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Social inclusion through mixed-income development: Design and practice in the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative

Morgan Bulger, Mark Joseph, Sherise McKinney, and Diana Bilimoria

Case Western Reserve University

ABSTRACT

Social Inclusion is an emerging term, used to encompass ideas of equity, social, economic and civic participation, and the proactive protection of human rights. In the United States, one potential vehicle for social inclusion is the development of mixed-income communities. Using a process perspective, this study explores the design and practice of social inclusion in the context of mixed-income development, by conducting a qualitative analysis of the federal Choice Neighborhoods Initiative. Utilizing a combined content analysis and grounded theory analysis of archival grant reports and conducted interviews, this study aims to answer the question: How do mixed-income development practitioners design and practice social inclusion? Through this analysis, the study generates a process theory of social inclusion through mixed-income development, identifying 57 practices, processes, programs, and structures that mixed-income development practitioners utilize in designing and practicing social inclusion.



My real dream is that everybody will see their self-interest tied up with someone else, whether or not they see them, and see that as an opportunity for growing closer together as a culture and as a world.

—Majora Carter, 2008

Introduction

Income inequality in the United States and the world has dramatically increased in the last 25 years (Saez, 2013; Weinberg, 1996). The Federal Reserve's Survey of Consumer Finances estimates that high-income families in the U.S. are now 70 times wealthier than low-income families (Kochhar & Fry, 2014), while globally, just eight men currently hold 50% of the world's wealth (Oxfam, 2017). In the United States, these increasing differentials are further stratified by race, reflecting increasing racial disparities in quality of education, job opportunities, health, and experiences with the judicial and law enforcement systems. These inequalities and disparities of income, wealth, and race are place-based and where you live determines your life opportunities (Chetty et al., 2018; Galster et al., 2005; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Wacquant & Wilson, 1989). These interrelated problems affecting our society have been framed as "social exclusion." As Levitas et al. (2007, p. 9) describe:

Social exclusion is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the

CONTACT Morgan Bulger  mab266@case.edu  Jack Joseph and Morton Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, 11235 Bellflower Rd, Cleveland, OH 44106-7164.

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majority of people in society, whether in economic, social cultural, or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole.

In response to increasing awareness of the prevalence of social exclusion, researchers and policy-makers have continued to explore ways to promote *social inclusion*. Social inclusion is a broad societal objective that aims to protect human rights and create a more equitable society. We define social inclusion as the process and manifestation of enabling everyone to be realized as a part of the whole. Rather than addressing each of the challenges of social exclusion as discrete problems, social inclusion calls on scholars and practitioners to think holistically about how to construct a more inclusive organization or society in order to concurrently address a number of problems associated with social exclusion. We are particularly interested in intentional comprehensive approaches to increasing social inclusion. This study explores the design and practice of social inclusion through mixed-income development, using a qualitative analysis of the federal Choice Neighborhoods Initiative. The primary research question that drove our analysis was: How do mixed-income development practitioners design and practice social inclusion?

Social inclusion is increasingly understood as not only an outcome, but also a process (Bates & Seddon, 2008; Florian & Rouse, 2009; Krishna & Kummitha, 2017; Silver, 2015). Initial findings from the emerging social inclusion literature indicate the importance of supporting civic participation, education, and employment, as well as creating connections among people and between people and resources, and advocating on behalf of excluded populations (Amath, 2015). We also know that participatory planning processes can help facilitate social inclusion (Brownill & Carpenter, 2007).

Simply embracing the concept of social inclusion is not enough to fully address the challenges of social exclusion (Amath, 2015). In order to bring social inclusion to fruition, there needs to be a vehicle or initiative through which the process of social inclusion can be operationalized. Governments and organizations across the world have created a variety of initiatives for social inclusion, from those focused on creating employment (Goodwin-Smith & Hutchinson, 2015) to those focused on overhauling the educational system (Florian & Rouse, 2009). In the United States, one potential initiative for social inclusion is mixed-income development.

Mixed-income development

Mixed-income development has been defined as a “deliberate effort to construct and/or own a multifamily development that has the mixing of income groups as a fundamental part of its financial and operational plans” (Brophy & Smith, 1997, p. 5). A primary objective of mixed-income development is to address the problems of social exclusion through housing, using the tool of spatial economic integration to create living spaces where residents might naturally form relationships across income divides (Joseph et al., 2007; Levy et al., 2013). These relationships are central to another major mixed-income development goal, the de-concentration of poverty in urban areas (Chaskin & Joseph, 2010). Transformation is targeted at both the neighborhood and individual levels. Many mixed-income developments are constructed in areas thought to be in need of economic growth, often due to historic disinvestment (Levy et al., 2013). It is theorized that the influx of affluent residents moving into market-rate units in the neighborhood can bolster further investment (Joseph et al., 2007). On the individual level, it is theorized that proximity to neighbors with higher-incomes will lead to relationships that offer job opportunities and other relational benefits, ultimately contributing to greater economic stability and mobility for lower-income residents (Joseph & Chaskin, 2010; Joseph et al., 2007; Levy et al., 2013). Just as “spatial exclusion both expresses and generates social exclusion” (Silver, 2015, p. 144), it is argued that spatial integration can both express and generate social inclusion.

However, while mixed-income developments generally succeed in their economic goals, they often fall short in their aims to address social exclusion and generate social inclusion (Chaskin & Joseph, 2015; Ellickson, 2010; M. L. Joseph, 2019). Low-income residents of mixed-income communities face stigma and prejudice within the community, (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013) and interaction across income

groups is found to be limited and superficial (e.g.: Briggs, 2005; Brophy & Smith, 1997; Brower, 2009; Clampet-Lundquist & Massey, 2004; Popkin et al., 2000; Rosenbaum et al., 1998). Furthermore, researchers have found that feelings of social isolation and exclusion often increase for low-income residents upon moving into a mixed-income community (Chaskin et al., 2012; Fraser et al., 2012; Lucio & Wolfersteig, 2012).

Mixed-income development has also faced criticism at the structural level, including issues of property design. An extensive field study by the National Initiative on Mixed Income Communities (2013) illuminates some elements of mixed-income development design and practice that may enable the process and outcome of social inclusion. The study found that despite generating an income mix at each property, the majority of mixed-income communities studied failed to design the physical buildings and space in a way that promoted resident interaction across income levels, and very few properties incorporated inclusive managerial practices or intentional community-building practices or programming. At the properties with intentional inclusive design and programming, respondents reported lower social isolation and stronger social relationships, compared to respondents at properties without these design elements and practices.

Physical integration without social inclusion is referred to by Chaskin and Joseph as “incorporated exclusion” (Chaskin & Joseph, 2015). This form of development has also been criticized as a neoliberal approach to poverty deconcentration (Hanlon, 2010; M. L. Joseph, 2013; Khare, 2015), one where a focus on market success and neighborhood esthetics limit resident participation, empowerment, and the overall inclusion of low-income residents. The prevailing power dynamics in redevelopment efforts are such that, without explicit efforts to counteract the normal course of affairs, outcomes are unlikely to be equitable. The interests of private real estate developers and newly arrived higher-income residents, who are often white, are likely to take precedent over the interests and opportunities of the original, often Black and Latino, low-income residents. Given this conflict in intentions and outcomes, we seek to examine what is being done in mixed-income communities to promote social inclusion in the face of otherwise exclusionary dynamics.

