

EARLY RESIDENT EXPERIENCES AT A NEW MIXED-INCOME DEVELOPMENT IN CHICAGO

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ABSTRACT: *Mixed-income development is an increasingly popular poverty deconcentration strategy in the United States but there have been few in-depth studies about the experiences of residents once they move in to the new housing developments. This article explores the early experiences of residents of all income levels who have moved into a new mixed-income development on the south side of Chicago. In-depth interviews have been conducted with 46 residents of the development, including 23 former public housing residents. Interviews were also conducted with a comparison group of 69 public housing residents who did not move to the development. I find that public housing movers appear to be a substantially different group than non-movers. I find that overall satisfaction with the new development is quite high among residents of all income levels. Early social relations are limited, particularly across income levels, and there are key barriers to interaction, such as physical design, stigma and assumptions based on class and housing status, and segregated associational structures.*

Mixed-income development is an increasingly popular poverty deconcentration strategy that is being implemented across the United States and in several European countries (Bailey, Haworth, Manzi, Paranagamage, & Roberts, 2006; Berube, 2005; Brophy & Smith, 1997; Galster, 2007; Joseph, 2006; Joseph, Chaskin, & Webber, 2007; Khadduri, 2001; Kleit, 2005; Musterd & Andersson, 2005; Popkin et al., 2004; Rosenbaum, Stroh, & Flynn, 1998; Schwartz & Tajbakhsh, 1997; Silverman, Lupton, & Fenton 2005; Smith, 2002). A key policy arena in the United States in which large-scale mixed-income development has been implemented is public housing. In 1992, the federal government launched the 4.5 billion dollar HOPE VI program (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere) to support the redevelopment of severely distressed public housing. Although many of the early HOPE VI grants were used to rehabilitate developments as exclusively public housing, by 1995 the thrust of the program had shifted to promoting mixed-income redevelopment (for reviews of the HOPE VI program see Popkin, 2007 and Popkin et. al., 2004).

A massive transformation of public housing is currently underway in Chicago funded in part with HOPE VI grants. In 1999, the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) launched the 10-year "Plan for Transformation" that will demolish all high-rise public housing developments, disperse public housing residents throughout the metropolitan area, and, eventually, relocate over 6,000 households into public housing units in 10 mixed-income developments currently under

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JOURNAL OF URBAN AFFAIRS, Volume 30, Number 3, pages 229–257.

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ISSN: 0735-2166.

construction, that will include over 16,000 subsidized and market-rate units (Chicago Housing Authority, 2006). This article draws on a longitudinal exploratory research study at Jazz on the Boulevard, a new mixed-income development on the south side of Chicago.

The increased national and local investment in mixed-income development is driven by recognition on the part of policymakers that segregating low-income families in poorly maintained, high-density public housing was a flawed policy. Starting with Wilson (1987), a number of scholars have described the concentration effects that result when families living in poverty are isolated from other families (see, for example, Jargowsky, 1997; Jargowsky & Bane, 1990; Ricketts & Sawhill, 1986; Wilson, 1987, 1996). The creation of mixed-income developments is intended to reverse this social isolation by attracting residents with higher incomes back to the inner city while maintaining affordable and public housing for lower income residents.

The overarching research question explored in this article is: what are the early experiences of residents in this new mixed-income development? To investigate this question requires exploring a number of related questions. Who are the residents who decide to move this mixed-income development and what drove their decision? How are the public housing residents who decide, and are eligible, to move to this development, different, if at all, from the general public housing population? Beside income and housing subsidy, in what ways do the former public housing residents differ from other residents in the new development? How satisfied are residents with the new development and what factors appear to shape their early experiences? Of particular interest is whether there is early evidence that suggests that public housing residents will benefit from living in a mixed-income development and to what extent there are downsides to their new environment.

While it is far too early to reach any conclusions about the impact of life in a mixed-income development, I find that this is an important phase of the development to document, as the implications of strategic decisions about the development start to become evident and early social relations begin to unfold. I find promising resident assessments about the quality of life in the new development but also uncover structural and interpersonal obstacles that may hinder meaningful social interaction.

The article is organized as follows. I briefly describe the national and local context for the study. I then present a theoretical framework that guides my empirical investigation here. Next, I review the existing evidence about resident experiences in mixed-income developments. I then present early findings from this exploratory case study and identify implications for mixed-income policy and practice.

BACKGROUND

The current large-scale implementation of mixed-income development¹ in Chicago is the latest wave of investment in socioeconomically integrated housing that has been growing across the country for several years. As of 2006, through the HOPE VI program, 236 revitalization grants have been awarded in 127 cities since 1993 (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2007; for HOPE VI redevelopment case studies, see for example, Baker, Buron, & Holin, 2000, Holin & Amendolia, 2001, Turbov & Piper, 2005). As of 2005, 63,100 units had been demolished and 20,300 were slated for redevelopment (Popkin, Cunningham, & Burt, 2005). Through public-private partnerships outside of the HOPE VI program, mixed-income development has also been promoted in areas of the country such as northern California (Brophy & Smith, 1997), Massachusetts (Pader & Breitbart, 2003; Roessner, 2000; Ryan, Sloan, Seferi, & Werby, 1974) and Montgomery County, Maryland (Brophy & Smith, 1997).

Policymakers in Chicago began experimenting with mixed-income development prior to the launch of the Plan for Transformation in 1999. In 1991, Lake Parc Place was created on the south

side lakefront (Rosenbaum, Stroh & Flynn, 1998; Mason, 1998). The redevelopments at Cabrini Green Homes and Henry Horner Homes were initiated before 1999 and later incorporated into the larger scale transformation (Bennett, 1998; Salama, 1999; Smith, 2001).

The Jazz on the Boulevard development (Jazz), the focus of this article, is located in North Kenwood-Oakland, a community that has experienced two decades of controversial efforts to restructure the public housing located in the neighborhood (for more on the recent history of public housing in the neighborhood see Pattillo, 2007, and Rosenbaum, Stroh, & Flynn, 1998). The Jazz development represents an important component of the city's commitment to enable public housing residents to be part of this rapidly gentrifying neighborhood.

Jazz on the Boulevard was selected as the subject of this exploratory study on resident experiences in mixed-income developments for several reasons. Of the 10 new mixed-income developments in Chicago, Jazz is the smallest, was the first to complete construction, and will be the first to begin the full occupancy phase. An innovative feature of Jazz is the manner in which the public housing units are integrated throughout all of the buildings in the development, including those with for-sale units. Thus there is an intentional effort on the part of the developer, Thrush-Drexel, Inc., to place residents of different housing statuses in physical proximity to each other. To develop and support the development, the for-profit real estate developer has partnered with a non-profit housing developer, Heartland Housing, which has experience complementing the bricks and mortar process with attention to resident supports and community engagement.

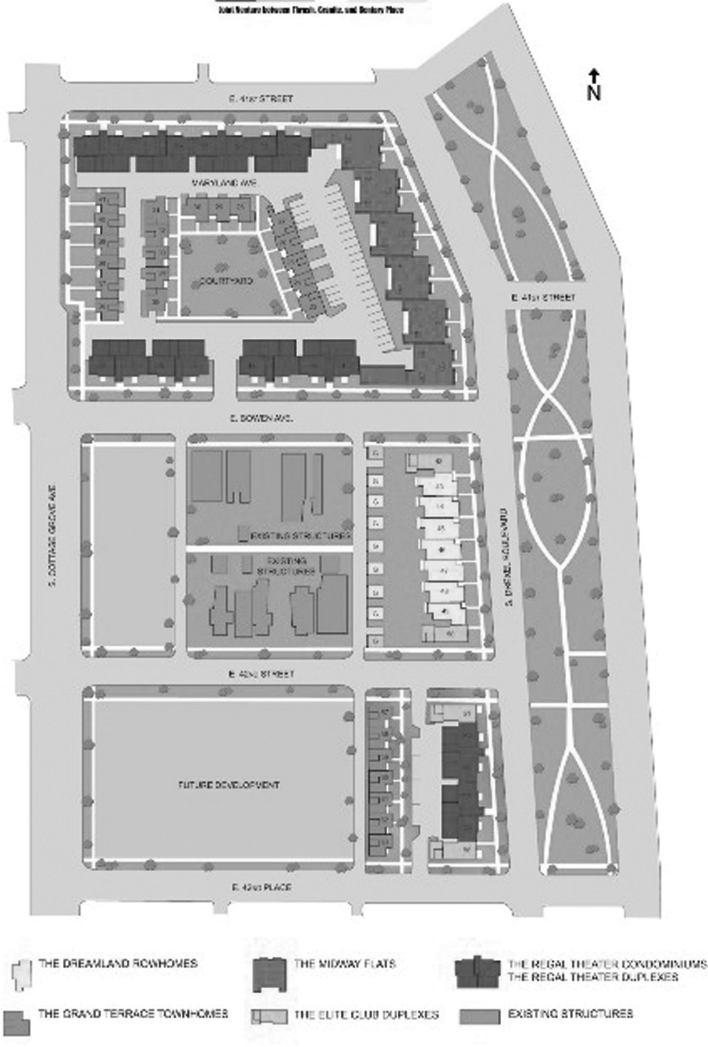
The Jazz development has 137 units, with 39 rental and 98 for-sale units. Construction was completed in 2007 and full occupancy is expected in early 2008. Thirty of the rental units are reserved for former public housing residents and receive an operating subsidy from the housing authority.² Seventy-one of the for-sale units will have no income restrictions and will sell for between \$200,000 and \$600,000. The remaining rental and for-sale units are subsidized, using Low Income Housing Tax Credits and Tax Increment Financing subsidies, and will be priced more affordably.

