

HOUSE HOUSING

AN UNTIMELY HISTORY
OF ARCHITECTURE
AND REAL ESTATE
IN THIRTY-ONE EPISODES

UNA HISTORIA INTEMPESTIVA
DE LA ARQUITECTURA Y LA
INVERSIÓN INMOBILIARIA EN
TREINTA Y UNO EPISODIOS

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AN INTRODUCTION

Reinhold Martin

House Housing is an exhibition developed by the Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture and installed in collaboration with the MAK Center for Art and Architecture in West Hollywood, California. Assembled by a team of researchers at Columbia University and staged as an open house, it is part of a long-term project that centers on the critical analysis of architecture's engagement with real estate development, particularly through housing. The exhibition is located in the MAK Center's Rudolph M. Schindler House, a landmark experiment in modernist domesticity designed by Schindler and built in 1922. It is accompanied by a Buell Center report, *The Art of Inequality: Architecture, Housing, and Real Estate*, as well as by on-site public programming.

House Housing offers a multimedia sample of architecture's socio-economic infrastructures, and in the process, shows some of modernity's basic facts under construction—by governments, industries, institutions, and cultures—beginning in the early twentieth century. It exposes the aesthetic and cultural roots of economic processes related to the development and circulation of wealth, while also offering a glimpse of the history and consequences of government housing policies. The exhibition's thirty-one brief episodes, running from 1910 to 2015, locate housing at the center of the current, neoliberal economic regime, with the United States as an influential node in a transnational network. This network designs and produces inequalities that are lived everywhere today.

With architecture, economics begins from the ground up. The laws of real estate—relating to the acquisition of land, the financing of construction, the cost of building maintenance and services, profit from rent or resale, the value of equity, or the price of credit—inexorably constrain any building component (like a window) or any building type (like a house). They are visible even in the residential work of such singular figures as Frank Lloyd Wright, not least because the Greek *oikos*, or household, forms the root of the word “economy” itself. But look closely and you will see that what seems fundamental, basic, or natural is, like any other law, a historical artifact subject to change.

House Housing narrates its episodes in a mixture of domestic media from across the century, from phonograph to television, answering machine to iPad, thereby converting Schindler's future-oriented vision into a whispering, humming history machine. Though they focus mainly on the continental United States, the discrete episodes are excerpts from transnational processes. As such, they address matters of universal concern, even in non-market situations. Their objects range from houses designed by figures as well known as Wright, to a seemingly ordinary gated community in Florida, to temporary shelters for migrants near the U.S.-Mexican border in Tijuana. Their untimeliness is twofold. First, these episodes return us to financial matters widely discussed in the immediate aftermath of the 2008 mortgage foreclosure crisis but now largely abandoned, by mainstream discourse, in favor of greener pastures. Second, the historical episodes, which are assembled non-chronologically, disclose surprising repetitions—of themes, tendencies, and actions. This reminds us that the economic infrastructures on which architecture rests are the outcome of such repetitions, rather than an *a priori*, natural ground.

House Housing is about those infrastructures, where “infrastructure” is defined as that which repeats. Every time we turn on the faucet, the water system repeats. Every time a house is bought or sold, the real estate system repeats. But every transaction also reconfirms and rebuilds that system, which in turn builds more houses, which, in turn, cannot be built without architectural techniques that shape them, and stories that establish their value. In this way, the laws of real estate and the laws of architecture are constituted and reconstituted together, as effortlessly as flowing water.

House Housing sets out to show how such laws are written, as repeatable stories that form dominant cultural imaginaries. The “American Dream,” closely connected to American economic power and to global housing markets, is one such story. Others running silently in the background of the exhibition include the European doctrine that transnational debt be met with national austerity, and the ambiguous slogan “capitalism with Chinese characteristics.” These stories and many like them repeat through the channels of the house and of its equally troubled companion, housing. They do so discreetly, in focus groups, home décor, congressional hearings, press commentary, garages, fireside chats, residence permits, zoning laws, and investment portfolios. Each repetition reconstitutes the law of the household—the *nomos* of “economy”—while also suggesting the possibility that next time, things could be different.

UNA INTRODUCCIÓN

Reinhold Martin

House Housing es una exhibición desarrollada por el *Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture* e instalada en colaboración con el MAK Center for Art and Architecture en West Hollywood, California. Ensamblada por un equipo de investigadores en la Universidad de Columbia y escenificada al estilo casa abierta, la misma es parte de un proyecto de largo plazo que se enfoca en el análisis crítico del compromiso de la arquitectura con el desarrollo de la especulación inmobiliaria, particularmente a través de lo pertinente a la vivienda. La exposición está ubicada en la Casa Rudolph M. Schindler del MAK Center, un punto de referencia de la domesticidad modernista experimental diseñada por Schindler y construida en 1922. La exhibición está acompañada por un informe del Buell Center, *The Art of Inequality: Architecture, Housing, and Real Estate*, junto a una programación pública in situ.

House Housing ofrece muestras multimedia de las infraestructuras socioeconómicas en la arquitectura, y en el proceso, expone algunos de los hechos básicos de la modernidad en construcción—por gobiernos, industrias, instituciones y culturas—empezando a principios del siglo XX. La exposición desenmascara las raíces culturales y estéticas de los procesos económicos relacionados al desarrollo y la circulación de capital, mientras también otea la historia y las consecuencias de las políticas gubernamentales de la vivienda. Los treinta y uno episodios breves de la exposición, que van desde 1910 a 2015, ubican el asunto de la vivienda en el centro del régimen económico neoliberal actual, teniendo a Estados Unidos como un nodo influyente en la red transnacional. Actualmente, esta red diseña y produce desigualdades que se viven alrededor del mundo.

En la arquitectura, las ciencias económicas surgen desde el principio. Las leyes de la especulación inmobiliaria—relativas a la adquisición de

tierras, el financiamiento de la construcción, el costo de mantenimiento y servicios a edificios, las ganancias adquiridas por medio de alquileres o rentas, el valor de la equidad, o el precio del crédito—inexorablemente constriñen cualquier componente de un edificio (por ejemplo, una ventana) o cualquier tipo de edificio (por ejemplo, una casa). Éstas son visibles hasta en el trabajo residencial de figuras singulares como Frank Lloyd Wright, no sólo porque la palabra de origen griego *oikos*, o casa, forma la raíz misma de la palabra “economía”. Basta con mirar detenidamente para darse cuenta que aquello que parece fundamental, básico, o natural es, como cualquier otra ley, un artefacto histórico susceptible a cambios.

House Housing narra sus episodios dentro de una mezcla de medios de comunicación nacionales usados través del siglo, desde el fonógrafo hasta la televisión, del contestador automático al “iPad”, convirtiendo la visión orientada hacia el futuro de Schindler en susurros y zumbidos de una historia viva. A pesar del enfoque en Estados Unidos continental, estos episodios discretos son extractos de procesos transnacionales. Por tanto, los mismos abordan asuntos de preocupación universal, aún en situaciones externas al mercado. Sus objetos se extienden desde casas diseñadas por figuras tan conocidas como Wright, hasta comunidades cercadas de apariencia ordinaria en Florida, hasta albergues temporeros para migrantes cerca de la frontera entre los Estados Unidos y México en Tijuana. El carácter intempestivo de los episodios es doble. Primero, estos nos regresan a asuntos financieros discutidos extensamente justo cuando ocurrió la crisis de las ejecuciones hipotecarias de 2008, pero que ahora han sido descuidados por discursos de la corriente principal que favorecen visiones más optimistas. Segundo, los episodios históricos, ensamblados fuera del orden cronológico, revelan repeticiones sorprendentes—de temas, tendencias y acciones. Nos recuerdan que las infraestructuras sobre las cuales se apoya la arquitectura son el resultado de dichas repeticiones, en vez de un fundamento natural a priori.

House Housing trata sobre esas infraestructuras, el término “infraestructura” definido como aquello que se repite. Cada vez que abrimos el grifo, el sistema de agua se repite. Cada vez que una casa es vendida o comprada, el sistema de especulación inmobiliaria se repite. No obstante, cada transacción también reconfirma y reconstruye el sistema, que a su vez construye casas, las cuales, a su vez, no pueden ser construidas sin las técnicas arquitectónicas que las forman, junto a las historias que establecen su valor. De esta forma, las leyes de la especulación inmobiliaria y las leyes de la arquitectura se constituyen y reconstituyen juntamente, sin esfuerzo alguno, como agua que fluye.

House Housing se propone mostrar como estas leyes son escritas, por medio de historias repetitivas que crean el imaginario cultural dominante. El “sueño americano,” íntimamente conectado al poder económico americano y al mercado global de la vivienda, es uno de estos cuentos. Otros que corren silenciosamente en el fondo de la exposición incluyen la doctrina europea que predica la austeridad nacional como el remedio para las deudas transnacionales y el eslogan ambiguo “capitalismo de carácter chino.” Todos estos cuentos y muchos otros similares se repiten en la travesía de la casa y de su compañera igualmente desventurada, la vivienda. Ocurre de manera discreta, en grupos de enfoque, la decoración del hogar, las audiencias del Congreso, los comentarios de la prensa, los garajes, las charlas informales, los permisos de residencia, las leyes de zonifica-

ción y las carteras de inversión. Cada repetición reconstituye la ley de la casa—el *nomos* de “economía”—mientras sugiere, a su vez, la posibilidad de cambio en una ocasión futura.

A GUIDE

Jacob Moore and Susanne Schindler

This small publication serves a threefold purpose. First, it is a reverse-chronological guide to an exhibition organized non-chronologically. In the exhibition, artifacts in the form of presidential sound bites, marketing video clips, and legal documents, among others, are displayed to suggest that key debates and actions concerning everything from regulation of land use to the choice of building style in housing have not proceeded in a linear fashion, but have repeated with astonishing frequency across the last century. We have clustered episodes to highlight certain similarities, and each artifact is labeled with a year corresponding to its page in the pamphlet and indicating its central point of focus.

Second, the pamphlet provides a succinct textual summary of each episode. The headlines are kept in the present tense, emphasizing that decisions from across the last century pertaining to policy, design, and finance continue to shape the architecture of housing today. Often, the pamphlet texts and episode artifacts relate indirectly. The architecture of a Brazilian housing program may be visible only as part of a video pitched to potential investors, while the racial dimensions of a U.S. housing policy (well-illustrated through architectural drawings) is addressed through a newspaper clipping. These feedback loops between artifacts and pamphlet texts are meant to envelop viewers in a history of architecture and real estate that continuously reveals itself in the housing that surround us.