Choice Neighborhoods Initiative

To explore this question, our study took an in-depth look at the mixed-income developments designed, planned and implemented as a part of the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative (CNI). CNI is a program of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) that is “intended to transform neighborhoods by coordinating improvements across multiple sectors, such as housing, education, employment, transportation, and health” (Smith, 2011, p. 1). In 2010, CNI replaced the predecessor federal mixed-income development program HOPE VI, which was launched in 1992 to revitalize public housing into mixed-income communities (Gress et al., 2019). Choice was established to improve and build on the progress of HOPE VI. It broadened the target focus to include the neighborhood, encouraging collaboration and connection with other institutions and organizations, increasing the focus on social services and case management, education, and higher rates of return following relocation (Galvez, 2013; Khare, 2016, 2015; Pendall & Hendey, 2013; Pendall et al., 2016; Smith, 2011).

Through the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative, grants are awarded to public housing authorities and other federally-assisted housing developments to work with various stakeholders in order to create partnerships, strategize for the future, and implement ideas collaboratively. The grants fall into two categories; planning grants and implementation grants. Planning grants, awarded from 2010 to 2018 in the amount of up to \$500,000, allow grantees to create and report out on their initial plans, while implementation grants, awarded from 2010 to 2018 in the amount of up to \$30.5 million, enable grantees to further move their plans into action (Choice Neighborhoods 2015 Grantee Report, 2015).

While there may be inherent limitations of a neoliberal model like Choice Neighborhoods, and other mixed-income development initiatives that incorporate private investments to address fundamental societal disparities, it may still present opportunities for positively impacting the lives of public

housing residents. The program increases the focus on equitable access to resources and opportunities, social interaction and community building, and increased services. For example, Hurst (2010) found that the interrelated factors of supportive spaces, empowerment, and social support were critical for encouraging successful youth participation and inclusion in the community at Choice Neighborhoods properties. Hurst's findings reiterate the importance of factors beyond structural or physical conditions in influencing the realization of social inclusion in mixed-income communities. Emerging literature on mixed-income communities and the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative points toward the need for intentional architectural and urban design, as well as the design of strategic organizational processes and procedures (Derian, 2016; Jordan, 2016). Research also highlights the current lack of this holistic design and practice (Chaskin & Joseph, 2015; M. L. Joseph, 2013, 2019). While the literature suggests several elements of design and practice that are important to generating social inclusion through mixed-income development, the full scope of what comprises this work is still unknown. This study aims to contribute to this gap in knowledge.

Methods

In order to explore our research question, we conducted a qualitative analysis of the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative, which included a content analysis of Choice Neighborhoods grant materials as well as interviews with initiative stakeholders. Following a naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) informed by the principles of reflexivity in research (Finlay & Gough, 2008), this study used methods of inductive and iterative grounded theory analysis, and semi-structured reflexive interviewing practices.

Data

The data utilized in this study consisted of a combination of archival data in the form of planning and implementation grant reports and applications, as well as interviews we conducted as a part of this study.

Archival data

At the time of this study, HUD had awarded 79 planning grants and 22 implementation grants. Twelve of the implementation grants went to sites that had previously received a planning grant, the other ten to sites that had not received a planning grant. The recipients of a planning grant are required to create a Transformation Plan report, and the recipients of the implementation grant create a Grant Narrative as a part of their grant application. These are the reports that were analyzed for this study. These reports included any grants that had been awarded between the start of the CNI program in 2010, and the time of the data analysis of the study (January 2018). Many of the reports were publicly available online, and were accessed through each grantee's website. A list of the sites that received these grants was obtained from the HUD Choice Neighborhoods Initiative website: <https://www.hud.gov/cn>. Reports that were not available online were obtained by contacting each site. Of the 79 planning grants awarded, we were able to access 55 Transformation Plans. Of the 22 implementation grants awarded, we were able to access 18 implementation Grant Narratives. In total, we analyzed 73 grant documents across 66 sites.

Interview data

Sixty interviews were conducted, distributed across the two types of sites, and across various stakeholders. Eighty-nine sites were contacted with the opportunity to be interviewed: all 67 sites that had received a planning grant only, and all 22 sites that had received an implementation grant. Interviews were conducted across 22 sites, 11 sites that had received a planning grant only, and 11 that had received an implementation grant. Interviewees were selected by identifying the primary contact for a given city's Choice Neighborhoods Initiative. Snowball sampling was used once this initial contact

was identified to attain an additional organizational perspective at each site, and to locate a resident leader who has been involved in the initiative. Of the 60 interviews conducted, 15 interviews were with resident leaders, two of whom were homeowners from the surrounding community, while the other 13 were renters residing in the public housing targeted for redevelopment. Five of these resident interviews were conducted in Spanish, all other interviews for this study were conducted in English. Other stakeholders represented were project managers, community building consultants, development directors, executives and other staff at the housing authority, property managers, community or resident services directors, real estate developers, planning consultants, economic opportunity consultants, as well as city employees working in the development department. Please see [Table 1](#) for a triangulation across data sources. For 18 sites, grant documents were accessed and interviews were conducted. For four sites, interviews were conducted, but grant documents were not yet available or were not accessible. For 48 sites, only grant documents were accessed, and no interviews were conducted.

Procedures

Grounded theory

We utilized grounded theory methodology in this study (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Gioia et al., 2012). We began our analysis by reading all of the grant documents to attain “immersion” (Tesch, 1990), and then coded each document line-by-line to develop an initial list of first order codes, based on the text itself (Elo & Kyngas, 2007; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Morgan, 1993; Morse & Fiels, 1995). We then clustered the emergent first-order codes to generate major analytical themes regarding the process of designing and implementing social inclusion. We identified seven themes this way. An eighth major theme regarding the dynamics of progress was added from the inductive coding of the interviews described below. Please see [Table 2](#) for a list of themes.

Interviews were conducted via phone, and were semi-structured (Longhurst, 2003), allowing for flexibility to adapt interviews to the diversity of stakeholders interviewed. As Fylan (2005, p. 66) discusses, semi-structured interviews are particularly useful when “not every question would be relevant to every participant.” The interview focused on seeking information beyond what is available in the grant documents, such as understanding organizational and neighborhood conditions, understanding organizational structures, processes, and programs, delineating the design and practices of the initiative, as well as understanding the resident leader experience. Interview questions included: Have you noticed any changes to the way things get done, since the completion of the transformation plan/implementation grant report? Have the changes that have been made so far impacted the way residents and staff interact? How so? Can you think of any way this initiative has changed the way you see yourself or the way you go about your day-to-day life? Do you feel that this initiative has made a positive impact on residents? How so? What else do you feel needs to be done to realize the Choice Neighborhood goals at this site?¹

The interviews were coded using a combined deductive and inductive method. Coding the grant documents generated eight major themes, which were utilized as an overall deductive organizing

Table 1. Data sources.

