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cause and effect for growth management is more difficult. Properly planned and executed growth management will allow for a variety of housing types with increased densities. So, despite restricting the supply of developable land, growth management should theoretically aid the provision of affordable housing through its support of higher density housing. Garnering support for restricting development is a much easier task politically than getting higher density housing constructed in a community. Even in communities with the best growth management policies, the reality on the ground may be much different from the goal due to community opposition to density.

This book provides one of the most comprehensive attempts to address this issue that has been surprisingly overlooked. It consists of a series of essays gathered at a joint symposium on growth management and affordable housing and sponsored by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, The Fannie Mae Foundation, the National Association of Realtors, and The Brookings Institution. Published by The Brookings Institution Press and edited by Anthony Downs, who bookends the essays with opening and concluding comments, it includes significant original research and reviews of academic literature on the topic. Each essay is accompanied by review comments from land use experts who critique the research and provide direction for future research. While some comments seem tangential to the essay, others provide constructive criticism and thoughtful analysis and direction for future research. Downs notes three themes that run through the essays. First, even though growth management constrains the land supply, it is theoretically possible for it not to aggravate affordability problems. Second, a lack of political will and NIMBYism reduces the likelihood of implementing any pro-affordability provisions of growth management policies. Lastly, cooperation between advocates for growth management and affordable housing is imperative to ensure that growth management programs do not thwart the production of affordable housing.

Of particular interest is the essay from Daniel Carlson and Shishir Mathur from the University of Washington. They looked at four counties practicing growth management: King County, Washington; Montgomery County, Maryland; and Middlesex and Somerset Counties in New Jersey. Also analyzed was Fairfax County, Virginia, as a non-growth management county benchmark. Housing affordability was tracked between 1990 and 2000 using various statistics, and while the findings were interesting, they were ultimately inconclusive. They do, however, provide a good basis for future research. They also confirm that a comprehensive approach to growth management and affordability appears to be the most effective way to manage both issues.

The affordability of owner-occupied housing decreased in all four of the growth management counties, and the affordability of rental housing varied from increasing in Montgomery County to staying the same in King County and decreasing in the New Jersey counties. The affordability gap, defined as the additional income required by households making 50% of AMI (area median income) to afford median-priced rental housing, was greatest in non-growth management Fairfax County. Interestingly, affordability increased in Fairfax County for both owner-occupied and rental housing from 1990 to 2000, in part because of a dramatic increase in median income. The study begs for additional research and analysis.

The remaining essays deal with smart growth and affordable housing, the academic evidence regarding the relationship between

growth management and affordable housing, the effect of affordable and multifamily housing on the value of nearby homes, and the promise and practice of inclusionary zoning. One consistent theme through each essay is the finding that no one policy or program is going to address the multitude of issues surrounding growth and housing affordability. The multifaceted nature of growth management and affordable housing policies requires the use of numerous tools and customization based on the specific situation of the community and its goals.

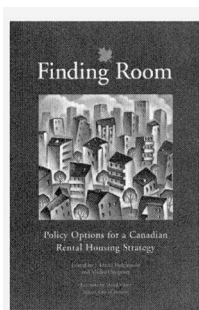
So, does growth management aid or thwart the production of affordable housing? The answer seems to be that properly planned and executed growth management can create a better quality of life for residents, and it can be done without exacerbating affordability problems. But such a program requires clearly articulated goals, an entire arsenal of policies and programs, political and community support, and constant reassessment and revision. While such conditions may prove elusive, they at least provide a guidepost for planners and elected officials to continue in their important work of addressing the ongoing issues of growth management and affordable housing. The research provided in this book is yet one more tool that could be used to craft policies that successfully manage growth *and* provide affordable housing.

Richard M. Haughey

Haughey is the Director of Multifamily Development for the Urban Land Institute. He is currently conducting research for, writing, and editing *Developing Housing for the Workforce: A Toolkit*, which looks at regulatory mechanisms to encourage the production of workforce housing and successful case studies. The book will be published in late 2005.

Finding Room: Policy Options for a Canadian Rental Housing Strategy

J. David Hulchanski and Michael Shapcott, editors. CUCS Press, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2004. 472 pages. \$29.95 (paperback).



Rental housing is all too often the neglected stepchild in housing policy debates. Especially in recent years, much of the housing policy attention in economically advanced countries has been toward home ownership, which is often naively perceived as the elixir for all ailments of urban areas and their residents.

How refreshing it is, then, to come upon this wide-ranging and in-depth examination of rental housing policy in Canada. The volume stems from a conference hosted by the University of Toronto's Centre for Urban and Community Studies in June, 2003, and contains 27 chapters by two dozen authors from business, government, and academia. Most of the bread-and-butter topics of housing policy are covered, including the respective roles of national, provincial, and municipal governments; demand and supply side strategies for promoting housing affordability; homelessness; discrimination; and public/private partnerships. Also presented are several boutique topics: aboriginal housing issues, housing and health, and co-operative housing among them.

