

**Intentional Community:
a Qualitative Analysis of Social Organization in a Mixed-Income Neighborhood**

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Abstract

Mixed-income housing policy initiatives in the United States have attempted to reduce the social disorganization associated with concentrated urban poverty. Using a Portland, Oregon HOPE VI project as a single case study site, this thesis examined how residents' socio-economic status, correlated closely with tenure, informed neighborhood choice, social networks, social exchange and informal social control. The latter three concepts underpin collective efficacy for children, which provided the theoretical framework for this thesis. Research methods relied on 42 in-depth interviews with parents and adolescents from rented and owned homes, 10 in-depth interviews with Housing Authority of Portland staff members and neighborhood observation over a span of four months. The study revealed differences between lower-income renters' and higher-income owners' framing of neighborhood choice; these frames informed subsequent approaches to social ties, social exchange, and informal social control in the neighborhood. Parents' social networks typically did not span across tenures but adolescents' networks were more flexible; families' varied use of Portland's school choice program influenced the nature of these ties and other elements of social organization in the neighborhood. Institutional resources, in the form of staff employed in youth services and community building efforts, were particularly important to social capital activation among renter families. Finally, governance forums and public spaces informed territoriality in the neighborhood and the related perception of boundaries between rented and owned households. The theoretical implications of this research relate to the utility of mixed-income housing policy as a tool for poverty reduction, as well as how social dynamics are informed by socio-economic status and delineated by physical space.

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This thesis is dedicated to two sets of children.

First, the sixth grade students I taught at Charles Drew Middle School in South Los Angeles.

Knowing them later inspired the direction of my graduate research.

Second, it is dedicated to the youth of New Columbia in Portland, Oregon.

Without their perspectives, this study would not have been possible.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The neighborhoods in which children live may broaden or limit their opportunities. As American cities grew during the 20th century, so did social problems associated with poverty, crime and anti-social behavior. Spatially concentrated poverty appeared to compound and magnify the effects of socio-economic disadvantage, and public institutions strained under the pressure from a disproportionately needy local population. Children in these urban neighborhoods were often subject to lower quality public schools, more dangerous streets and play areas, and less sanitary housing conditions than their suburban counterparts. Their parents struggled to find local, viable employment and the child-care necessary to engage in full-time work. Individual outcomes, such as receipt of public assistance and rates of child delinquency, have been strongly correlated with neighborhood poverty despite controlling for both family and individual characteristics (Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Leventhal, Brooks-Gunn, & Kamerman, 1997).¹

Poor neighborhoods suffered, in theory, from social disorganization. Shaw and McKay's (1942) original social disorganization theory posited that structural factors threatened a neighborhood's ability to sustain the trust and cohesion needed to prevent, and effectively reprove, crime and anti-social behavior. These structural factors, which included poverty, residential instability and ethnic heterogeneity, potentially compromised residents' social networks and capacity to enforce informal social control (Kornhauser, 1978; Bursik & Grasmick, 1984; Furstenberg Jr. & Hughes, 1997).

Dramatic increases in the rate of urban, concentrated poverty during the 1970s and 1980s, combined with the onslaught of illicit drugs and associated gang activity, exacerbated the overall

¹ For a comprehensive review of research on urban poverty and neighborhood effects, see Small and Newman (2001).

level of social disorder in many urban American neighborhoods. Macro-economic changes shifted work opportunities from the cities to suburbs, and unemployment alongside federal budget cuts for social services further compounded neighborhoods' problems. The physical condition of urban public housing worsened, alongside the stigma directed towards these areas. American ghettos became infamous for high rates of unemployment, school drop-out, welfare receipt, and teenage pregnancy. Cities grew increasingly segregated according to both income and race, and African American residents in poor neighborhoods were often subject to racially oriented attacks on their characters and value systems (Anderson, 1990, 1999; Goetz, 2003; Wilson, 1987, 1996). As of 1990, approximately 8 million people resided in high-poverty neighborhoods, which represented an increase of 3.9 million people between 1980 and 1990 (Jargowsky, 1997).² Census data from 1990 revealed that approximately 80% of residents in areas of concentrated poverty self-identified as members of minority groups (Jargowsky, 1997):

The 1992 National Commission on Severely Distressed Housing (NCSDH) reported that living in concentrated poverty, namely residence in high-rise public housing projects, posed significant risks to families and children in particular. According to demographic data from the 1980s, poor children were more likely to live in high poverty neighborhoods than poor adults. Young children under the age of four were also more likely to live in these areas than children in other age groups (Jargowsky, 1997). The NCSDH report argued for demolition of such projects and replacement with mixed-income neighborhoods. In theory, an influx of higher-income residents would improve the neighborhood's social organization through decreased crime and anti-social behavior, as well as reduce the overall level of blight and related public cost to the city.

² A poverty rate of 40% and above has been widely used to determine whether a neighborhood qualifies as an area of concentrated poverty (Jargowsky & Bane, 1991; Jargowsky, 1997; Karsada, 1990).

Two main types of poverty deconcentration policy efforts were implemented during the 1990s; these included families' use of housing vouchers and the redevelopment of high-poverty neighborhoods into mixed-income, and sometimes mixed-tenure, communities. The latter were largely part of a federal initiative called the Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere program (HOPE VI). This program made federal funding available to local housing authorities for the purpose of demolishing dilapidated public housing developments, and instituting greater income diversity throughout the newly constructed development. A total of 248 HOPE VI projects were built between 1993 and 2009, and these varied considerably in design and intent. Both the metropolitan context and discretion of the involved housing authority determined the implementation of funding, which makes the identification of a typical HOPE VI site difficult. Because there existed no standard design for these neighborhoods, and context mattered significantly, research efforts to determine the effect of income diversity on individual outcomes have produced inconclusive results. Although quantitative studies have pointed towards generally positive employment and educational gains for those who move from strictly public housing to mixed-income neighborhoods, social scientists have called for a larger number of case to explore what specific conditions facilitated or discouraged certain types of behaviors among residents (Briggs *et al.*, 2009; Curley, 2010; Leventhal *et al.*, 1997).

This thesis was designed to explore how parents and youth in a mixed-income neighborhood navigated a particular dimension of social organization known as collective efficacy for children (CEFC). This type of collective efficacy is the degree to which neighbors share the trust and behavioral expectations necessary to enforce informal social control among the neighborhood's children. Social processes underpinning CEFC are relevant to important issues in mixed-income neighborhoods, such as whether social networks exist across income

groups, what functions these networks serve, and how different residents choose to enforce informal social control related to youth behavior. These issues are directly related to key assumptions about the effects of mixed-income housing policy, yet have not been adequately examined empirically (Briggs, 1997; Joseph, 2006; Joseph *et al.*, 2007). Understanding the perspectives and experiences of lower-income and higher-income parents and adolescents in a mixed-income neighborhood is critical in realizing these research aims. This study explored these issues through interviews with residents of an 82-acre, 854 unit HOPE VI neighborhood in Portland, Oregon called New Columbia.

The Housing Authority of Portland (HAP) intentionally diversified New Columbia according to income and tenure, and the neighborhood also included considerable racial and ethnic diversity. The neighborhood opened to residents in 2005, and by 2009 there were over 1300 youth under the age of 18 who occupied it. New Columbia was essentially designed using New Urbanist principles, which prioritize environmental sustainability and social integration. The community's planning was in line with the key goals of poverty deconcentration policy, which included reduced poverty, greater self-sufficiency among low-income residents and a safer, more supportive environment for children.

Before the presentation of empirical evidence, this thesis will first provide background information on the policy context, relevant theory, existing literature and the study's methodology. The second chapter of this thesis will provide a chronological history of how urban poverty developed in the United States, with emphasis given to the government's inconsistent role in the policies that initially encouraged, and then discouraged, the spatial concentration of America's poor. It will also show how federal policy manifested locally in the city of Portland, the metropolitan context in which New Columbia eventually developed.

Chapter Three will outline a theoretical framework for understanding why mixed-income housing policy was posited as a solution to the social problems that existed in traditional public housing. Five concepts relevant to the thesis' results will be discussed, including neighborhood choice, neighborhood narrative frames, social networks, social exchange and social control. The first two concepts relate more generally to the initial perspectives and motivations that families operate under when they make decisions to move. These preliminary perspectives help explain subsequent neighboring after residents arrive, including approaches taken to social networks, social exchanges with neighbors, and the enforcement of informal social control among youth. The latter three concepts will be analyzed in relation to collective efficacy for children. Activation of social capital, an important element of social networks and social exchange, will also be highlighted. The notion that higher-income residents could extend lower-income residents' social networks, and facilitate social mobility, was an important assumption that drove forward mixed-income housing policy (Briggs, 1997; Joseph, 2006; Joseph *et al.*, 2007).

In addition to these five concepts, Chapter Three will outline three theoretical models useful for understanding mixed-income housing policy's impact on adolescents in particular. Joseph *et al.*'s (2007) extension of Aber *et al.*'s (1997) model of neighborhood effects demonstrates how these pathways of influence may operate in a mixed-income context, and Connell *et al.* (1995) showed how community processes may mediate adolescent development and outcomes.

A review of relevant literature will be presented in Chapter Four. The chapter's structure will mirror the order provided in Chapter Three, and empirical research about neighborhood choice, neighborhood narrative frames, social networks, social exchange and social control will be provided. In his landmark text "The Truly Disadvantaged", William Julius Wilson (1987)

argued that spatially concentrated poverty tended to compound the individual struggles associated with socio-economic disadvantage. Wilson (1987) originally deemed these systemic problems “concentration effects”, and Jargowsky (1997, p. 5) later referred to them as “neighborhood effects”. These effects, and their impact on children, have often been at the center of research on the five aforementioned concepts. Quantitative empirical evidence will be presented alongside qualitative data, with emphasis given to studies that focused on neighborhood effects in relation to adolescent development. A review of the literature will also reveal the research gap that has persisted in studies of mixed-income neighborhoods, and how the New Columbia case study will help fill this gap. Although child development and adolescent welfare are issues closely related to neighborhood effects, no previous study has explicitly sought out the perspectives of parents *and* adolescents across lower-income *and* higher-income households in the same mixed-income neighborhood.

New Columbia was well suited for this research given previous studies that had taken place with the neighborhood’s lower-income renters, which provided valuable context for how the HOPE VI transition impacted original public housing residents (Gibson, 2007; Gibson & Serbulo, 2009). The timing of HAP’s large-scale “Community Speaks” survey in April of 2009, which addressed issues of neighborhood satisfaction with over 400 of New Columbia’s residents, also provided key quantitative data that helped to supplement and contextualize the qualitative findings from this study (Serbulo, 2009). This data will be integrated into later results chapters.