The first residents of market-rate units in the development began moving in during August 2005, and the first residents of Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) units moved in during December 2005.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Some important theoretical propositions frame my investigation of resident experiences in mixed-income developments. A key starting point, as mentioned above, is the theory of social isolation and concentration effects (Wilson, 1987). While there are a range of macrostructural factors that have been proposed as causes of persistent concentrated urban poverty, including the restructuring of the U.S. economy resulting in spatial and skills mismatches, and persistent structural inequities in access to education, employment, and housing, a widely accepted causal factor is the migration of higher-income families out of inner city neighborhoods (Jargowsky, 1997; Jargowsky & Bane, 1990; Ricketts & Sawhill, 1986; Wilson, 1987, 1996). This out-migration has resulted in the increased social isolation of families living in poverty. Not only do these families have to contend with their own deprivation but they are surrounded by others trapped in similar circumstances in communities where a cycle of social marginalization and economic disinvestment has taken hold. The result is a disconnection from the social and economic mainstream, which works against social mobility and productive engagement in society (Wilson, 1987).

There are currently two policy strategies to address this social isolation: the "dispersal" approach of moving low-income families into more affluent areas of the city, and mixed-income development, the strategy of attracting more affluent families back into low-income communities and retaining low-income housing in gentrifying areas (Goetz, 2003). The experience of



Site Plan

MAP 1

Jazz on the Boulevard Site Plan

residents relocated through dispersal strategies has been researched much more extensively than that of residents who move into mixed-income developments, through research on scattered-site programs, the Gautreaux program in Chicago, the federal Moving to Opportunity program, and a panel study on residents relocated through the HOPE VI program (Briggs, 1997; Hogan, 1996; Orr et al., 2003; Popkin, 2007; Popkin et al., 2004; Rosenbaum, 1995; Rosenbaum

et al. 1991). The focus of my current research is the resident experience in mixed-income developments.

Building mixed-income developments with housing for residents from various income levels could improve the quality of life for low-income residents in at least four ways (see Joseph, 2006; Joseph, Chaskin, & Webber, 2007; and Kleit, 2001b for more detailed examinations of the theoretical basis for confronting poverty through mixed-income development). First, residential proximity may lead to social interaction among neighbors of different incomes and backgrounds and through this social interaction, low-income residents could be connected to social networks that provide access to resources, information, and employment (Briggs, 1998; Granovetter, 1973, 1995; Kleit, 2001a, 2001b; Lin, Ensel, & Vaughn, 1981a, 1981b). Second, the presence of higher-income residents could lead to higher levels of accountability to social norms through increased informal social control (Janowitz, 1975; Kornhauser, 1978; Sampson & Groves, 1989; Shaw & McKay, 1969). Third, and most controversially, it is often suggested that the presence of higher-income residents would bring role models who could demonstrate more productive lifestyles and norms, which could in turn promote individual behavioral change among lower-income residents, particularly youth (Briggs, 1997; Ellen & Turner, 1997; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Wilson, 1987). Fourth, the influence of higher-income residents could generate new local leadership capacity, market demand, and political pressure to which external political and economic actors are more likely to respond (Chaskin, Brown, Venkatesh, & Vidal, 2001; Logan & Molotch, 1987). Joseph, Chaskin, and Webber (2007) demonstrate that even without social interaction across income levels, a theoretical case can be made for the benefit of mixed-income housing to low-income residents.

It is also important to consider the limitations and possible negative effects of mixed-income development. The rationale for mixed-income development is drawn primarily from social capital, social disorganization, and cultural explanations of persistent poverty. Culture of poverty explanations, in particular, has been hotly debated in the literature. This focus results in characterizing families in poverty in terms of their deficits while perhaps overestimating the assets that are expected from the middle class families being attracted back to the inner city (Pattillo, 2007). Furthermore, the use of existing land owned by public housing authorities for a mix of lower-density market-rate and subsidized units necessarily means reducing (often drastically) the number of units available for low-income families at a time when the nation is facing acute affordable housing shortages (Vale, 2006). Additionally, while life in a mixed-income development might represent an improvement for some low-income families, there are a number of ways in which the new environment could actually have negative aspects. Briggs (1997) has argued that increased stigma, relative deprivation, and loss of local influence could be detrimental to the low-income families who will most often be in the minority within the new developments. For example, Pattillo (2007) has carefully documented the tensions inherent in a gentrifying urban neighborhood where the key divisive social construct is class, not race (see also Pader and Breitbart, 2003).³ Finally, and perhaps most importantly, because the mixed-income development strategy does not address broader structural and systemic causes of poverty, its potential for impacting social mobility is necessarily limited (Joseph, 2006; Joseph, Chaskin, & Webber, 2007; Vale, 1998).

EXISTING EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

There is not much research on the experiences of residents in mixed-income developments. In their research at Harbor Point in Boston, Pader and Breitbart (1993) found that former public housing residents perceived the new development in very positive terms while the market-rate tenants had more qualified assessments with a focus on the continued improvement needed.

Residents from the two groups also often had differing perceptions about appropriate public behavior.

There is a particular paucity of empirical research that has explicitly explored theories about social control, social networks, and role modeling in mixed-income developments. The evidence that is available suggests that the primary benefit of the new developments is increased order and social control, but it is unclear how much of this is due to the actions of higher-income residents, and how much is due to the screening and high-quality property management (Brophy and Smith, 1997; Joseph, Chaskin, & Webber, 2007; Rosenbaum, Stroh, & Flynn, 1998; Smith, 2002). Rosenbaum and colleagues' research (1998) at Lake Parc Place in Chicago found that higher-income residents of a mixed-income development were more stringent about upholding rules and regulations and promoting informal social control (Rosenbaum, Stroh, & Flynn, 1998).

Regarding social networks, there is little evidence yet that the level of interaction that will emerge among residents of mixed-income developments will be enough to facilitate the sharing of employment and other information (Brophy & Smith, 1997; Buron, Popkin, Levy, Harris, & Khadduri 2002; Hogan, 1996; Kleit 2001a, 2001b, 2005; Rosenbaum, Stroh, & Flynn, 1998; Ryan, Sloan, Seferi, & Werby, 1974). At the New Holly development in Seattle, Kleit (2005) found that where interaction did occur, proximity within the development, community events, and the presence of children in the household were facilitating factors. In her study of scattered-site public housing in Montgomery County, Maryland, Kleit (2001a) found that public housing residents were likely to have helping relationships with their homeowner neighbors. She also found (2001b) that public housing residents living among more affluent neighbors were less likely to seek job search support from their neighbors than those living exclusively among other public housing neighbors. Varady, Raffel, Sweeny, & Denson (2005) found evidence of tensions between renters and owners in their comparative study of four mixed-income developments.

While role-modeling of a more distal nature—that is, the impact of seeing neighbors engage in a daily routine of work—may take place, there is little evidence at this time that through direct interaction, higher-income residents will promote behavioral change among adult lower-income residents (Kleit, 2005; Mason, 1998; Rosenbaum, Stroh, & Flynn, 1998).

METHODOLOGY

A mixed-methods approach is used in this study. The particular approach used here is a concurrent nested strategy where the overall study methodology is qualitative in nature and quantitative methods are used to examine specific questions and frame the qualitative findings (Creswell, 2003). The qualitative analysis forms the core of the research here: given the exploratory nature of my investigation at this stage of knowledge-building, I have prioritized open-ended, in-depth questioning as a means of generating rich descriptions of resident perspectives and experiences. The supplemental quantitative analysis is used to provide descriptive information about the interview sample and its subgroups and to suggest salient characteristics and variables that might be distinguishing factors within and across subgroups. Given the small sample sizes, these quantitative comparisons are intended as suggestive, exploratory analyses that can be investigated with more precision where survey opportunities with larger resident samples are possible.