Finally, the pamphlet serves as a bridge between the exhibition's immersive, necessarily fragmentary nature and the wide-ranging body of research that provided the basis for the episodes included therein. Works referenced in footnotes provided team members with the key sources for their writing; those in Further Reading suggest a broader, perhaps less obvious intellectual framework in which to see the summaries provided here. Further context for the exhibition can be found on house-housing.com, where some of the project's other components—from additional exhibitions to panel discussions to publications—can be viewed in more detail.

UNA GUÍA

Jacob Moore y Susanne Schindler

Ésta pequeña publicación sirve para tres propósitos. Primero, es una guía cronológicamente inversa a una exhibición organizada fuera de un orden cronológico. En la exposición, artefactos en forma de fragmentos sonoros de discursos presidenciales, fragmentos de videos de mercadeo, documentos legales, entre otros, están desplegados para sugerir que debates y acciones acerca de todo desde la regulación del uso de tierras hasta las decisiones de estilos de construcción para viviendas no han procedido de forma lineal, sino que se han repetido con una frecuencia sorprendente a lo largo de este último siglo. Hemos agrupado episodios para resaltar ciertas similitudes, y cada artefacto está etiquetado con un año que corresponde a su página en el folleto e indica su punto central de enfoque.

Segundo, el folleto provee un resumen textual sucinto de cada episodio. Los titulares se mantienen en tiempo presente, insistiendo en que las decisiones hechas en el último siglo pertenecientes a políticas, diseños y finanzas continúan dando forma a la arquitectura de la vivienda en la

actualidad. Con frecuencia, el texto del folleto y los artefactos del episodio se relacionan indirectamente. La arquitectura de un programa de vivienda brasileña puede ser visible sólo como parte de un video destinado a inversionistas potenciales, mientras que las dimensiones raciales de una política de vivienda estadounidense, bien ilustrado por medio de dibujos arquitectónicos, son dirigidas mediante un recorte de periódico. Estas retroalimentaciones circulares entre artefactos y textos del folleto suponen envolver a los espectadores en una historia de la arquitectura y la especulación inmobiliaria que se manifiesta continuamente en las viviendas que nos rodean.

Finalmente, el folleto sirve como un puente entre la naturaleza de inmersión y fragmentación necesaria de la exhibición y el amplio cuerpo de investigación que proveyó la base para los episodios incluidos aquí. Trabajos referenciados en las notas al pie le proveyeron fuentes claves a los miembros del equipo en sus escritos; aquellos en “Further Reading” sugieren un marco intelectual de trabajo más amplio y quizás menos obvio en el cual se pueden ver los resúmenes previstos aquí. Contexto adicional para la exhibición puede ser hallado en house-housing.com, donde algunos de los otros componentes del proyecto—desde exposiciones adicionales, hasta paneles de discusión, hasta publicaciones—pueden ser vistos con más detalle.

FIRE DESTROYS NEW JERSEY APARTMENT COMPLEX FOR A SECOND TIME

Event Highlights Distance between REIT’s Owners and Occupants

In January 2015, plumbers working in an Edgewater, New Jersey apartment complex sparked a fire. Over several hours, the flames spread through the structure’s lightweight truss construction, destroying 240 apartments and displacing over 1000 residents.¹ Fifteen years earlier, in August 2000, ruptured gas lines had transformed the same building—then under construction—into a blaze that spread across the street, destroying nine neighboring homes. The project’s developer and owner, AvalonBay, is structured as a Real Estate Investment Trust (REIT). The REIT model allows shareholders access to diversified portfolios of income-producing properties. At the time of its introduction in 1960, the REIT was hailed as a democratization of real estate investment. Half a century later, a new form of absentee ownership generates revenue from increasingly abstract property, and further distances investors’ risks from the risks faced by its occupants.

FUEGO DESTRUYE COMPLEJO DE APARTAMENTOS EN NUEVA JERSEY POR SEGUNDA VEZ

El evento resalta la distancia entre los dueños del REIT y los ocupantes

En enero de 2015, unos plomeros trabajando en un complejo de apartamentos en Edgewater, Nueva Jersey, provocaron un incendio. Luego de varias horas, las llamas se esparcieron a través de la estructura compuesta de cerchas livianas de la construcción, destruyendo 240 apartamentos y desplazando más de 1000 residentes.¹ Quince años atrás, en agosto de 2000, líneas de gas averiadas transformaron el mismo edificio, en aquel momento en proceso de construcción, en una llamarada que se propagó hasta el otro lado de la calle, destruyendo nueve casas vecinas. El desarrollador del proyecto y dueño, AvalonBay, está estructurado como un Fondo de Inversiones Inmobiliarias (*Real Estate Investment Trust*, o REIT, en inglés). El modelo del REIT permite que hasta inversionistas pequeños tengan acceso a portafolios diversificados de propiedades generadoras de ganancias, y fue aclamado como la democratización de las inversiones de bienes raíces en el momento de su inauguración en 1960. Medio siglo más tarde, ingresos derivados de propiedades cada vez más abstractas han creado una nueva forma de propietario ausente que promueve el distanciamiento entre los inversionistas y los riesgos que enfrentan los habitantes.

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2015

VIOLENCE ENTERS A GATED COMMUNITY

Teenager is Shot and Killed in The Retreat at Twin Lakes

On the night of February 26, 2012, Trayvon Martin, a seventeen-year-old African-American high school student, was shot and killed by George Zimmerman, a Hispanic neighborhood watch coordinator, as Martin walked from a nearby 7-Eleven to his father's fiancé's house. That house is in a gated community in Sanford, Florida. The enclave consists of 263 two-story, 1400-square foot townhouses that sold at an average of \$250,000 upon completion in 2004; after the 2008 foreclosure crisis, the average value of these homes dropped to below \$100,000. At the time of the shooting, forty properties in the enclave were unoccupied and more than half of its remaining residents were renting.²

LA VIOLENCIA IRRUMPE UNA COMUNIDAD CERCADA

Adolescente es Asesinado a Disparos en “El Refugio de los Lagos Gemelos”

En la noche del 26 de febrero de 2012, Trayvon Martin, un estudiante de escuela superior afroamericano de unos diecisiete años, fue asesinado a disparos por George Zimmerman, un coordinador de vigilancia de barrio de descendencia hispana, mientras Martin caminaba de un “7 Eleven” cercano hacia la casa de la prometida de su padre. Esa casa se encuentra en una comunidad cercada en Sanford, Florida. El enclave consiste de 263 casas de dos niveles con 1400 pies cuadrados que se vendían en el 2004 a un promedio de \$250,000 una vez completadas; luego de la crisis de desahucios del 2008, el costo promedio de estos hogares se redujo a menos de \$100,000. En el momento del tiroteo, cuarenta propiedades del enclave estaban desocupadas y más de la mitad de los residentes restantes estaban alquilando.²

IMAGE/IMAGEN

“Check Out This Birds-Eye View Of The Area Where Trayvon Martin Was Killed.” *Business Insider Australia*, July 13, 2012. Released as part of Prosecutor's case. Accessed April 2, 2014. <http://www.businessinsider.com.au/george-zimmerman-evidence-release-2012-7#up-close-and-personal-with-the-neighborhood-of-townhouses-apparently-in-the-gated-community-where-martin-died-12>.

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CONSTRUCTION IN KANGBASHI NEW DISTRICT GRINDS TO A HALT

Housing Prices Plummet as Local Economy Slows and Debtors Default

In 2004, the City Government of Ordos decided to use its tax revenues to develop three new districts.³ Its goal was to diversify the coal extraction-based economy of Inner Mongolia and spur further growth.⁴ Given the volatility of Chinese stock markets, low interest rates, capital controls, and inconsistently applied tax laws inhibiting individual overseas investment, stable investment opportunities were limited.⁵ Real estate seemed a safe harbor for newly acquired wealth.⁶ Construction began in 2004 on the lead district, Kangbashi New District, designed to accommodate one million new residents.⁷ Despite rapid construction, economic and demographic growth failed to take hold. In 2011, construction of new housing entered a hiatus as prices plummeted.⁸ Along with the coal-based economy's slowdown, this bursting bubble spurred mass defaults on the large construction debt, resulting in a municipal credit crisis.⁹ The same year, the government began relocating farmers from rural areas to the new district, hoping to spur the economic growth that market forces had failed to produce.¹⁰

CONSTRUCCIÓN EN EL NUEVO DISTRITO DE KANGBASHI CORRE CON DIFICULTAD HASTA DETERNERSE

Precios de viviendas caen en picada mientras economía local ralentiza y deudores incumplen pagos

En 2004, el Gobierno de la Ciudad de Ordos decidió usar sus ingresos tributarios para desarrollar tres nuevos distritos.³ Su meta era diversificar la economía basada en la extracción de carbón del interior de Mongolia y estimular el crecimiento.⁴ Dada la volatilidad de la bolsa de valores china, tasas de interés bajo, controles de capital y la aplicación inconsistente de leyes de impuestos inhibiendo inversiones de individuos en el extranjero, las oportunidades de inversión estables eran limitadas.⁵ La inversión inmobiliaria parecía como un posible puerto seguro para riquezas recién adquiridas.⁶ La construcción comenzó en 2004 en el distrito cabeza, el Nuevo Distrito de Kangbashi, diseñado para acomodar un millón de residentes nuevos.⁷ A pesar de la construcción rápida, el crecimiento económico y demográfico no logró afianzarse. En 2011, la construcción de nuevos complejos de vivienda se estancó a medida que los precios se desplomaban.⁸ Junto a la ralentización de la economía basada en la extracción de carbón, este estallido de la burbuja espoleó incumplimiento de pagos masivos en la gran deuda de la construcción, resultando en una crisis de crédito municipal.⁹ El mismo año, el gobierno empezó a reubicar agricultores de las áreas rurales hacia el nuevo distrito, anhelando estimular el crecimiento económico que las fuerzas del mercado habían fallado en producir.

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IMAGE/IMAGEN

Lewis Tsurumaki Lewis takes part in the Ordos 100. Snapshots. January, 2008. Images courtesy of Lewis Tsurumaki Lewis.

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2012

2011

BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT LAUNCHES *MINHA CASA, MINHA VIDA*

World Bank Endorses the Program While Urging a Greater Role for the Private Sector

In 2009, the Brazilian government launched an extensive housing program aimed at addressing the housing deficit while providing stimulus in the wake of a recession. The program provides new housing in large-scale tract developments on the outskirts of cities to those previously living in the most precarious conditions, and apartment developments for lower- and middle-class Brazilians in more urban settings. In 2010, the World Bank published reports expressing enthusiasm for the program's general premise.¹¹ However, in alignment with US policy, the global institution also advocated for the expansion of national and international private lenders' participation in these home-financing programs, along with the privatization of the loans' then- government-backed guarantees.