Finally, although valuable research on these issues has been completed outside the United States (particularly in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands) this literature review will be limited to the American context. Because the historical and political context of urban poverty

and public housing in the U.S. is unique, and frames the specific setting of the study, extended international comparisons are outside the scope of the thesis.

The study's methodology will be outlined in Chapter Five. New Columbia's use as a single case study, and the employment of qualitative methods, will be justified in detail and the recruitment and selection of research participants will also be explained. Practical limitations of the study will be outlined in this chapter, specifically limits on generalizing findings to other mixed-income contexts. Chapter Five will also outline the study's ethical considerations and my reflexivity as a researcher throughout the four cumulative months I spent completing fieldwork.

Although the 42 members of this stratified random sample did not represent all views on New Columbia, they did reflect the perspectives of four critical neighborhood sub-groups: lower-income parents, higher-income parents, lower-income adolescents and higher-income adolescents. Because the lower-income residents in the sample were renters and the higher-income individuals owners, they are respectively referred to as "renters" and "owners". The study's methodology intended to explore perspectives of both adults and adolescents across income groups, thereby addressing the aforementioned gap in existing research. Ten additional interviews were completed with New Columbia's staff members, who were employed with the Housing Authority of Portland as part of community building efforts with the neighborhood's families. The inclusion of staff members brought the total sample size up to 52. Analytical methods utilized with the qualitative data collected during fieldwork will also be outlined in Chapter Five.

The next three chapters present and analyze the study's empirical data. Chapter Six will answer how renter and owner families framed their respective decisions to move to a mixed-income, mixed-tenure neighborhood. Understanding these pressures and motivations

contextualizes parents' interpretations of neighborhood conditions, and the respective approaches they took to social relationships. These choices will also be contextualized in larger trends on residential decision-making regarding mixed-income neighborhoods.

Chapters Seven and Eight will explore how parents and adolescents across rented and owned households approached each of the three dimensions of CEFC: intergenerational closure; reciprocated exchange; and informal social control. The analysis of multiple perspectives will allow a more nuanced and comprehensive view of these critical elements of social organization in New Columbia. The social networks dimension of collective efficacy for children, which Sampson *et al.* (1999) referred to as intergenerational closure, will be analyzed specifically in Chapter Seven. Social networks will be examined with regard to opportunities for interaction as opposed to a quantitative frequency measurement of who socialized with whom; this ecological approach will thus uncover structural rather than personality-based reasons for interaction.

Analysis of qualitative data about social networks and interaction will also reveal various forms of social capital activation, which will be further elaborated on in Chapter Eight. This last results chapter will center on social exchange and informal social control, and how these processes informed both adolescent behavior and parents' responses to this behavior. The community's self-governance, in forums such as Town Hall and Homeowners' Association meetings, will be analyzed in relation to implications for social networks and social capital. In addition, Chapter Eight will examine the role of the neighborhood's physical design in how power and control were exercised in different spaces. How renter and owner parents and adolescents negotiated different territories across the neighborhood will be contextualized with personal observations from my experiences in the field.

Chapter Nine will conclude the thesis with a summary of key findings, and will discuss how these results help extend current theory on neighborhood choice and collective efficacy for children in a mixed-income context, as well as practical policy implications. The study's contribution to the literature is methodologically unique based on the context for its research questions and the composition of the sample. These new perspectives prompt a variety of other questions about child welfare and social organization in urban neighborhoods, along with the future of mixed-income housing policy; related recommendations for future research will be outlined at the end of the chapter.

Chapter Two: The United States' Policy Context

Introduction

The U.S. government's provision of housing has been limited, relative to other Western countries, for a combination of ideological and fiscal reasons throughout the country's history (Cooper, 1976; Schwartz, 2006; Vale, 2000). American policy decisions have, nevertheless, actively shaped the direction and purpose of public housing and its implications for the nature of urban poverty. Federal and local strategies aimed at residential integration, across both racial and socio-economic dimensions, evolved dramatically over the course of the 20th century.

The first part of this chapter explores the history of American housing policy chronologically from World War I to 2010. The role of the U.S. government in housing provision for the poor transitioned from essentially non-existent to significant during this period, especially with regard to community development. This chapter will first examine how federal and local policy decisions allowed, and sometimes encouraged, specific demographic shifts within American cities, as well as associated consequences for residents. Given this thesis' focus on a single case study site (New Columbia) in Portland, Oregon, the city's specific approach to urban planning and concentrated poverty will be examined in the context of federal policies. Successes and failures of past urban renewal projects, demographic shifts, and changes in local fiscal pressures and governance structure in Portland help explain New Columbia's design and the approach taken towards its residents. This information provides valuable context for the results presented later in the thesis.

The second part of this chapter will outline key explanations that emerged in response to growing rates of urban, concentrated poverty, which helped frame ensuing remedial policy, and will then examine how several initiatives during the 1990s addressed the problem of

concentrated poverty - the HOPE VI program, the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) social experiment, and the Gatreux relocation program. Each of these programs encouraged mixed-income housing through varying mechanisms. This chapter will then outline how mixed-income housing policy has evolved since the emergence of such programs, current challenges to its implementation, and the nature of the criticism that has been directed towards it. Finally, it will outline of how policies related to residential integration have intersected with education policy, specifically school choice initiatives.

Creation of Public Housing: 1915-1940

The first publicly sponsored housing units were constructed during World War I and built specifically to house wartime workers. Vale (2000, p. 139) described this initial period in housing policy as purposeful and brief: “This housing was to be a temporary reward for good people engaged in worthy work”. The U.S. Housing Corporation was almost entirely shut down by 1920 after the immediate needs of wartime workers were met; government’s role in either construction or maintenance of housing was deemed politically unacceptable. It was not until the mid 1930s that the government mobilized an unprecedented expansion of the welfare state in response to the Great Depression, and with it the provision of housing.

The United States’ first wide scale, significant attempt to address the condition of American housing took place after the 1935 New Deal and accompanying welfare state growth. The passage of the Public Housing Act in 1937 allowed local public housing authorities (PHAs) to build housing for needy residents, and construction of these large scale developments provided support to the economy as well as subsidized housing for impoverished families. The nature of construction shifted over time according to economic conditions and the government’s goals.

The latter 1930s were focused on public works, and essentially served to prop up the U.S.' construction industry. Private contractors, concerned with risk for default, were hesitant to build housing for low-income tenants. The Public Works Administration thus initially began the work of demolishing slums and constructing new housing. Under the 1934 National Housing Act, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) attempted to encourage private construction through transferring foreclosure and rent default risk to the federal government. Segregation was perceived as a means of minimizing investment risk: "[The FHA claimed]. . .if a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that its properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes" (as cited in Vale, 2000, p. 169). Socio-economic and racial divides, therefore, were initially encouraged between communities.

Political compromises made during the 1930s severely constrained the type and quantity of financial resources made available to PHAs (Radford, 1996). While PHAs financed the cost of development through the issuance of bonds, tenant rental payments were expected to cover the cost of maintaining and operating the property (Schwartz, 2006). Limits were imposed on the cost of development, which encouraged construction near urban centers. These strategies reflected considerable efforts to prevent competition with the private real estate market.

The federal government's role was de-emphasized with the passage of the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act of 1937, and the slum reform stage took place between 1937 and 1942. This legislation devolved responsibility to local public housing authorities for the elimination of unsafe urban housing. Regulatory and financial supports were administered through the federal United States Housing Authority, but decision-making authority was local (Vale, 2000). It was during this stage that initial assumptions about who belonged in public housing were crafted.

The Wagner-Steagall Housing Act provided two formative frameworks for local public housing authorities. First, the equivalent elimination agreement mandated that a one for one policy be set for any construction. This meant that for every new public housing unit built, the same number of units must be renovated or demolished (Wilson, 1996).³ In addition, the law linked household income to rent as a means of tightening eligibility requirements (Popkin *et al.*, 2000). According to the set formula, households earning more than five times the fixed rent became ineligible and were forced to move out of public housing and enter the private market. This provision framed public housing as temporary or transitional shelter for upwardly mobile, working class families (Vale, 2000). City planners in Portland, Oregon carried out construction of public housing for similar purposes, and these objectives will be discussed next.

Portland's wartime public housing. Before it underwent redevelopment in 2001, New Columbia was known as Columbia Villa (and often abbreviated as "the Villa"). Built as part of World War II public housing production in 1943, this 462 unit project was located on 82 acres in North Portland on the peninsula between the Columbia and Wilamette rivers. The first 400 residences in the neighborhood reflected only a small portion of the 18,000 units of wartime housing that had been constructed for workers and their families by 1944, and the scale of this construction during such a short time period resulted in faulty housing infrastructure (Sanders, 1991). Most public housing was built in North Portland because the land was proximate to the shipyards and thus reserved for wartime, shipyard workers, most of whom were low-income African Americans. Decisions that guided wartime housing construction ultimately resulted in the rapid concentration of low-income families in North Portland. HAP confronted relocation

³ Slums presented a considerable financial burden on cities; the equivalent elimination agreement was intended to encourage slum clearance (Vale, 2000).

challenges in North Portland when the war ended and it came time to relocate residents from temporary housing; these difficulties will be discussed later in this chapter.

Expansion of Public Housing: 1940-1960.

Workers in war production industries increased demand for affordable housing, and income eligibility rules were relaxed for workers involved in the war effort. The 1940 Lanham Act authorized large scale housing construction for defense workers, and public housing authorities began to give preference to such workers in the provision of subsidies. These changes helped define an ideal tenant and reinforced notions of who was deserving, or undeserving, of public housing (Popkin *et al.*, 2000; Vale, 2000). Postwar housing further reinforced these ideological trends, as new public housing was built to meet returning soldiers' increased demand.

The Depression brought about a large number of foreclosures, and during the 1940s the federal government began underwriting mortgages in order to facilitate homeownership. The Federal Housing Administration, however, considered low-income, high minority neighborhoods to be high-risk and effectively limited mortgages in these areas. This process prevented homeownership in predominantly black and immigrant neighborhoods.⁴ Homeownership was prevented in these neighborhoods as a greater number of low-income African Americans migrated from the South to cities in New England and the Midwest. These residents were not financially prepared to seek out homeownership, and lacked the political clout to demand more integrative policy during this time period (Wilson, 1996).