As I describe later, selection issues present a fundamental challenge to research on mixed-income development populations given that residents self-select into the developments and some subgroups are carefully screened for eligibility. Most studies, like this one, will have to limit generalizability to those residents who choose, and are selected, to live in a mixed-income development, as opposed to the universe of potential residents. Without an experimental design,

conclusions about the causal effect of mixed-income residence will be elusive. To the extent possible, I undertake some comparisons among public housing residents to draw suggestive conclusions about the nature of some of these differences due to selection.

DATA

This article is drawn mainly from in-depth interviews conducted between November 2006 and March 2007, with 46 residents who had been living in the development for at least one month.⁴ Of these 46, 23 were former public housing residents, five were residents of subsidized rental units,⁵ eight were residents of subsidized for-sale units, and 10 were residents of market-rate for sale units (see Table 1 for a summary of the interview sample). The primary focus of this study is on mixed-income development as a means of supporting families in poverty, so we attempted to fully census the population of former public housing residents at Jazz. Of the 24 former public housing residents who had been living at Jazz for at least a month, only one declined to participate in an in-depth interview. To also explore the perspectives and experiences of higher-income residents, we randomly sampled from the rest of the resident population at Jazz and were able to get interviews with 23 other residents.

In an earlier research phase, interviews were conducted with a convenience sample of 69 individuals drawn from a pool of approximately 180 public housing residents who expressed interest in moving to the Jazz development. All of these individuals either were not selected or decided not to move to Jazz. This forms a comparison group to help explore how the residents who moved to Jazz are similar or different from the broader population of public housing residents who had retained their right to return to one of the new mixed-income developments.

Residents were recruited for in-person interviews that lasted between one hour and 90 minutes through mail, phone, and in-person contacts. Refusal rates among those we were able to contact by phone were 4% among the public housing movers sample, 21% among the subsidized renters and homeowners at Jazz, and 7% among the comparison public housing sample. In cases where there were two adults in the residence, we allowed them to determine who would participate in the interview; most times we only had contact with one of them. However, in the handful of cases in which both adults wanted to participate in the interview together, we identified our primary contact as the respondent for purposes of tracking the demographics of the sample. Summary interview notes were written after each interview and reviewed for initial identification of emerging themes. Interviews were audiotaped, transcribed, and coded with Nvivo software using themes derived both deductively from the theoretical framework and literature review and inductively from the field note and transcript analysis.

TABLE 1

Jazz Residents Interview Sample

	Projected final population	Population at Time of interviews*	Interview sample
Former public housing residents	30	24	23
Subsidized renters	9	9	5
Subsidized homeowners	27	24	8
Market-rate homeowners	71	41	10
Total Jazz residents	137	98	46

*Who had been living at Jazz for at least a month as of January 2007.

FINDINGS

Who are the Residents?

A fundamental empirical question about mixed-income developments is: who will choose to live there? A variety of factors such as policy context, the local real estate market, and development design and amenities, will influence this differently across cities and neighborhoods—but some core trends might be similar: namely, which public housing residents choose to return and are able to meet the selection criteria, and what is the background of other households who choose to live in mixed-income developments? Here, I take these questions in turn, first comparing our sample of former public housing residents at Jazz to the baseline comparison group from the general CHA population, and then analyzing the characteristics of our full resident sample at Jazz.

Former Public Housing Residents

There are many reasons to expect that the population of public housing residents who move into mixed-income developments will be substantially different from those who do not. Although there was a randomized lottery to assign a housing choice order to all interested residents of public housing,⁶ there are strong selection issues. First, there are specific selection criteria, established by the Chicago Housing Authority and by a “working group” of local stakeholders at each new development, which residents must meet in order to be eligible for a new unit. The basic criteria include lease compliance in current unit, working at least 30 hours a week, no unpaid utility bills, no recent criminal convictions, and passing a drug test. Second, residents can elect not to accept a mixed-income development unit if one is offered and, in Chicago, as around the nation, a higher proportion than anticipated have decided not to return even when units have been made available (Popkin, 2007). Our interviews with the baseline of “potential Jazz residents” suggest that there are several reasons for the lack of interest in the new units including: lack of desire to move again once established in a new location, concerns about the new developments including small unit sizes, the stigma of being a former public housing resident in a mixed-setting, and stringent monitoring, and a desire to maintain the flexibility of a housing choice voucher, which can be used to make multiple moves, even out-of-state. The selection issues result, not only from the mandated screening, but also from the fact that it is likely that there are underlying nonrandom factors that might cause some residents to prefer to return and others not to.

The comparison of movers and non-movers suggests that these are indeed two very different populations (See Table 2). Some characteristics of the two groups are similar, reflecting ways in which the overall public housing population is relatively homogenous. Both groups are almost exclusively female and African American and average about 50 years old. About half of each group has children in the household, and less than 10% of both groups are married. The groups had similar levels of satisfaction with their previous units and community, and it appears that the extent of their social ties with family and friends in their former developments were quite similar.

But the groups appear to differ in some statistically significant ways. Almost three-quarters of the movers in our sample are currently employed compared with just over a third of the non-movers. This is a prime example of the built-in selection process, since only working residents are eligible to live in all but one of the new mixed-income developments in Chicago; only heads of household with a disability or who are retired are exempted from this requirement.⁷ As would be expected, education and income levels are distributed similarly to employment levels. Movers in the sample have a high school graduation rate of over 80% compared with a non-mover rate

TABLE 2

Comparison of Public Housing Residents Jazz Movers and Non-Movers

	Non-Movers n = 69	Movers n = 23
Demographics		
% female	88.5%	95.7%
Mean age	49.19	48.0
% African American	97.1%	100%
Household structure		
Mean HH size	3.26**	1.65**
% children in HH	56.5%	47.8%
% married	7.2%	8.7%
Education		
% high school	30.4%^	82.6%^
% college	1.4%^	13%^
% graduate school	0%	0%
Income		
Median Income	\$11,928**	\$25,200**
Residential history		
% in public housing <10yrs	11.6%^	0%^
% in public housing whole life	29%	47.6%
% from high-rise	31.9%^	43.5%^
Public housing satisfaction		
% dissatisfied with public housing unit	36.2%	30.4%
% dissatisfied with previous community	34.7%	34.7%
Labor market access		
% employed	36.2%^	73.9%^
% own a car	26.1%^	52.2%^
Health		
% poor or fair physical health	39.1%^	17.3%^
% poor or fair mental/ emotional health	30.4%^	4.3%^
Social ties		
% few/many family members in CHA dev.	27.9%	21.7%
% few/many friends in CHA dev.	55.9%	56.5%
% few/many higher-income relationships	48.5%	65%
Value of mixed-income		
% expect to gain from living with higher-income residents	67.2%^	40.9%^

** t-test significant at the 99% confidence level.

^ Chi-squared test significant at the 95% confidence level.

of about 30%. Thirteen percent of movers have a college degree compared with less than 2% of non-movers. The mean income among movers is over \$25,200, more than twice as much as the mean income of about \$11,928 among non-movers.

Almost half of the movers in the sample had lived in public housing their *entire* lives compared to less than a third of non-movers. This could suggest that because non-movers, on average, may have spent more time in the private rental market, they were more open to remaining outside of a development setting. Household size seems to differ substantially between the two groups: whereas movers average between one and two household members, non-movers average over three members. This most certainly reflects the predominance of smaller one and two-bedroom units in the new developments compared to the larger, multi-bedroom units in the CHA developments and available in the private market. This makes the mixed-income developments less attractive or even infeasible to families with large households.

Self-reported health status also represents a major difference among these populations. Less than 20% of movers reported being in fair or poor physical health compared with almost 40% of non-movers. Even more striking, less than 5% of movers reported being in poor mental or emotional health compared with about 30% of non-movers. Given the rigors of the administrative processes to be navigated in order to secure a unit in the new developments—meetings to be attended in various locations around the city, assessments by social service providers as well as property management, documents to be collected and verified, visits to the new development, not to mention the challenge of securing and sustaining employment—it is not surprising that those in poor physical or mental health would be less likely to make it into the group of movers.

