 evolution. This must be done accurately to properly acknowledge the past and present social and cultural biases held towards the area and its desirability by those outside the neighborhood.

Simply put, whether you live in, or outside Smoketown affects your world view of the neighborhood. These views often conflict, and resolution must occur for meaningful progress under the methods proposed by this treatise for adaptive reuse. If the proposed re-use scenario of 801 Logan Street is completed, it is logical to predict that there would be some improvement on the area surrounding that site as well, extending to other areas as time passes. After a period of fifteen years, there would be the firm beginnings of an established sense of place connection for the community and its members, but there also would be acceptance of that community in a widening area. The long-held stigmatization would be halted.

It is also possible that a new generation of attachment could begin. While someone in the Smoketown community might not have any “fond childhood memories” of 801 Logan Street, their children do have that potential. This development of place fondness in the upcoming generation is key for anything to stay relevant, whether that be a business or a neighborhood. All too often, smaller towns face the threat of fading away due to an aging population with no one to keep the community vibrant and flourishing. Smoketown could prevent its everyday aesthetic from disappearing in a comparable manner if action is taken.<sup>294</sup>

Due to its central location between the districts of Downtown, NULU, and Old Louisville discussed in Chapter 3, Smoketown has the potential to be a segue between these areas. Already possessing its own distinct character, its buildings as noted earlier are now decorated in murals depicting community pride. It is home to important Third Spaces, a local farmer’s

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<sup>294</sup> Milena Nikolova, “Two Solutions to the Challenges of Population Aging,” Brookings (Brookings, July 29, 2016).

market, a park, and a popular restaurant Shirley Mae's. With the right emphasis on community connection and outreach to other neighborhoods nearby such as NULU, more places like these could be incorporated into 801 Logan and other vacant and abandoned buildings in the area.

Their use would be not only for immediate individuals, but by those in neighboring communities as well. This value by those in the community and those outside of it further develops the likelihood of Smoketown continuing to exist not only as a key part for the residents in its immediate vicinity, but also for those in Old Louisville or NULU. The world view of the community in this manner can develop to a broader myth/metaphor.

The strengthening of the connection between neighborhood groups is beneficial for many reasons, but one of the most important is that it tightens the bonds between previously separate community groups. This creates and increases the perceived value of each group's unique places and its neighborhoods, creating Louisville as a city that is much more than the sum of its parts. These connections are vital to influencing first the social views of CLA level 2, and then the world views of CLA Level 3.

### Fifty Years

This brings one to a time frame fifty years in the future and focus on myth/metaphor. The changes at lower CLA levels are now influential to individuals and society at large. The previous analysis and conclusions based on CLA levels 1-3, and their time frames are assumed to still be true but have now progressed so that 801 Logan is an established part of the Smoketown community, and the Smoketown community is an established part of Louisville overall.

CLA Level 4: Myth/metaphor

After fifty years, the importance of 801 Logan Street Center, renamed to signify its importance to the community, has become a social anchor. It is frequented by the same people many times a week, utilizing its convenience and community offerings. The local grocery store has started partnerships with area farmers to widen their own market and collaborates with the farmer's market held down the street once a month. People see the area as somewhere to visit on a sunny day and stop to grab a bite to eat on their way to their other destinations. 801 Logan now provides more than the basic services of housing and retail; it has become a vein of the community, connecting it to the heart of the city and its neighboring communities.

With a changed perception by the surrounding collective city and community members, the city would begin to host local events here, perhaps featuring Smoketown's own art show, much like the St. James Art Show of Old Louisville albeit initially smaller in scale, a tremendous economic boon the area and the city.<sup>295</sup> Growth needs to be seen in the form of new residents creating homes in the neighborhood, which will lead to further development of community valued Third Spaces. These are what will drive the narrative of Smoketown into the future. To achieve this growth, the myth/metaphor must evolve for the better, while remaining centered on its core identity. It is that core identity, held by its community stakeholders, which allows this evolution while not losing sense of place. 801 Logan will be more than just a place to live, it will become a central community hub for the area. To reference back to the early analogy of a

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<sup>295</sup> St. James Court Art Show, *Greater Louisville*, 2022.

missing city center, 801 Logan would serve as the filling for the donut hole, bringing together Smoketown and connecting it to the rest of the city.

### Community Well-Being and Our Future Selves

This hypothetical scenario highlights potential positives of revitalization based on adaptive reuse, rather than urban renewal tear down and new construction. It is an alternative to build as quickly and as cheaply as possible, to use SROs and the myriad other tried and discarded methods of solving the housing crisis. However, these solutions do not in fact solve the housing crisis, since they do not address the psychological needs previously discussed, the house versus home distinction. The very rosy forecasted future fifteen and fifty years from now may or may not occur. However, it most certainly cannot occur without a change in underlying values.