Simultaneously, white residents were drawn to the suburbs through the availability of mortgages and mortgage-interest tax exemptions, and the rise of federal highway systems that

⁴ This process is also known as redlining, and was made illegal with the passage of the Fair Housing Act in 1968.

facilitated access to the city (Schwartz, 2006; Vale, 2000; Wilson, 1996). While the construction of federal highways eased transportation between the suburbs and the city, it also served to dislocate low-income families from their homes and neighborhoods. Additionally, highways tended to create barriers within the city between business districts and low-income neighborhoods (Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1996).

The period between 1946 and 1954 focused on veterans' assistance. Although approximately 625,000 subsidized rental units were built during the previous wartime stage, over 580,000 were subsequently demolished (Lusignan, 2002). The Lanham Act of 1940 had stipulated that the remainder be sold to private contractors (Lusignan 2002; Vale, 2000). The postwar period was different from the prewar public housing strategy in two important ways. Slum clearance, to the magnitude that it was carried out in earlier decades, was no longer possible. Most of the postwar development was thus constructed on top of already vacant sites. In addition, temporary housing was designed to reward returning soldiers (Vale, 2000). Intended as assistance to ease temporary hardship, upward mobility became a central theme of public housing provision during this period, and the differentiation between deserving and non-deserving recipients of shelter was reinforced.

Portland's approach to expansion. In the 1950s, the Housing Authority of Portland began to confine the construction of subsidized housing to North and inner Northeast Portland. This decision seemed practical at the time, given the amount of low-income housing that already existed in the area. Development and displacement in Portland during the 1950s and 1960s did not cause significant political or social unrest, owing partially to the demographics of the city.

Oregon's population had grown at a rate of 20% per decade, which was relatively slow compared to other states during the same period⁵, and the population stayed primarily white. According to Wollner, Provo and Schablitsky (2001, p. 6), "in 1950 more than 50 percent of the black population lived in Census tracts 22 and 23 in the Albina [North Portland] neighborhood. Their isolation left the impression with many white Portland residents that there were no significant minority problems to speak of in the city...The result of this superficial lack of racial dimension to Portland's social and political life meant that few designs and outcomes of the city's urban renewal programs were affected by race politics". Portland was unique in the sense that it avoided the degree of race-centered violence that characterized other urban renewal projects in most other large American cities during the 1950s and 1960s.

Although its small minority population and overall demographics contributed to a more subdued sense of racial tension, conflict eventually arose between HAP and the low-income residents of North Portland. In 1961, the African American community resisted a proposal to build a new public housing project (known as the Daisy Williams project) in the traditionally black Albina District of North Portland, and this resistance helped instigate the fierce scrutiny of HAP's tenant selection policy (Sanders, 1991). Amidst elevated levels of racial tension and controversy, 14 public and private agencies and organizations eventually placed HAP under investigation. Regular picketing outside HAP's office and death threats made against its Executive Director accompanied these investigations, and the proposed public housing development was eventually cancelled (Sanders, 1991). The investigations made into HAP's resident selection policies ultimately revealed no evidence of discrimination. According to Sanders (1991), HAP and its Board took this experience as an opportunity to examine its policies

⁵ In contrast to Oregon's 20% population growth rate, Arizona grew 54%, California grew 57% and Nevada grew 71% during the same time period (Wollner *et al.*, 2001).

more closely, and this period of introspection resulted in a stronger organizational commitment to civil rights issues and resident participation.

Conflicting Priorities: 1960-1990

Despite the exodus of many white households from American cities, and lack of integrative measures in housing policy, the 1950s and 1960s reflected significant progress in overall poverty reduction. The absolute number of poor Americans fell by 36% between 1959 and 1968, and despite rising rates of immigration, the proportion of people living in poverty decreased from 22% to 12.8% (Wilson, Aponte, Kirschenman & Wacquant, 1987). Those living in urban areas also experienced improvement. The absolute number of poor people living in urban areas fell from 17 million to 12.9 million during the same time period, and the proportion of poor Americans living in these areas also decreased by 35% (Wilson *et al.*, 1987). These gains resulted from increased economic prosperity combined with targeted anti-poverty programs carried out under President Johnson's War on Poverty (Wilson *et al.*, 1987).

The anti-poverty efforts of this era extended to urban renewal programs. In 1966, Congress passed the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act, known as Model Cities. This legislation directed funding to urban renewal projects, in exchange for “. . . creation of a local mechanism for an integrated attack on the various social, economic, and physical problems of troubled neighborhoods” (Portland City Club Bulletin, 1971, as cited in Wollner *et al.*, 2001, p. 49). These mechanisms took various forms across America's cities, but the emphasis on urban renewal as a potential vehicle for anti-poverty efforts set a general precedent for community engagement programs. The way in which public housing was provided during this period, however, ultimately served to set the stage for poverty concentration in central cities.

The Housing Act of 1949 had reinstated the federal government's role in supplying public housing, but the emphasis was on urban renewal projects rather than construction of new units. Renewal projects of the 1960s, aimed at slum clearance and the urban economic development, resulted in disproportionately high residential displacement rates among minorities. The largely African American population uprooted through slum clearance processes was given compensatory access to housing subsidies, which shifted the demographics of public housing. At the same time, civil rights reform was changing the way in which local government agencies screened tenants. Discriminatory practices based on race or household composition became increasingly limited, which resulted in greater admission of highest need tenants (Vale, 2002).

Local city governments, meanwhile, were not required to establish public housing authorities, much less zone land for the development of public housing units. The vast majority of suburban areas did not set aside any space for subsidized housing because no mandates or incentives existed for them to do so. Ultimately, public housing became concentrated in low-income, minority neighborhoods because the population living in these areas were generally more dependent on subsidies (Popkin *et al.*, 2000; Schwartz, 2006; Vale, 2000). White, suburban residents resisted racial and socio-economic integration during this period (Hirsch, 1996; Popkin *et al.*, 2000; Vale, 2000). Black political officials tended to support concentrated African American public housing developments as well, albeit for different reasons - racial segregation tended to protect black elected officials' political base (Schwartz, 2006, p. 108). The few integrative housing initiatives that were undertaken had limited impact because they required largely unavailable municipal support, and were not adequately backed with federal consequences for non-compliance (Goetz, 2003).

Continued sensitivity to competition with the private market lent itself to low standards in newly constructed public housing. The result was both exterior and interior design devoid of any aesthetics, in conjunction with landscaping that encouraged isolation and stigmatization:

“Decisions to separate public housing from the surrounding street grid made public housing stand out a thing apart from the rest of the community” (Schwartz, 2006, p. 111).

The residual public housing applicant pool saw a rapid reduction in average income: in 1950, public housing residents’ median income was 57% of the national median income. By the 1990s, this percentage fell to less than 20% (Nenno, 1996). These demographic changes contributed to the rapidly growing sense of stigma directed towards the people who resided in public housing. Although members of the white working class could have qualified for public housing, a growing number chose to navigate the private rental market instead. Vale (2000) cited the results of Charles Hartman’s 1958 case study of a Boston urban renewal project as reflective of some of the assumptions and fears that had already become attached to public housing. The study examined the decisions of approximately 1700 households when they were forced to seek residence elsewhere. Two-thirds of these displaced households were eligible for public housing, but only one in ten ultimately chose to take advantage of the subsidy and move into a neighboring public housing project.

At one level, the white working class viewed public housing as ‘too public’- too large, open, congested and unmanageable. At another level, their resistance bespoke an unwillingness to see themselves as objects of public charity, housed together with those whose motives they distrusted, and delivered there by a process that severely limited the freedom of choice long associated with the process of selecting desirable homes and neighborhoods (Vale, 2000, p. 280).

Although the results of Hartman’s research did not represent the motives of all white, working class households during this period, the case study did reveal the types of reasons that prevented white, working-class families from taking advantage of public housing. This, in turn,

contributed to the concentration of low-income, minority tenants whose options were more limited during this era.

The federal government took an inconsistent approach to rising rates of concentrated poverty, and the legislation that was passed during the 1970s and 1980s reflected conflicting priorities. The Brooke Amendments of 1969 and 1970 limited public housing tenants' rent payments to 25% of household income, which made public housing more affordable, and at the same time, placed greater financial pressure on local housing authorities (Popkin *et al.*, 2000). President Richard Nixon imposed a moratorium on federal funding for housing in 1973, which put greater strain on local housing authorities as they sought out alternative sources of money for the construction and maintenance of units (Popkin *et al.*, 2000).

Shortly thereafter, however, the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act required PHAs to institute tenant selection criteria that allowed for greater diversification of incomes in subsidized housing projects. Important to note was that the U.S. Housing Act was amended to include a commitment to the prevention of poverty concentration: "Within a reasonable amount of time, [each] project will include families with a broad range of incomes and will avoid concentrations of low-income and deprived families with serious social problems" (Jacobs, Harenny, Edson & Lane, 1986, p. 62).

Despite the rhetoric of the U.S. Housing Act, subsequent legislation served to compound the concentration effect of public housing. The Housing and Community Development Amendments of 1979 prioritized homeless families' entry into public housing projects without allowing for increased accommodation for middle-income households, which served to sharply narrow the types of households who entered public housing (Spence, 1993). The 1981 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act lowered the income maximum for subsidized tenants, which further

limited access to public housing (Struyk, 1999). In the same year, the U.S. Housing Act was amended in order to give preference to households making under 50% of area median income (Jacobs *et al.*, 1986). These laws enforced stricter means-testing in the allocation of subsidized housing, and with it higher spatial concentrations of poverty in American cities. Stringent eligibility requirements muted any meaningful attempts to incorporate socio-economic mix: “In the US, public housing has been required to house the poorest of the poor, thereby creating extreme...degrees of class segregation” (Galster, 1997, p. 573).

Construction of new public housing was also halted under the Reagan administration when the principal source of financing shifted from bonds to capital grants. Expansion was essentially stopped at this time- only 5% of current public housing stock was constructed after 1985 (Schwartz, 2006). Arrested welfare state growth in the 1980s was particularly devastating to already vulnerable minority communities in these areas. As wealthier members of cities migrated to the suburban ring outside the city, areas in the central city were left with a declining tax base and rising poverty (Goetz, 2003). Sharp reductions in the federal government’s contributions to cities’ budgets took place during the 1980s alone: between 1980 and 1990, this federal assistance fell from 18% to 6.4% (Wilson, 1996). These shifts in funding, combined with the economic recession that began in 1989, resulted in dramatic cuts for social service programs.