An intriguing and unexpected difference among movers and non-movers was their opinions about the value of living around more affluent neighbors. Whereas almost 70% of the non-movers told us that they thought there would be a benefit to living in a mixed-income development, only about 40% of movers expressed the same opinion. A possible explanation for this counter-intuitive finding is that the movers are “higher functioning,” to use the description shared with us by a social service provider at the development, and they felt that they had less to gain from higher-income neighbors than did non-movers.

Characteristics of the Full Jazz Resident Population

Besides the differences between public housing movers and non-movers, there are some interesting empirical questions about the characteristics of higher-income Jazz residents and the differences between that group and the group of former public housing residents.



MAP 2A–2D

TABLE 3

Comparison of Jazz Residents

	Former public housing residents <i>n</i> = 23	Subsidized renters <i>n</i> = 5	Subsidized homeowners <i>n</i> = 8	Market-rate homeowners <i>n</i> = 10
% female	96%	60%	100%	60%
Mean age	48	51	40	40
% African American	100%	100%	75%	70%
Household structure				
Mean HH size	1.7	2.3	1.6	1.8
% children in HH	48%	80%	38%	30%
% married	9%	0%	25%	50%
Education				
% high school	83%	100%	100%	100%
% college	13%	40%	63%	80%
% graduate school	0%	0%	38%	50%
Income				
% < \$40,000	100%	60%	12%	0%
% > \$120,000	0%	0%	25%	70%

Given the small sample sizes, significance tests were not conducted for this analysis. The results are provided here and discussed in the text for descriptive purposes.

An interesting pattern can be noted from a visual analysis of where current Jazz residents in the sample lived before they moved to Jazz (see Maps 2A–2D). For the most part, former public housing residents moved to Jazz from CHA developments or temporary private rental units in south side neighborhoods contiguous with North Kenwood-Oakland. The subsidized renters in the sample also mostly moved from neighborhoods on the south side of Chicago, although from further away than the former public housing residents. The subsidized homeowners in the sample have moved the greatest distance to purchase their home at Jazz. They previously lived on the north and south sides of the city, with one moving from the far northwest side and another from the far south side. Finally, the buyers of market-rate homes have moved from neighborhoods to the north of the development, but all within the central city. It is thus instructive to note that the most affluent residents attracted to Jazz had already demonstrated an interest in urban living, and were simply shifting to another side of town.

As would be expected, there are some major demographic differences besides income and housing subsidy, among residents of the various housing categories at Jazz (See Table 3). While our sample of former public housing residents is almost exclusively female, the sample of market-rate homeowners was 60% female. Interestingly, the sample of subsidized homeowners was 100% female.

Our sample of subsidized renters was 100% African American, just like the former public housing residents. However the sample of subsidized homeowners was 25% non-African American and the sample of market-rate homeowners was one-third non-African American. This is a higher level of racial diversity than may have been expected on the historically African-American south side of Chicago. There were two Caucasian respondents in the sample and the other non-African Americans identified themselves as being of Latino and Asian descent.

While the subsidized renters in the sample had a mean age of fifty, very similar to the age of the former public housing residents, the homeowners had a mean age about 10 years younger. Average household size is comparable across all housing categories at around two persons per household.

But among homeowners, the second person is often a spouse (50% of market-rate homeowners are married, as are 25% of the subsidized homeowners), while among former public housing residents the second person is more often a child (none of the subsidized renters are married; less than 9% of the former public housing residents are married). While the vast majority of all residents have a high school degree, the educational levels appear to vary widely across the various housing categories, in the direction that would be expected with higher-income residents having higher levels of education.

Demographic Comparisons to other Mixed-Income Developments

The Jazz development has the lowest proportion of former public housing residents (22%) of any of the new developments in Chicago; the other developments range from 24% to 63%. Similarly, the proportion of market-rate units at Jazz (52%) is the second highest in the city; the other developments range from 27% to 64% (Chicago Housing Authority, 2005). Compared to the three prominent mixed-income developments discussed in the literature review, Harbor Place, Lake Parc Place, and New Holly, Jazz has the lowest proportion of former public housing residents and the highest proportion of other residents. Demographic information on the other Chicago developments was not available, but compared to the three national developments, our sample at Jazz has the highest proportion of African-American residents across all housing categories. Former public housing residents at Jazz have substantially higher incomes, smaller household sizes, and lower marriage rates than at the three developments (where those statistics were available).

Why Did They Move to the Development?

A very important question for policymakers and developers of mixed-income developments is how strong the market demand will be for the new units. As discussed above, this has proven to be an even more challenging issue among public housing residents than among other renters and buyers. For most of the homeowners and subsidized renters in our sample, the decision to move to Jazz was driven by the fundamental elements of any real estate decision: price, location and, particularly for the market-rate buyers, the appreciation potential. Most of these residents told us that the appeal of the Jazz development lay in its affordability and its ideal location (walking distance from Lake Michigan, a 10-minute drive to downtown Chicago). Strikingly, only one out of the 23 homeowners and subsidized renters mentioned the mixed-income make-up of the development as a driving factor in their decision to move to Jazz. All but one of the homeowners and subsidized renters knew that Jazz was a mixed-income development prior to their decision to move to the development. These do not appear to be families seeking to be part of the city's grand experiment to transform inner city housing, but simply families making a real estate decision that met their basic interests.

In contrast, many of the former public housing residents who chose to move to Jazz were explicit about the importance of the demographic make-up of the development and the environment that they anticipated would be fostered as a result. The descriptive terms most frequently mentioned to explain what they sought (and had found) at Jazz were "peace" and "quiet." Rather than talking about their neighbors in terms of income levels, more often they referred to racial differences, level of employment, or, most often, differences in behavior and lifestyle. All of these descriptors are reflected in the following quote from a former public housing resident:

The thing I like most about it is it's real quiet and I'm able to get rest, because I have to go—everybody has to get up and go to work. And I don't hear all that chaos and noise that I used

to hear, so it's very quiet. And I love the people in the area, seeing different people of different races. You know, I never lived with, you know, people of a different race. I always was in [an] all-black, community. So now that I'm, you know, interacting with people of a different race, it's nice. I like it. They all are respectful, you know, and they stick together. You can't come over here with all that noise and all that.

Some residents were even more explicit about the types of people (and behaviors) they were seeking to avoid in moving to the new development. A few talked in general terms about wanting to be in a development with a limited number of public housing residents. Several referred to drug-use and drug-dealing and other illegal or delinquent behavior, while others talked about lifestyle issues and prevailing social norms. For example, one parent of a son and a daughter described being driven by her concerns about her children's social context:

When we were at [our former development], we had all the gang-bangers, pants hanging all off your butt, and I didn't want that for my son. And then the girls over there started having babies much, much younger. I didn't want that for my daughter, so that's why I made sure she didn't go to school in the community and make friends outside.

Just as they described the reasons for not wanting to be around certain people, the residents also described what they hoped to gain from being around other types of people. For some, the appeal was simply being in a more diverse setting that more accurately reflected the broader world in which they, and their children, have to operate. A mother of a teenage son told us:

I think one of the most important things [about moving to a mixed-income development] was exposing my son to different opportunities and different people. Not that I don't want him to know our people. I'm a very, very proud black woman, very proud. But this world is not just black. This world is not just black and white either. You have to be able to live with, and communicate with, all people in order to be successful. And you need an area that will make that happen for you, and you need to be somewhere where those people in that area can come together and feel safe together and get to know each other.

Both of the previous quotes also demonstrate a theme we⁸ heard frequently of parents wanting a better environment, not necessarily for themselves, but for their children.

What Are Their Perspectives on Mixed-Income Development?

For the most part, market-rate homeowners anticipated little personal benefit from living in a mixed-income environment. All had lived in city neighborhoods prior to moving to Jazz and were used to a certain level of socioeconomic diversity in their surroundings. For the subsidized homeowners, the primary benefit of mixed-income development was being able to purchase a new home in a great location. One told us:

I think everybody should have the opportunity to have decent housing. . . It makes me feel good to know that people who cannot afford to buy a home are being given the opportunity to live in a clean nice building with good quality appliances.

A majority, 15 of the 23 former public housing residents, while happy to have gotten a new unit and move into a more peaceful, orderly environment, had no particular expectations of any other benefits from their new neighbors. They planned to keep to themselves and, as several told

us, mind their own business. Among this group of residents, there seemed to be a sense that the best way to maintain their residence in the new development was to keep a low profile.

In contrast, about 40% of the former public housing residents and all five of the subsidized renters in the sample felt that they and their families would benefit and grow personally from being a part of the new development. Our interview question simply asked if they saw any potential benefits from the mixed-income setting and, if so, what they were. As I discuss below, these respondents described a wide range of potential benefits, most of which echo concepts proposed by scholars and policymakers.