# of sites	At least 1 Organizational Stakeholder Interview Conducted	At least 1 Resident Interview Conducted	Grant Report Accessed
9	✓	✓	✓
9	✓		✓
1	✓	✓	Transformation Plan not created yet
2	✓		Could not access
1	✓		Transformation Plan not created yet
48			✓

Table 2. Data themes, sub-themes and codes.

Theme	Sub-Themes	Codes
Social Exclusion Circumstances	Structural-Level Social Exclusion	Economic Exclusion Environmental Injustice Inadequate Education Inadequate Housing Inadequate Transportation Inadequate Social Services Neighborhood Disparities Racial Segregation and Place-Based Exclusion Systemic Inequality
	Relational-Level Social Exclusion	Disconnection and Social Isolation Racism and Bias
	Personal-Level Social Exclusion	Health Challenges Internalized Exclusion
Social Inclusion Outcomes	Structural-Level Outcomes of Social Inclusion	Upward Mobility Environmental Sustainability Quality Education Quality Affordable Housing Accessible Transportation Generative Development Residential Integration Strong Social Services Systemic Racial Equity
	Relational-Level Outcomes of Social Inclusion	Social Cohesion and Sense of Community Racial Bridging and Awareness
	Personal-Level Outcomes of Social Inclusion	Health and Wellbeing Positive Self Concept
Enabling Conditions	Enabling Conditions	Appreciative Asset-Based Framing Deep Respect for Residents Identifying with Residents Inclusive Framing Intentionality Understanding of Interconnectedness Understanding of the Relevant Context
Demonstrating Practices	Organizational Practices	Advocacy Collective Governance Designing Inclusive Housing Equitable Planning Representative Governance
	Relational Practices	Generative Communication Connecting Across Difference Radical Collaboration Transparent Information Sharing Trauma-Informed Practices
	Individual Practices	Building Relationships Across Difference Changing Perceptions Personal Commitment to Equity and Inclusion Recognizing the Role of the Self
Initiating Processes	Processes for Structural Outcomes	Community Policing Creating Economic Ladders Neighborhood Imaging
	Processes for Relational Outcomes	Community Building Community Organizing
	Processes for Personal Outcomes	Empowerment Healing

(Continued)

Table 2. (Continued).

Theme	Sub-Themes	Codes
Establishing Programs	Programs for Structural Outcomes	Economic Opportunity
		Education
		Generative Development
	Programs for Relational Outcomes	Policy Education
		Racial Equity Education
		Art
		Coaching
		Peer-Support
		Formal Neighborhood Associations
Programs for Personal Outcomes	Youth Development	
	Social Services	
	Inclusion	
Developing Structures	Structures for Structural Outcomes	Physical Health
		Mental Health
		Behavioral Health
		Personal Development
		Catalytic Development
		Creating Parks and Green Space
		Development for Transportation
		Economic Development and Meaningful Employment
		Financing for Homeownership and Entrepreneurship
		Housing Redevelopment and Integration
		Improving Neighborhood Infrastructure and Neighborhood Conditions
		Inclusive Housing Policy
	Structures for Relational Outcomes	Increasing Access to Quality Education
		Design for Community Cohesion
		Making a Community Center
Structures for Personal Outcomes	Design for Physical Health	
	Formal Leadership Roles Created for Residents	
	Increasing Access to Healthcare and Health Services	
Dynamics of Progress	Facilitators of Progress	Increasing Access to Healthy Foods
		Trust-Building
		Shared Concern and Collective Commitment
	Barriers to Progress	Reflexive Planning
		Market Context
		Practices that Generate Exclusion

framework for the interview analysis. Within that framework we inductively applied grounded theory methodology to explore respondents’ perspectives on the major themes (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Gioia et al., 2012). Through this process we generated a total of 545 first order codes. We then grouped the codes together into “meaningful clusters” (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Patton, 2002). This yielded 123 second order codes which were then aggregated into 24 sub-themes, which aligned with the eight major themes. Table 2 provides a summary list of the major themes and sub-themes.

Theoretical saturation. To ensure theoretical saturation in this study, we kept track of the number of new first order codes generated by each planning grant document, implementation grant document, and interview transcript (Bowen, 2008). Within the planning grant documents, saturation was met at the 38th document, meaning the subsequent documents generated no new codes. Within the implementation grant documents, saturation was met at the 10th document. Within the interview transcripts, saturation was met at the 36th transcript, with the exception of the 53rd transcript generating one new code.

Coding validity

Inter-rater reliability was assessed for an initial 10% of the documents and interview transcripts, to check for concurrence among application of the 123 second-level order codes. Inter-rater reliability

was assessed at 80% agreement in this first round of coding. After discussion among coders, a second-round review of an additional 10% of the documents yielded an 87% agreement rate, indicating an “almost perfect” level of agreement (Landis & Koch, 1977).

Findings

So how do community change practitioners—real estate developers, urban planners, project managers and resident leaders—understand and describe their efforts to combat social exclusion in their communities through a Choice Neighborhoods mixed-income development grant? Our review of grant documents and respondent interviews revealed that issues of social exclusion and inclusion in the Choice Neighborhoods can be usefully considered at three main levels: (1) structural, (2) relational and (3) personal.

These three levels emerged as an instrumental way to frame and organize what we were reading and hearing about perspectives and actions at the sites, and we apply these levels throughout our analysis. The *structural* level focuses on policies, systems, and infrastructure, examining the political, economic, and social forces that are controlled by actors and institutions well beyond the neighborhood. The *relational* level refers to social networks and interactions among actors in the neighborhood, including residents, organizational representatives, and other community stakeholders. The *personal* level refers to the well-being and circumstances of individuals in the neighborhoods, including their physical and mental health, their mind-set and outlook, and their educational and economic status.

As noted earlier, our analysis of strategies to promote social inclusion in the Choice Neighborhoods sites generated findings about eight major themes (see Table 2). The first two themes addressed *social exclusion* and *social inclusion*: the circumstances of exclusion that the initiative intended to address, and the outcomes of inclusion that the initiative aimed to promote. The next theme concerned the *enabling conditions* that respondents believed would facilitate the promotion of social inclusion. The next four themes focused on the implementation strategies to promote social inclusion. These included the *practices* that were established to demonstrate how to promote social inclusion, the *processes* that were initiated to sustain social inclusion, the *programs* that were established to promote social inclusion and the *structures* that were developed to facilitate social inclusion. A final theme captured respondents’ insights about the *dynamics of progress* toward social inclusion in their site. Within these eight major themes, there were 24 sub-themes into which we aggregated the second-order codes (see Table 2).²

As we will demonstrate, we used the three levels (structural, relational, personal) to group codes that were relevant to the themes of social exclusion circumstances, social inclusion outcomes and the four implementation themes on practices, processes, programs and structures. Besides the three levels, we also created sub-themes to capture factors that specifically facilitated implementation of the processes and structures, as well as sub-themes to capture general barriers to progress and general facilitators of progress. We will now present each of the themes and their associated sub-themes and codes in detail.