Unprecedented challenges for urban residents emerged during the 1980s. Wilson (1996, p. 49) suggested, “Although drug addiction and its attendant violence, AIDS and its toll on public health resources, and homelessness are found in many American communities, their impact on the ghetto is profound. These communities, whose residents have been pushed to the margins of society, have few resources with which to combat these social ills that arose in the 1980s”. In light of these changes, poverty began to take on a more threatening form, and city

governments were increasingly ill-equipped to manage the social and economic problems associated with it.

Initial efforts at poverty dispersal. Although areas of concentrated poverty in the U.S. increased dramatically during the 1970s and the 1980s, the federal government had largely abandoned any aggressive push for subsidized housing dispersal. The Fair Housing Act of 1968 had facilitated the creation of fair-share housing programs, which were intended to increase housing options for low-income households. Regarding these fair-share programs, Goetz (2003, p. 47) explained “[they] survived where local interest was sufficient in assuring that subsidized housing opportunities existed equitably throughout the central city and developing suburban areas. It survived, that is to say, almost nowhere”. Because local municipalities determined if and how these programs were implemented, the federal government exercised minimal oversight in whether or not they were executed at all.

Aside from fair-share housing programs, pressure for poverty deconcentration appeared in the form of increased focus on tenant-based voucher programs. Section 8 of the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act established tenant-based vouchers that allowed a given household to apply the public subsidy to a unit in the private market, with the intent of allowing households greater choice with minimal government interference. Over 75% of vouchers were set aside for very low-income households falling at or below 30% of the area median income (Kemp, Priemus & Varady, 2005). These residents could, in theory, use these vouchers in neighborhoods with lower poverty rates. The efficacy of such programs to actually *disperse* the poor was often limited, however, owing to local housing authorities’ adherence to residency preferences for voucher recipients and the reluctance of landlords in the private market to participate in the subsidy program (Goetz, 2003; Tegeler, Hanley & Liben, 1995).

The Gautreaux demonstration. During this time period, a major poverty dispersal program resulted from a court case rather than a public policy initiative. A class action suit⁶ was brought against the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) in 1969 as a result of the consistent placement of public housing tenants in large-scale projects in low-income, black neighborhoods. In 1976, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in *Gautreaux v. Harris* that the CHA was required to implement a wide-scale mobility program for its public housing residents. Both the CHA and the federal U.S. Department of Housing and Urban development (HUD) were found liable for deliberate segregation of public housing according to race. The 1976 Gautreaux Demonstration followed this decision, which provided tenants with Section 8 vouchers to relocate out of the central city and into lower-poverty neighborhoods. HUD was also required to institute racial and socio-economic desegregation across all metropolitan areas (Goetz, 2003).

In addition to the vouchers, Chicagoan families living in public housing were provided with counseling and personal assistance regarding the residential transition to a lower-poverty area. Between 1976 and 1996, approximately 6,000 public housing residents (predominantly African Americans) moved to largely white suburban neighborhoods (Feins, McInnis, & Popkin, 1997; Polikoff, 2006; Rosenbaum, 1995; Rubinowitz, 1992). The large scale of the program, and the careful tracking of participants, resulted in a wealth of data on neighborhood effects associated with income diversification (Johnson, Ladd & Ludwig, 2002; Popkin *et al.*, 1993; Rosenbaum, 1995). The results of the Gautreaux Demonstration, which will be described in more detail in Chapter Four, pointed to the potential of residential mobility programs to improve outcomes for low-income families. As the Gautreaux program was being implemented in Chicago, other changes were taking place in Portland, Oregon. Shifts in the direction of the city's urban planning strategy will be discussed in the next section.

⁶ The 1969 case was known as *Gautreaux v. Chicago Housing Authority*.

Urban Renewal in Portland. HAP's policies in the 1960s reflected the principles of the federal Model Cities legislation, in that they were designed to encourage local, citizen-based responses to the social and economic problems associated with urban blight. Abbott (1991, p. 1) described how Portland's approach to urban development during the 1960s was a "piecemeal [process] in response to specific projects and problems". Community responses to individual projects were usually organized on a case-by-case basis, and were not necessarily strategic. They did, however, gradually shape the way the city's major planning agencies - the Portland Development Commission (PDC) and the Housing Authority of Portland (HAP) - responded to citizen input and concern.

The 1970s was a tumultuous period for Portland, owing to a combination of ambitious projects and inconsistent funding. Efforts to revitalize the city's center through the Downtown Plan represented a direct response to the results of the 1970 Census, which revealed the flight of middle class white families to the suburban outskirts of Portland. The purpose of the Downtown Plan was to re-introduce residential neighborhoods in the area, and in doing so increase property values both there and in surrounding districts. Higher property values were viewed as a way to improve public services, attract businesses and encourage further re-investment in the neighborhoods (Abbott, 1991). In addition, considerable funding was leveraged from both private and public sources for the purpose of overhauling the entire area and to make it more amenable to pedestrians (Wollner *et al.*, 2001). Retail development, the building of a light rail and subsidized housing units were included in the redevelopment of downtown in addition to higher end residential housing. The process through which the city achieved its development aims revealed the priority placed on inter-agency cooperation and the integration of multiple goals and stakeholder input.

The displacement of low-income residents had not been a major hurdle for public agencies to overcome in the downtown area. A new test for the city's commitment to resident participation came in the form of the Emmanuel Hospital urban renewal project. The federal Hill-Burton program had been included in the Hospital Survey and Construction Act of 1946, and directed funding towards the construction of hospitals in low-income areas. Concerted urban renewal efforts began in North Portland in 1970; these efforts aimed at remedying the weak housing infrastructure and associated blight through expanding the hospital, parking, offices and subsidized units for the elderly (Wollner *et al.* 2001, p. 21). Despite efforts to incorporate resident involvement into the relocation process necessary for construction, conflict developed between displaced residents, the housing authority and the PDC. The original residents in the area founded the Emanuel Displaced Persons Association (EDPA) at the same time construction began, and the group voiced concerns over poor treatment, lack of sufficient compensation for moving costs and securing a fair market value for lost homes.

At the same time, HAP had taken advantage of the Federal Relocation Act of 1970. This legislation provided funding for moving costs, assured purchase of homes at market value and additional compensation to residents if comparable homes could not be found after relocation. Reactions among residents, therefore, were mixed between those who resented the forced move regardless of compensation and those who welcomed the potential appreciation in home value elsewhere. The PDC estimated that the 200 families displaced as a result of the Emmanuel Hospital project moved into homes that were, on average, twice the value of their previous homes (Wollner *et al.* 2001, p. 22).

Although efforts were made to compensate these displaced residents, conflict re-ignited several years later after the bulk of relocation had taken place. The original source of funding for

the Emanuel Hospital project was lost when President Nixon, in an effort to limit government spending, halted all federal money for housing programs in 1973 (Varady, Preiser and Russell, 1998). When construction stopped before the project was complete, “Former residents expressed anger and frustration over their community being forever altered for a plan that never reached fruition” Wollner *et al.* (2001, p. 22).

The disappointment of the Emanuel Hospital project in the 1970s contributed to both growing distrust on the part of African American residents living in North Portland and intensified efforts on the part of the housing authority to incorporate residents into neighborhood improvement planning. Reductions in federal funding, combined with new federal mandates that required public housing authorities to institute more stringent means testing for tenants, created a difficult situation for HAP. The agency was essentially increasingly dependent on federal operating subsidies as the availability of those subsidies continued to shrink. Nevertheless, through money still available from the Model Cities program and the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 (HCD), the PDC had overseen 24 neighborhood conservation projects by 1978. The \$25 million dollars secured under HCD was directed towards improving community development and livability, which included aspects such as traffic control, street paving and lighting, greenery and access to community centers (Wollner *et al.* 2001).

The federal mandate in the Model Cities program continued to shape the relationship between the housing authority and urban residents; it was focused in the Northeast of Portland where approximately half of the 40,000 population was African American. Model Cities’ funding was aimed at supplementing existing federal urban renewal programs through bolstering resident engagement. This engagement reflected what Wollner *et al.* (2001, p. 25) called “a locally directed effort on a comprehensive range of issues affecting urban poverty, adding

education and social services to traditional urban renewal concerns with physical problems of housing and redevelopment”. Resident participation took the form of an elected Citizen Board. Although this Board did not have discretion over funding, it was given veto power over potential projects. The housing authority took full advantage of what federal funding was available during this time, and by 1978 had rehabilitated more homes than any other American city (Wollner *et al.* 2001). The agency’s approach increasingly focused on reform at the planning and process level instead of instituting unchecked, top-down changes, a shift that complemented other important changes in Portland’s governance.

The establishment of Portland Metro, the regional governmental agency that evolved from the Columbia Region Association of Governments, was a pivotal development in the city’s governance and urban planning. Initiated via a statewide ballot measure, it was and still is America’s only directly elected metropolitan planning agency. Portland Metro has been responsible for managing land use, supervising regional transportation system and wildlife habitat protection efforts, and perhaps most relevant to this discussion, the management of urban growth boundaries (UGBs).

Portland Metro’s implementation of the Land Conservation and Development (LCD) Act fundamentally shaped the way the city developed. The LCD Act required all of Oregon’s 240 municipalities to draw urban growth boundaries as part of county planning measures, and Portland Metro started management of these boundaries in 1979. Through the use of UGBs, Portland Metro effectively curbed urban sprawl: from 1980 to 1990, urbanized land expanded 11% despite a 14% growth in the city’s urbanized population, and from 1990 to 2000 urbanized land increased by only 6% as the urban population grew by 20%. The enforcement of urban growth boundaries has had a significant impact on the economic viability of the city, and with it

job growth and poverty levels. The Metropolitan Area Research Corporation claimed “Of the 25 largest metro areas [in the U.S.], in only the Portland region have both the central city and its older, blue collar suburbs gained regional market share of tax base, jobs etc By preventing sprawling on the urban fringe, Portland UGB has turned market investment back into the core communities” (qtd. in Rusk, 2000, p. 12).

City agencies’ encouragement of community participation during previous urban renewal projects had set a precedent for further involvement; the creation of Portland Metro demonstrated how the principle of citizen participation became institutionalized in the city’s approach to urban planning. Wollner *et al.* (2001, p. 40) suggested “In Oregon, because planning has become such an important tool of the state’s political culture, citizen participation has become a routine, if carefully nurtured, feature of economic development”.

