Chicago's Robert Taylor Homes: Rise, Demise, and Rebirth 芝加哥的罗伯特泰勒家园: 崛起、衰败和新生*

关莹莹

【摘要】芝加哥的罗伯特泰勒家园曾经在美国公共住房社区中臭名昭著,这个由28栋高楼组成的社区 处处狼藉,犯罪频发,而且还时常有暴力毒品交易发生。20世纪90年代,美国联邦政府期待通过"希望 六号"计划来扭转公共住房的糟糕局面,从而复兴公共住房。规划和设计对不同时期的美国住房政策有重 要影响,一个时期的经验和教训对后来政策的制定有很好的借鉴作用。

Abstract: Chicago's Robert Taylor Homes became the infamous face for public housing in America due to their poor conditions, crime, and violent drug trade which ran throughout the twenty-eight building complex. However, in the 1990's the federal government looked to reverse this by adopting the HOPE VI program to rehabilitate public housing. Planning and design played large roles in each of these distinct eras of US housing policy and lessons learned from one clearly informed the other.

Introduction 引言

Public housing policy in the United States has had a long and sometimes difficult past. Over the last half century, the US has twice seen dramatic shifts in the way people with the lowest income are housed. These shifts can be understood in multiple ways, with regard to their physical form, the social ideals and their implications, and the economic structure in which public housing projects get built. This complicated juxtaposition between the form, society, and economy makes housing policy and its application difficult to answer today in the US. While there appears to be a general understanding that government should play a role in providing basic public housing; the political, economic and public perception that surround this debate, creates a lasting tension between good intentions and the actual product.

美国公共住宅政策的发展有较长的历史,也有过不少困难。在过去的半个世纪里,美国 收入最低的阶层的住房方式有过两次重大的变迁。这两次变迁可以从多个方面来理解,包括 居住的空间形态、社会意识形态和建设公共住宅的经济构成。物质空间形式、社会和经济多 种条件复杂综合,使当今美国公共住房政策的制定和应用很难有一个完美的答案。虽然政府 应当提供基本的公共住房已成为一种共识,但围绕这个议题而产生的政治、经济和公共视角 各不相同,造成了理想和现实产品的差距。

The city of Chicago, Illinois, the third largest city and located in the center of the US, has become infamous for its failed public housing projects. The Robert Taylor Homes is one such project which was known for its political deals, racial segregation, public perceptions, design, and its eventual destruction. This paper will attempt to provide an understanding of the policies and decisions which led to its inception, the design and flaws which led in part to its destruction, and how its redevelopment hopes to repair the scar on the city.

芝加哥城位于美国中部的伊利诺伊州,是美国的第三大城市,该城市的公共住宅的建设 是美国公共住宅失败的典型代表,而罗伯特泰勒家园则是众多失败案例之一。泰勒家园的主

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要问题涉及政策、种族隔离、公共意识、设计等方面,从而导致其最终的衰败。本文将对泰 勒家园崛起的政策背景、造成其衰败的设计缺陷和被寄予厚望的复兴计划进行探讨。

Robert Taylor Homes 罗伯特泰勒家园

During the period of 1949 and 1973, the US government took on an increasingly larger role in administering housing programs. This led to the building of an unprecedented amount of public housing projects around the country. Local housing authorities were given grants to improve and increase the amount of housing for low-income families in their respective cities. Often, the sites of these projects were within working African-American neighborhoods which had been labeled by local governments as "slums" and thus, were highly priority to be razed. This allowed cities and their housing authorities to unofficially segregate neighborhoods by race, ethnicity, and class. (Hays 1995) (Wright 1981) (Bauman, Biles and Szylvian 2000) In Chicago, this meant the poor neighborhoods on the south and west sides of the city.

1949 至 1973 年间,美国政府加大了对住房项目的管理,由政府引导建设了空前数量的公共住宅。政府给予地方住房管理局补助,为低收入家庭兴建公共住宅。但是这些公共住宅项目往往选址在工人阶层的黑人社区,也就是政府所谓的"贫民窟",公共住宅社区就这样事先被种族化了。这样的政策导致了城市及其住房管理局非官方地对社区进行种族、信仰或者社会阶层的隔离。在芝加哥,贫民窟主要分布在南部和西部。