Social exclusion circumstances

To combat existing social exclusion at the “structural” level, mixed-income practitioners conveyed that their Choice Neighborhoods efforts aim to address disparities generated by structural forces beyond the neighborhood, such as economic conditions, environmental conditions, the education system as well as housing and transportation infrastructure. For example, as one respondent described:

When we arrived in 2012, the main road was a crumbling kind of infrastructure mess. There was a gaping donut hole in the center of the community where this failing kind of sunken strip mall was that had sort of marginal

businesses in it. There were several vacant buildings that had been vacant for decades and then there were the five target housing buildings, which were extremely distressed and crime-ridden.

Mixed-income practitioners also conveyed their assessment that social exclusion plays out in the nature of relationships and interactions in the neighborhood. One respondent explained that “An example of the deep-seeded distrust is that [city] merchants often refuse to accept [site name] residents’ credit cards or to provide pickups or deliveries within the confines of [site name].”

The grant documents and interviews revealed that practitioners understand social exclusion to also occur at a personal level in terms of individuals’ physical health, as well as their mind-set and sense of self. One grant document explained the impacts of social exclusion on the individual: “Social conditions such as a lack of neighborhood safety and exposure to racism lead to chronic stress. Stress is directly linked to chronic disease, particularly hypertension and heart disease which are very prevalent.” A respondent described the personal mind-set challenge this way:

You look at the perceptions that people have, and it makes a feeling that no one cares. When this starts at a young age, and people look at them that way, they start to feel that way: if no one cares then why should I?

Codes that emerged from our analysis of social exclusion circumstances, categorized using the structural, relational, personal levels are listed below. *Structural* level circumstances: economic exclusion, environmental injustice, inadequate education, inadequate housing, inadequate transportation, inadequate social services, neighborhood disparities, racial segregation and place-based exclusion, and systemic inequality.³ *Relational* level circumstances: disconnection and social isolation; racism and bias. *Personal* level circumstances: health challenges, internalized exclusion. By “internalized exclusion,” we mean the impact that social exclusion has on a person’s sense of self.

Social inclusion outcomes

Turning from the circumstances of social exclusion to our findings about how each site characterized the intentions for achieving social inclusion outcomes, we found that respondents’ perspectives organized at the structural, relational and personal levels. At the structural level, mixed-income practitioners conveyed that they expected their Choice Neighborhoods efforts to influence changes in forces that were controlled by systems beyond the neighborhoods themselves, such as employment, housing, transportation, education and social services. For example, one grant document explained that:

The vision for the housing strategy for [neighborhood] is based on an assessment of current housing conditions, the need to improve the quality of existing housing, and the desire to attract households with a broader range of income who can spur economic development. The vision focuses on: Improving the supply of quality affordable housing in the neighborhood.

Other sites focused on enhancing the strength of social services in the area, using a systems strategy to better serve residents, as another grant document proposed to create: “A dedicated network of social service providers that supports service connectors, working actively to meet resident needs.”

Mixed-income practitioners also conveyed a focus on promoting social inclusion by strengthening relationships among community members in the neighborhood. As one grant report described:

The agendas emphasized bringing people together and working in a collaborative and supportive manner. Equally important were the engagement activities at community meetings, which were purposefully designed to get people talking with each other as they placed dots on maps or worked in small groups.

At the personal level, one grant document expressed the commitment to “help create communities and homes in which individuals and families reach and maintain health and wellness.” The same document later asserted that “achieving this vision will require a dramatic shift in the images residents hold for themselves, their neighborhood, and the city.”

Codes that emerged from our analysis of social inclusion outcomes, categorized using the structural, relational, and personal levels are listed as follows. *Structural* level outcomes: upward mobility, environmental sustainability, quality education, quality affordable housing, accessible transportation, generative development, residential integration, strong social services, and systemic racial equity. By “generative development,” we mean development that creates greater parity across neighborhoods’ attributed qualities, thus facilitating conditions that enable residential integration and thereby “generate” further positive social outcomes. *Relational* level outcomes: social cohesion and sense of community; racial bridging and awareness. *Personal* level outcomes: achieving better health outcomes, promoting a more positive self-concept.

Enabling conditions for social inclusion

We also learned about the underlying conditions that practitioners considered important to advancing social inclusion efforts. These “enabling conditions” included factors such as whether local stakeholders had positive, respectful, inclusive perceptions of community residents as well as the level of intentionality among planners and developers about the community building aspect of the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative strategy. For example, one grant document expressed the aim of achieving “a community where neighbors—regardless of age, sex, race, ability, income or tenure—come together and work together to create their community of choice.” We categorized seven enabling conditions that respondents identified: appreciative asset-based framing, deep respect for residents, identifying with residents, inclusive framing, intentionality, understanding of interconnectedness, and understanding the relevant context. By “appreciative asset-based framing” we mean a general intention around thinking appreciatively, positively, and gratefully about the residents, neighborhood, and opportunity at hand.

Social inclusion through demonstrating practices

We shift now from how respondents framed their understanding of social exclusion and inclusion, to what our qualitative analysis revealed about the actions and strategies that sites planned to implement to promote social inclusion. We categorize four types of actions and strategies: (1) demonstrating practices, (2) initiating processes, (3) establishing programs and (4) developing structures.

The first set of actions described by mixed-income practitioners involved demonstrating the types of everyday practices that would set a context and expectation for promoting social inclusion. We sorted these practices into three categories based on the level at which they would be enacted: *organizational* practices, *relational* practices, and *individual* practices. An example of organizational practice is to resolve disagreements and reach decisions through a consensus model. One respondent explained:

Conflicts were usually resolved by consensus. There was no official vote or anything like that. When you’re talking about a community that has multiple neighborhood associations, there’s not one neighborhood association that represents all of the [Neighborhood]. There are several smaller neighborhoods in the target neighborhood, so it was really a consensus . . . There were some areas where people felt really strongly about some of those kinds of things that we really, really had to decide through consensus.

At the relational level, a prominent social inclusion practice is the use of a trauma-informed approach. As one respondent explained:

I really wanted to dig deep into this idea, notion of this reframe of violence is just kind of the behavioral manifestation of the trauma that people are experiencing here. And I really wanted my staff to take a trauma informed approach. And that is kind of using a universal precautions approach to the assumption that everyone has trauma. And that modifying the way in which we intervene accordingly. So that means being very aware of using respect. That is a huge issue with people who have experienced trauma. Also making sure that you’re aware of the way that you’re speaking to people. The volume, rate and tone of your speech because those can trigger people who’ve had traumatic experiences.