Despite the limits placed on urban sprawl in the late 1970s, the city of Portland still pursued innovative, entrepreneurial approaches to keep itself economically viable in light of the industrial shift towards the service sector. Wollner *et al.* (2001, p. 38) identified this “entrepreneurial model” as a combination of efforts to “.... identify, aggressively seek, and tap into the funds available to attract the businesses that would draw these [skilled and higher income] workers and residents”. Economic development, in this sense, relied upon urban renewal strategies to pave the way for its growth.

By the 1970s, the relationship between the housing authority and the PDC had evolved considerably. Some tension existed over the most appropriate use of land, owing to different organizational missions, but the relationship was generally cooperative. The PDC⁷ traditionally offered loans at very low interest rates and deferred principle interest payments; HAP thus relied

⁷ The Portland City Council voted in 2009 to weld the activities of the Portland Development Commission with those of the Department of Housing and Community Development. The merger of the two agencies began in 2009 and resulted in the creation of the Portland Housing Bureau.

upon the PDC for assistance in financing various projects (Wickham, personal communication, February 1, 2010).

Neighborhood improvement projects carried out during the 1970s ultimately came at a significant financial cost to HAP. The Department of Housing and Urban Development identified any housing authority with reserve funding below 30% of its operating budget as a financially troubled agency, and HAP's had decreased to approximately 5% by 1978. Although the enforcement of urban growth boundaries had put a check on significant sprawl, white residents of North Portland (including Columbia Villa) began relocating to suburban outskirts of the city. The demographics of the public housing project shifted as a greater number of low-income, African American residents moved into it, and this increased dependence on housing subsidies. HAP's Board and staff responded to these various pressures with a five year strategic plan to regain financial stability. Sanders (1991) cited the plan's five primary objectives: to increase visibility of HAP services; to expand HAP's cooperative network; to increase development efforts to expand HAP's role in meeting the needs of other people insufficiently served by other private and public groups; to interact with the social service community more aggressively to assist residents in getting their needs met; and to continue improving current operations.

These priorities guided HAP in its planning processes for the next several years, and by 1982 it had stabilized. HUD granted the organization decontrol status, which both recognized its financial stability and allowed it greater discretion in managing its finances (Sanders, 1991). Urban renewal projects during this period began to receive funding through locally issued tax increment financing bonds rather than the federal government (Wollner *et al.* 2001, p. 33). At

the same time that new financing measures were taken, the housing authority's planning strategies reflected a clear evolution in its priorities.

As a result of fiscal pressures, three ideological strands became more firmly rooted in HAP's approach to urban renewal during the 1980s and 1990s: mixed use planning⁸, entrepreneurialism, and citizen participation. This was evidenced in the approach eventually taken towards the state's oldest and most dilapidated public housing project at the time - Columbia Villa. The housing project's evolution since its World War II inception, and the specific ways in which city agencies responded to the Villa's decline in the 1980s, will be explained in Chapter Five.

Explanations for Concentrated Poverty

By the late 1980s, the consequences of concentrated urban poverty appeared stark. Popkin *et al.* (2004, p. 7) summarized the extremely distressed condition of notorious public housing projects in major American cities:

Living conditions in the nation's most dilapidated public housing developments were deplorable, and a complex layering of problems left these developments mired in the most destructive kind of poverty. These problems included extreme racial and economic segregation and inadequate public services, particularly police, schools, and sanitation. Most residents were unemployed, depending on public assistance or the underground economy (Popkin *et al.*, 2000). . . Exacerbating these problems, violent criminals and drug dealers dominated many distressed developments, and residents lived in constant fear. These developments had become dangerous and destructive communities in which to live, undermining the welfare of families and children.

Not all public housing projects faced equally severe conditions, but the main elements of persistent, urban poverty- joblessness, higher rates of crime and violence relative to adjacent communities, and inadequate social service infrastructure- were common in most large concentrations of public housing residents. Aside from the immediate

⁸ Mixed use planning, a major tenet of New Urbanism, emphasized pedestrian and public transit use, the availability of open public spaces and community institutions, ecological sensitivity, and opportunities for both jobs and affordable housing (Congress for the New Urbanism, 1996).

problems these developments posed to residents, surrounding communities also suffered from encroaching blight and crime.

Behavior-centered explanations, such as those outlined in Senator Moynihan's 1965 report "The Negro Family: The Case For National Action", competed with structural explanations throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The media's popularization of a ghetto "underclass", particularly during the 1980s, framed the public's attention around the alleged behavioral pathologies of the urban poor (Auletta, 1982; Massey & Denton, 1993). This attention tended to overshadow the effects of institutionalized policies that had served to concentrate low-income, typically African American, families in the first place (Bennett & Reed, 1999; Crump, 2002).

Other explanations for concentrated poverty, and the problems associated with it, emerged around the role of larger structural conditions. William Julius Wilson (1987) published one of the most influential texts on urban poverty, its root causes, and its effects in "The Truly Disadvantaged" (Katz, 1989; Crump, 2002; Small & Newman, 2001). In this landmark publication, Wilson (1987) drew attention to several failures of the evolving economy to distribute benefits equally across geographic areas. First, the restructuring of the economy and development of post-industrialism meant a loss of manufacturing jobs that had served as a main source of employment within large cities. Second, Wilson (1987) cited "occupational bifurcation", or the polarization of employment into high wage and low wage occupations, in the creation of more distinct winners and losers in the labor market.⁹ A shortage of viable employment opportunities for low-skill workers held both financial and social consequences for the urban poor. Between 1970 and 2004, the average production worker's weekly earnings fell

⁹ Technological change and global markets also contributed to the higher relative demand for high skilled workers (Berube, Katz & Lang, 2006; Jargowsky, 1997).

by 15% in inflation-adjusted dollars. Lack of access to stable employment, and diminishing return for what employment did exist, often made the cultural transitions into adulthood (such as ownership of property and marriage) more difficult (MacLeod, 2004).

The departure of low-skilled work also formed the basis for the “spatial-mismatch” hypothesis (Kain, 1968). According to Kain’s (1968) original argument, a loss of manufacturing jobs in urban areas to high skill, technology-oriented jobs closer to suburban areas rendered new sources of employment increasingly unavailable to those in the city’s core. This thesis, which received considerable empirical support in the decades following its introduction, argued that urban centers essentially became obsolete as a result of economic restructuring in the 1970s (Ihlandfedlt & Sjoquist, 1998, Kain, 1992).

Wilson (1987) also posited that middle class flight served to economically and socially isolate low-income blacks in the inner-city. When middle and working class blacks, possessing higher education and skill levels relative to low-income blacks, left the central city to forge new neighborhoods closer to the suburbs, the political clout and resources they exercised disappeared (Bane & Jargowsky, 1991; Jargowsky, 1997; Schill, 1991; Wilson 1987, 1996). This middle-class flight resulted in increased socio-economic residential segregation and further deteriorated social infrastructure. Wilson (1987, p. 4) acknowledged that individual agency played a role in the persistence of poverty, and made reference to the “pathology” to which some inner-city residents subscribed, but his general argument emphasized how choices are typically made in response to structural conditions and warped opportunity structures. His theory of social isolation will be analyzed further in Chapter Three.

Massey and Denton (1993) argued that racial discrimination in the housing market and weak enforcement of fair housing laws played a more prominent role than middle class flight in

the rise of largely minority concentrated poverty. According to a simulation of urban economic conditions among different racial groups in the 1970s, economic shocks were far more disadvantageous to residentially segregated, black neighborhoods. Massey and Denton (1993, p. 126) suggested that “in a racially segregated city, any increase in black poverty is confined to a small number of black neighborhoods; and the greater the segregation, the smaller the number of neighborhoods absorbing the shock and the more severe the resulting concentration of poverty”. Wilson (1987) and Massey and Denton (1993) ultimately helped to explain the role of race and trends in concentrated poverty, albeit in different ways. Residential segregation explained spatial patterns of poverty at a given point in time, while the middle-class flight model accounted for migration rates among blacks over time (Small & Newman, 2001).

Understanding the explanations that emerged in response to growing rates of concentrated poverty help contextualize why urban housing policy underwent reform in the 1990s. Policy shifts towards greater socio-economic integration ultimately reflected a multi-dimensional attempt at reducing both structural and behavioral problems in the inner-city (Berube, 2006; Joseph, 2006). Although mixed-income neighborhoods did not represent a solution to macro-economic issues such as occupational bifurcation, they did reflect attempts to reverse middle class flight and the loss of political capital that had been associated with it. In addition, the argument was made for a mixed-income neighborhood’s role in discouraging anti-social behavior (Berube, 2006; Joseph, 2006; Joseph *et al.*, 2007). The rationale for greater social mix, therefore, depended on both structural and behavioral theories as to why problems in public housing projects had grown so severe. The various forms these policies and programs took during the 1990s will be described in the next section.

Housing Policy Reform and Income Diversification

As of the early 1990s, the social problems associated with concentrated poverty had been well documented (Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1987). In its report to Congress in 1992, the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing identified over 80% of America's public housing residents as below the national poverty threshold, as well as very high rates of unemployment and public assistance.¹⁰ The extreme nature of the poverty in these public housing developments was re-confirmed in later research (Fosburg, Popkin & Locke, 1996; Kingsley *et al.*, 2003; Popkin & Cunningham, 2002). Legislative changes in the early part of the decade attempted to reduce concentrations of poverty in America's inner cities through an increased emphasis on income diversification.

The 1998 Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act was aimed explicitly at reducing the concentration of poverty in public housing through emphasis on the demolition and replacement of existing public housing with mixed-income projects (as authorized via the HOPE VI program), as well as through low-income families' expanded access to Section 8 vouchers (Schwartz, 2006).¹¹ These approaches reflect two main types of poverty dispersal strategies: one attempted to redevelop existing public housing projects through facilitating a greater mix of incomes and the other involved expanding mobility programs. The former required that higher-income households enter the neighborhood as residents while the latter emphasized the role of choice among public housing residents (Goetz, 2003).

¹⁰ Section 513.d.2 of the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998 ultimately defined "severely distressed housing" as that which requires major redevelopment or demolition, significantly contributes to the physical decline of and disinvestment in the neighborhood, contains predominantly very low-income families dependent on public assistance or high rates of crime and vandalism, and can not be assisted via other community development funding streams (Popkin *et al.*, 2004).

¹¹ As discussed earlier, a Section 8 voucher served to subsidize a low-income family's rent in the primate market. This, in theory, encouraged choice and the integration of poor households into non-poor neighborhoods (Schwartz, 2006).