GOBIERNO BRASILEÑO LANZA EL PROGRAMA *MINHA CASA, MINHA VIDA*

El Banco Mundial Apoya el Programa Mientras Urge un Papel Mayor del Sector Privado

En 2009, el gobierno brasileño lanzó un programa de vivienda extenso con el fin de atender el déficit de vivienda mientras proveía un estímulo durante el periodo de recesión. El programa provee viviendas para aquellos bajo las condiciones más precarias en el tracto de desarrollos de gran escala a las afueras de las ciudades y el desarrollo de apartamentos para las clases medias y trabajadoras brasileñas en marcos más urbanos. En 2010, el Banco Mundial publicó informes expresando entusiasmo por la premisa general del programa.¹¹ No obstante, en alineación con la política estadounidense, la institución global también propugnó la expansión de la participación de prestadores privados nacionales e internacionales en estos programas de financiamiento de casas, junto a la privatización de las garantías de los préstamos, que en aquel momento eran respaldadas por el gobierno.

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DWELL MAGAZINE CLAIMS A NEW FRONTIER Editors Trace a Course "From the Robie House to Our House"

In October 2000, San Francisco–based *Dwell* magazine released its first issue into an atmosphere of changing American cities. At this height of the dot-com boom, a search for simpler yet more stylish forms of living went hand in hand with gentrification, effectively relocating the frontier of development for the American house from suburban to urban areas. Under the umbrella of "home," *Dwell* published stories not covered by other shelter magazines, including "pre-fab," "sustainable," and "small" projects, offering a newly urbanizing demographic ways to distinguish themselves with their first, and often second, home.

LA REVISTA DWELL RECLAMA UNA NUEVA FRONTERA

Editores trazan una línea "De la Casa Robie a nuestra casa"

En octubre de 2000, la revista *Dwell*, con sede en San Francisco, lanzó su primera edición dentro de un ambiente de cambio en las ciudades americanas. A estas alturas del auge "punto-com", una búsqueda por maneras más sencillas pero aún más estímulas de vivir fue de la mano con la gentrificación, efectivamente reubicando la frontera de desarrollo para la casa americana de áreas suburbanas a áreas urbanas. Bajo el paraguas de "casa", *Dwell* publicó historias no cubiertas por otras revistas de hogares, incluyendo proyectos "pre-fab", "sostenibles" y "pequeños", ofreciéndole a una población recién urbanizada formas para distinguirse con su primera, y con frecuencia segunda, casa.

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ST. LOUIS SUBURB COMMISSIONS “VISION 2015 PLAN”

Housing Components Fall Short of Goals

In June 1995, the City Council of Ferguson, Missouri, set thirteen objectives to improve the quality of life in the town over the next two decades, ranging from better fire department facilities to cosmetic improvements of homes and neighborhoods. With a 1998 update to the plan, the city began to regulate and enforce home appearances in an attempt to improve Ferguson’s reputation, draw more residents, and raise home values.¹² Two decades later, the town still lacks most of the improvements set forth in the vision plan, and average home values are about half their pre-2008 levels. Low prices have attracted investors in the rental-backed securities market. Today, many single-family homes in Ferguson are being rented by these investors to Section 8 voucher holders and other low-income families at prices matching the average for Saint Louis County, in spite of market values well below this average.¹³ In 2014, Ferguson gained international attention as a segregated, impoverished community following the shooting of unarmed African-American teenager Michael Brown.

SUBURBIO EN ST. LOUIS COMISIONA EL “VISION 2015 PLAN”

Componentes de vivienda no alcanzan las metas

En Junio de 1995, el Ayuntamiento de Ferguson, Missouri estableció trece objetivos para mejorar la calidad de vida en el pueblo, desde mejoras a las facilidades del cuerpo de bomberos hasta mejoras en la apariencia de casas y barrios. En una actualización al plan en 1998, la ciudad creó incentivos para mejorar la reputación de Ferguson con la intención de atraer más residentes e incrementar el valor de las casas.¹² Dos décadas más tarde, el pueblo aún carece de la mayoría de las mejoras expuestas en el plan visionario, dejando el valor promedio de las viviendas a la mitad de su costo antes de la crisis del 2008. Dado los precios bajos, inversionistas de bienes raíces notaron el potencial del área para participar dentro de mercados asegurados de alquiler con respaldo. Muchas casas unifamiliares actualmente están siendo alquiladas a titulares de bono de la Sección 8 y a otras familias de bajo ingreso a precios parejos con el promedio del condado de Saint Louis, a pesar de sus valores reales muy por debajo del promedio.¹³ En 2014, Ferguson recibió la atención mediática internacional como una comunidad empobrecida y segregada debido al tiroteo contra Michael Brown, un adolescente afroamericano desarmado.

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FEDERAL HOUSING POLICY MEETS LOCAL RESISTANCE

New Urbanists’ Arrival Postponed on Far Rockaway

In 1994, the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) submitted a HOPE VI planning grant application to the US Department of Housing and Urban Development. The grant application, awarded in 1995, helped procure \$70 million to find the replacement of the 41st Street towers with new low-rise, mixed-income housing.¹⁴ After the project reached an impasse with residents, the funds were transferred to other NYCHA properties on Far Rockaway. An acute housing shortage prevented the Housing Authority from demolishing structurally sound buildings. Instead, modifications for code compliance were made.¹⁵ In 2002, \$225 million additional HOPE VI dollars were shifted to the nearby Arverne Urban Renewal Area. Benjamin-Beechwood LLC was chosen to build Arverne By The Sea, a 90 percent market-rate New Urbanist enclave designed by EE&K, a Perkins Eastman Company. The 127-acre, city-owned parcel was sold to the developers for merely \$8.6 million.¹⁶

POLÍTICA FEDERAL DE LA VIVIENDA ENFRENTA RESISTENCIA LOCAL El Arribo de los Nuevo Urbanistas es Pospuesto en Far Rockaway

En 1994, la Autoridad de la Vivienda de la Ciudad de Nueva York (New York City Housing Authority, o NYCHA, en inglés) sometió una aplicación para la concesión de planificación “HOPE VI” al Departamento de Vivienda y Desarrollo Urbano de E.E.U.U. La aplicación para la concesión, galardonado en 1995, ayudó obtener \$70 millones para financiar el reemplazo de las torres de Beach 41st Street con nuevas viviendas de poca altura y de ingresos mixtos.¹⁴ Luego de que el proyecto alcanzara un punto muerto con los residentes, los fondos fueron transferidos a otras propiedades de la NYCHA en Far Rockaway. Una escasez aguda de complejos de vivienda impidió que la Autoridad de la Vivienda demoliera edificios estructuralmente estables. Por el contrario, se hicieron modificaciones al código de cumplimiento.¹⁵ En 2002, unos \$225 millones de dólares “HOPE VI” adicionales fueron transferidos al Área de Renovación Urbana Arverne. La Benjamin-Beechwood LLC fue escogida para construir “Arverne by the Sea,” un enclave Nuevo Urbanista a 90 por ciento de la tasa del mercado diseñado por EE&K, una Compañía Perkins Eastman. La parcela de 127 acres perteneciente a la ciudad fue vendida a los desarrolladores por sólo \$8.6 millones.¹⁶

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CHINESE CITIZENS RECEIVE US VISAS BY FUNDING JOB CREATION

EB-5 Program Undergirds Construction in San Francisco

In 1990, Congress moved to allot 10,000 newly created visas per year to foreign “entrepreneurs” seeking permanent resident status whose investment could be demonstrated to create 10 or more jobs.¹⁷ The majority of these visas have been awarded to Chinese nationals, and California benefits more than any other state with investments that totaled over \$440 million in 2014 alone.¹⁸ One project to receive funding through the program is a new residential tower at 1545 Pine Street in San Francisco, designed by the Miami-based firm Arquitectonica. It is located just north of the Tenderloin District, a neighborhood described as “raw” and “not for the faint of heart” by the vacation rental site AirBnB.¹⁹ The new tower will include a ground level art gallery and retail space in addition to over 100 apartments, only 12 percent of which will be sold below market rates.²⁰

CIUDADANOS CHINOS RECIBEN VISAS ESTADOUNIDENSES POR MEDIO DE FONDOS DE CREACIÓN DE EMPLEOS

Programa EB-5 Asegura Construcción en San Francisco

En 1990, el Congreso se activó para asignar 10,000 visas recién creadas por año a “empresarios” extranjeros buscando el estatus de residente permanente que pudiesen demostrar que sus inversiones generarían 10 o más empleos.¹⁷ La mayoría de estas visas han sido otorgadas a nacionales chinos y California se beneficia más que cualquier otro estado con inversiones que sobrepasaron los \$440 millones únicamente en 2014.¹⁸ Un proyecto que recibirá fondos por medio del programa es una nueva torre residencial en 1545 Pine Street en San Francisco, diseñada por la firma Arquitectonica basada en Miami. Está localizada justo al norte del Distrito Tenderloin, un barrio descrito como “crudo” y “no apto para corazones débiles” por la página de alquileres vacacionales AirBnB.¹⁹ La nueva torre incluirá una galería de arte y espacio comercial en el nivel de suelo en adición a sobre 100 apartamentos, de los cuales sólo 12 por ciento serán vendidos por debajo de las tasas del mercado.²⁰

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LA CASA DEL MIGRANTE OPENS ITS DOORS IN TIJUANA

Missionaries Found Shelter for Migrants, Deportees, and Refugees in Response to State Inaction

In April of 1987, the “Misioneros de San Carlos Borromeo Scalabrinianos” opened their first permanent establishment amidst a growing wave of migrants in Tijuana, Mexico, funded mostly through in-kind and financial donations by individuals and nongovernmental organizations.²¹ The newly constructed courtyard building provides lodging for up to 14 days, with the capacity to attend to as many as 140 people at any given time. The Misioneros claim that the indifference, inability, or open complicity of the authorities has made it impossible for those they serve to live with dignity, forcing pursuit of the “American Dream” in the United States.²² To date, this first “Casa del Migrante” has received more than 240,000 migrants from Mexico, Central America, and other Latin-American countries, many of which are still struggling with the ravages of civil war. In the past five years, around 85 percent of its guests were deportees from the United States of America.²³

LA CASA DEL MIGRANTE ABRE SUS PUERTAS EN TIJUANA

Misioneros fundan albergue para migrantes, deportados y refugiados en respuesta a la inacción estatal