They talked, for example, about mixed-income housing providing an opportunity for social mobility and advancement, not just an improvement in housing quality. A former public housing resident explained it this way:

If you want people to do better, you have to show them better and expose them to better. You can't expect someone to live in poverty and live in oppression and necessarily want to get out . . . If you never show someone what it's like to run through the grass, they will walk in the dirt, and be content with that. . . . The issue for me is the opportunity to see, and be able to do better with your life.

A subsidized renter had a similar perspective:

I think it's a heck of an opportunity for people to move from one level to another level, in terms of integration in a community. I think it's a heck of an opportunity for the moms and dads as well as the children.

Some of the former public housing residents described concrete ways in which they thought they could benefit from their more affluent neighbors. Several were confident that the homeowners would be attentive to the upkeep of the development and would not tolerate disorderly behavior. Some mentioned their hope that they could get information and networks to job opportunities. For example, one former public housing resident stated:

Maybe I can get a hook-up [from the higher-income neighbors]. Maybe it's beneficial to me. . . . Hey, let me talk to somebody you know. Yeah, we be like "The Jeffersons." I'm looking to move on up.

Another said:

You can get information from [the higher-income neighbors]. If they're proud of the place they work at, they can talk about it . . . you can find maybe an opportunity where you can get an application and go in.

Furthermore, several of the former public housing residents and subsidized renters agreed that having people of different backgrounds living in the same development would promote opportunities for people to learn how to live in a diverse community and to learn from their neighbors. Some mentioned watching their new neighbors' routines and habits to see how others do things. Some anticipated that this could lead them to change their own behavior.

I say [mixed-income development] is a kind of positive thing. Because, you know, you have different kind of people you're living with now. Everybody's not the same, so you kind of learn to adjust to that, you know, then live with that . . . like, everybody's not whooping and hollering and the screaming, like you do in CHA. You learn to live alone, quieter and little more—you

learn to live with the mixed income people. And it makes you kind of change your ways a little bit.

Particularly intriguing was the sense among the lower-income residents that the more affluent residents stood to gain from the opportunity to develop a more realistic and positive opinion about poor people and how they live. Often they spoke in terms of race as well as income and invoked the images that white people have of black people. Some anticipated that they might be looked down on by their new neighbors. Several of the former public housing residents mentioned their concerns with how poor people are portrayed in the media and their hope that living together at Jazz would result in a broadened perspective among the other families. For example, one former public housing resident told us:

Some people have this idea of what they see on TV . . . You have to get to know people. People are not subjects. People are not statistics. People are not caricatures. People are human beings, and once . . . you live amongst a different variety of people, you get to break down those barriers and those conceptions that are mainly false And someone who has always had better, and never gotten to interact with other people, will never get to know how genuine all people are. . . .

Another said:

(Higher-income, white residents) can see how we're living. We can live good too . . . go back and tell their friends. . . . "It's nice over there, I've got a nice black lady [next door]" . . . let them know that we have some pride.

Not many of the higher-income residents raised this point of view, but those that did were quite articulate about the importance of meeting and learning about people living in different life circumstances. One homeowner described her exposure to a different segment of the population:

I've met so many interesting people that I would never have met. School teachers, hardworking people, people trying to support children, single moms. Hardworking people that I would have never have come across.

Another homeowner was more explicit about the need to have stereotypes challenged:

[Living in a mixed-income development] will definitely open our eyes to what it's like on all the other sides. I mean, you know, this is a world of stereotypes still. Don't kid yourself into thinking that it's not. And that a lot of assumptions are made about people and the way that they live. And the best way to find out if those assumptions are true or not is to see it for your own, for yourself. With your own eyes.

While the market-rate homeowners did not have many expectations for benefits from the mixed-income setting, several did express some concerns with the arrangement. Some took issue with the fact that others were able to purchase or rent the same size and style units, while paying far less. As one stated, comparing his sales price with what he imagined that a subsidized homebuyer would pay:

But if I'm paying \$300,000, I don't think you should be paying \$150,000 for the same exact apartment, just because you can't afford it. I've worked hard. I've worked long for the salary I'm making. You know? I really want you to have a nice place, but I want you to have a nice place that you can afford. So I do think it's unfair.

The concern we heard most often was driven not by income mix per se, but by the integration of owners and renters in the development. Several of the homeowners expected that the renters would not have the same level of commitment and care for the development and stated that renters should not have the same privileges as owners.

What Have Been Their Experiences Thus Far?

Overall, most of the residents, across all housing categories, seem generally pleased with the new development and have a positive outlook on their residence there. In the following section, I focus on residents' general perspectives on their new surroundings, emerging efforts at social control, and early social relations among neighbors.

Satisfaction with the New Development

While most respondents expressed high overall levels of satisfaction with their apartments and townhomes in the new development, the former public housing residents we spoke to were particularly excited about their units. They especially liked being in a brand new unit and part of a newly designed development. The biggest concerns expressed across all resident categories about the units had to do with size issues: bedrooms that were too small, lack of storage space, garages too small. We also heard concerns from a number of respondents about the walls being too thin and failing to block the noise from neighbors' apartments. There were also a number of concerns about minor construction issues with items like the carpet, cabinets, and drawers that had to be rectified postoccupancy.

In terms of the development as a whole, homeowners are very pleased with the location and its proximity to the lake and to downtown Chicago. The biggest limitation of the development is the lack of retail in the surrounding area. Homeowners are anxious to see amenities like a quality grocery store, restaurants, a drycleaner, and a gas station opened nearby. For the former public housing residents, their satisfaction with the development is largely driven by the prevailing sense of peace and quiet and the sense of living around neighbors who respect the property of others.

Perceptions about Safety

Residents across all categories share a common concern about safety and security in the development. Some residents, particularly former public housing residents, are concerned about the security of their units. Compared to the concrete walls, steel doors, and elaborate door locks to which former public housing residents were accustomed in the old public housing developments, the doors, windows, and locks on the Jazz units are extremely flimsy. For those residents on the first floor with doors and yard areas that could be accessed directly from the street, these concerns were amplified. There were at least two break-ins to apartments in the first year of development occupancy and this has fueled these concerns.

Other residents, across categories, are concerned about safety in the broader neighborhood around the Jazz development. Several renters and homeowners complained about the loitering around the development and foot traffic through the development by non-residents. There is a commercial strip a block south of the development, that includes a convenience store and hair salon, and the constant loitering in front of the stores was mentioned in several of our interviews. While there has been some criminal activity at the development, including the break-ins and two car thefts, the discomfort seems driven, for the most part, not by any actual illicit activity, but by the perception based on all the loitering that there could be trouble. While these sentiments were

expressed by respondents of all income levels and racial backgrounds, the perceptions are clearly shaped by attitudes driven by race and expressed in both coded and explicit terms. For example, one African-American male homeowner told us:

I've seen a couple of your thug types hanging around and seen one guy working on his car in the street. You know? I didn't appreciate that. And then just a couple days I came by and then there's, you know, three guys just sitting in the car. The car's running and they're just sitting there. They're not talking. They're just sitting there. Obviously, they're waiting for somebody but, you know, they all got their hats pulled down and, you know, the baggy clothes and everything. Not that I have a problem with people wearing baggy clothes but, you know, it's not a good look, you know, if you want somebody to feel comfortable about, you know, the neighborhood.

While safety is a priority concern, it does not appear to be at a level that would cause residents to consider moving from the development. Again, all of the respondents had previous experience living in urban settings and seemed to accept the need for vigilance as a part of urban living. A female homeowner who is not African American told us:

You know, we heard about a couple of break-ins across the street. We go to the [community policing] meetings . . . but it's an inner city. You've got to be aware of the fact that these things go on. But I haven't felt threatened. I haven't felt unsafe walking from here to the lake and I do that regularly. People are courteous. People will normally nod and we say "hello."

Social Control and Governance

The task of managing behavior in this environment with its mix of resident statuses and affiliations is a process that had only recently begun to take shape. Ultimately, there will be at least seven different condo and homeowners associations at Jazz, one for each set of buildings, and these will have primary responsibility for establishing and overseeing rules at the development. However, as renters, the former public housing residents and subsidized renters will not be voting members of these associations. The non-profit development partner that owns and manages the subsidized rental units represents those units on the condo association. In this early period of the development, only two of these associations were up and running. For this initial phase of development occupancy, formal social control has been guided by rules established by property management. While former public housing residents expressed greater satisfaction with the rules that have been established at the development and the level of enforcement, most homeowners were less satisfied and would like to see greater enforcement. For now, most of the problematic behavior has been quite basic: parking in the wrong spots was mentioned often, as was improper garbage disposal. As the development becomes fully occupied and the condo and homeowners associations take full responsibility for governance, this will become a much more salient issue.