The location of the Robert Taylor Homes (RTH) was controversial from the start. The south side neighborhood slated for clearing was dominated by African American households and thought of in no uncertain terms as a slum by its bordering white neighbors. Existing housing conditions were overcrowded and often without adequate sanitation. The site for the RTH ran for a continuous two and one half mile stretch of land less than a ¼ mile wide along the newly built Dan Ryan Expressway. The expressway became the unofficial line between the white and the black neighborhoods. In addition to the expressway, there were multiple freight rail lines and rail yards further widening the gap between the two populations (Figure 1). However, the decision to site the project here was made by both white and black city politicians. White politicians were responding to their constituents who did not want large numbers of poor black families moved into their neighborhoods. Black politicians did not want their existing constituents moved out of their ward as they were afraid of losing their voting base (Venkatesh 2000). This neighborhood separation not only delineated by skin color, but also cut off the black community from a resource rich community, such as shopping and entertainment. Despite these issues the project was opened ahead of schedule in November 1962 at a cost of \$70 million dollars.

罗伯特泰勒家园的选址从一开始就饱受争议。被选作建设地段的南部社区历史上主要是 黑人家庭居住的社区,这个社区毫无疑问被周边居住的白人视为贫民窟。黑人社区非常拥挤, 并且卫生条件很差。罗伯特泰勒家园的用地是宽不足 1/4 英里,长 2.5 英里的狭长地段,沿 着新建的丹瑞安快速路展开。这条快速路成了白人社区和黑人社区之间的屏障。除了这条快 速路,还有几条货运铁路线及铁路站场加大了两个人群之间的隔离(图 1)。罗伯特泰勒家 园的选址是由白人和黑人官员共同决定的。白人官员代表了白人选民的利益,大多数白人选 民不希望大量贫穷的黑人家庭进入自己的社区。黑人官员则不希望自己的选民离开自己的选 区而导致他们失去选票。这种社区的隔离不仅仅是肤色的隔离,同时也阻断了黑人社区享用 富人社区购物、娱乐等社区资源的渠道。尽管存在这么多问题,罗伯特泰勒家园还是在 1962 年 11 月竣工并投入使用,总花费 7 千万美元。

During this era of public housing, the new architectural language of Modernism was becoming popular. This bold new vision of planning and architectural design philosophy, propagated by Swiss architect Le Corbusier, was also being enthusiastically endorsed during by housing reformers and architects alike. This design philosophy and aesthetic, was guided by its efficiency and functionality. In addition to providing decent affordable housing, the authorities hoped situating poor residents in this model would also reduce crime and delinquency through increased control in their environment (Venkatesh 2000). Between 1955 and 1968, the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) built 19,000 out of 21,000 total units in high-rise buildings of the Modernist style. While housing officials clearly thought the high-rise was an answer to their problems, in Chicago, there were flaws in the building designs that created a whole new set of problems for both residents and officials.

在这个公共住宅大量建设的时代,正好也是现代建筑理论开始流行的时代。瑞士建筑师 勒柯布西耶的现代建筑及规划理论被众多住宅复兴建筑师们极力推崇。现代建筑的主要思想 是以高效和功能为核心指导思想的。住房管理局希望利用现代建筑的模式,通过对居住环境 的控制来降低犯罪率。在 1955 至 1968 年间,芝加哥住房管理局总共修建了 21000 套住宅, 其中有 19000 套是应用了现代建筑模式的高层住宅。尽管主管住房的官员认为高层现代建 筑是解决住房问题的好办法,芝加哥新建的高层公共住宅的缺点已经显露出来,给居民和主 管官员带来一系列新的问题。

When completed, the Robert Taylor Homes totaled twenty-eight buildings of sixteen stories each on 96 acres (Figure 2). At forty-seven units per acre, this was more than surrounding neighborhoods but not totally uncommon in Chicago. However, the lot coverage, or area occupied by a building divided by the total area of the land, was only 7% compared to adjacent neighborhoods of two, three or four story buildings with 40-60% lot coverage (Figure 3). The RTH buildings were vastly out of scale both vertically and horizontally with the areas surrounding them (Figure 4). This only further alienated the new neighborhood visually from those around them. The remaining land area was dedicated to "open space," large expanses of lawn or parking lots, and three small playgrounds. The project now housed 27,000 new residents, with nearly two-thirds of them being children. Without enough adequate play spaces, children began to use the stairwells, lobbies, and elevators as recreation spaces. Early on the CHA was overwhelmed with maintenance issues as they were undermanned and underfunded. Within a few years more than half of the elevators in the twenty-eight buildings were deemed unsafe from overuse and abuse. The CHA fell through on its management and security of the project unable to service the many requests with the small maintenance funds available (Venkatesh 2000). Plans for two shopping centers were never created as private developers shied away from working in the segregated neighborhood, thereby increasing the feeling of isolation without adequate access to services. The poor security at the complex allowed gangs to take control of buildings and create an infamous drug trade that was often violent.