En abril de 1987, los Misioneros de San Carlos Borromeo Scalabrinianos abrieron su primer establecimiento permanente en medio de la creciente ola de migrantes en Tijuana, México, financiado mayormente por donaciones de individuos y organizaciones no gubernamentales.²¹ El edificio de patio central recién construido provee alojamiento hasta 14 días, con la capacidad de atender hasta 140 personas en cualquier momento dado. Los Misioneros reclaman que la indiferencia, inhabilidad o complicidad abierta de las autoridades ha hecho imposible que aquellas personas quienes resguardan puedan vivir con dignidad, obligándoles a la búsqueda del “sueño americano” en los Estados Unidos.²² Hasta la fecha, esta primera Casa del Migrante ha recibido más de 240,000 migrantes de México, Centroamérica y otros países latinoamericanos, muchos de los cuales aún luchan contra los estragos de la guerra civil. En los pasados cinco años, alrededor de un 85 por ciento de los huéspedes ya han sido deportados de los Estados Unidos de América.²³

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FEDERAL LOW-INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT APPROVED

Enterprise Foundation Seeks to Reconcile Purpose with Profit

Given the Nixon-era end of direct federal support for the construction of low- and moderate-income housing, a variety of non-profit groups began to fill the gap.²⁴ Faith-based Jubilee Housing's efforts in Washington, DC, caught the attention of developer James Rouse, known for his "festival marketplace" malls.²⁵ Realizing that the tax write-offs connected to housing development were of no value to tax-exempt non-profits, he successfully lobbied Congress to institute their transfer to for-profit corporations who would invest in these projects. Rouse's Enterprise Foundation subsequently began managing what has become the main source of funding for low-income housing construction in the United States,²⁶ while providing substantial returns for its investors—especially because most housing built through the LIHTC returns to market rate after a limited period of time.²⁷

APROBACIÓN DEL CRÉDITO FISCAL FEDERAL DE VIVIENDAS DE BAJO INGRESO

Enterprise Foundation Busca Reconciliar Propósito con Ganancia

Dado el fin del apoyo directo federal para la construcción de vivienda de ingresos moderados y bajos durante la era de Nixon, una variedad de grupos sin fines de lucro comenzaron a rellenar la brecha.²⁴ Los esfuerzos basados en fe de "Jubilee Housing" en Washington, DC, llamaron la atención del desarrollador James Rouse, conocido por sus centros comerciales "Festival Marketplace."²⁵ Dándose cuenta que las cancelaciones de impuestos conectados al desarrollo de vivienda no eran de valor a organizaciones sin fines de lucro con exenciones de impuestos, Rouse presionó exitosamente al Congreso a instituir las mismas ventajas fiscales a corporaciones con fines de lucro que invertirían en estos proyectos. La Fundación Enterprise de Rouse consiguientemente empezó a administrar lo que se ha convertido en la fuente principal de fondos para la construcción de vivienda de bajo ingreso en los Estados Unidos,²⁶ mientras provee devoluciones sustanciales a sus inversionistas—especialmente porque la mayoría de las viviendas construidas mediante el "Federal Low-Income Housing Tax Credit" (Crédito Fiscal Federal de Viviendas de Bajo Ingreso) regresan a tasas de mercado luego de un periodo límite de tiempo.²⁷

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ARCHITECT DISASSEMBLES THE SUBURBAN HOME

Santa Monica House Evolves from Eyesore to Icon

In the late 1970s, for a mere \$260,000, Frank Gehry purchased and remodeled a pink 1920s clapboard bungalow for his own use.²⁸ He wrapped the old house in panels of corrugated metal, chain link fence, and plywood, jammed tilted glass cubes onto the sides, and stripped the walls and roof down to their frames, beams, and rafters—leaving only the home's hearth untouched. The resulting rough, collage-like feel both celebrated and critiqued the most ubiquitous of American structures. A source of neighborhood tension upon completion, the building has in recent years contributed to the neighborhood's rising property values.

ARQUITECTO DESMONTA LA CASA SUBURBANA

Casa en Santa Mónica Evolucionada de Monstruosidad a Icono

Al final de los años setenta, con unos meros \$260,000, Frank Gehry compró y remodeló un bungalow de tablillas rosadas de los años veinte para su propio uso.²⁸ Gehry envolvió la vieja casa con paneles de metal corrugado, cerca de alambre y madera contrachapada, insertó cubos de vidrio inclinados a los lados y despojó las paredes y techo dejando sólo sus marcos y vigas, manteniendo intacta únicamente el área hogareña. La resultante sensación quebrada tipo collage tanto celebraba como criticaba la más ubicua de las estructuras americanas. Fuente de tensión en el barrio una vez completada, la casa ha contribuido en años recientes al incremento de valores de propiedad en el barrio mismo.

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1978

“MANUFACTURED” SUPERSEDES “MOBILE” New Code to Establish Trailers as Viable Housing Option

In 1976, the Department of Housing and Urban Development introduced federal standards for the construction and safety of factory-built, transportable housing units. The HUD Code reflected the recognition, evident in the name change, that this popular, privately produced, unsubsidized form of low-cost housing could no longer be dismissed as merely providing temporary shelter.²⁹ The regulations attempted to resolve a problem that had contributed to the failure of earlier HUD programs promoting industrialized housing production: the lack of uniformity between state and local construction codes.³⁰ By legitimating the 14-by-60-foot modules, the code also facilitated access to federal mortgage insurance under certain circumstances. The legal ambiguity of a home more often categorized as “personal property” than as “real estate” and the precarious financial situation resulting from poorly regulated lending practices were, however, left unresolved.³¹

LO “FABRICADO” SUPLANTA LO “MÓVIL” Nuevo Código Estipula las Caravanas como Opción Viable de Vivienda

En 1976, el Departamento de la Vivienda y Desarrollo Urbano (Department of Housing and Urban Development, o HUD, en inglés) introdujo estándares federales para la construcción y la seguridad de unidades de vivienda transportables construidos en fábricas. El Código del HUD refleja el reconocimiento, evidente en el cambio de nombre, de que este tipo de vivienda sin subsidio, de bajo costo, popular y de producción privada, ya no podía ser descontada como una mera solución de albergue temporal.²⁹ Las regulaciones intentaron resolver el problema que había contribuido al fallo de programas del HUD anteriores que promocionaban la producción industrializada de viviendas: la carencia de uniformidad entre los códigos del estado y de la construcción local.³⁰ Por medio de la legitimación de módulos de 14 por 60 pies, y bajo ciertas circunstancias, el código también facilitaba el acceso a seguros de hipotecas federales. La ambigüedad legal de una casa categorizada más frecuentemente como “propiedad personal” que como “bien inmobiliario” y la situación precaria financiera resultante de prácticas “de préstamos mal reguladas permanecieron sin solución.”³¹

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CO-OPERATORS WITHHOLD CARRYING CHARGES FOR NINE MONTHS

Residents Join Ranks to Fight for Continued Affordability in High-Rise Enclave

With over 15,000 apartments in thirty towers, Co-op City in the Bronx is the largest planned urban community ever realized in the United States. It is also the largest non-profit, resident-controlled cooperative development in the world.³² Despite offering quality dwellings far below market prices, Co-op City has been criticized since its inception in 1966 for the scale and uniformity of its design, isolation from the existing city, exclusion of lower-income residents, and the amount of public subsidies required for its operation. The nine-month “rent strike,” which succeeded in keeping costs low in the face of rising energy prices, would also mark the model’s demise: political support for new cooperative developments did not survive the mid-1970s.

COOPERADORES SE NIEGAN A PAGAR LA RENTA POR NUEVE MESES

Residentes se Unen a las Filas para Luchar por Asequibilidad Continua en Enclave Elevado

Con más de 15,000 apartamentos distribuidos en treinta torres, Co-op City, situado en el Bronx, es la comunidad urbana planificada más grande que se ha realizado en los Estados Unidos. Adicionalmente, es el desarrollo cooperativo sin fines de lucro controlado por residentes más grande del mundo.³² A pesar de ofrecer viviendas de calidad a precios mucho más bajos que los del mercado, Co-op City ha sido criticado desde su inicio en 1966 por la escala y uniformidad de su diseño, el aislamiento del resto de la ciudad existente, la exclusión de residentes de bajo ingreso y la cantidad de subsidios públicos requeridos para su operación. La huelga de alquiler de nueve meses, la cual logró mantener los costos bajos frente a la subida de precios energéticos, marcaría también la caída del modelo: el apoyo político para nuevos desarrollos cooperativos no sobrevivió los mediados de los años setenta.

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1976

1975

NIXON DECLARES MORATORIUM ON HOUSING ASSISTANCE

Wave of Section 235 Foreclosures Cited as One Cause

Passed as part of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 under President Lyndon Johnson, the Section 235 program promoted low-income home ownership by providing low-rate mortgages to developers and subsidies to homebuyers. The program's lax oversight, however, allowed speculative developers to resell poorly renovated homes in inner cities to unsuspecting households.³³ Many of these new homes were soon abandoned. The result was a \$2 billion loss for the federal government.³⁴ Anticipating this outcome, Senator Charles H. Percy of Illinois conceived the National Home Ownership Foundation (NHOFF) in 1968 to monitor Section 235. Though they were both Republicans, Percy was known to disagree over many issues with President Nixon, who succeeded Johnson.³⁵ When Percy voted against Nixon's Safeguard Anti Ballistic Missile System in 1969, Nixon shut the NHOFF down. In 1973, Nixon placed an 18-month moratorium on all federally funded housing construction programs.

NIXON ANUNCIA MORATORIA A LA ASISTENCIA DE VIVIENDA

Ola de desahucios de la Sección 235 citada como una de las causas

La Sección 235, un programa para promover propiedades de vivienda de bajo ingreso por medio de hipotecas de tasa baja para desarrolladores y subsidios para compradores de vivienda, fue aprobada como parte del "Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968" (Acta de la Vivienda y Desarrollo Urbano de 1968) bajo el presidente Lyndon Johnson. Debido a la falta de supervisión, muchas de las casas en las ciudades del interior renovadas por desarrolladores especulativos, luego revendidas a familias desprevenidas, eran de tan mala calidad que en poco tiempo fueron abandonadas por los nuevos propietarios³³, resultando en una pérdida de \$2 billones para el gobierno federal.³⁴ Este resultado había sido anticipado. En 1968, el "National Home Ownership Foundation" (NHOFF) (Fundación Nacional de la Propiedad de la Vivienda) fue concebido por el senador Charles H. Percy de Illinois como un cuerpo regulador que monitorearía la Sección 235. A pesar de que ambos eran republicanos, era conocimiento común que Percy y el presidente Nixon, que siguió a Johnson, discrepaban en muchos asuntos.³⁵ Cuando Percy votó en contra del "Safeguard Anti Ballistic Missile System" (Sistema de Salvaguardia Anti Misiles Balísticos) de Nixon en 1969, Nixon cerró el NHOFF. En 1973, Nixon colocó una moratoria de 18 meses sobre todos los programas de construcción de vivienda con financiamiento federal.