Early Social Relations

One of the most compelling questions about mixed-income developments is what the nature of interactions among residents will be. Our conversations with homeowners revealed a relatively high degree of interest in getting to know their neighbors and being engaged in activities in the development and neighborhood. Although the make-up of the development was not what drew homeowners to the development, now that they are there most of them told us that they intend to build ties to those around them. In contrast, many of the former public housing residents told

us that they did not plan to try to get to know their neighbors. In order to maintain a low profile in the development, and perhaps avoid the possibility of drawing attention to themselves and jeopardizing their residence there, many said that they would keep to themselves and mind their own business. For example, one former public housing resident explained her approach as follows:

I didn't move here to be buddy-buddy with everybody. I moved here because it was a brand-new apartment. It's something new. It's clean. It's nice and it's something I wanted. And this is just a stop for me. If we could get together and get along, that would be beautiful. I have no problem with getting along with these higher-income people or lower-income people. But I really didn't move here to, like I said, to be running in and knocking on nobody else's door, ringing nobody else's bell. That's not why I took this apartment.

Another former public housing resident compared her experiences in her former development with her new environment:

I mean, this is not a village. You know? [My former development] was a village. It was a small community. We were around people who weren't employed or in school and they would say, "Hey, Miss So-and-So, how are you doing?" "Where are you going? To the store?" But here, I don't know who lives in the next entrance. That's fine. As long as I know who lives here. And I don't have to visit with them. Just say "hello" and "how are you doing?" and "goodbye" and that's about it. We don't have to visit each other and become friends.

Other former public housing residents also described their social ties at their previous development and described elements of that community that they missed such as knowing everyone in the development and having people to watch their kids and from whom they could borrow items. We did note from our fieldwork that there are a set of preexisting relationships among several of the former public housing residents in the development. Some had lived at the same previous development and knew each other from there. Others worked together at jobs for the public housing authority. During our visits to homes for interviews we observed some visiting among these residents and some exchange of social support, such as watching each others' children, or picking up items from the grocery store.

The general lack of social interaction was noted by respondents across income levels. Although several described their new neighbors as friendly, the Jazz residents we spoke with largely expressed dissatisfaction with the "sense of community" at the new development. A market-rate homeowner stated:

I'm dissatisfied [with the sense of community]. I really am, and . . . It's not that we don't try . . . it's very difficult to get the other folks to join in. Or even see them. I mean, it's amazing. You live in such a small area, but you hardly ever see people. So I'm dissatisfied with that.

The residents with whom we spoke agreed that social interaction would likely not happen naturally and would have to be facilitated and promoted by residents or others who would make special efforts to bring people together.

The physical design appears to be a key factor in shaping social relations. There is minimal shared public space at the sections of the development that were complete at the time of this first round of interviews (a centrally located courtyard space with benches and grassy areas was not yet complete). Many of the units have their own outside entrances and also have an inside entrance from the garage. Residents told us that often they did not even see their neighbors come and go. One subsidized homeowner explained:

You don't see anybody interacting with anybody. Everybody just goes in their unit. It's not like we have a space where, you know, people kind of like hang out at. You know?

Those residents who have begun to get familiar with other neighbors explained that it was often driven by the proximity of their units to each other, which led to repeated interactions in the building.

The other key venue for social interaction at the development is through resident meetings. There are two formal types of associations at Jazz. The first is condo associations, at the time of our interviews one condo association and one homeowners association were operational (given their contiguous location, both met together). The second type of association is a group formed by the property manager with responsibility for the units rented by former public housing residents and other subsidized renters. The objective of that group—called *Ambassadors for Change*—is to provide a source of peer support among those particular residents, and to help acclimate them to the new mixed-income environment. Several residents noted that the condo association meetings are the main way that they have met other residents. As one homeowner described:

[I started building relationships] just from going to that first association meeting. When I walked through the door, everyone stood up and said what their name was, and greeted me. And I felt like I was being a part of something, as opposed to just somebody coming in. You know, at the condo meetings, [you can] see that people kind of knew each other.

Another explained:

As far as my interaction with my neighbors, I think this is probably the first time in my life where I've actually, you know, like socialized with people. And I think because I'm on the board [of the condo association] . . . I just keep everybody informed about what's going on.

A challenging dynamic inherent in the current associational structure at Jazz is that the division of the two subgroups enforces a process, which while effective at building intra-group comfort, does not promote ties across these housing subgroups. Each group has hosted social events that were not attended by members of the other group. Several residents acknowledged this constraint and expressed their wish for more opportunities for facilitated interaction across these associational boundaries. In one exception, an open house was cohosted by the two groups with a limited but lively turnout, but has not led to ongoing cross-group interaction thus far.

A less prominent catalyst for social interaction, which some residents suggest will become more prevalent with more time in the development, is common interests and shared needs that bring residents together. For example, some told us about an instance when there was a power outage in one of the buildings and residents came out of their units and shared candles and food with each other. In another instance, in the building in which an apartment was broken into, residents came together to share contact information with each other so that they could communicate more effectively. One former public housing resident anticipated that confronting the Chicago winters would be a source of common challenge and an opportunity for neighboring:

And for individuals in a \$100,000 bracket, it's not going to get them out of two feet of snow. He'll be trying to get somebody to dig him out. And then, you know, [there are] a lot of things, an individual may need, even in the summer or winter. That camaraderie shift is going to have to come out, unless you just stay in your house 24/7.

Another former public housing resident expected that neighbors would lend each other basic household items:

If I don't have a cup of sugar, "Can I borrow a cup of sugar from you?" You know, and it's not about, "Well, what brand of sugar do you have?" Who cares? If you have what I need, and you're helpful to me, that's the most important thing.

A subsidized homeowner provided a specific example of meeting a neighbor through two opportunities to provide assistance to her:

[Social interaction] will probably happen based on need first . . . [My neighbor] had dropped her iPod one night. So I came in late and parked next [to her car] and I took her the iPod. I first met her [when] she had a flat [tire] one morning, and she really needed to get to work. And she knocked on my door early morning, begging for a ride.

Some residents pointed out that the staff at various organizations—development team, social service providers, property managers—can play a key role in facilitating, or hindering, relationship building among neighbors, particularly across income levels. One former public housing resident described how it was through the social service provision staff that she began to get to know her next door neighbor:

It took a while for us to get to talk to each other. I've been seeing her. I hear her go in and come out. She hears me go in and come out. So we never really started talking until this last two weeks . . . She came in and the two ladies that work with us in the office was here to see me. And they stopped and talked with her and then everybody got to talking like that. [They introduced us.] . . . She gave me this table yesterday. She came and knocked on my door and she said she had called the office and told the [staff person] that she had a table that she wanted to give away. . . And [the staff person] told her, "I know somebody you can give it to, right across the hall from you." So she come and knocked on my door and asked me did I want it. I said, "Thank you so much." That was very nice, very nice.

In contrast, some homeowners described comments made by members of the property management team responsible for the for-sale properties that demonstrated a condescending attitude toward the former public housing residents. These homeowners were struck by the immediate assumptions on the part of the condo management staff that the former public housing residents were responsible for some of the minor property infractions that had taken place, such as improper trash disposal, when, in fact, the perpetrator was a homeowner.

While some of the intergroup tension is driven by dynamics defined by income, class and racial differences, and the stigma associated with public housing, a core element of the differentiation among residents at Jazz falls along the basic distinction between owners and renters. Early on, this may be as important a delineation as the other differences. Several of the homeowners expressed unease with the physical arrangements at the development where they own units in buildings where there are also a substantial number of renters. As mentioned earlier, Jazz on the Boulevard differs from most of the other new mixed-income developments in Chicago in the extent of integration among housing types within all of the buildings. Most other new developments have for-sale and rental units in separate buildings. Some of the owners questioned why the renters had not been physically segregated from the homeowners. As one homeowner complained:

I feel like I'm in an apartment, not like I own – [there is] too much noise, fighting, playing. I feel like I'm paying a big mortgage for something that [makes me] feel like I'm living in an apartment. I'm not happy here.