罗伯特泰勒家园占地 96 英亩,由 28 栋 16 层的高层住宅组成(图 2),平均每英亩 47 套 住宅。泰勒家园在周边社区中每英亩的住宅套数是比较多的,但在芝加哥也并非绝无仅有。 不过,其建筑密度只有 7%,相比周边以 2-4 层建筑为主的社区 40%-60%的建筑密度而言, 差别非常大(图3)。罗伯特泰勒家园无论在纵向还是横向尺度上,相比周边区域都有一些 失调(图4)。由此造成了新建社区和原有社区在视觉上格格不入。由于建筑密度很低,剩 下的土地便被用作所谓的"开放空间",其实就是未加设计的大面积草坪和停车场,还有三 个很小的体育场。罗伯特泰勒家园投入使用后共吸纳了27000名新居民,其中将近2/3是 儿童。由于没有足够的游戏空间,孩子们开始利用楼梯、走廊或电梯作为他们的娱乐空间。 加上芝加哥住房管理局早已缺乏人员和资金,公共住宅的维护存在很多问题。项目建成后的 几年间,一半以上的电梯由于过度使用而损坏。芝加哥住房管理局无法有效地维护整个项目 和保证社区的安全,因为可动用的维护经费实在太少。规划的两个购物中心也因为开发商的 退出而未得以实施。由于与各项服务设施缺乏联系,导致该社区与外界的隔离感更强。社区 的安全没有保障,不法分子控制了社区,暴力毒品交易时有发生。

The physical design also played a large role in the demise of the RTH. The 4.500 units were built for large family households, with three, four, and five bedrooms each (Figure 5). This may have added to the disproportion of youth in the community and subsequently, there was a lack of working or retired age couples that may have helped in the population diversity (Devereux Bowly 1978). As the development aged, the population shifted as well, often becoming single-parent families or multigenerational families living in the same apartment (S. Venkatesh 2008). The design also incorporated open air hallways which exposed units to the harsh winter weather off of Lake Michigan. These hallways also posed dangers to the residents and led to a number of children falling to their death. In response, the CHA installed a wire mesh from floor to ceiling which helped make the RTH look more like a high-rise prison. To its residents, it may have also felt like one due to the gangs who made many of the buildings their headquarters. In addition to the poorly planned public spaces, the grouping of the buildings along the two mile stretch led to lack of community cohesion between the buildings. Much of the community building happened, out of necessity, in groupings of two or three floors within a single building but not between buildings (Venkatesh 2000).

空间设计的缺陷也是罗伯特泰勒家园衰败的主要因素之一。泰勒家园的 4500 个居住单 位都是为大家庭设计的,一个居住单位通常有 3-5 个卧室(图 5)。以多子女家庭为主的这 种设计更增加了年轻人在社区中的比例过高的状况,导致工作或退休年龄的夫妇数量较少, 而这些人群本来是能够增加人口构成的多样性的。随着时间的推移,人口的构成也发生了一 些变化,逐渐形成多个单亲家庭或多代同堂家庭共同居住在一套住宅之内的局面。另外,建 筑采用了开放式外廊的形式,将居住单元直接暴露在密歇根湖地区的寒冬当中。这样的设计 不仅给居民带来寒冷,也带来了危险因素,许多儿童由外廊摔下楼而身亡。为了解决安全问 题,芝加哥住房管理局在外廊上安装了通顶的铁栅栏,造成建筑看起来就像一座高层监狱。 对于居住其中的人而言,社区也如监狱,因为总有犯罪团伙将某栋楼当作自己的总部。另外, 除了缺乏设计的公共空间,建筑布局本身也存在问题。28 栋住宅建筑沿着 2 英里长的地段 展开,建筑与建筑之间的距离太远且没有场所感,造成了社区缺乏凝聚力。社区交往圈的形 成往往局限在一栋楼内的两三层楼之间,楼与楼之间的居民交流非常少。

Near the end of the RTH era in 1992, the population had dropped to 12,300 with more than 96% of those residents dependent upon government provided welfare aid. In 1995, the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) declared the CHA unfit to manage the system and was temporarily taken over through mandate by the federal government (Venkatesh 2000). Later that year, US Congress funded a new program in which all poor performing public housing projects were either slated for rehabilitation or

demolition. A plan was put in place to demolish the Robert Taylor Homes over a ten year period and then redevelop the property (Figure 6).