At the personal level, we grouped actions by sites that focus on helping individuals to be more intentional and attentive about their interactions across lines of difference. As one respondent described:

But also doing this in a historic African American community, and I'm a white male and sort of doing all of this and engaging with a population almost entirely composed of female African American heads of household. You mentally have to reposition yourself to engage in a way that just starts from the right place. It starts from a place of mutual respect and yeah. It's difficult to separate that from the larger conversation going on in our society right now. But they're very similar conversations and they're about partnership and respect and not the usual way of doing business.

Codes that emerged from our analysis of social inclusion practices, categorized using the organizational, relational, individual practice levels are as follows. *Organizational* level practices: advocacy, designing inclusive housing, equitable planning, collective governance and representative governance. We define "collective governance" as approaches to deliberation and decision-making that emphasize a consensus model of decision-making, while "representative governance" involves approaches that emphasize the role of a set of resident leaders as speaking on behalf of the broader population. *Relational* level practices: generative communication, connecting across difference, radical collaboration, transparent information sharing, trauma-informed practices. By "generative communication," we mean the use of aspirational and inclusive imaging in transformation plans or other materials, as well as in the language used by organizational actors to describe residents and the neighborhood. By "radical collaboration," we mean a set of practices that help to break down the underlying power structures to form more truly collaborative ways of working and being together. *Individual* level practices: building relationships across difference, changing perceptions, personal commitment to equity and inclusion, and recognizing the role of the self.

Social inclusion through initiating processes

The second way that mixed-income practitioners took action on social inclusion was to initiate new processes at the structural, relational and personal levels. We differentiated between practices, which are usually ongoing and not time-limited, and processes which generally have distinct steps or phases, and have both a start and an end, with a specific desired result achieved at the end of the process.

An example of a social inclusion process at the structural level was community policing. A respondent described the improvement they had achieved in the process of police engagement with the community:

[T]he police response to that incident, three years after the first one, was better. They were more, they were much more transparent. And by that time, they had developed a process of community engagement that required talking to the public, hearing, a couple of meetings to debrief the neighborhood. That didn't exist before we started to work in the community.

An example of social inclusion processes at the relational level appears in one grant document describing the commitment this way: "Emphasize resident education regarding the scope of the planning process, to facilitate successful community organizing, build individual capacity, and ensure that all residents and interested parties have a documented 'voice' in the project."

At the personal level, an example of a process to promote social inclusion was capacity building to help empower community members to play more of a role in the process. As one respondent asserted: "I think of all the planning grants that I've worked on this one has been the strongest by far in terms of local capacity building for residents, community engagement, and really early action projects."

Codes that emerged from our analysis of social inclusion processes, categorized using the structural, relational, and personal process levels are listed as follows. *Structural* level processes: community policing, creating economic ladders, neighborhood imaging. We defined "neighborhood imaging" as the process of branding, re-branding, or marketing a neighborhood for the purpose of attracting

investment that will enable generative development, attract potential residents and promote residential integration. *Relational* level processes: community building, community organizing. *Personal* level processes: empowerment, healing.

Social inclusion through establishing programs

A third type of action mixed-income practitioners took to promote social inclusion was to establish programs. Unlike the processes described above, these programs were usually staffed, funded activities with an established budget and defined target population. Like the practices and processes above, these programs were designed to address issues at the structural, relational, and personal levels.

At the structural level, an example was a site that planned to “strengthen families by promoting and expanding [County] Public School System’s Parent University and education programs.”

An example of a social inclusion program at the relational level was a site where “the primary strategy for supporting the arts and environmental learning is to partner with high-impact organizations to offer curriculum-based programs for residents of all ages that fulfill personal passions and add to social cohesion.”

An example of social inclusion programming at the personal level was a site that sought to bolster youth access to mental health supports as an inroad to improving family outcomes and addressing inequity in access, “school-based physical and mental health services offer the potential for prevention efforts as well as intervention strategies. They can provide easier access to diagnosis and treatment for students and families where services are scarce and can often mitigate the stigma accompanying other mental health services.”

Codes that emerged from our analysis of social inclusion programs, categorized using the structural, relational, and personal process levels are listed as follows. *Structural* level programs: economic opportunity, education, generative development, policy education, and racial equity education. *Relational* level programs: art, coaching, peer support, formal neighborhood associations, youth development, social services and inclusion. *Personal* level programs: physical health, mental health, behavioral health, and personal development.

Social inclusion through developing structures

Finally, mixed-income practitioners focused on developing structural change, such as policy changes and investments in infrastructure, as a way of promoting social inclusion. Structural change included both physical construction and real estate development, as well as nonphysical development like economic, financial, policy, or organizational change. As with the other types of site actions, these structural activities aimed to address issues across the three levels of change.

An example of a structural change targeted toward addressing issues at the structural level was a site that framed their redevelopment efforts as follows, “The Plan will enhance existing programs and add a catalytic real estate intervention to alter perceptions of [site] while energizing the stagnant and dysfunctional housing market.”

One respondent gave the following example of a structural change aimed to address issues at the relational level:

And then in terms of physical planning we get a lot of effort to design the neighborhood in the way that would encourage people to interact by having generous sidewalks, having benches, having pocket parks distributed throughout community facilities, social services distributed throughout the neighborhood and a partnership with the parks department for a community center that was built some time ago and then are giving acres of land to the parks department for us to use that will serve this neighborhood and the surrounding community.

At the personal level, an example of a structural change to promote social inclusion was:

[A] Federally Qualified Healthcare Center (FQHC) that serves the needs of CN residents. They provide a number of comprehensive health and wellness services including primary care, behavioral health services, dentistry, podiatry, nutrition counseling, and prenatal care. [Program's] current facility is located just across the street from [Location]. In an effort to leverage this essential asset and ensure that [Program] can continue to provide high-quality care to an increasing number of patients at the [Location] and in the CN, their current facility will need to be expanded and upgraded.

Codes that emerged from our analysis of social inclusion structures, categorized using the structural, relational, and personal process levels are listed as follows. *Structural* level changes: catalytic development, creating parks and green space, development for transportation, economic development and meaningful employment, financing for homeownership and entrepreneurship, housing redevelopment and integration, improving neighborhood infrastructure and neighborhood conditions, inclusive housing policy, and increasing access to quality education. We define “catalytic development” as transformation through redevelopment of the neighborhood, designed to catalyze other desired changes in the neighborhood. *Relational* level changes: design for community cohesion, making a community center. *Personal* level changes: design for physical health, formal leadership roles created for residents, increasing access to healthcare and health services, increasing access to healthy foods.

Dynamics of progress

Our analysis also revealed cross-cutting dynamics that respondents described as affecting progress on the successful implementation of their Choice Neighborhoods plans. Some of these dynamics were facilitators of progress, other dynamics presented challenging barriers. Facilitators of progress included trust-building, developing a sense of shared concern and collective commitment, and reflexive planning. One respondent explained how trust was key to their progress:

I think—by involving residents in every meeting, the greatest thing this process has created is trust. A greater sense of trust. In public housing, residents that have been at the poverty level for so long, it's hard for them to trust anyone. We care, and then help bridge that gap.