The true intent of public housing reform in 1998, and of income diversification strategies more generally, has been contested. Joseph *et al.* (2007) suggested that mixed-income development has been touted as a tool for poverty reduction, as well as a way of economically revitalizing blighted urban areas. At the same time, considerable criticism has been directed towards the use of spatially oriented policies as a means of addressing urban social problems (Bennett & Reed, 1999; Cheshire, 2007; Crump, 2002). Crump (2002, p. 593) claimed that these types of policies “reduced complex sociospatial problems to simplified spatial metaphor. . . through the spatial metaphor of concentrated poverty, the discourse of space is effectively deployed as a way to hide the complex sociospatial forces that give rise to poverty”. Specific, related criticisms directed against the implementation of the HOPE VI program will be outlined later in this section.

It is also important to note that socio-economic integration programs relied on a combination of voluntary and involuntary participation on the part of residents. Mixed-income strategies that required involuntary participation have amounted to a form of forced integration, across both income and racial dimensions, and Goetz (2003, p. 8) suggested that “when this [integration-based] objective is achieved through anything other than voluntary means, it produces significant political conflict”. This has been evidenced in the way that two major mixed-income policy initiatives have played out since the 1990s, and each of these will be discussed in turn in this section.

Moving To Opportunity (MTO). Based on preliminary results from the Gautreaux Demonstration discussed earlier in this chapter, the integration of low-income families into higher-income neighborhoods appeared to improve family and child outcomes. The Moving to Opportunity (MTO) Demonstration was modeled after the Gautreaux program, although the

former program was centered on racial desegregation and the latter on socio-economic integration. Designed as a social experiment, MTO participants were randomly assigned to one of three treatment groups in order to determine how the use of housing vouchers in non-poor neighborhoods influenced the outcomes of families who might otherwise be in public housing (Goering, Feins & Richardson, 2003). Random assignment helped avoid the selection bias associated with the placement of households in the Gautreaux program. At the time, it was the most rigorous social experiment that had been designed in order to test neighborhood effects (Goering *et al.*, 2003; Popkin *et al.*, 2009). Further detail about the program's design, as well as resulting empirical evidence, will be presented in Chapter Four.

Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI). Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere, instituted alongside the MTO demonstration in the early 1990s, combined elements of tenant- and unit-based programs aimed at poverty deconcentration. Public housing authorities were able to compete for block grants from HUD, and use the funding to demolish concentrated public housing and rebuild a mix of market rate and subsidized units. Redevelopment schemes varied considerably between cities; the specific ways in which residents across income brackets were integrated, the degree of socio-economic diversity that was incorporated into the project, and whether or not homeownership opportunities were made available all depended on the decisions of the housing authority in receipt of the grant.

HOPE VI was different from the MTO Demonstration in several respects. Although MTO was designed to discourage selection bias, all residents involved in the program volunteered to participate. This element of voluntary participation contrasted against the structure of HOPE VI; in many cases low-income residents were involuntarily relocated from the original public housing project, and not all residents had the automatic opportunity to return to

the redeveloped site. In addition, relocated public housing residents were not required to use their vouchers in low-poverty neighborhoods, unlike MTO's experimental group. Finally, the relocation counseling afforded to residents was inconsistent across different cities (Popkin *et al.*, 2004).

Joseph *et al.* (2007) identified two general rationales for the type of mixed-income development that HOPE VI represented. The first rationale focused on socio-economic integration as a means of reducing poverty. By the early 1990s, the negative effects of living in concentrated poverty had been well documented (Ihlandfedlt & Sjoquist, 1998; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Karsarda, 1990; Kain, 1992; Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1987) and mixed-income neighborhoods were perceived as a reasonable antidote to these problems. Chapter Three will provide detailed analysis of the positive social processes that mixed-income communities may, in theory, activate.

The second rationale for building mixed-income neighborhoods, in place of high-poverty, public housing projects, centered on urban redevelopment more generally (Joseph *et al.*, 2007). Disinvestment in the property in and near to areas of concentrated poverty could, in theory, be reversed with the influx of economic and political capital that higher-income residents would bring. Joseph *et al.* (2007, p. 370) suggested that "mixed-income development has emerged as a strategy that can unite otherwise divided political constituencies and generate the financing necessary to secure and redevelop prime inner-city land". This rationale has much less to do with improving the lives of original, low-income residents and more so with the reduction of blight, expansion of business that typically associated with higher-income residential areas, and generation of income for the city. Emphasizing this aspect of redevelopment, at the expense of considerations for original, low-income residents, has risked dislocation and gentrification

(Goetz, 2003). Determining which of these two rationales has been given greater weight in the design of HOPE VI projects has proved difficult, given that local housing authorities across the country have operated with unique sets of considerations and motives.

Considerable criticism was levied against the HOPE VI program. A major concern was the net loss of subsidized units; most HOPE VI plans called for replacing less than half of the original public housing after demolition in order to make space for market rate units (National Housing Law Project *et al.*, 2002; Zielenbach, 2003). In 2002, the National Housing Law Project (NHLP) partnered with the Poverty and Race Research Action Council, Sherwood Research Associates, and Everywhere and Now Public Housing Residents Organizing Together Nationally, to issue a report on the negative impact of HOPE VI.

Four general criticisms were directed at the program. The first critique centered on the net loss of affordable, public housing units that HOPE VI allowed. With the advent of HOPE VI and encouragement of market-rate units in place of those that were heavily subsidized, in 1996 Congress suspended the one-for-one replacement rule that had required housing authorities to replace each subsidized unit that it chose to demolish (Wright, 2006). Nationally, between 1992 and 2005, a total of 23,109 rehabilitated or new units of public housing were built in contrast to the 57,772 units that were demolished (Curley, 2005).

Second, NHLP *et al.* (2002) also cited a lack of meaningful resident participation in the implementation of HOPE VI projects. Although the idea of resident involvement was encouraged in theory, a lack of formal regulations or guidelines on the exact nature of necessary resident input in the redevelopment process resulted in wide variation across HOPE VI sites in this type of collective decision-making (Goetz, 2003; NHLP *et al.*, 2002; Popkin *et al.*, 2004).

The redevelopment process was viewed, therefore, as involuntary rather than participatory for most low-income residents.

A third and related criticism focused on the general exclusion of public housing families from HOPE VI. Although the rhetoric surrounding HOPE VI cited the program's potential to improve the lives of public housing residents, the return rate of original residents to new HOPE VI projects has been low. HUD reported that only 11.4% of original public housing residents affected by HOPE VI redevelopment between 1992 and 1998 had returned to the site after it had been redeveloped (GAO, 1998). Although HUD attributed this low return rate to the personal preferences of low-income households, NHLP *et al.* (2002) cited strict return policies¹² and a lack of affordable units as major obstacles to low-income families who might have wished to return.

Finally, NHLP *et al.* (2002) lamented the lack of government-sponsored research on outcomes among low-income families impacted by HOPE VI. It is important to note that a comprehensive evaluation would have been methodologically difficult owing to the tremendous variation in HOPE VI projects (Popkin *et al.*, 2004). Nonetheless, complaints levied against government-sponsored research to date have focused excessively on aspects of physical design rather than social changes. Furthermore, the small number of examined sites has meant the overall research scope was limited (NHLP *et al.*, 2002). Social scientists have, however, collected a significant amount of data across HOPE VI sites. Results from these studies will be described in detail in Chapter Four.

The varied forms that HOPE VI projects took in the first few years of the program's inception, and associated criticisms, offered valuable lessons to housing authorities who applied

¹² Examples of these policies included employment requirements, personal background screenings and credit checks; these served to disqualify a significant proportion of original residents from returning to the newly redeveloped site (NHLP *et al.*, 2002).

for grants later. The Housing Authority of Portland made special provisions to incorporate the feedback about earlier HOPE VI projects into its first attempt at HOPE VI, New Columbia. Specific information about HAP's HOPE VI grant and the design of New Columbia will be provided in Chapter Five.

Programs such as HOPE VI effectively incentivized housing authorities to re-design public housing projects into mixed-income neighborhoods. A total of 248 HOPE VI grants, which amounted to approximately \$6 billion federal dollars, were awarded to housing authorities between 1993 and 2009 (HUD, 2009). The mixed-income approach to urban planning, however, has not necessarily become widespread. The extent of mixed-income housing has also been difficult to quantify because there exists no universal definition of what constitutes sufficient mix. HOPE VI has not been urban planners' only means of economically diversifying neighborhoods; several states have instituted mixed-income housing on a broader scale.¹³ Relative to larger trends in housing development, however, planned mixed-income housing has remained fairly limited. Based on census information regarding aggregate levels of housing construction between 1996 and 2006, new units in mixed-income neighborhoods have amounted to approximately 15% of the total number of new development during that time period (Berube, 2006).

A greater number of neighborhoods have evolved into mixed-income developments organically, without formal oversight from the city's local housing authority. According to Tach's (2009b) analysis of Census data, approximately one in five metropolitan neighborhoods

¹³ Examples of state-led mixed-income housing programs include Massachusetts' "MassHouse Pledges", Montgomery County, Maryland's inclusionary zoning initiative, New York State's 80-20 program, and Chicago, Illinois' Plan for Transformation (Berube, 2006).

qualified as mixed-income by 2000.¹⁴ The Obama administration's introduction of the Choice Neighborhoods program into the 2010 budget reflected a continued emphasis on the development of mixed-income neighborhoods (Donovan, 2009).

Residential Integration and School Choice

The aforementioned programs aimed at poverty deconcentration have not operated in a housing policy vacuum. Education policy issues, particularly school choice, have been directly tied to racial and socio-economic residential integration efforts. The 1974 Supreme Court decision *Milliken v. Bradley* limited busing across school districts for the purpose of racial integration. It was made legal only in cases where there was clear evidence that the school district had purposefully carried out discriminatory practices (Friedman, 2002). The effect of this decision was significant in relation to the residential segregation that was perpetuated in following decades:

The world was made safe for white flight. White suburbs were secure in their grassy enclaves..... Official, legal segregation indeed was dead; but what replaced it was a deeper, more profound segregation.....Tens of thousands of black children attend schools that are all black, schools where they never see a white face; and they live massed in ghettos which are also entirely black (Friedman, 2002, p. 296).

The *Milliken* decision effectively prevented metropolitan-wide racial and, with it, socio-economic desegregation. Massey and Denton (1993) stressed how areas of concentrated socio-economic disadvantage also tended to concentrate educational disadvantage. The traditional way in which public schools have served their local neighborhoods has meant that low-income students tend to congregate in the same schools. The challenges associated with growing up in poverty are thus compounded at the school site, which further undermines educational performance (Massey & Denton, 1993; Warren, 2005).