到 1992 年,也是罗伯特泰勒家园时代的末期,社区人口减少到 12300 人,其中 96% 的居民依靠政府的救济金生活。1995 年,美国住房和城市开发部受美国联邦政府委托,宣 布芝加哥住房管理局管理不善,并接手管理芝加哥的公共住宅体系。同年,美国国会资助一 项公共住宅改革计划,用于帮助修复或拆除运行不善的公共住宅项目。其中一项计划是通过 10 年时间拆除罗伯特泰勒家园并重新开发建设该区域(图 6)。

Rebirth 新生

During the early 1990's, HUD began a new program that guaranteed to reshape and transform public housing in the US yet again. The program, HOPE VI, had the goal to replace the worst public housing developments with less dense, mixed-income developments that would integrate better with existing neighborhoods (Linda B. Fosburg 1996). This would help alleviate high concentrations of poverty in cities where mid-century public housing projects, such as RTH, exclusively held very poor residents. The concept of mixed-income communities, while not novel to planning practice, it was new to public housing policy in the US. The hope was to mimic a common saying, "a rising tide lifts all ships." In other words, by including middle-income families who have commonly shared interests with low-income families, such as quality schools and play facilities, these higher income families would serve as positive role models through social interaction (Varady, et al. 2005). Since 1993 a total of \$6.1 billion dollars was invested in demolition, new infrastructure, and housing development under the HOPE VI program (Donovon 2010).

在 20 世纪 90 年代初,美国住房和城市开发部开始一个新的公共住宅改造计划。这个 "希望六号计划"的目标是将那些失败的公共住宅开发项目改造成较低密度的、混合收入的 社区,以使其能够更好地融入现存的其它社区。这样可以帮助减少城市中穷人高度聚居的状况,例如罗伯特泰勒家园这样的 20 世纪中期建设的公共住宅,便是那些非常贫穷的居民高 度聚居的社区。混合收入社区的概念在城市规划界并不算新奇,但在美国公共住宅政策的制 定方面是新理念。这就应证了一句俗话:"水涨船高"。也就是说,通过引入中产阶级,可 以让低收入家庭共享中产阶级的利益,例如好的教育资源和娱乐设施。同时,通过不同社会 阶层的相互交流和社会活动,中产阶级也成为社会生活中正面的表率。从 1993 年开始,希 望六号计划有共计 61 亿美元的资金投入到公共住宅的拆除、基础设施建设和住房开发中。

The form in which these new developments would take was also decided upon by federal officials. Early on HUD said the redevelopment of these sites would use New Urbanism as a set of design principles. New Urbanist principles are based on creating walkable neighborhoods, context appropriate architecture, and with a mix of land uses and income (Congress of New Urbanism 2002). Here in the US, New Urbanism has had a healthy debate over the last decade within the design community over its merits and drawbacks with no clear cut winner.

这些新的开发项目所采用的形式也是由联邦政府官员决定的。计划之初,美国住房和城市开发部就主张这些重建地段都采用新城市主义的设计原则。新城市主义的基本原则包括创造适宜步行的社区、与周边环境相协调的建筑和提倡混合用地及混合收入。在美国过去的10年,关于新城市主义的利弊的学术争论很多,目前还没有绝对的结论。

The removal of the Robert Taylor homes was carried out in phases, as would the redevelopment. As nearly no new housing would be developed prior to the demolition,

residents were forced to add their name to the already long lists for other government housing programs like Section Eight Housing Vouchers. This would relocate residents to different neighborhoods as a temporary measure till new units were built and was a bureaucratic nightmare in and of itself (Venkatesh 2002). The government was essentially removing the remaining families from their homes without enough temporary housing resources to cope with the influx of need.