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OIL MAGNATE'S HOUSTON NEW TOWN TO SHAPE GROWTH THROUGH SCIENCE

Hires *Design with Nature* Author Ian McHarg to Create Hydrology-Driven Master Plan

George Mitchell's goal for The Woodlands was to create an alternative to urban blight and suburban sprawl, a sustainable and socially integrated environment for living and working for up to 150,000 residents. It was one of thirteen New Towns approved through the US Department of Housing and Urban Development's Title VII New Communities program in 1970, which provided multi-million dollar loan guarantees for planning experiments that were generally undertaken by for-profit developers.³⁶ The Woodlands project was a financial success and the controlling corporation is now listed on the New York Stock Exchange. Attaining the project's original goals in terms of affordability and affirmative action (set to reflect the demographic make-up of Houston), however, has proven more elusive. In 2013, eighty-seven percent of the community's residents were white; in Houston that percentage was fifty-eight.³⁷

EL NEW TOWN DE UN MAGNATE DE PETRÓLEO DE HOUSTON CRECERÁ POR MEDIO DE LA CIENCIA

Contrata a Ian McHarg, autor de *Design with Nature*, para crear plan maestro guiado por la hidrología

El objetivo de George Mitchell para *The Woodlands* era crear una alternativa a la plaga urbana y al desparramamiento suburbano: un ambiente íntegro sosteniblemente y socialmente para la vivienda y el trabajo para un máximo de 150,000 residentes. Era uno de los trece *New Town* aprobados en el 1970 por el "US Department of Housing and Urban Development" (Departamento de Vivienda y Desarrollo Urbano de EUA) a través del programa *Title VII New Communities*, que proveía garantías multimillonarias en préstamos a estos experimentos de planificación que generalmente eran emprendidos por desarrolladores con fines de lucro.³⁶ El proyecto de *The Woodlands* fue un éxito financiero y la corporación controladora se encuentra ahora enlistada en la Bolsa de Nueva York. Sin embargo, alcanzar los logros originales del proyecto en términos de accesibilidad económica y acción afirmativa por parte de la población (que debía reflejar la composición demográfica de Houston) resultó ser más elusivo. En 2013, ochenta y siete por ciento de los residentes de la comunidad eran de raza blanca, cuando en la ciudad de Houston ese porcentaje era cincuenta y ocho.³⁷

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1973

1970

FIRST COMMUNITY LAND TRUST ESTABLISHED Collective Farm Emerges from Civil-Rights Movement

In 1968, twelve African-American farmers organized to acquire 2,300 acres of land near Albany, Georgia. They sought an alternative to the frequent eviction experienced by black farmers leasing land from white owners, especially in retaliation for Voting Rights activism. The resulting “New Communities” farm was directly inspired by the land-lease structure of Israeli Kibbutzim. It operated until 1983, when a severe drought led to its foreclosure after federal agencies refused to provide an emergency loan.³⁸ In the meantime, the land trust model—separating the ownership of the land from the ownership of the buildings on it—had caught on throughout the country, especially in urban areas, as a way to establish permanently affordable housing outside of the speculative real estate market. In 2010, New Communities’ struggle received a belated acknowledgement as part of a broader class-action lawsuit originally settled in 2009: 1 billion dollars was awarded to 13,000 African-American farmers who had not been given fair access to federal emergency funds thirty years earlier.³⁹

SE ESTABLECE EL PRIMER FONDO DE TIERRAS EN COMUNIDAD

Surge una Granja Colectiva como Consecuencia del Movimiento de Derechos Civiles

En 1968, doce agricultores afroamericanos se organizaron para adquirir 2,300 acres de tierra cerca de Albany, Georgia, en busca de una alternativa a los frecuentes desahucios que experimentaban los agricultores negros que le arrendaban tierras a los dueños blancos, especialmente como represalia por el activismo del Derecho al Voto. La granja resultante “New Communities” fue inspirada directamente por la estructura de arrendamiento de tierras del Kibbutzim israelí. Ésta operó hasta 1983, cuando las agencias federales se rehusaron a proveer un préstamo de emergencia durante una sequía severa que la llevó a la expropiación.³⁸ Mientras tanto, el modelo de Fondo de tierras—separando las propiedades de tierras con las propiedades de los edificios dentro de las mismas—había experimentado un auge en toda la nación, especialmente como una forma de establecer viviendas permanentemente asequibles fuera del mercado especulativo de los bienes inmobiliarios en áreas urbanas. En 2010, la lucha de *New Communities* recibió un reconocimiento tardío como parte de una amplia demanda colectiva, decidido originalmente en 2009: 1 billón de dólares fueron otorgados a 13,000 agricultores afroamericanos a los que se les había impedido el acceso a fondos de emergencia federales treinta años atrás.³⁹

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CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY OPENS 1,096-UNIT WILLIAM GREEN HOMES After Four-Year Debate, High-Rise Option Prevails over Low-Rise Alternatives

The 1962 completion of the William Green Homes, seven sixteen- to nineteen-story towers, brought the construction of the Cabrini-Green public housing development to a close at over 3,000 apartment units total. Lower-rise housing had been considered for this final phase, particularly in light of the development’s many residents with young children. But the CHA argued that the high-rise was the best way to comply with the federally mandated density of fifty units per acre and a per-unit cost ceiling, including land costs, of \$17,000 for all urban public housing.⁴⁰ Given the tight budgetary constraints, it was unusual that Chicago, unlike other cities, did not allocate federal urban renewal funding to the CHA; the city’s 70 percent land-cost subsidy was made available only to private developers serving middle- and upper-income households.⁴¹

EL CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY INAUGURA 1,096-UNIDADES DE WILLIAM GREEN HOMES Después de un Debate de Cuatro Años, Opciones Elevadas Prevalecen Sobre Alternativas de Poca Altura

La terminación de las William Green Homes en 1962, un complejo de siete torres de dieciséis a diecinueve pisos, llevó la construcción del proyecto de vivienda pública Cabrini-Green a su fin luego de llegar a un total de sobre 3,000 apartamentos. Viviendas de menor altura habían sido consideradas para esta fase final, particularmente a la luz de los muchos residentes del proyecto con hijos pequeños. Pero el Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) argumentó que la opción elevada era la mejor forma de cumplir con la densidad bajo mandato federal de cincuenta unidades por acre, en adición a un costo por unidad de techo, incluyendo costos de propiedad, de \$17,000 para toda vivienda pública urbana.⁴⁰ Dadas las restricciones estrictas presupuestarias, era inusual que Chicago, diferente a otras ciudades, no asignara fondos federales de renovación urbana a la CHA; el subsidio de 70 por ciento del costo de tierra de la ciudad se hizo disponible sólo a los desarrolladores privados sirviendo a las familias de clase media y de ingresos superiores.⁴¹

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BRIGITTE REIMANN MOVES TO HOYERSWERDA

Novelist Reflects on Conditions of Life in Growing Socialist Town

With the passage of the *Aufbaugesetz* (Reconstruction Law) on September 6, 1950, the German Democratic Republic secured the state's access to previously private land in what it defined as "construction zones."⁴² The *Aufbaugesetz* enabled the realization of large-scale urban projects that made frequent use of prefabricated concrete elements at a mass scale, for instance in the coal town of Hoyerswerda. It was here that the novelist Brigitte Reimann began writing *Franziska Linkerhand*, the story of a female architect working in Hoyerswerda, which openly depicted the city's monotony as well as its lack of cultural and social amenities. On this issue she corresponded with the prominent GDR architect Hermann Henselmann. After Reimann's early death in 1968, Henselmann commented that from a Marxist point of view the unfinished novel's main quality was its incompleteness, and that the socialist city too should stay open and incomplete.⁴³ Since 1981, the population of Hoyerswerda has been steadily declining, from 70,000 inhabitants that year to 34,000 inhabitants in 2013.⁴⁴

BRIGITTE REIMANN SE MUDA A HOYERSWERDA

La Novelista Reflexiona sobre las Condiciones de Vida en un Pueblo Socialista en Auge

Con la aprobación de *Aufbaugesetz* (Ley de Reconstrucción) el 6 de septiembre de 1950, la República Democrática Alemana aseguró el acceso del estado a tierras anteriormente privadas en lo que definió como "zonas de construcción."⁴² La *Aufbaugesetz* permitía la realización de proyectos urbanos de gran escala que con frecuencia usaban elementos de hormigón prefabricado en una escala masiva, como en el pueblo de carbón Hoyerswerda. Fue aquí donde la novelista Brigitte Reimann empezó a escribir *Franziska Linkerhand*, la historia de una arquitecta trabajando en Hoyerswerda que abiertamente describe la monotonía de la ciudad, en adición a la carencia de comodidades culturales y sociales. Sobre este asunto ella mantenía comunicación con el prominente arquitecto de la RDA Hermann Henselmann. Luego del fallecimiento inoportuno de Reimann en 1968, Henselmann comentó que, desde un punto de vista marxista, la cualidad principal de la novela era precisamente el hecho de que se encontraba incompleta y que la ciudad socialista también debía mantenerse abierta e incompleta.⁴³ Desde 1981, la población de Hoyerswerda ha estado en un descenso continuo, de 70,000 habitantes ese año a 34,000 habitantes en 2013.⁴⁴

IMAGES/IMÁGENES

Postcards of Hoyerswerda and surroundings, by VEB Bild und Heimat Reichenbach i.V., Planet Verlag Berlin, and others.

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ELIZABETH WOOD RESIGNS FROM CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY AFTER RACIAL UNREST

Concurrent Opening of Grace Abbott Homes Signals Shift in Architectural Approach

In 1953, CHA Executive Director Elizabeth Wood endorsed a policy to integrate the whites-only public housing project Trumbull Park. The decision was prompted by the approved application of Donald Howard and his family, who had not been identified as African American during the interview due to Ms. Howard's light skin. The action provoked several months of violence by white residents afraid of being "mixed."⁴⁵ As the CHA continued to move black families into Trumbull Park, Wood was blamed for "fomenting racial trouble in the city."⁴⁶ She resigned in 1954, just as another development, Grace Abbott Homes, was nearing completion. In contrast to the entirely low-rise Trumbull Park, Grace Abbott included seven fifteen-story Y-shaped towers and thirty-three two-story buildings embodying Wood's call for a "bold and comprehensive" planning that would compete with the desirability of the suburbs.⁴⁷ Abbott Homes were demolished between 2005 and 2007, after years of disinvestment, to make room for the Roosevelt Square mixed-income development project.