In part because there are no market-rate renters at Jazz, the criticism of renters is conflated with opinions about low-income families and it is hard to distinguish what exactly is framing

the homeowners' attitudes about their neighbors. Certainly, there is a prevailing stigma about the behaviors and tendencies of the residents from public housing, which is a general societal issue, but is definitely playing out at Jazz on the Boulevard. An interesting empirical question is whether and how residents can distinguish among each other. A core principle of successful mixed-income development is that units should be indistinguishable from the outside, so that units for lower-income families cannot be easily identified. While the significant investment in similar building styles and materials throughout the development has resulted in a general external appearance of a unified residential community, from our interviews we learned of a variety of ways in which residents make social distinctions. It should be noted that, though in the minority, there were several residents in our sample who stated that they did not know who is who, and showed little interest in making distinctions.

Some residents simply acknowledged that "we know who's who" sometimes referring to behavior, clothing, or appearance as distinguishing characteristics. Some determine their neighbors' housing status when they can sneak a passing glance inside other apartments and can see whether the unit has stainless steel appliances, which all homeowners received but renters did not. Participants in the condo and homeowners associations regularly review financial reports that include information about the source of assessment payments: all payments for renters (former public housing and subsidized) are made by the non-profit development partner that owns and manages those units.

Despite the efforts to avoid external differentiation, there are a number of unintentional ways in which units can also be externally distinguished. While homeowners were left to purchase their own window blinds or curtains, and thus have a variety of window treatments, the non-profit manager of the rental units purchased a standard set of white blinds for each rental unit. Thus a scan of the windows from outside the development can reveal which units are rented. Furthermore, before the early units were assigned to a particular renter, the mailboxes for those units bore the name of the non-profit organization. Also, residents of three-story townhouses have access to their roof and wooden roof decks were built on the for-sale units but not the rental units. So residents of these units are able to easily distinguish between renters and owners.

In an unfortunate twist, the efforts by former public housing renters to address development safety issues resulted in an unintended additional form of external differentiation. A special meeting was held by the Ambassadors for Change renters group with a local organization that does training in community watch efforts. At the training, residents were given stickers to place in their windows indicating that there was a community watch program in effect. Because only renters participated in the training, the window stickers became an obvious external distinction between units. Further complicating the matter, the condo association determined that the stickers were an eyesore and demanded that renters remove them from the windows, which removed the differentiation, but also created some tension between the two organizations.

As far as direct interactions between former public housing residents and others, most of the concerns we heard were about general feelings of unease, rather than major conflict. Many of the former public housing residents we spoke to told us that the homeowners don't speak to them or even make eye contact. In many cases their behavior was described as "standoffish" or "snobby." From the homeowners' perspective, some told us that they felt that the former public housing residents seem intimidated by them, and that this is part of the barrier to personal interaction. Because it is such a small residential community and there are relatively strong preexisting and networks among the population of former public housing residents, when there have been more blatant instances of prejudicial behavior, the stories are shared quickly and thus have more impact. Several times our interviewees told us that while they personally had not experienced a problem, they had heard about others' negative experiences. In one instance, which we heard from several

sources, a homeowner told her neighbor, a former public housing resident, “you don’t know how to speak.”

Many of the homeowners acknowledged to us that assumptions would be made about their low-income neighbors based on stereotypes driven by a combination of race, class and housing status, and in some cases, admitted to having those opinions themselves. For example, one homeowner told us:

I think there are some people who move in here and who probably think that everything that happens like the break-ins . . . are caused by those people. And I think that’s a disadvantage to them because they might be pinpointed or, you know, stereotyped, and it’s not necessarily them.

Another homeowner reflected:

[If you’re] low income, you’re absolutely stereotyped. Well, you’re not going to keep your area up. In my mind, it’s a stereotype. I automatically asked who my neighbors are, and I wanted to know that. I wanted to know if I’m investing this kind of money, that I’m going to have neighbors that are like me, that are going to keep the property up. If they can’t afford to keep it up that . . . [There’s] a stereotype that low incomes do not keep their places up, but they do. But they do.

The complicating dynamic is that, as mentioned earlier, concerns about the behavior of former public housing residents are not only held by homeowners but by other residents who used to live in public housing. Those residents are very clear about the types of behavior that need to change in order to make the transition to the new community: “stop the criminal behavior,” “act decent,” “take care of your property.”

A subsidized renter questioned whether many of the former public housing residents were ready for the transition:

“[People from] public housing. They’re just not ready. [They] haven’t had the opportunity in most cases. . . . You are responsible for your gas, your light, your phone. You have to pay your bills on time. You have to watch what kind of company you keep. You have to be responsible for how many people are living in your unit. . . . You can’t just tear the place up. You’ve got to become a very responsible resident. And things that they’re used to doing in public housing that was allowed, will not be allowed nor tolerated in a unit like these units.

While many of the former public housing residents would completely agree with this statement, there are some who take issue with it. They feel that the focus solely on changes that those moving from public housing need to make is unfair. One such resident told us:

I don’t think it’s a matter of having a project mentality. I just don’t understand why we have to make so many changes. Why do we have to speak first? Why do we have to, you know, go out of our way to be so nice and they just be trouble. I don’t think that’s fair. . . . [At the public housing residents peer support group] I asked them was this a meeting to tell me how to behave because it’s not like I’m staying here for free. I pay my own bills and everything.

Despite the up-front screening and warnings, the formal and informal forms of social control and monitoring, there have been some instances of problematic neighboring behavior at the development. Residents of all income levels complained of instances of loud domestic disputes, loud music, and smoking of marijuana in the hallways. In one case, a resident’s upstairs neighbor

threw garbage off the side of her balcony to the vicinity of the trash can below, rather than bringing it down and placing it in the can. Most often, residents were concerned not about their neighbors, but about people who visited their neighbors and the behavior they exemplified. Some former public housing residents, as well as some homeowners, were quick to point out that it is not only the former public housing residents who have been disruptive. In one instance, a homeowner came home obviously drunk and sat in his Mercedes playing his music loudly. Eventually he fell asleep in the car, with the music continuing to blare.

Despite some of the challenges of tension across groups, some residents maintained a positive and hopeful outlook about future resident relationships at the development. One homeowner said:

I really believe that it is important to [build relationships with former public housing residents]. Otherwise you're going to be in that "us and them" kind of thing. Do you know what I mean? And I think they're apprehensive to begin with. You've got to break that barrier and prove to them, a couple of times, that you're just a normal, regular, friendly person.

A subsidized renter, indicating both her own prejudice and her attempts to surmount it, explained that it will be very important for all residents to keep an open mind about their new neighbors:

So what I found out by listening to those women [at a renters meeting], is they had a sense of community even when they lived in the projects or the CHA. . . . They like giving little get-togethers and saying "Hi, neighbor" and like that. . . . And what I ended up finding by listening long enough and not opening my mouth, is that . . . they know what kids live in the development and they were automatically recognizing somebody that didn't belong. . . . I've lived in the suburbs in a building and I never knew none of my neighbors . . . now here it is, you would have never thought that I would have learned something [from former public housing residents]. That's why you got to keep an open mind.

IMPLICATIONS FOR MIXED-INCOME DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND PRACTICE

Even at this early stage of the new development, several implications for consideration by policymakers and practitioners can be drawn from my findings here.

In terms of the make-up of the residents of the mixed-income units reserved for former public housing residents, it seems clear that, as expected, those who move into mixed-income developments are substantially different in some important ways from those who do not. However, the low rates of eligibility and lease-up among those who had expressed initial interest in the Jazz development raise questions about the fairness of the process for long-term residents of public housing in the city (particularly given that almost 90% of relocatees originally opted to retain a right to return to the new developments). The stringent screening, employment requirements, construction delays and therefore extended period of "temporary" resettlement, lack of flexibility (or clarity) about postoccupancy moves out of mixed-income developments, and the incompatibility of available units with the demographics of a substantial proportion of the public housing population, appear to have disqualified or discouraged the vast majority of potential relocatees.

The overall resident satisfaction with the development and low levels of neighborly conflict in this early phase at Jazz suggests that a benefit of the stringent screening may have been the selection of residents who are more productively engaged in prosocial activities and are being more careful about their (and their visitors') behavior. The cost is that this precious affordable housing resource is limited to a select few. In these early mixed-income experiments in Chicago, the housing authority, developers, and local community stakeholders have opted to have higher screening criteria and low proportions of public housing residents. If these developments are successful

in maintaining social order and market demand, might policymakers and affordable housing advocates effectively pressure developers to experiment with incrementally relaxed screening criteria and increased proportions of public housing residents? (See Vale, 1998 for a commentary on resident screening and the political, social, and economic rationale that shape decisions about income mix.)