The strengths of *Finding Room* are several. The scope of issues and perspectives contained in this one volume is unusually broad. While wide-ranging, the coverage is also focused. The conference organizers asked participants to suggest practical strategies to improve the situations of renters in the bottom half of the income distribution, and contributors for the most part honored that request. The book is timely, coming at a time when Canada is reassessing its housing policies. And it is an impressive achievement to publish a handsome, logically organized volume of this size and number of contributors within 15 months of the conference.

Certain features of *Finding Room* are less satisfying. With so many contributors, some redundancy is hard to avoid. At the same time, readers not familiar with the housing markets, institutions, and governmental roles in Canada will need to pick up this knowledge on the fly, as the volume lacks an introduction to Canadian housing. Similarly, while several of the chapters sprinkle in international comparisons, readers from outside Canada would benefit from some more direct comparisons with other countries. The diversity of the contributing authors results in some unevenness in approach; some chapters are research articles and others are speeches and position statements. Overall, it is a book best sampled, chapter by chapter, depending on the reader's interest, rather than read from front to back.

While the coverage of *Finding Room* is impressive, one topic central to the debate over rental housing policy receives less focused attention than it deserves. The roles of land use policy, zoning, and building codes in determining what can be built and where are widely acknowledged as key drivers of housing costs, yet these regulatory controls over housing supply are mentioned only in passing in this collection.

But a reviewer has to stretch to find omissions from *Finding Room*. Written to be accessible and relevant to a variety of readers, *Finding Room* is sure to be a standard reference for all those interested in Canadian housing policy. Its comprehensive coverage of both current issues and longer-run policy topics makes it a resource not only for today but also for years to come.

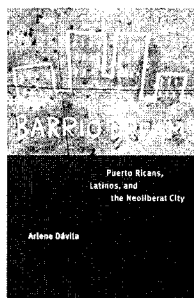
Jack Goodman

Goodman is a housing economist whose consulting practice, Hartrey Advisors, helps clients in industry, government, and academia. He previously served as chief economist for the National Multi Housing Council and as chairman of the Planning Commission of Arlington County, Virginia.

Community Development and Neighborhood Planning

Barrio Dreams: Puerto Ricans, Latinos, and the Neoliberal City

Arlene Dávila. University of California Press, Berkeley, 2004. 260 pages. \$50, \$19.95 (paperback).



The barrio in this book is East Harlem, New York, which originally housed Italians in working-class tenements, and later became known as Spanish Harlem. It is now the main enclave of Mexican immigrants in Manhattan. Arlene Dávila studies this community in order to shed light on how minority groups deal with one another and with the larger urban changes in which their neighborhood is enveloped.

The case offers many insights about urban change. From the perspective of New York's planners and political leaders, East Harlem is a redevelopment site—valuable territory skirting Central Park and on the northern fringe of Manhattan's upper-middle-class East Side. This immediately poses the question of who will benefit from changes, and Dávila devotes three chapters to this issue. One chapter analyzes new housing development and renovation, "affordable housing" that the author describes as being well out of reach of the immigrants that the area currently serves. Even when these projects are sponsored by local nonprofit organizations, she argues, they contribute more to gentrification than to solving residents' housing needs. Another chapter reviews the implementation of empowerment zone legislation in the neighborhood, particularly the Cultural Industry Investment Fund that funneled tens of millions of dollars into Upper Manhattan. Dávila points out that little of that money was invested in East Harlem itself, and complains that grassroots cultural groups could not effectively compete against more mainstream institutions such as the Museum of the City of New York and El Museo del Barrio. A third chapter deals with a proposal (eventually abandoned) to build the headquarters of the Edison Corporation, a charter school sponsored by Edison, and a new Museum for African Art in the heart of the neighborhood. All three illustrate Dávila's concept of neoliberalism, which she describes as a policy framework that depends on private investment and profitability as the drivers of urban development. Despite the available mechanisms for residents to press their own interests in the political process, she believes that they are playing a losing hand.

Reinforcing this conclusion is a critical but realistic evaluation of the internal schisms within the East Harlem community. During the 1960s and 1970s, the area was predominantly Puerto Rican, and Puerto Ricans remain the best represented group in local politics. In ethnic terms, one source of tension is the longstanding relationship between Puerto Ricans (newcomers in the early postwar years) and African Americans (who always outnumbered them in the larger Harlem arena). Dávila reports that Puerto Ricans today acknowledge the benefits that they have gleaned in the past from coalition with African American politicians, but suspect that their interests have diverged. Another tension is between Puerto Ricans and the