ELIZABETH WOOD RENUNCIA A SU PUESTO EN EL CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY LUEGO DE DISTURBIOS RACIALES

La inauguración concurrente de *Grace Abbott Homes* indica el cambio en el enfoque arquitectónico

En 1953, la directora ejecutiva del CHA, Elizabeth Wood, desarrolló una política para lograr la integración en el proyecto de vivienda pública Trumbull Park, la cual era sólo de blancos. La decisión fue impulsada con la solicitud aprobada de Donald Howard y su familia, que no habían sido identificados como afroamericanos durante la entrevista debido a la piel clara de la Sra. Howard. La acción provocó varios meses de violencia por parte de los residentes blancos temerosos de la posibilidad de mezclarse.⁴⁵ Mientras que la CHA continuaba mudando familias negras dentro de Trumbull Park, Wood fue culpada por "fomentar disturbios raciales en la ciudad."⁴⁶ Ella resignó en 1954, justo cuando otro desarrollo, Grace Abbott Homes, estaba cerca de su terminación. En contraste con el proyecto Trumbull Park, de poca altura en su totalidad, Grace Abbott incluía siete torres en forma de "Y" de unos quince pisos junto a sus otros treinta y tres edificios de dos niveles que encarnaban la visión de Wood por una planificación "atrevida y comprensiva" que pudiese competir con el atractivo de los suburbios.⁴⁷ Luego de años de desinversión, los Abbott Homes fueron demolidos entre 2005 y 2007 para hacer espacio para el proyecto en desarrollo de ingresos mixtos LR Consortium Roosevelt Square.

IMAGES/IMÁGENES

Chicago History Museum, ABLA Chicago Housing Authority Project, Abbott Homes, Hendrich Blessing (photographer), 1961: HB24975_B; HB24975_A; HB24975_image 4. Images courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.

Chicago History Museum, Donald and Betty Howard testing a protective plywood panel and other images in their Trumbull Park apartment. Images courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.

Chicago History Museum, Trumbull Park Exterior, HB_12520_C. Images courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.

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1960

1954

HOUSE & HOME SPLITS FROM ARCHITECTURAL FORUM

Time, Inc. Launches a New Magazine for a Rapidly Growing Industry

The U.S. Housing Act of 1949 is commonly associated with urban renewal and slum clearance. However, it also authorized billions of dollars for the indirect financing of private, large-scale suburban development. *House & Home*, established in 1952 as an offshoot of the long-running *Architectural Forum*, catered directly to the rapidly growing homebuilding industry. The trade journal presented a distinct discourse on the American single-family house, maintained by what were still mostly small-scale homebuilders and their in-house designers, building supply dealers, mortgage brokers, and bankers.

“HOUSE & HOME” SE SEPARA DE “ARCHITECTURAL FORUM”

Time, Inc. lanza una nueva revista para una industria en rápido crecimiento

El U.S. Housing Act (Acta de Vivienda de EUA) de 1949 es asociado comúnmente con el desarrollo central de la ciudad y el despeje de barrios de extrema pobreza. No obstante, éste también autorizó billones de dólares para el financiamiento indirecto del desarrollo suburbano privado a gran escala. “*House & Home*”, establecida en 1952 como un retoño de la largamente establecida “*Architectural Forum*”, atendía de forma directa a la industria de la construcción de viviendas, en rápido crecimiento. La revista comercial presentaba un discurso distinto ante la casa americana unifamiliar, mantenida por los que eran mayormente constructores de pequeña escala y sus diseñadores internos, distribuidores de suministros para la construcción, agentes hipotecarios y banqueros.

PUBLICATION/PUBLICACIÓN
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US National Housing Agency. *Homes for Veterans (Part I)*. Produced by Century Productions. Digital video from 35mm film [1946], Internet Archive, 24:32. Accessed February 5, 2014. <https://archive.org/details/Homesfor1946>. Courtesy of the Prelinger Archive, under the Creative Commons Public Domain License.

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LIFE MAGAZINE HOLDS ROUNDTABLE ON HOW TO PRODUCE CHEAPER HOUSING

Key Housing Players Debate What Is Holding the Industry Back

In sixteen hours of debate hosted by the popular weekly news magazine *Life*, participants voiced their concerns about the regulatory constraints preventing the housing industry from freely exploiting land and minimizing the cost of construction. The problem of the house, as the majority of panelists saw it, was that it had to be connected to an infrastructural system provided by the public sector and therefore out of their control, denying them the desired profit margin. The government, they suggested, should intervene in housing only in cases that are of no interest to the private sector; for instance, to alleviate the “social or moral” preoccupations related to slums.

LA REVISTA LIFE CELEBRA MESA REDONDA SOBRE CÓMO DESARROLLAR VIVIENDAS MÁS ECONÓMICAS

Figuras Claves Debaten como reavivar la Industria de la Vivienda

Durante dieciséis horas de debate organizado por el semanario de noticias popular *Life*, participantes expresaron sus preocupaciones respecto al sistema regulador que previene que la industria de la vivienda pueda explotar tierras libremente y minimizar costos en la construcción. El problema con la casa, sostuvo la mayoría de los panelistas, era que tenía que estar conectada al sistema infraestructural provisto por el sector público y por tanto fuera de su control, negándoles el margen de ganancias deseado. Los participantes sugirieron que el gobierno interviniera en asuntos de vivienda únicamente cuando los casos no eran de interés al sector privado; por ejemplo, para aliviar las preocupaciones “sociales o morales” relacionadas con los barrios de extrema pobreza.

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1952

1949

GENERAL PANEL CORPORATION OF CALIFORNIA SECURES GOVERNMENT LOAN

Federal Housing Expediter Aims to Produce 1.2 Million Dwellings in One Year

In 1946, President Harry S. Truman established the Office of the Housing Expediter in response to the dramatic housing demand created by returning soldiers and relocated war-industry workers.⁴⁸ Wilson W. Wyatt, the first man named to the post, launched the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program, which granted one of just three Reconstruction Finance Corporation loans to Konrad Wachsmann and Walter Gropius' General Panel Corporation, originally founded in 1942.⁴⁹ After receiving the loan, they re-launched the GPC in California to focus on the production and distribution of their Packaged House system.⁵⁰ Partnerships with the Atlas Aircraft Products Company and the Celotex Corporation, an insulation and building materials producer, provided the company with manufacturing and distribution capacities. Despite this promising constellation, the GPC's lofty goals were thwarted by overly tight manufacturing tolerances, insufficient financial resources, and continually missed production deadlines. The company dissolved in 1950, having produced no more than 200 houses.⁵¹

LA CORPORACIÓN DE PANEL GENERAL DE CALIFORNIA CONSIGUE PRÉSTAMO GUBERNAMENTAL

El Expedidor de la Vivienda Federal aspira producir 1.2 millones de viviendas en un año

En 1946, el presidente Harry S. Truman estableció la Oficina del Expedidor de la Vivienda (*Office of the Housing Expediter*) en respuesta a la gran demanda de vivienda por parte de soldados regresando de la guerra y a la reubicación de trabajadores de la industria bélica.⁴⁸ El primer hombre nombrado al puesto, Wilson W. Wyatt, lanzó el Programa de Vivienda de Emergencia para Veteranos, el cual otorgó uno de sólo tres préstamos de la Corporación de Reconstrucción Financiera a la Corporación del Panel General (*General Panel Corporation*, o GPC, en inglés) de Konrad Wachsmann y Walter Gropius, fundada en 1942.⁴⁹ Luego de recibir el préstamo, ellos relanzaron la GPC en California para enfocarse en la producción y distribución de su sistema de la Casa Empacada.⁵⁰ Asociaciones con el Atlas Aircraft Products Company y la Celotex Corporation, una productora de materiales de construcción y aislamiento, proveyeron capacidades de manufactura y distribución a la compañía. A pesar de esta constelación prometedor, las metas elevadas de la GPC fueron desbaratadas por tolerancias de manufactura demasiado estrictas, recursos financieros insuficientes y por el fallo continuo para cumplir con las fechas de tope de la producción. La compañía se disolvió en 1950, habiendo producido no más de 200 casas.⁵¹

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CALIFORNIA ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE ENVISIONS THE POST-WAR HOUSE

Modernists Issue a Call to Arms for Better Living through Technology

CAA's July 1944 issue, edited by John Entenza and Charles and Ray Eames, posed a key question in anticipation of post-war demobilization: "What is a House?" It responded with a manifesto for industrialized prefabrication to realize a vision of mass-produced single-family suburban homes that would be affordable to all. The article made the case that the technologies developed during World War II, which had served the soldiers so well, could create a house that would equally serve their wives. To prove its point, CAA editors commissioned the Case Study Houses, but financial institutions did not buy the argument. Pierre Koenig's glass house was made possible only through the facilitation of Paul Williams, one of the few African-American architects then practicing in Los Angeles and a designer of some of its first public housing, who connected the owners to a non-FHA insured loan from a local bank catering to minority lenders.⁵²

CALIFORNIA ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE CONCIBE LA CASA DE LA POSGUERRA

Los modernistas emiten un llamado a las armas para mejorar la calidad de vida a través de la tecnología

La edición de Julio 1944 del CAA, editada por John Entenza junto a Charles y Ray Eames, planteaba una pregunta clave, anticipando la desmovilización resultante de la posguerra: "¿Qué es una Casa?" La respuesta consistía en un manifiesto favoreciendo la visión de la producción en masa de casas unifamiliares suburbanas a través de la prefabricación industrializada, la cual permitiría costos asequibles para todos. El artículo proponía que las tecnologías que se desarrollaron durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial, a tan buena disposición para los soldados, podían crear una casa que también podía servir a las esposas de los mismos. Para probar su punto, los editores del CAA ordenaron las Case Study Houses, pero no lograron convencer a las instituciones financieras. La casa de cristal de Pierre Koenig fue posible gracias a la intervención mediada de Paul Williams, uno de los pocos arquitectos afro-americanos practicando en Los Ángeles y diseñador de algunas de las primeras viviendas públicas de la ciudad. Williams incitó la sinergia entre los propietarios y los bancos locales (conocidos por abastecer prestamistas de grupos minoritarios), los cuales concedieron un préstamo sin garantía de la Federal Housing Administration.⁵²

IMAGE/IMAGEN

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"Pueblo del Rio Housing Project, Los Angeles, CA." Leonard Nadel, photographer. Courtesy of the Los Angeles Public Library.