Clearly relevant for housing and social policy is the fact that a mixed-income development is not an option for what Popkin and her colleagues have referred to as the “hard-to-house,” those with multiple challenges with physical and mental health, lack of employability, and other familial difficulties (Popkin, Cunningham, & Burt, 2005). My findings suggest that poor physical and mental health may be a key barrier to moving to a mixed-income development. This raises a question about the types of housing supports that will be available for residents with poor health and other barriers in the current privatizing, deconcentrating public housing policy environment.

On an extremely positive note, developers and policymakers alike should be buoyed by the early market demand for for-sale units in the new developments. This confirms the experience at other mixed-income developments around the country and further establishes the paramount importance of basic real estate dynamics – strong market, prime location, competitive price, and high quality—even in the context of a mixed-income effort (Brophy & Smith, 1997; Smith, 2002). However, there are thousands of additional market-rate units projected to be built in mixed-income developments across the city in the coming years, the national slowdown in the housing market and foreclosure crisis have hit Chicago hard, and it remains to be seen how deep and broad the future market for these units will be.

My findings about the limited extent of social relations across housing categories also confirm the experiences in other developments nationally (Brophy & Smith, 1997; Kleit, 2005; Smith, 2002; Varady, Raffel, Sweeny, & Denson, 2005). Besides the limits to natural relationship-forming, which is a basic reality in neighborhoods across America, there are additional barriers to social relations such as design features, stigma of public housing status, self-isolation by former public housing residents, segregated resident associational structures, and assumptions held and verbalized by some of those responsible for property management (Breitbart and Pader, 1995; Kleit, 2005; Pader and Breitbart, 1993). On the other hand, there are some signs of hope for potentially constructive relations across income levels. Residents of all income levels privately express an interest in and commitment to engagement with other residents. Residents of all income levels also acknowledge that stereotypes about public housing residents have been evident in some interactions, but there have also been some early instances of interactions—strong neighboring by former public housing residents and rule-breaking by homeowners—that have served to counter these perceptions.

Briggs (1998) convincingly questioned whether proximity alone could influence social relations. Like Kleit (2005), my findings suggest that where proximity affords repeated interaction or the identification of shared needs and common interests, there is some evidence of early relationship-building and social support. However, it appears that intentional efforts by external parties could be key to promoting meaningful engagement across income levels (Brophy & Smith, 1996).

It is too early to draw extensive conclusions about the theorized benefits of living in a mixed-income setting for former residents of public housing (Joseph, Chaskin, & Webber, 2007; Kleit, 2001b; Wilson, 1987). Without question, as has been found at other mixed-income developments, the brand new housing stock and absence of overwhelming levels of crime, violence and other social dislocations, has had a substantial influence on former public housing residents’ general sense of well-being (Breitbart and Pader 1995; Pader and Breitbart, 1993). It remains to be seen if this translates into improved mental and emotional health with the resultant effects that might have on their ability to improve their lives. It appears that most of the former public housing residents either came with high expectations about standards of resident behavior or have made

adjustments to their own behavior and tried to limit their local profile. But it is difficult to sort out how much of this is due to screening and self-selection, informal social control, observation of the behavior of others, or strict property management (Briggs, 1997; Ellen & Turner, 1997; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Sampson & Groves, 1989).

As for theorized improvements in social mobility, at this early stage my findings illuminate resident expectations and must be followed up with future investigations of actual outcomes. I found that a slight majority of the former public housing residents have few expectations of opportunity changes due to the mixed-income setting. On the other hand, 40% of the former public housing residents clearly anticipate that their new environment might prompt them to make beneficial lifestyle changes and could result in instrumental relationships with their higher-income neighbors.

A final important insight concerns the term “mixed-income.” Income is an imprecise way of capturing the various dimensions of “mix” present among residents. The most relevant dimension may be the tenure mix, especially at Jazz where condo owners and renters live side by side in the same buildings. This was certainly the primary source of concern for many of the homeowners with whom we spoke. The mix in financial status among residents may be more accurately described as differences in level of housing subsidy. Racial and ethnic diversity seemed a particularly positive feature of the new development for several of the former public housing residents. Other key forms of differentiation, although they were not raised much in this early stage of resident interviews, include marital status and parental status. Developers and those responsible for the new developments will need to be cognizant of the challenges presented by these various distinctions, and also the ways that commonalities in these areas may supersede differences in income and housing subsidy. Researchers will want to examine how differences in attitudes, behavior, and levels of engagement are associated with these various dimensions of difference.

STUDY LIMITATIONS

Though I have been able to share a rich and provocative set of findings about a topic for which there is little available empirical evidence, there are some important limitations to this article, which future research by myself and others will need to address. The sample on which the findings are based is small, particularly of homeowners, limiting my analysis to exploratory, suggestive claims. These interviews come, intentionally, at a very early phase in the experiences of the residents, which provides valuable insights about initial perspectives but prevents full examination of issues such as social relations and influences on well-being, given that more time is needed for the residential community to fully form. While fairly representative in size of other mixed-income redevelopments nationally, Jazz on the Boulevard is much smaller than the other new developments in Chicago. Also, unlike most of those developments, Jazz does not have units for market-rate rental, and reserves half of its public housing units for residents earning over 50% of area median income.

It follows that future research should be longitudinal in nature and should include respondents across income levels as well as other stakeholders from the development and surrounding neighborhood. Direct observation of local activity and social relations should supplement the respondent perspectives. Qualitative, in-depth research designs should be complemented with survey methodology to enable analysis of certain issues with the precision afforded by larger sample sizes.

CONCLUSION

The new mixed-income development at Jazz on the Boulevard is generally off to a strong and promising start, but even at this early stage, the relations among residents and dynamics between

the development and its surrounding neighborhood are evidence of the challenges inherent in this ambitious effort at urban revitalization. As the development is completed and fully occupied, there is more time for social relations to form, and residents take greater responsibility for the management of residential community, there will be much more to learn about the possibilities and limitations of mixed-income development as an approach to addressing urban poverty.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: This research was supported with funding from the Rockefeller Foundation and Case Western Reserve University and a post-doctoral scholarship from the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago. This study would not be possible without the cooperation of the Chicago Housing Authority, the Jazz on the Boulevard, LLC development partnership, and Heartland Human Care Services. I am indebted to the dedicated research assistance of Meegan Bassett, Rachel Boyle, Tsui Chan, Monica Coker, Jessica Feldman, Michelle Freeman, Ranada Harrison, and Tchad Roberts. I thank Mary Pattillo and four anonymous reviewers for comments on an earlier draft. Above all, I am grateful to the residents who agreed to share their experiences with us.

ENDNOTES

- 1 “Mixed-income development” ranges from private-sector, market-rate developments that include a small percentage of affordable housing to developments built exclusively for moderate- and low-income families. I use Brophy and Smith’s definition: any development or community initiative where the mixing of income groups is a “fundamental part of (the) financial and operating plans” (1997, p. 5).
- 2 A legal desegregation consent decree for the North Kenwood–Oakland neighborhood requires that 15 of the 30 public housing residents at Jazz have incomes between 50% and 60% of area median income. The appropriate language with which to describe the residents of the new mixed-income developments is evolving and differs across developments. At Jazz, the term “former public housing residents” is used by the service provider contracted to work with residents relocated from CHA developments in order to signify that the residents are no longer living in units managed by the public housing authority and that they have made a transition away from the negative connotations of being a “public housing resident.”
- 3 Pattillo’s (2007) ethnography is focused on North Kenwood–Oakland, the neighborhood in which Jazz on the Boulevard is located.
- 4 Due to the timing of move-ins and delays in getting contact information for homeowners, while most of the former public housing residents had been living in the development for less than three months, the homeowners were interviewed after having been there for four to eight months and a few had been in the development for over a year.
- 5 While there are nine rental units at the development that have a subsidy financed with low-income housing tax credits, the 30 units for former public housing residents are also technically rental units with a subsidy from the federal government, the residents pay a third of their income in rent. However, to distinguish these two subgroups of residents in this article, I refer to the former as subsidized renters and the latter as former public housing residents.
- 6 All residents of Chicago Housing Authority units in October 1, 1999, were given a choice of a Housing Choice Voucher with which they could move permanently into the private rental market or retain the option to return to a unit in one of the new mixed-income developments once they were completed. Almost 90% elected to retain their “right to return” (Metropolitan Planning Council, 2003). Those families were assigned a lottery number that designated the order in which they would be offered a newly constructed unit in a mixed-income development that met their household size requirements.
- 7 There is a provision that allows a household to be designated “working to meet” the selection criteria by the property management team responsible for selecting residents for the new development. The household then has one year to meet the criteria.

8 When discussing the fieldwork, I use the term “we” to acknowledge the team of researchers who conducted interviews.

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