A grant document described it this way: “By building a strong foundation based on areas of shared concern, [site] and [neighborhood] residents should reach a point where trust and pride overcome decades of inequity and conflict.”

A respondent indicated the importance of the buy-in of multiple parties:

I think it has created a sense in communities that we really care. We want you to be part of this. It's not just about the housing authority putting together this plan. It's about everyone who has a stake in this. Everyone in the city. Everyone in public housing. Even if it's one community that's going to receive these changes, it affects the whole city.

Another respondent put it this way: “Most importantly, each member understands the critical importance of working collaboratively so that each component is cohesive and complementary with the overall goals of the plan, benefitting [site] residents and neighborhood residents.” We define “reflexive planning processes” as an adaptive process that incorporates attributes such as taking a holistic human development approach, viewing the planning initiative as a process, doing while planning, adapting to shifts or changes in the planning process, and a commitment to continual improvement and adaptation.

Key barriers to progress included the market context, and practices that generate competition and exclusion. In several cases, the market context in these revitalizing areas led developers to prioritize redevelopment that did not incentivize inclusion. As one grant document indicated:

A socioeconomic analysis found that the initial market for the project will not be driven by current residents in the [Transit-Oriented Development] TOD study area, who are primarily of low incomes. Instead, the primary, near-term demand will be driven by two age cohorts currently living in the primary market area (PMA); young

workers and graduates (age 25 to 34) and empty nesters (age 55 to 74). Both age cohorts tend to favor smaller rental or homeownership units in an urban setting with access to transit, entertainment, amenities, and jobs.

In some cases the plans for the design of the redevelopment prioritized privacy and reduced the space in which residents could gather and meet each other. As one grant document described: “Minimize common areas and maximize defensible space. Desire for ground floor flats with individual entrances.”

Discussion

This study set out to learn how social inclusion is designed and practiced through mixed-income development by analyzing the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative. Our review of grant documents and our interviews revealed broad intentionality about confronting existing social exclusion, with a variety of approaches that aimed to increase social inclusion. The data revealed that mixed-income practitioners perceive that social exclusion and social inclusion should be addressed at three levels: structural, relational, and personal. Respondents and grant documents conveyed a wide-ranging assessment of the forms of social exclusion, and an array of specific strategies. These strategies included organizational practices, ongoing processes, targeted programs, and broader structural changes. The results of the analysis confirmed that for mixed-income practitioners, social inclusion is both an outcome, a process, and an ongoing practice, as was previously conceptualized by Silver (2015) and Krishna and Kummitha (2017) within the social inclusion field, as well as by scholars in the workplace or organizational inclusion field (Ferdman, 2014; Findler et al., 2007; Holvino et al., 2004; Mor-Barak, 1999; Mor-Barak & Cherin, 1998; Pless & Maak, 2004; Roberson, 2004). It is striking that the Choice sites are deploying many of the techniques described in the social inclusion literature, including civic participation, educational and employment programs, participatory planning, and community building activities (Amath, 2015).

Further, this analysis provides insights into the relationship between integration and inclusion. Our findings indicate a recognition among practitioners that residential integration alone does not achieve inclusion, but that much more intentional and holistic design is required at the structural, relational, and personal levels in order to enact social inclusion (Hurst, 2010).

Theoretical framework

We have created a diagram to convey the relationship between mixed-income development practitioners, their intended outcomes of social inclusion, and the four types of work conceptualized and designed as a part of their Choice Neighborhoods Initiative planning and implementation processes. Figure 1 represents our process model of social inclusion in the context of mixed-income development. We provide this diagram as an easy reference tool for practitioners and researchers, so that they may have a summative framework to guide their planning and implementation. The diagram can be used to assess which elements are present in a particular mixed-income effort, and which elements have not yet been incorporated and might be considered.

At the far left of the diagram is a circle labeled Mixed-Income Development Practitioners and arrows indicating their composition of and working relationship with partners from various organizations and community residents. We also represent the enabling conditions that respondents conveyed were beneficial to greater progress on social inclusion. Four large arrows represent the practices, processes, programs, and structural change that make up the approaches to social inclusion. The social inclusion outcomes are represented at the three levels: structural, relational, personal. Each dimension of social inclusion is visualized as a component of the whole, representing that no one dimension of social inclusion is sufficient to generate sufficient outcomes for residents, rather each dimension must be addressed to realize social inclusion.

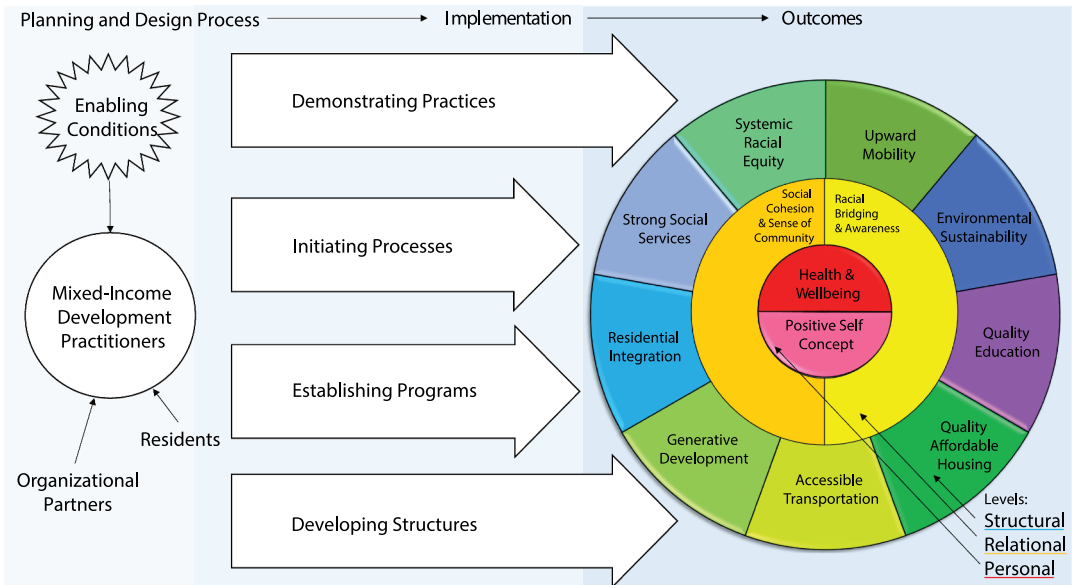


Figure 1. Process model of social inclusion through mixed-income development.

In Figure 2, the specific details of the practices, processes, programs, and structures that mixed-income development practitioners use are presented. Along with the diagram, this frames what we learned about how mixed-income practitioners design and practice social inclusion, at the structural, relational, and personal levels.