¹⁴ Tach (2009a) identified a given census tract as sufficiently mixed when its households were, roughly speaking, evenly divided across the bottom, middle and top thirds of the metropolitan income distribution.

Alternatives to public schools, which have taken the form of charter schools, magnet programs, and the use of vouchers to attend non-local public schools in other parts of the city, grew increasingly popular after the 2002 passage of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act.¹⁵ Briggs (2005, p. 33) suggested “these [school] alternatives are increasingly important arbiters of segregation (or integration) in education”. School choice relates directly to mixed-income housing development for several reasons. First, the social mechanisms that, in theory, encourage low-income families to broaden their social networks and activate social capital depend, in part, on socialization opportunities between parents and youth from different income brackets. The school site is a common place for this type of interaction to occur, but is limited if the neighborhood’s youth have taken advantage of school choice options to attend various non-local alternative schools. An additional argument for the potential of mixed-income housing to improve local infrastructure has centered on political economy of place, meaning higher-income parents may, in theory, exercise their social and political capital in order to improve the local institutions they access- such as their children’s schools. Again, the viability of this argument is limited if school choice is accessed on a broad scale.

Portland’s school choice approach has complicated its residential integration efforts. The Portland Public Schools District has a fairly flexible school choice program, and a number of families participate in the district’s “Make A Choice” school transfer program. Schools that have not met Annual Yearly Progress under federal NCLB legislation for two consecutive years are formally assigned “school improvement status”, and parents are legally required to receive

¹⁵ This program fell under the Elementary and Secondary School Act of 2002, and mandated that schools carry out annual standardized testing and disaggregate results in order to show performance results across racial, socio-economic and language groups. Schools that did not meet benchmark goals after a period of two years were subject to financial penalties and designated as “needs improvement”; parents of children in these schools were legally required to receive notification and free transportation to an alternative school placement (Linn, Baker & Betebenner, 2002).

notification of their child's school's status and given information about how to apply for a transfer to better performing school. Most of Portland's low performing schools are clustered in the same geographic area and the school district is required to compensate students who require public transportation to travel to a better school. To participate in the Make A Choice program, parents must complete and submit a School Choice Application within the yearly cycle window and preference up to three options for their child's alternative school.

Certain factors improve a student's chances of being admitted to one of these alternative schools. In its publicly available information on school choice and NCLB Sorting, The Portland Public Schools District states: "Students assigned to a Title I¹⁶ school that is in school improvement status will be prioritized according to federal guidelines by Free and Reduced Lunch (FRL) eligibility and test scores. Students with the lowest test scores who qualify for FRL are prioritized highest" (Portland Public Schools, 2010, p. 2). The purpose of favorably weighing students' income brackets in the school lottery is part of the District's attempt to bring the alternative school's socio-economic status¹⁷ closer to the District's average. Although no information is available on the test score averages of New Columbia renters' children, renters' average household income implied that the vast majority are eligible for free and reduced lunch. This fact, along with the "school improvement status" of New Columbia's closest public schools, mean that most renters' children are prioritized for school choice. Owners' children who do not qualify for FRL are still prioritized in the school lottery, although to a lesser degree, simply because of the local schools' negative NCLB rating.

The majority of local public schools near this thesis' case study site (New Columbia), have been classified as Title I and are underperforming according to NCLB. Parents who are

¹⁶ Title I reflects compensatory funding made available to schools with predominantly low-income student bodies.

¹⁷ This is determined by the average socio-economic status of all students attending that school.

unsatisfied with local schools may choose to enter the school choice lottery with the hope of attending an alternative public school, or to enroll his or her child in a charter school, private school or home school program. Portland Public Schools District currently has nine approved charter schools, the most of any school district in the state of Oregon. These charter schools are held to the same state and federal academic standards (as measured through yearly standardized tests) as traditional public schools and receive the same amount of funding per pupil, but may operate free from state regulations regarding curriculum and teaching methods. The choices made by parents and youth in New Columbia reflect this range of options, and will be analyzed in detail in Chapter Seven.

Conclusion

Federal housing policies, self-limiting and constrained by local politics, have generally served to spatially concentrate the urban poor. Following World War II, housing policy legislation re-shaped the demographics of public housing residents; these residents are disproportionately racial minorities, with low skill and education levels, living in female-headed households. Rising rates of concentrated poverty, and the consequences publicly associated with living in public housing, prompted a wave of poverty deconcentration programs allegedly aimed at the improvement of low-income families' outcomes and, more generally, economic revitalization of blighted areas.

Results of the Gautreaux Demonstration inspired policy makers to set similar, yet modified, integrative housing programs into motion. The MTO Demonstration reflected the first wide-scale social experiment designed around socio-economic residential integration, while the HOPE VI program offered public housing authorities opportunities to demolish concentrated, dilapidated public housing in favor of mixed-income, and sometimes mixed-tenure,

developments. Eventually, the end of the 1990s saw an explicit change in federal law: the 1998 Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act required that no more than 40% of public housing residents have incomes below 30% of the area's median family income, and also mandated that public housing authorities coordinate admissions to encourage a mix of lower and higher income residents in similar developments (Hunt, Schulhof, Holmquist & Solomon, 1998). This chapter also highlighted how residential integration also relates directly to education policy, specifically school choice programs, and the impact these programs may have on the potential for interaction between residents from different income brackets.

Efforts at poverty deconcentration have not gone without criticism, particularly with regard to the way HOPE VI redevelopment processes have impacted original public housing residents. Research and empirical evidence that has emerged from HOPE VI and other poverty dispersal programs to date will be presented in Chapter Four, with a detailed look at outcomes among children. The methods used in these studies have attempted to answer a variety of different research questions on how residents' social and physical spaces have changed as a result of these policies. How income diversification has been theorized to help low-income families, and related models on the ways in which the neighborhood may mediate individual outcomes, will be analyzed in the next chapter.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

Different models exist for the purpose of understanding how neighborhoods influence parents and children, and this thesis relies on multiple theories in order to contextualize the original data presented in later chapters. The theoretical framework underpinning the thesis will be outlined in this chapter, and with it the key conceptual developments that have emerged from existing research on neighborhood social organization and child outcomes. Sampson *et al.* (1999, p. 634) suggested “if neighborhood effects on child outcomes exist, presumably they are constituted from social processes that involve collective aspects of community life”. These social processes are the focus on my thesis.¹⁸

This chapter will be separated into two main parts. The first part will explicate five concepts that are salient to the research: neighborhood choice, neighborhood narrative frames, social networks, social exchange, social control. Each of these concepts will be analyzed in relation to relevant theory; differences in opinion and limitations within theoretical arguments will also be discussed. These concepts are arranged in the order that they appear in subsequent results chapters. The first two concepts, neighborhood choice and neighborhood narrative frames (NNFs), provide essential background information on the importance of individual perception in a neighborhood context (Small, 2004). In addition, these first two concepts help contextualize the within-neighborhood variation that is possible across the latter three concepts discussed in this chapter. Although there exists overlap between these concepts, they will be

¹⁸ Although physical stress factors are important in the context of child development and neighborhood effects, they will not be discussed in this chapter because they are not directly linked to the social processes under examination in this thesis. For a review of research on physical stress factors affecting children in poverty, see Evans and English (2003) and Evans (2005).

discussed individually in order to show how each relates to social processes in a mixed-income context.

Two relevant theories have relied conceptually upon social networks, social exchange, and social control: social disorganization theory (Shaw & McKay, 1942) and collective efficacy for children theory (Sampson *et al.*, 1999). These theories will also be outlined in the first part of the chapter. As cities grew in size during the 20th century, structural theory was extended to the study of urban ecology (Park, Burgess & McKenzie, 1925) and social disorganization theory was developed in order to explain higher rates of crime and delinquency (Shaw & McKay, 1942). Poverty, high rates of residential turnover, and ethnic and racial heterogeneity were posited as barriers to the formation of social networks and associated social controls on behavior (Kornhauser, 1978; Sampson & Morenoff, 1989; Sampson *et al.*, 1997; Shaw & McKay, 1942).

Social disorganization theory has suffered over-extension and fragmentation over time, and was ultimately used to define a wide range of aspects that described community life and interaction (Briggs, 1998; Sampson *et al.*, 1997; Small, 2004).¹⁹ Small (2004, p. 6) suggested that “. . .the difficulty is that social disorganization has been defined in too many different ways to constitute a falsifiable concept...This confusion strongly suggests abandoning searches for social disorganization or lack thereof in favor of studying specific phenomena that leave less room for interpretation”. Collective efficacy for children theory, which focused on the social cohesion among neighbors that lends itself to informal social control and mutual support of youth, provided a more concrete framework in which to analyze issues of social organization (Sampson *et al.*, 1999). This theory guided this thesis’ research questions, and helps to frame the

¹⁹ Social disorganization has been defined as, among other interpretations, failure to participate in formal activities; failure to participate in informal activities; low levels of intervention among youth; low trust in general; limited social networks and higher levels of crime (Pattillo-McCoy, 2000; Sampson *et al.* 1999; Sampson *et al.* 1997; Wilson, 1987).

presentation of the research findings in Chapters Seven and Eight. Its dimensions- intergenerational closure, reciprocated exchange, and informal social control of youth- will be conceptually disaggregated in the first part of this chapter in order to show how its dimensions relate to relevant concepts of social networks, social exchange and social control.

The second part of the chapter will rely on Joseph's (2006) modified version of Aber, Gephart, Brooks-Gunn and Connell's (1997) conceptual model of neighborhood effects in order to analyze the social mechanisms, and pathways of influence, that exist in relation to the aforementioned theoretical concepts. Aber *et al.*'s (1997) model consolidated earlier theories about social organization, social capital, and ecological approaches to human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1993; Coleman, 1988, 1990; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Shaw & McKay, 1942) and demonstrated how a combination of neighborhood and social processes may ultimately affect child outcomes. Joseph's (2006) modified version of Aber *et al.*'s (1997a) conceptual framework applied this understanding of neighborhood effects to developmental outcomes in a mixed-income context. Examination of Joseph's (2006) and Aber *et al.*'s (1997) theoretical constructs is particularly useful in the context of this thesis, given the former model's focus on social mechanisms in mixed-income neighborhood and the latter model's emphasis on child welfare. Although there is conceptual overlap across the ideas discussed in this chapter, each individual theory and model provides only a partial understanding of how a neighborhood's social environment mediates parents' and adolescents' behavior. When analyzed in relation to one another, however, they provide a comprehensive theoretical framework. This framework will guide the presentation and discussion of the research results in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Neighborhood Choice

Chapter Two outlined how federal and local policies served to segregate neighborhoods according to race and socio-economic status, and how redlining practices historically limited opportunities for homeownership in African American neighborhoods. Even after these policies were discontinued, their legacy had a lasting impact on the demographics of urban neighborhoods (Crump, 2002). Low-income families' choices about where to live have been limited according to affordability concerns, and in cases where they have relied on public subsidies, the location of subsidized housing. Individual agency and preferences, however, have still helped shape demographic trends across American cities. Where families tend to desire housing, and how they have made those decisions, will be discussed in this section.