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1946

1944

FHA DENIES INSURED MORTGAGE FOR EAST LANSING USONIA

Frank Lloyd Wright Houses Are Declared Bad Investments

In 1939, Frank Lloyd Wright designed a Usonian community of seven houses for a group of Michigan State University professors who had purchased a forty-acre parcel of land. After a private funding source fell through, Wright appealed to the recently created Federal Housing Administration, but to no avail. The houses failed to meet the FHA's underwriting principles, which were largely based on achieving good resale values—generally meaning pitched roofs, clear division between domestic spaces, and other traditional features.⁵³ Only one couple, the Goetsch-Wincklers, managed to eventually build their house, but on a different site. It was financed using Winckler's widowed mother's home as collateral.⁵⁴

LA FHA NIEGA HIPOTECA ASEGURADA PARA UNA USONIA EN EAST LANSING

Las casas de Frank Lloyd Wright son declaradas malas inversiones

En 1939, Frank Lloyd Wright diseñó una comunidad Usoniana de siete casas para un grupo de profesores de la Michigan State University que había adquirido un solar de unos cuarenta acres. Luego de que se retirara una fuente de fondos privada, Wright apeló a la recién creada Federal Housing Administration (Administración Federal de la Vivienda), pero fue en vano. Las casas no cumplían con los principios de la FHA, los cuales consistían principalmente en alcanzar buenas tasaciones para la reventa—generalmente basadas en la presencia de elementos de diseño tradicionales como techos inclinados y divisiones claras entre los espacios domésticos, entre otros.⁵³ Sólo una pareja, los Goetsch-Wincklers, lograron eventualmente construir su casa, pero en otro lugar. La misma fue financiada usando la casa de la madre viuda de Winckler como garantía.⁵⁴

AUDIO/AUDIO

"Federal Bureau Foils a Plan for Modern Housing." *Chicago Tribune*, September 8, 1940.

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Wright, Frank Lloyd. "Annotated Plan of Goetsch-Winckler House in East Lansing," drawing, 1939 (The Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation Archives, reference no. 3907). Image courtesy of The Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation and The Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation Archives (The Museum of Modern Art | Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, New York).

VIDEO/VIDEO

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ARCHITECT FINDS SIMILARITIES BETWEEN RUSSIANS AND AMERICANS

Seeks a Form of Private Ownership Based on Freedom and Social Justice

Invited by the International Congress of Architects as an Honored Guest, Frank Lloyd Wright visited Moscow in 1937. In public statements, he declared his admiration for the collective will and spirit of the Russian people. To him, citizens of the Soviet Union and the United States, or "Usonia," were alike in their parallel pursuit of the "simplicity of freedom."⁵⁵ In an exchange with the American Communist Party related to negative media coverage following his trip, Wright explained that while he opposed speculation and the private exploitation of land, he did support its distribution to individuals who would each work for the common good. This nuanced Wright's otherwise antagonistic relationship with US housing policy-makers, who at the time were developing the country's first permanent public housing models.

ARQUITECTO HALLA SEMEJANZAS ENTRE RUSOS Y AMERICANOS

Busca una Forma de Propiedad Privada Basada en la Libertad y la Justicia Social

Invitado de Honor por el Congreso Internacional de Arquitectos, Frank Lloyd Wright visitó Moscú en 1937. En declaraciones públicas, expuso su admiración por la voluntad y espíritu colectivo de la multitud rusa. Para Wright, los ciudadanos de la Unión Soviética y de los Estados Unidos, o "Usonia", eran parecidos en su paralela búsqueda por la "simplicidad de la libertad."⁵⁵ En una discusión con el Partido Comunista Estadounidense relacionada a la cobertura mediática negativa seguida a su viaje, Wright explicó que mientras se oponía a la especulación y a la explotación privada de tierras, apoyaba, sin embargo, la distribución de éstas a personas que podían trabajar individualmente para el bien común. Sus declaraciones matizaron su antagónica relación con los formuladores de políticas de la vivienda estadounidense, quienes se encontraban en aquel momento desarrollando los primeros modelos de vivienda pública permanente del país.

VIDEO/VIDEO

"The Mike Wallace Interview: Frank Lloyd Wright, 9/1/57 and 9/28/57." Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin. Accessed February 12, 2014. http://www.hrc.utexas.edu/multimedia/video/2008/wallace/wright_frank_lloyd_t.html. Courtesy of The Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, the Harry Ransom Center, and the Mike Wallace Estate.

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1939

1937

CATHERINE BAUER'S *MODERN HOUSING* PUBLISHED

330-page Volume Challenges Priorities during the International Style Era

As a self-taught expert, Catherine Bauer's approach to housing sought to encompass historical, analytical, and practical perspectives on the relationship of policy and design. In her book, Bauer documented recent government-sponsored developments of worker housing in Europe, and ended with the question of modern housing's feasibility in America.⁵⁶ Two years earlier, Bauer had assisted in setting up the Museum of Modern Art's *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition*. There, lead curators Philip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock arranged models and photographs of schools, single-family homes, railroad stations, theaters, department stores, civic buildings, and churches in the main exhibition hall. "Housing," co-curated by Bauer and relegated to a separate section in Hall B, displayed large photographs of multi-family developments.⁵⁷ This split between "architecture" and "housing" would characterize professional and public engagement with the topic for decades, and motivated Bauer's more integrated approach in her later work, including her contribution to the United States Housing Act of 1937.⁵⁸

SE PUBLICA "MODERN HOUSING," POR CATHERINE BAUER

El volumen de 330 páginas desafía las prioridades durante la era del Estilo Internacional

Catherine Bauer, una experta autodidacta, se enfocó en abarcar las perspectivas históricas, analíticas y prácticas de la relación política-diseño en torno a la vivienda. En su libro, Bauer documentó desarrollos recientes de viviendas para trabajadores auspiciados por gobiernos en Europa y culminó con una interrogación ante la viabilidad de la vivienda moderna en América.⁵⁶ Dos años atrás, Bauer había asistido en la preparación de la exhibición "*Modern Architecture: International Exhibition*" del Museo de Arte Moderno. Los curadores principales, Philip Johnson y Henry Russell Hitchcock, organizaron un conjunto de trabajos arquitectónicos modelados y fotografiados de escuelas, casas unifamiliares, estaciones de ferrocarril, teatros, tiendas por departamento, edificios cívicos e iglesias en la sala principal. "Housing", con la asistencia curatorial de Bauer, fue relegada a una sección separada en la Sala B, la cual mostraba unidades multifamiliares por medio de fotografías de gran formato.⁵⁷ Esta división entre "arquitectura" y "vivienda" caracterizaría el compromiso profesional y público con el tema durante décadas y motivó el enfoque íntegro de Bauer en sus trabajos posteriores, que incluyeron la co-autoría del Acta de la Vivienda de los Estados Unidos de 1937.⁵⁸

IMAGE/IMAGEN

Judging of the Competition Entries: Two Jurors, Catherine Bauer and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, discussing an entry. Edgar Kaufmann, Jr., Competition Director standing in background. Publicity photograph released in connection with the exhibition, "Prize Design for Modern Furniture." May 16, 1950 through July 16, 1950. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. Photo Credit: Photo by William Leftwich. Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA/Art Resource, NY.

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PRESIDENT PROMOTES SAVING AS CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

Roosevelt's First "Fireside Chat" Addresses Fear and the Banking Crisis

By March 3, 1933, 5,504 US banks with deposits totaling \$3,432,000,000 had closed their doors.⁵⁹ The following day, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was inaugurated as the country's thirty-second president. Eight days later, on March 12, he took to the airwaves to prevent a panic from bringing down the banking system with the first of his weekly radio addresses to the nation. In this first presidential "Fireside Chat," Roosevelt attempted to reinvigorate depositors' confidence, explaining why so many of the country's banks had recently failed, why he had closed them down, and what government intervention could do to alleviate the situation. His broadcast came at the peak of a housing crisis characterized by some 1,000 home loans foreclosed daily and 43.8 percent of owner-occupied homes with a mortgage in default.⁶⁰

EL PRESIDENTE PROMUEVE EL AHORRO COMO FORMA DE RESPONSABILIDAD CIVIL

La primera de las "Charlas de Hogar" de Roosevelt habla sobre el miedo y la crisis bancaria

Para el 3 de marzo de 1933, 5,504 bancos estadounidenses con un total de depósitos de \$3,432,000,000 habían cerrado sus puertas.⁵⁹ El día siguiente, Franklin Delano Roosevelt fue juramentado como el trigésimo segundo presidente del país. Ocho días después, el 12 de marzo, se dirigió al público para prevenir que el pánico provocara la barrida del sistema bancario con el primero de sus discursos radiales semanales a la nación. En la primera "Charla de Hogar" presidencial, Roosevelt intentó revitalizar la confianza de los depositantes explicando por qué tantos bancos del país habían fracasado, por qué los tuvo que cerrar y qué podía hacer la intervención gubernamental para aliviar la situación. Su emisión radial tuvo lugar en el pico en una crisis de vivienda caracterizada por unos 1,000 préstamos de vivienda embargadas a diario y un 43.8 por ciento de casas ocupadas por propietarios con hipotecas incumplidas.⁶⁰

IMAGE/IMAGEN

Bank of America Advertisement from *Los Angeles Times*, March 2, 1933, 5.

Konstantin Zotov, "Liuboi krest' ianin-kolkhoznik ili edinolichnik imeet teper' vozmozhnost' zhit' po-chelovecheski" (Every Collective Farm Peasant or Individual Farmer Now Has the Opportunity to Live Like a Human Being), 1934. In Victoria E. Bonnell, *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

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1934

1933

ARCHITECT PRESENTS BROADACRE CITY AS SOLUTION TO THE NATION'S HOUSING PROBLEM

Radical Vision Seeks to Distribute One Acre of Federal Land to Each Family in Need

Frank Lloyd Wright responded to the economic depression of the early 1930s—which he diagnosed as a result of industrialized urbanization—with a new, decentralized form of human settlement.⁶¹ In his design of Broadacre City, he embraced technological innovations such as individualized transport by land and air, but also harkened back to a vague Jeffersonian ideal of agrarian self-sustenance. The US Housing Act of 1934 did not include any redistribution of land or concepts of self-building; rather, it prioritized stimulating the private sector by insuring personal credit. While Broadacre City thus remained a more radical vision in terms of ideas of ownership and profit, its land-use pattern and automobile usage is strikingly similar to the massive suburbanization that would occur in the postwar years.