罗伯特泰勒家园的拆迁和重建都是分步进行的。由于在拆除之前基本没有任何新的公共 住宅单元建成,原来的居民不得不申请其它的政府住房项目,而这些项目的申请者名单本来 就已经很长。临时措施是将原来的居民分配到不同的社区中去,直到泰勒家园的新单元建好 为止。这简直是一个噩梦,因为政府并没有准备足够的临时住宅来应对大幅增长的需求。

The masterplan for the redevelopment was first designed by Wallace Roberts and Todd, a multi-disciplinary firm located in Philadelphia, PA and updates to the masterplan have been furnished by the Chicago firm of Johnson and Lee Architects/Planners. The neighborhood was rebranded as Legends Hope South and will consist of 2,550 total units, or just over 26 units per acre. The plan took a number of simple steps to try and knit this new development with its adjacent neighborhoods. First, all of the new buildings will not be more than three stories tall and will be Chicago-style townhouses, apartments and detached single-family homes (Authority 2007) (Figure 7). It also reestablishing the street grid within the site breaking apart the superblocks which helped define the RTH for so many years. A large part of the plan is the mix of not only the housing types but also the income level for which they intend to serve. The remainder will be leased or sold at affordable and market rates. The approximate breakdown will be 33% public housing, 28% affordable, and the remaining 39% will be market rate. Whether this is the correct mix will of course be determined with time but it is clear that some sort of mix of incomes is necessary for the stability of a neighborhood (Krupka 2006). Of the 2,550 planned units, only 851 will be reserved for public housing, those with the lowest income levels.

重建方案的总体规划最初是由一家名为WRT的公司提出的,这是一家位于费城的多学科交融的公司,方案后来又由芝加哥的JLAP公司进行完善。新建于罗伯特泰勒家园之上的希望铭园社区共有2550个单元,平均每英亩26个单元。重建方案的平面设计试图通过几个简单的处理来加强新建社区和周边社区的联系。首先,所有建筑都不超过3层高,并且都采用芝加哥传统风格的连排住宅、公寓和独栋住宅的形式(图7)。同时,在地段中引入了方格路网,打破了原来罗伯特泰勒家园独有的超大尺度的街区,使住区的尺度更加宜人。方案的大部分区域不仅考虑了住宅类型本身的混合,同时也考虑了不同收入阶层的混合。其余部分会出租,或作为可支付住宅和普通商品房出售。大概的比例为33%的公租房,28%的可支付住宅和39%的普通商品房。这种混合的比例是否合适当然要由时间来证明,但是可以确定的是一定程度上不同收入阶层的混合对于一个社区的稳定来说是必要的。在规划的2550套居住单元中,只有851套是为最低收入的人群提供的公共住宅。

As of today, two offsite housing sites have been developed and one phase onsite for a total of 409 units. This is only a small portion of the planned onsite development and so the full impact on the neighborhood is hard to determine. What can be felt is the impact of the clearing of the Robert Taylor Homes on the city, neighborhood, and residents. There seems to be relief that they are gone but the scar remains on the neighborhood as all the CHA literature, even those marketing the new Legends Hope South neighborhood, refers to the Robert Taylor Homes by name. The high-rises that once stood tall will not be forgotten easily. When or if New Hope South comes to full build out, the neighborhood will likely be better off overall physically even if the emotional and social scars continue to linger.

到现在为止,只有地段外的两处和地段内的一期工程完成了开发,共建成了 409 套住 宅单元。这只是规划地段内很小的一部分,因此,项目对于整个社区的影响目前还难以确定。 不过拆除罗伯特泰勒家园对城市、社区和居民的影响是显而易见的。虽然看起来可以为罗伯 特泰勒家园的消失而宽慰了,但是它留下的影响还在,有关芝加哥住房管理局的文献,甚至 推销希望铭园社区时都会提到罗伯特泰勒家园的名字。那些曾经屹立的高楼不会轻易被忘记。 当希望铭园社区完全建好后,社区将会呈现出崭新的空间面貌,尽管罗伯特泰勒家园的情感 和社会影响还在。

ASSESSMENT 综述

The design of the Legends Hope South neighborhood should be examined at multiple scales. On the neighborhood scale there are a number of attributes which will help it integrate back into the fabric. First is scale. The Robert Taylor Homes towering above the Dan Ryan Expressway became a billboard for all that was wrong with public housing in part because they were completely out of scale as well as the crime and drug trade that plagued the area. In contrast, the new development of two and three story homes and apartments are similar to the rest of the south side of Chicago, reestablishing its connection with its context. These simple movements at the neighborhood scale have immediate impact on the human scale.