Implications for practice

This framework provides a collection of potential practices for social inclusion in mixed-income communities. A given community can use it to assess the work they are doing in comparison to the social inclusion practices and activities found in this analysis of the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative communities in the United States. Strategic thinking around how to make the process of a CNI planning grant embody and enable social inclusion can promote progress toward the outcomes of interest on a day-to-day basis. This framework can also help to contextualize and relate different elements of this work, so that different actors within mixed-income communities can see how their work impacts or supports social inclusion, or where their work might align with the work of a partner organization. Such understanding could lead to deeper collaboration, resident engagement and empowerment, and improved overall outcomes. In terms of practical implications for mixed-income communities, Table 3 summarizes suggestions for specific questions mixed-income development practitioners can ask themselves, as well as practices or design elements that can help foster each strategy.

Demonstrating Practices	Organizational Practices	Advocacy, Collective Governance, Designing Inclusive Housing, Equitable Planning, Representative Governance		
	Relational Practices	Generative Communication, Connecting Across Difference, Radical Collaboration, Transparent Information Sharing, Trauma-informed Practices		
	Individual Practices	Building Relationships across Difference, Changing Perceptions, Personal Commitment to Equity and Inclusion, Recognizing the Role of the Self		
Initiating Processes	For Structural Outcomes		For Relational Outcomes	For Personal Outcomes
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community Policing Creating Economic Ladders Neighborhood Imaging 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community Building Community Organizing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Empowerment Healing 	
Establishing Programs	Facilitating Process: Reflexive Planning Processes			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic Opportunity Education Generative Development Policy Education Racial Equity Education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Art Coaching Peer-Support Formal Neighborhood Associations Youth Development Social Services Inclusion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical Health Mental Health Behavioral Health Personal Development 	
Developing Structures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Catalytic Development Creating Parks & Green Space Development for Transportation Economic Development & Meaningful Employment Financing for Homeownership and Entrepreneurship Housing Redevelopment and Integration Improving Neighborhood Infrastructure and Neighborhood Condition Inclusive Housing Policy Increasing Access to Quality Education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Design for Community Cohesion Making a Community Center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Design for Physical Health Formal Leadership Roles Created for Residents Increasing Access to Healthcare and Health Services Increasing Access to Healthy Foods 	
	Facilitating Structures: Project Management; Financing & Zoning; Measurement & Evaluation; Organizational Structure, Governance, & Decision Making			

Figure 2. Social inclusion design and practice strategies through mixed-income development.

Table 3. Questions to guide practice.

Social Inclusion Work	Example Inquiry—Guiding question(s)	Suggested practice or design element
Organizational Practices	Are we including everyone in our decision-making processes?	Collective Governance—Any stakeholder affected by a decision in an organization is actively involved in being a part of making that decision.
Relational Practices	Are we communicating in a way that enables everyone to feel valued and respected?	Generative Communication—Language and imaging is inclusive and affirmative. This is true of internal and external communication, as well as both formal and informal communication.
Individual Practices	Do you recognize your role in generating social inclusion? How are you benefitting from social exclusion? What can you do to practice social inclusion?	Recognizing the Role of the Self—You evaluate your role, and begin to actively practice social inclusion through self-education, building relationships across difference, challenging your biases, and finding new ways to be.
Processes for Structural Outcomes	Does everyone in this organization have the same opportunity to advance or are those decisions unfairly benefiting some and not others?	Creating Economic Ladders—Pathways to upward mobility are made apparent and transparent within an organization, and to the external surrounding community.
Programs for Structural Outcomes	Does everyone in our organization understand racial equity?	Racial Equity education program—All employees of an organization, including leadership staff and the board, have participated in a racial equity training and ongoing education.
Structures for Structural Outcomes	Are all the jobs within our organization providing meaningful employment?	Meaningful Employment—All the jobs within an organization pay a living-wage, and offer significant opportunities for personal development and fulfillment.
Processes for Relational Outcomes	Do people know each other well across diversity in this organization? Is there a strong sense of community here?	Community Building—An ongoing approach to building connections and a positive sense of community is taken in this organization, with an emphasis on connecting across lines of difference.
Programs for Relational Outcomes	Can everyone in our organization benefit from the programs we offer? How about the surrounding community? Are there any barriers that we can address?	Inclusive Programs—Events are open to the public when possible. Programs consider the needs of all potential participants, which may include child-care, transportation, and the way the event is promoted.
Structures for Relational Outcomes	Are there spaces where people can interact across difference, or hold community/organization-wide events?	Design for Community—Space is designed for generative interaction across difference. Space is accessible to all. This is true of indoor and outdoor space.
Structures for Personal Outcomes	Does our organization’s leadership and board represent our organization’s diversity, or the diversity of the surrounding community? Can we create any new leadership positions?	Formal Leadership Roles Created—People who have traditionally not been represented in management positions or on boards are offered management or board positions. Leadership staff is representative of the full staff, and of the surrounding community.
Processes for Personal Outcomes	Is our organization causing trauma in any way (to our employees, to the surrounding community, etc.)? What role can I play in the process of healing?	Healing—No further trauma. Space and time is given for listening and healing. Meditative practices and other healing practices are offered.
Programs for Personal Outcomes	How is our organization impacting physical health (the health of our employees, the health of the surrounding community, the health of communities where we source our materials, etc.)?	Physical Health Programs—In addition to mitigating any negative impacts on human health in the communities an organization may have an impact, physical health programs are offered that allow for the support and benefit of physical health.
Facilitating Structures and Process	How are you measuring the impact of your organization’s work toward social inclusion?	Measurement and Evaluation—An organization or initiative has identified significant metrics to keep track of progress, and these metrics are evaluated regularly, and reported transparently.

Implications for policy

This analysis also holds a number of policy implications for the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative. The first is in program funding design for implementation grants. Currently, 70% of funds for the recipient of an implementation grant go toward funding housing-related objectives, compared to 15% for neighborhood-related objectives (Critical Community Improvements), and 15% for

people related objectives (Supportive Services) (Choice Neighborhoods Implementation Grants Budget Guidance, 2018). While the physical redevelopment of public housing has a significant cost, our analysis shows that the creation of quality affordable housing and residential integration are just two of several dimensions of social inclusion. If the objectives of social inclusion are to be realized, significantly more funding must be allocated toward neighborhood and people-related strategies.

The second implication is related to grantee selection. Our analysis enumerated several key enabling conditions for social inclusion: appreciative asset-based framing, deep respect for residents, identifying with residents, inclusive framing, intentionality, understanding of interconnect-edness, and understanding of the relevant context. The application process, which includes interviews and site visits, can be used to analyze the degree to which these enabling conditions are present.

The third implication is related to technical assistance. Utilizing the dimensions of social inclusion and the various practices, processes, programs, and structures identified here, Choice Neighborhoods Initiative policy leaders could develop guiding toolkits for applicants, particularly around effective planning processes and practice. For instance, distributing lists and examples of practices for connecting across difference, or reflexive planning processes, could tremendously benefit grantees as they embark on this endeavor.

Finally, the fourth policy implications is for program and site evaluation. The dimensions of social inclusion, the various practices, processes, programs, and structures, and the enabling conditions can be used to evaluate performance. Further, evaluation should consider the extent to which the various practices, processes, programs and structures actually generate feelings of social inclusion and improved life outcomes for public housing residents.