ARQUITECTO PRESENTA BROADACRE CITY COMO SOLUCIÓN AL PROBLEMA DE LA VIVIENDA EN LA NACIÓN

Visión Radical Propone Distribuir un Acre de Tierra Federal a Cada Familia Necesitada

Frank Lloyd Wright respondió a la depresión económica del inicio de los años treinta—la cual diagnosticó como resultado de la urbanización industrializada—con una nueva forma de asentamiento humano descentralizado.⁶¹ En su diseño de Broadacre City, Wright adoptó innovaciones tecnológicas como el transporte individualizado por tierra y aire, mientras hacía una vaga referencia al ideal Jeffersoniano de la auto-sustentabilidad agraria. El Acta de la Vivienda de los Estados Unidos (US Housing Act) de 1934 no incluía redistribución alguna de tierras o conceptos de auto construcción; más bien daba prioridad al estímulo del sector privado asegurando el crédito personal. Mientras Broadacre City mantuvo una visión más radical en términos de ideas de propiedad y ganancia, su patrón de usos de tierras y automóviles es notablemente similar a la masiva sub-urbanización que ocurriría en los años de la posguerra.

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FIRST SWIMMING POOL OPENS IN PALM SPRINGS

Dispossession Enables Speculative Development of Desert Resort

Nestled in the desert of the Coachella Valley, Palm Springs’s water was always a scarce and coveted resource. Nellie Coffman, a real estate speculator, opened the Desert Inn in 1909 as a sanatorium. By 1914, five years after the arrival of the first car, it was operating as a hotel, and by 1925 the Inn boasted its own pool, stores, restaurant, and even a brokerage firm for financiers to stay abreast of their investments.⁶² The vision and glamor of desert swimming pools helped promote Palm Springs’s hotel industry, leading to a buoyant real estate market for private homes—many with a pool of their own. This was aided by city officials’ rejection of FHA funding for affordable housing after World War II, preferring to market Palm Springs as a desirable tourist destination and second-home investment opportunity.⁶³ As a part of this process, the Agua Caliente Indians, users of the original hot spring, were systematically dispossessed of their property in the town.⁶⁴

PRIMERA PISCINA ABRE EN PALM SPRINGS

Despojo permite desarrollo especulativo de pueblo turístico en el desierto

Situado en el desierto del Valle de Coachella, el agua de Palm Springs siempre ha sido un recurso escaso y codiciado. Nellie Coffman, especuladora de bienes inmuebles, inauguró en 1909 el Desert Inn como un sanatorio. Para 1914, cinco años luego del arribo del primer automóvil, estaba operando como un hotel y para 1925 el Inn alardeaba su propia piscina, tiendas, restaurantes y hasta una firma de corretaje para que los financieros se mantuvieran a la par con sus inversiones.⁶² La visión y el glamour de las piscinas en el desierto ayudó a promover la industria hotelera de Palm Springs, resultando en un mercado de bienes inmuebles boyante para las viviendas privadas—muchas con piscina propia. Esto fue auxiliado por el rechazo de fondos de la FHA para viviendas asequibles por parte de los oficiales de la ciudad después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, prefiriendo mercadear Palm Springs como un destino turístico deseable y como oportunidad de inversión para un segundo hogar.⁶³ Como parte del proceso, los Indios de Agua Caliente, usuarios originales de la fuente termal que da nombre a la ciudad, fueron sistemáticamente desposeídos de su propiedad en el pueblo.⁶⁴

IMAGE/IMAGEN

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UNITED STATES HOUSING CORPORATION BUILDS HOUSING FOR WARTIME WORKERS Program Abandoned as Role of Government Is Questioned

The federal government took on several unprecedented roles—developer, builder, and real estate agent of public housing—in response to the country’s entry into World War I in April 1917. The USHC was established to build new homes and communities for workers and their families drawn to wartime factories. In less than two years, over eighty-three new projects in twenty-six states were realized on the basis of British Garden City ideals, housing over 170,000 people.⁶⁵ Despite these successes, the agency was disbanded at the conclusion of the war, undermined at congressional hearings by accusations of waste and inefficiency.

LA UNITED STATES HOUSING CORPORATION CONSTRUYE VIVIENDAS PARA TRABAJADORES EN TIEMPOS DE GUERRA El Programa se Abandona Mientras se Cuestiona el Papel del Gobierno

El gobierno federal tomó varios papeles sin precedente—de desarrollador, constructor y agente de bienes raíces de la vivienda pública—en respuesta a la entrada del país a la Primera Guerra Mundial en abril de 1917. La USHC se estableció para construir nuevas casas y comunidades para trabajadores, y sus familias, atraídos a fábricas de abastecimiento de los esfuerzos de guerra. En menos de dos años, se realizaron más de ochenta y tres proyectos nuevos en veintiséis estados basados en los ideales de la Ciudad Jardín Británico, alojando más de 170,000 personas.⁶⁵ A pesar de los éxitos, la agencia fue disuelta al terminar la guerra, socavada en las audiencias del Congreso con acusaciones de desperdicios e ineficiencia.

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FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT SELLS HIS VISION FOR SUBURBANIZING AMERICA

Berlin-Based Publication Establishes Architect’s Reputation in Europe

In 1910, Wasmuth Verlag published *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe von Frank Lloyd Wright*, a monograph of illustrations of selected works from 1893 through 1909. While the portfolio would later become famous as the supposed vehicle by which Wright’s work was introduced to Europe, Wright saw the portfolio as an architectural and polemical summary of his ideas to date. Included was a proposal for the problem of the affordable house, a design originally published in 1901 by the *Ladies Home Journal*. While Wright was preparing for his international debut in a villa outside of Florence, his home state of Wisconsin passed the first subdivision planning law in the country, which was paralleled by the formation of the National Association of Real Estate Exchanges (later NAREB). By the time of Wasmuth’s release, the architect-designed single-family suburban house was becoming an increasingly standardized part of a growing real estate business tied to global capital markets and international flows of commodities.

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT VENDE SU VISIÓN DE UNA AMÉRICA SUB-URBANIZADA

Una Publicación Berlinesa Establece la Reputación Europea del Arquitecto

En 1910, Wasmuth Verlag publicó *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe von Frank Lloyd Wright*, una monografía ilustrada de trabajos selectos entre 1893 y 1909, convirtiéndose en el supuesto vehículo por el cual el trabajo de Wright se introdujo a Europa. No obstante, Wright lo veía como una síntesis arquitectónica y polémica de sus ideas hasta la fecha. Incluida en la compilación estaba una propuesta al problema de la casa asequible, un diseño publicado originalmente en 1901 por la *Ladies Home Journal*. Mientras Wright se estaba preparando para su debut internacional con una villa en las afueras de Florencia, su estado natal, Wisconsin, aprobaba la primera ley de planificación de subdivisión de la nación, que corrió paralelamente con la formación de la National Association of Real Estate Exchanges (NAREB) (Asociación Nacional del Mercado de Bienes Raíces). En el momento de la publicación de la monografía, la casa unifamiliar suburbana diseñada por el arquitecto estaba en camino de la estandarización dentro del creciente mercado de bienes raíces relacionado al mercado global de capitales y al flujo internacional de mercancías.

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The Temple Hoyne Buell Center for
the Study of American Architecture
Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation
Columbia University in the City of New York

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more information.

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*House Housing: An Untimely History of Architecture and Real
Estate in Thirty-one Episodes*, shown at the MAK Center for Art
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La traducción del proyecto *House Housing* oscila entre la
traducción literal y la traducción libre. Es libre, pues en todo
momento se respeta el sentido del texto original, cambiando
las expresiones originales del autor sólo en momentos en que
la traducción literal de éstas perdieran sentido en el español.
Siempre busca ser literal cuando se trata de conceptos claves
del texto, aunque no siempre existía la opción claramente
literal.

El término “housing,” refiriéndose a la consideración colectiva
de casas y apartamentos, se traduce aquí como “vivienda,” a
pesar de que el término en español puede usarse en singular o
en plural para aludir a lugares aptos para que vivan personas.

La palabra “untimely” del título se puede traducir como
“inoportuna” o “intempestiva”. Se ha optado por usar
“intempestiva” de la obra de Nietzsche por su aproximación a la
noción de tiempo, esencial en *House Housing*.

El término “Real Estate,” tal vez el más problemático de esta
traducción, se entiende como “Bienes Raíces” e “inmuebles”.
Ambos se usan a través del texto, optando el uno por el otro en
términos de estructuración del texto. En el título, después de
considerar “especulación” y “desarrollo,” se decidió usar el
término “inversión inmobiliaria” para que estuviera lo más
claro posible que aquí cuando decimos “real estate,” hablamos
de una colección de prácticas—acciones políticas, económicas,
y sociales—y no un objeto inerte.

MAK CENTER FOR ART
& ARCHITECTURE AT
THE SCHINDLER HOUSE

835 NORTH KINGS RD.
WEST HOLLYWOOD,
CALIFORNIA 90069

9 APRIL–8 MAY, 2016
WED–SUN, 11AM–6PM
HOUSE-HOUSING.COM

1954
ELIZABETH WOOD
RESIGNS FROM
CHICAGO HOUSING
AUTHORITY AFTER
RACIAL UNREST

1952
HOUSE & HOME
SPLITS FROM
ARCHITECTURAL
FORUM

1949
LIFE MAGAZINE
HOLDS ROUNDTABLE
ON HOW TO PRODUCE
CHEAPER HOUSING

1946
GENERAL PANEL
CORPORATION
OF CALIFORNIA
SECURES GOVERN-
MENT LOAN

1944
CALIFORNIA ARTS
AND ARCHITECTURE
ENVISIONS THE
POST-WAR HOUSE

1939
FHA DENIES INSURED
MORTGAGE FOR EAST
LANSING USONIA

1937
ARCHITECT FINDS
SIMILARITIES
BETWEEN RUSSIANS
AND AMERICANS

1934
CATHERINE BAUER'S
MODERN HOUSING
PUBLISHED

1933
PRESIDENT
PROMOTES SAVING
AS CIVIC
RESPONSIBILITY

1932
ARCHITECT PRESENTS
BROADACRE CITY
AS SOLUTION TO THE
NATION'S HOUSING
PROBLEM

1925
FIRST SWIMMING
POOL OPENS IN
PALM SPRINGS

1918
UNITED STATES HOUS-
ING CORPORATION
BUILDS HOUSING FOR
WARTIME WORKERS

1910
FRANK LLOYD
WRIGHT SELLS HIS
VISION FOR SUBUR-
BANIZING AMERICA

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