希望铭园社区的设计可以从几个纬度来考量。在社区纬度上,有许多特征将整个社区很 好地和周边城市的肌理融合起来。首先是空间尺度,原先矗立在丹瑞安高速公路边上的罗伯 特泰勒家园已经成了有问题的公共住宅的代表,因为它的尺度完全失调,并且犯罪和毒品交 易泛滥。相反,新的设计由 2-3 层楼的住宅建筑组成,让整个社区的尺度与芝加哥南部的其 它地区更为相似,很好地将社区与周边文脉相联系起来。这些社区尺度上的改变立刻让整个 社区更加具有人性的尺度。

The new development has a watered down contextual urbanism and architectural aesthetic. Nearby neighborhoods have row houses and bungalows with garages in the rear off the alley. However, in New Hope South there are houses and parking within the block creating a sub-urban feel to the new Chicago neighborhood. This is likely due to a number of reasons. Federally funded urbanism does not likely allow for urban design contextual elements such as garages, which most of "regular" neighborhoods have but is understandable due to cost. However, the neighborhood fabric does get watered down in this situation, particularly in respect to density and character. The change in density and architectural language helps to set it apart from nearby neighborhoods which it was hoping to avoid. That said, perhaps time will allow the newness of redevelopment wear off and help balance the distinct nature of each place.

然而新建项目在城市文脉和建筑美学方面仍有不足。周边社区通常每户的后巷都配有独 立车库,而希望铭园社区只有停车场而没有车库,给人一种郊区的感觉。这可能是由多种原 因造成的,但也是可以理解的,由联邦政府资助的公共住宅项目毕竟有成本的控制,不可能 完全按照普通商品住宅那样考虑所有的因素,例如车库等等。然而,社区的空间结构因此被 削弱了,尤其在密度和空间特征方面更是如此。在密度和建筑语汇上的这些小改变让希望铭 园社区还是与周边社区产生了差距,而这种差距正是人们希望避免的。只能说,希望时间能 逐渐抹去新建项目的新貌并且平衡不同社区间的差距。 Design decisions have a profound impact on the way people live and interact with each other. When the CHA and the designers programmed too little public space and included open air hallways in the RTH, this had an impact on the everyday lives of its residents, created social ill will, and maintenance problems which eventually led to their demise. In sharp contrast, public housing built during the same period in New York City have continued to be inhabited and are among some of the most successful in the US. While projects in NYC are also victims through the use of superblocks and underutilized land, the buildings themselves are thriving as solid affordable housing in very expensive Manhattan.

设计的每个决定对于人们生活和交往方式的影响是深刻的。芝加哥住房管理局和罗伯特 泰勒家园的设计者们没有提供足够的公共空间,并且采用外廊的建筑形式,给居民的日常生 活造成了许多不良影响,导致了不良的社会风气和管理问题,从而促使整个社区衰败。与之 形成鲜明对比的是同时代纽约的公共住宅,长期有人居住,并且成为美国最成功的公共住宅 项目之一。尽管纽约的公共住宅也采用了超大街区,对土地的利用也并不充分,但是作为在 昂贵的曼哈顿区不可多得的可支付住宅,建筑本身一直人气很旺。

There continue to be questions regarding the HOPE VI program and its overall impact. Researchers continue to investigate how mixed-income communities, the net loss of public housing units during HOPE VI, and how residents moving out of their own neighborhood has affected social fabric of the people. Answers will only come with time. It is clear the Robert Taylor Homes had a direct impact on how US housing policy needed to change for the better. It is more responsive to the needs of the residents and the way they live it is far from perfect. While the Robert Taylor Homes have disappeared from the city's skyline, the scar on the city and the residents who lived there should not be forgotten in order to remind us to strive for better policy which provides affordable housing for the people who need it most.

对于希望六号计划的利弊及其影响的争论还在继续。研究者们一直在调查研究在希望六 号计划实施期间,混合收入社区的建立、公共住宅供应量的减少、原有公共住宅居民的外流 对于整个社会结构的影响。答案只能等待时间来证明。可以肯定的是,罗伯特泰勒家园对于 美国住房政策的影响是直接的,它促使政府意识到应当寻求更好的政策,更多地考虑居民的 需求,居民的生活离美好还很远。尽管罗伯特泰勒家园已经从城市天际线中消失,但是它对 于城市和居于其中的居民的影响不应当被遗忘,它时时提醒我们去寻找更好的政策,为那些 最需要公共住宅的人提供可以支付的住房。

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