CLA contemplates a generational change, one that occurs from the inside out in every widening ripples. One building is the pebble in the pond starting that cycle, the fulcrum to move the earth is the individual and how they view both self and self in community. Discussions of aesthetics, memory, architecture, sense of place, and human psychological needs all exist side by side with economic return on investment, lack of affordable housing, crime, poverty, and broken windows. The call for action is to approach the issue of housing from a perspective that acknowledges that there necessarily will be different viewpoints, different stakeholder competing interests, challenging economics, but that after that acknowledgement nevertheless moves forward with a new approach.

Many communities, especially those that have suffered historically from segregation and disinvestment, are looking for ways to create jobs that pay well and provide a viable career path for younger workers. Individuals on a personal level are looking for a sense of place, a feeling that they belong to something large than themselves, in day-to-day life. Adaptive reuse as proposed for 801 Logan Street, could be the window into a potential future successfully addressing housing and far more. We care when we are stakeholders; we are stakeholders when we have a sense of place, when we are a community. That is the point of what has been proposed at its simplest level. As human beings we need to be invested in where we live, and where we live then becomes invested in us.

#### A Call to Action and its Practicalities

This treatise presents a call to action, but that alone is insufficient. Theory alone will not accomplish what is needed, and theory put into action will encounter roadblocks. What these might include and means of resolution is the closing section of this chapter. One of the largest and often seemingly insoluble impediments to change in world view and myth/metaphor is conflicting stakeholder interests. We may all agree that the individual's sense of place is important, but which individuals? Who prevails, the entrepreneur who sees potential in making a ski resort out of a sacred Native American site, with significant Anglo community benefits, its residents with their own sense of place, from tourism, or the Indigenous Native American inhabitants whose cultural significance, sense of place will be destroyed?

The Snow Bowl controversy in Arizona in 2018 may seem far removed from solutions to the housing crisis, but at heart it is troubled with the same issue of who prevails when interests, when “sense of place,” community factions, compete.<sup>296</sup> In OTR and Old Louisville this played out in the newspaper articles noting that economically disadvantaged residents were being winnowed out by neighborhood gentrification. There is no easy solution. But, as demonstrated by the discussion of The Fay and The Villages at Roll Hill, a keen sense of community, and community pride, can remain even if the physical aspects of a place are altered. The views of a particular community verses those outside the community frequently contain world view and myth/metaphor that seem irreconcilable. This cannot be changed by simply changing appearances.

However, to the extent that there is a solution it lies in communication, as Sherry Arnstein’s ladders of stakeholders and communication reminds us.<sup>297</sup> Arnstein’s ladder has eight steps of participation, ranging from non-participation and tokenistic to genuine engagement. The two bottom rungs are manipulation and therapy. Manipulation refers to putting stakeholders on “rubberstamp advisory committees or advisory boards” to educate them or engineer their support.<sup>298</sup> Therapy involves changing the stakeholder view of the problem. Informing, consultation and placation are weak forms of participation, and may be tokens, substantively meaningless, especially if genuine participation is promised.

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<sup>296</sup> “Indigenous Peoples Denied Access to Sacred Site as Ski Area Opens with Treated Sewage,” Navajo-Hopi Observer News, 2022.

<sup>297</sup> Sherry Arnstein, “A Ladder of Citizen Participation,” 2002.

<sup>298</sup> Arnstein, 26-32.

Although informing and consultation which often occurs through surveys, meetings and hearings are the initial first steps in genuine participation, they do not become this on their own, and handbooks to implement Arnstein's theory have developed for that purpose. At a minimum, there needs to be assurance that concerns, and views expressed will be taken seriously into account, rather than what Arnstein called "placation," where few selected individuals in opposing groups who are not accountable to the broader stakeholder group are reconciled to a proposed action.<sup>299</sup> These individuals however have neither the numbers nor the legitimacy to have influence. One needs partnership, delegated power and citizen or stakeholder control for genuine participation, involving power sharing and joint decision making.<sup>300</sup>

The goal is true partnership, shared setting of goals for action that are negotiated so all have at least some goals satisfied, and equitably delegated decision-making responsibilities through agreed upon structures and ground rules that cannot be unilateral changed. Citizen or stakeholder control exists when they initiate and oversee the research. In all cases where a community is being brought from a state of neglect to one of attention and revival, whether by adaptive reuse or other means, community transformation occurs, "sense of place" is affected. Community stakeholders, therefore, need to be involved in research design, data collection and interpretation. Arnstein published her theory in 1969, long before Inayatullah promoted CLA theory. However, the two go hand and hand in application, since to accept stakeholder

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<sup>299</sup> Arnstein, 37-38.