Implications for social inclusion theory

This study additionally holds implications for social inclusion theory and the broader social inclusion literature. The findings of this study reinforce the multi-level nature of social inclusion and the fabric of our social reality, supporting the relationship between the structural facets of our world, and their impact on us socially and individually (Laloux, 2014). It also illuminates the relationship between our own mental models (Senge, 1992), and perceptions of self (Laloux, 2014), revealing the impact these can have on the social and structural levels of life (Berger & Luckman, 1966).

This study supports Krishna and Kummitha (2017) notion that social inclusion “is meant to address the multidimensional deprivations that are caused by social exclusion” (13).

This study also supports the theory of Bates and Seddon (2008), Florian and Rouse (2009), Silver (2015), and Krishna and Kummitha (2017) that social inclusion is inherently a process, not just an outcome.

The greatest contribution of this study to social inclusion literature and other scholars of social inclusion, is to provide a broad contextual look into social inclusion theory in the context of a mixed-income development initiative across the U.S. In the given context, this study identified new components of social inclusion, including generative communication, radical collaboration, recognizing the role of the self, and catalytic development. Additionally, conceptualizing social inclusion in terms of practices, processes, programs, and structures, occurring at three levels, structural, relational, and personal, is a contribution that has relevancy beyond the studied context.

Research limitations and directions for future research

One limitation of this research is in the potential for selection bias. Though every site with a CNI planning grant and/or implementation grant was contacted for the opportunity to be interviewed, it is likely that the sites who consider themselves to be successful would be more likely to participate. Furthermore, as residents interviewed were almost always referred to the interviewer through an organizational member of the planning team, there is further concern that the residents who

participated were residents with the most involvement in the project and most positive perspectives, and thus their responses may be skewed compared to other resident perspectives. Another limitation of this study is in potential desirability bias. Though the interviewees gave genuine, varied, and honest descriptions of their community efforts, including openly discussing their greatest challenges in working on this initiative, there is still the potential that interviewees gave responses that they believed would make their organization or themselves look good.

Beyond these two levels of potential bias, this study is also limited in its presentation and representation of the resident perspective. A limited number of residents were interviewed as a part of this study ($n = 15$), and these residents were also predominantly in resident leadership positions. While this role may make residents more comfortable speaking on behalf of the resident community, there is no way they can speak to, or even know, the full diversity of resident perspectives on a given site. Any future research on the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative should prioritize holistically understanding and centering the resident experience and perspective.

Further, there is the limitation of the data gathered and analyzed, in that this data does not allow for any empirical analysis of the extent to which any given site was enacting the work they proposed or discussed. It also does not allow for assessment of whether public housing residents experienced any increases in social inclusion, or decreases in social exclusion, throughout the planning and/or redevelopment process. Further research is needed to explore the impacts of the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative, and to what extent these communities are truly practicing social inclusion.

Conclusion

This study sought to answer the question: How do mixed-income development practitioners design and practice social inclusion? To answer this question, we conducted an in-depth qualitative analysis of the federal mixed-income development program, the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative, including an analysis of 73 grant reports and 60 interviews with various stakeholders who live and work in the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative communities. Through this analysis, we contribute to social inclusion theory, outlining a process model of how mixed-income development aims to move a community toward social inclusion, through the use of structures, practices, processes and programs across the structural, relational, and personal levels. The data analysis supports the conceptualization that social inclusion is both an outcome and an ongoing process.

This study additionally identified 57 specific structures, processes and programs at the structural, relational, and personal levels that practitioners believe will express and generate social inclusion within mixed-income development. In our discussion, we presented guiding questions that mixed-income development practitioners can ask of themselves to assess the design and practice of social inclusion in their community. We also presented four implications for Choice Neighborhoods Initiative policy, related to funding, grantee selection, technical assistance, and evaluation. It is our hope that this study will help to more clearly communicate the process of social inclusion, illuminate social inclusion practices and design elements proposed by mixed-income development practitioners, and to invite more people onto the journey toward this endeavor.

Notes

1. Please see the appendix for the two English-language interview guides. Spanish-language interview guides available upon request.
2. Supplementary tables that provide exemplary quotes for each of the second-order codes can be found in the appendix.
3. We only provide definitions in the text for thematic labels we used that are not self-explanatory. Our definitions of all of the terms are available in the Appendix.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

About the authors

Morgan Bulger is a community research partner and cooperative organizer, who is dedicated to community ownership. She has a PhD in Organizational Behavior from Case Western Reserve University and completed a Postdoc at the National Initiative on Mixed Income Communities at the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences. In 2018-2019, Morgan led the resident needs assessment at Woodhill Homes as a part of the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative. She has built on that work and her relationship building with residents to facilitate the ongoing development of a cooperative laundromat for the neighborhood, as one of the founding members of the Woodhill Community Co-Op in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mark Joseph is the Leona Bevis and Marguerite Haynam Associate Professor of Community Development at the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences at Case Western Reserve University. He is the coauthor of *Integrating the Inner City: The Promise and Perils of Mixed-Income Public Housing Transformation*. He is the Founding Director of the National Initiative on Mixed-Income Communities. Joseph is a member of the Board of Trustees of the George Gund Foundation and an external advisor to the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. He serves on the Governing Board of the Urban Affairs Association and on the editorial boards of the *Journal of Community Practice*, *Housing Policy Debate* and the *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and the City*. He received his undergraduate degree from Harvard University, his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, was a Post-Doctoral Scholar at the University of Chicago and a Harlech Visiting Scholar at Oxford University.

Sherise McKinney is a Research Associate at the National Initiative on Mixed-Income Communities. McKinney provides research and management support on a variety of consulting and research projects aimed at promoting successful mixed-income communities through the creation and implementation of strategies designed to foster strong community ties across lines of difference. Current projects include an evaluation of the social, investment, and neighborhood change impact of the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative implementation in the Woodlawn neighborhood of Chicago, an evaluation of stigma and bias in inclusionary housing for the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and evaluation projects for mixed-income housing developers in San Francisco, CA and Washington, D.C. focused on maximizing economic and social outcomes for residents. McKinney holds a BASW from California State University, Long Beach and a MSSA from the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences at Case Western Reserve University.

Diana Bilimoria is KeyBank Professor and Chair of Organizational Behavior at the Weatherhead School of Management, Case Western Reserve University. Her research interests focus on gender, diversity, equity and inclusion in governance and leadership, and organizational transformation. She has written multiple books and has published in leading journals and edited volumes. She is an elected member of the board of governors of the Academy of Management, and has served as the Chair of its Gender and Diversity in Organizations Division. She has served as the editor of the *Journal of Management Education*. Recent awards she has received include the Scholarly Contributions to Educational Practice Advancing Women in Leadership Award, Weatherhead School of Management Enduring Research Impact Award, Janet Chusmir Distinguished Service Award, Weatherhead School of Management Teaching Excellence Award, and the Weatherhead School of Management's Doctoral Teaching Excellence Award.

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