<sup>300</sup> Arnstein, 24.

involvement and participation is to recognize that competing positions each express in a layer of CLA, from different vantage points. It is also a path to de-stigmatization.

Housing crisis solutions require, as this treatise outlines, resolution after CLA analysis from all stakeholder perspectives, with the goal of a reconciled new inclusive perspective. While not every interest can be accommodated, the most important stakeholder concerns defining sense of self, sense of place and sense of community must be. We must be thoughtful in our decisions moving forward to avoid common pitfalls.

For instance, the potential for adding “density without demolition” is highlighted in a National Trust study of Little Havana in Miami.<sup>301</sup> Researchers found that even in this dense urban neighborhood, more than five hundred new buildings and 10,000 new residents could be added without demolishing a single structure. Similarly, a 2019 analysis of seventeen metropolitan areas by Zillow found that allowing an additional housing unit (such as an ADU) on just 10 percent of existing single family lots could yield almost 3.3 million additional housing units.<sup>302</sup> Yet, who is asking the residents of Little Havana is additional density is desirable? How much, if any, of the additional units in any cities would become homes? This is level 1 analysis only, right?

In a 2019 article, housing and community development expert Paul Brophy was direct on this point: a large percentage of existing affordable housing units are found in older

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<sup>301</sup> “Developers Eye Little Havana, Allapattah for Growth, but See Roadblocks to Development,” South Florida Agent Magazine, March 24, 2017.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

neighborhoods.<sup>303</sup> In Chicago, for example, more than half of the city's unsubsidized multifamily affordable housing units are found in "two-flats" and "four-flats" built before World War II. Many are being lost to demolition and abandonment.<sup>304</sup> As we think about future housing policy, we need to be careful that we do not focus only on production of new housing and lose sight of the vast resource of affordable housing hiding in plain sight - a resource that can have the same positive long-term impact for a fraction of the cost of building new.

Stakeholder involvement is necessarily concerned with the use of what already exists, since stakeholders are the initial source of all CLA points of view about the existing built environment and the role it plays now and in the future. In this treatise I advocate for the expanded adoption of an approach to the housing crisis that is already used, but in a fragmentary manner. Historic preservation embraces adaptive reuse, as do other projects presented in this study. However, the call to action of this thesis seeks to focus a general idea, to demonstrate the feasibility not only in selective situations lucky enough to have stakeholder support, but to advocate its practical application in a wide range of settings, in a manner that can resonate with all stakeholders, on the various levels of CLA as part of sustained future individual and community development. I hope to see adaptative reuse as the dominant world view and myth/metaphor to ease our housing crisis, as well as a tool to stop the degradation of sense of self on a personal and community level.

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<sup>303</sup> Paul Brophy, "Revitalizing American's Neighborhoods," accessed March 24, 2022, [https://penniuir.upenn.edu/uploads/media/Brophy\\_Revitalizing\\_America%E2%80%99s\\_Neighborhoods.pdf](https://penniuir.upenn.edu/uploads/media/Brophy_Revitalizing_America%E2%80%99s_Neighborhoods.pdf)

<sup>304</sup> Paul C. Brophy and Rhonda N. Smith, "Mixed-Income Housing: Factors for Success" *Cityscape* Vol. 3, No. 2, Mixed-Income Housing (1997), 3-31, Published By: US Department of Housing and Urban Development.

## AFTERWORD

As the final draft of this treatise was prepared, theory became practice with the rehabilitation of 801 Logan Street.<sup>305</sup> Local news reports that investors who recently bought the long-vacant Merchant's Ice Tower in Smoketown "envision the 13-story former cold storage building being remade with a combination of restaurant, retail or office uses on the lower floors and more than 100 apartments on the upper floors, including a rooftop gathering spot such as a bar or event venue overlooking downtown Louisville." Mitchell Kersting, a 35 year old architect and one of four partners in the redevelopment group, was interviewed, explained that he was "tired of driving or bicycling by the building and being reminded of its potential to connect Smoketown with Paristown Point, Germantown and even downtown."

How this project develops, its hypothetical changes as outlined above to world view and myth/metaphor CLA levels 3 and 4 remains in the future. However, it is the first step in that process, and an indication that the theories of this treatise not only have theoretical but also practical potential.

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<sup>305</sup> WDRB, accessed April 6, 2022, [https://www.wdrb.com/in-depth/buyer-of-long-vacant-ice-tower-in-smoketown-plans-apartments-commercial-space/article\\_090f980e-bfe5-11ea-a507-8b2574faf67a.html](https://www.wdrb.com/in-depth/buyer-of-long-vacant-ice-tower-in-smoketown-plans-apartments-commercial-space/article_090f980e-bfe5-11ea-a507-8b2574faf67a.html)

## APPENDIX A: LOUISVILLE MAP OF NEIGHBORHOODS

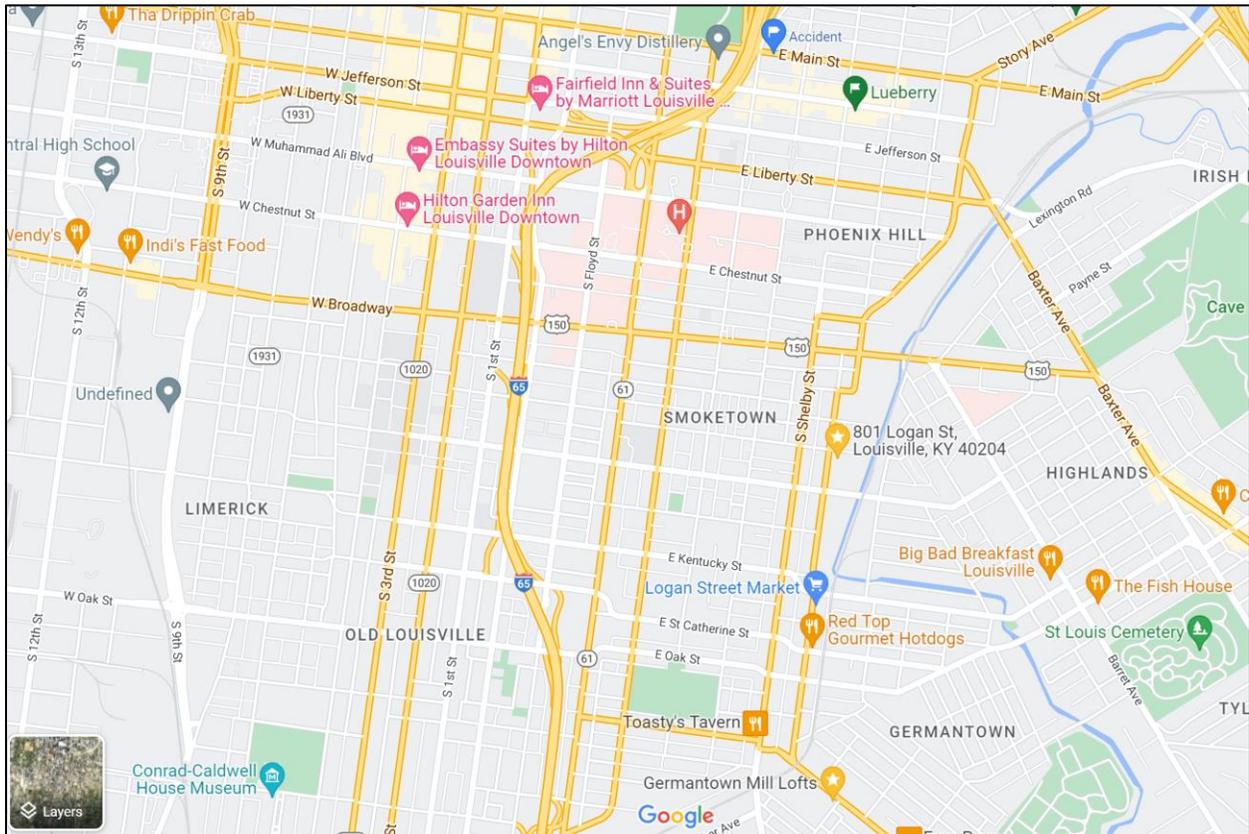


Figure 33: Map of Louisville  
Source: Google Maps

The above map shows the Limerick, Old Louisville, and Germantown neighborhoods and where they are located in relation to each other. Not Shown: NULU – area north of E. Liberty Street.

The specific locations of Germantown Mill Lofts and 801 Logan Street are marked with gold stars

APPENDIX B: CAUSAL LAYERED ANALYSIS CHART

### Causal Layered Analysis

Level	Issue / Problem	Solution	Who is responsible to fix it	Source
<b>Litany (Visible)</b>	Problem seems too difficult to solve	Short term approaches	Governments / I cant do anything about it	Television/ Newspapers
<b>Systemic (Causes)</b>	Problem because of short term historical factors or it is a process or system issue	Integrated approaches – systemic solutions	Partnerships between sectors of society – Government plus industries	Policy Journals, editorials
<b>Worldview</b>	Constituted by frame of analysis, deep structures of belief & assumption	Transform, rethink self and others, change paradigm	Writers, philosophers, those outside the dominant language	Peripheral journals,
<b>Myth / Metaphor</b>	Constituted core myths / stories	Alternative stories	Collective unconscious often guided by visions	Work of artists, visionaries,

Figure 34: Causal Layered Analysis Chart  
 Source: Shaping Tomorrow Website

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