An individual's choice regarding which neighborhood to move to, known as residential decision-making, relates in part to how he or she perceives him/herself in relation to others. Several theories have emerged to explicate the roles of race and social class in relation to residential decision-making. Although theories of ethnocentrism have cited the general desirability of living next to those who are like oneself (the in-group), little evidence has supported this hypothesis (Charles, 2005). Alternatively, the role of racial prejudice in residential decision-making may be more closely related to what Blumer (1958) described as "sense of social position". Blumer (1958, p. 4) suggested,

To characterize another racial group is, by opposition, to define one's own group. This is equivalent to placing the two groups in relation to each other, or defining their positions vis-à-vis each other. It is the sense of social position emerging from this collective process of characterization which provides the basis of race prejudice.

Charles (2005) argued that Blumer's (1958) group position hypothesis may help explain race-based, and to an extent, social class-based residential segregation. Individuals, perhaps even unconsciously, have attempted to maintain the same level of distance between themselves and

members of an out-group that they have traditionally perceived as typical and socially acceptable.

Residential decision-making, and the way in which group position may influence it, may affect social processes in a mixed-income neighborhood. In a neighborhood with considerable social distance between its residents, there are a variety of out-groups that may exist along racial, ethnic and socio-economic dimensions. How residents perceive themselves in relation to these out-groups, and the types of social boundaries that may be enforced as a result, hold implications for the ways in which social cohesion may (or may not) develop. Chapter Six will outline the varied intentions that residents of New Columbia entered the neighborhood with, and how these intentions shaped social boundaries with perceived out-groups.

Neighborhood Narrative Frames

Other factors, beyond residential preference, shape behavior in a given neighborhood. A theory recently emerged to help explain how residents' perceive and navigate the social landscape of the areas in which they live. Small's (2004, p. 70) analysis of "neighborhood narrative frames" relied, conceptually, on previous research in narrative theory (Hart, 1992; Somers, 1992; Somers & Gibson, 1994; Taylor, 1989). Neighborhood narrative frames take into account the fluid and complex perceptions that individuals carry with them as they interact with the larger community. Small (2004, p. 71) explained narrative theory with respect to NNFs:

The [narrative] theory suggests that individuals understand their lives as narratives with ongoing and complex plots and that they tend to act not necessarily when acts are rational but when the actions accord with such narratives. I suggest the same is true with respect to neighborhoods. Residents act and become involved in their neighborhoods when such actions conform to their narrative of the neighborhood's role in their lives. These narratives, in turn, are shaped by the frames through which the neighborhood is perceived.

Neighborhood narrative frames were used in Small's (2004) ethnography of a low-income neighborhood in Boston's South End called Villa Victoria in order to explain differences in neighborhood engagement among its residents. The within-neighborhood variation revealed through his research was traceable to different types of NNFs.

Use of NNFs to explicate how residents perceive and relate to the space in which they live, and to others who occupy it, is helpful in the context of this thesis' emphasis on collective efficacy for children and income mix. An important aspect of collective efficacy for children theory is variation in behavior within neighborhoods, as opposed to differences between neighborhoods (Sampson *et al.*, 1999), and neighborhood narrative frames acknowledge and highlight this diversity. NNFs help explain variations in the both the exercise of informal social control and social exchange orientation, which will be discussed later in this chapter. The types of neighborhood narrative frames that emerged among New Columbia's renters and owners will be presented in Chapter Six.

Social Networks

Neighborhood narrative frames inform perceptions of neighborhood conditions, but incidences and social dynamics within the neighborhood also inform these NNFs. Social networks are "a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons, with the additional property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behavior of the persons involved" (Mitchell, 1969, p. 2). Not all the members of a social network are necessarily directly connected, and certain connections may consist of more than one type of relationship (Tichy, Tushman & Fombrun, 1979). Social networks occur at the interpersonal level and theoretically translate to improved individual outcomes, but the formation of social networks is not necessarily a goal in itself (Joseph, 2006). The functions of social

networks have evolved over time; empirical research about how people go about building these networks has shown that modern urban residents tend to depend on their neighbors for support less frequently now compared to earlier in the 20th century (Fischer 1982; Putnam, 1995; Wellman, 1979; Wellman & Wortley, 1990). Despite a lower frequency of social network formation, where people live still plays a significant role in the type and strength of possible networks (Chaskin, 1997, McPherson *et al.*, 2001; Wellman, 1979). A number of different factors, ranging from physical proximity to demographic characteristics, may influence the way that social networks form and the functions they serve; these theoretical factors will be discussed in this section. The types of social networks that parents and adolescents in New Columbia formed will be analyzed in Chapter Seven.

The physical environment of a neighborhood, including the types of common spaces available and how densely arranged household units are organized, may relate directly to potential for social network formation (Cohen & Dawson, 1993; Elliott, 1999; Fernandez & Harris, 1992; Fischer, 1982; Keane, 1991; McPherson *et al.*, 2001; Tigges, Browne & Green, 1998). The role that physical space plays in social network formation, however, has been contested. Because physical boundaries within a city do not necessarily equate to social boundaries, alternative theoretical perspectives have argued that social mechanisms and processes also deserve attention in any analysis of network formation (Fischer, 1982; Small, 2004; Wellman & Wortley, 1990).

Empirical evidence has shown that low-income residents in a given area tend to form social networks that are socio-economically homogenous, contain a greater number of overlapping relationships and are typified by strong social support (Campbell & Lee, 1992;

Fischer, 1982). Similarity with regard to age, household composition²⁰, and housing tenure may also be important factors in determining whether or not residents pursue and maintain ties with one another (Ahlbrandt, 1984; Varady *et al.*, 2005).

The impact of poverty on social network formation has been contested. Some ethnographic research has argued that certain types of social networks, which may also serve as coping mechanisms, form in response to poverty (MacLeod, 2004; Power, 2007). Other evidence suggests that families living in low-income areas with high crime rates tend to spend less time outside their homes, which in turn negatively impacts socialization opportunities with neighbors (Ellen & Turner, 1997). Limited socialization may decrease the size and depth of social networks, which leads to a reduced sense of community social control and thus increases the likelihood of crime. Debate over confounding and bidirectional variables ultimately pointed to a variety of potential scenarios regarding the relationship between social network formation and poverty; this inconsistency implied that the nature of social relationships in a given area likely depends most on the context of a specific neighborhood.

A commonly cited goal of social networks is the activation of social capital (Berube, 2005; Brophy *et al.*, 1997; Buron *et al.*, 2002; Joseph *et al.*, 2007, Kleit, 2001; Kleit, 2005; Popkin *et al.*, 2004). Although its philosophical roots date back prior to 1900, the theory was extended through Bourdieu's (1986), Coleman's (1988, 1990) and Putnam's (1995, 2000) work. Bourdieu's (1986, pp. 248-249) definition of social capital is

the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition- or in other words, to membership in a group- which provides each of its members with the backing of a collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.

²⁰ Household composition matters specifically in relation to whether or not parents are taking care of children in the home.

Social capital is embodied in community members' social networks, and these networks may help individuals and communities accomplish both collective and personal objectives. Social capital thus represents a potential resource rooted in a community's larger social organization rather than simply in individual relationships. Neighborhoods with dense social networks tend to contain individuals and families who rely on one another for information and help (Coleman 1990, Ellen & Turner 1997; Joseph, 2006; Putnam 1995; Sampson & Groves 1989).

Physical space may play a salient role in the social capital activation process. Proximity in a neighborhood facilitates the formation of multiplex relations, which consist of overlapping relationships between people. Gluckman (as cited in Coleman, 1988) suggested these types of relations are distinct from simplex relations, in which people only know each other in one context. Two parents, for instance, who know each other strictly through their children would constitute a simplex relationship; two parents who know each other through their children and who *also* live in neighboring houses would constitute a multiplex relationship. Coleman (1988, p. 109) explained the greater potential for social capital activation in multiplex relations: "It is the obligations that one person owes a second in relationship X, which the second person can use to constrain the actions of the first in relationship Y. Often, it is resources in the form of other persons who have obligations in one context that can be called on to aid when one has problems in another context". Help and advice traded between individuals, explicated in theories of social exchange and reciprocated exchange, will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

Social capital is not always necessarily positive. According to Briggs (1998, p. 178), social capital is essentially "a resource for individual action that is stored in human relationships"

and a means rather than an end in itself.²¹ The connections to which he refers are social networks between people, and can be used for a variety of ends.²² Social networks that encourage the formation of illegal gangs and the drug trade, for example, reflect social capital activation even though it may ultimately undermine overall community stability through increased crime and violence.

Three types of social capital are relevant in a mixed income context. The first two include bridging and bonding (Briggs, 1997; Putnam, 2000). Bonding is the type of social exchange that helps individuals cope with daily activities and struggles on a micro-scale; this tends to be especially important for those who are persistently poor because they have limited access to materials means of solving problems (Stack, 1974). Manifestations of bonding social capital might include child care, lending household items, or personal help during an emergency. It is often activated among people who share common attributes or background characteristics such as socio-economic status or education level (Wellman & Frank, 2001). These ties are also known as horizontal linkages because they connect people to others who are like themselves, and any related social exchanges are typically reciprocal (Flora & Flora, 1993).

In contrast to bonding social capital, bridging social capital holds greater potential to affect an individual's social and professional mobility (Elliott, 1999; Granovetter, 1973, 1983; Lin & Dumin, 1986). In theory, this type of social capital is activated when individuals share information about education or employment opportunities with those who may not have otherwise accessed it; social relationships with people dissimilar to oneself are therefore needed to activate this type of social leverage. These ties, in theory, typically benefit low-income people

²¹ The concept "social capital" has evolved considerably over time. Within the scope of this thesis on income mix, however, social capital essentially reflects "a productive asset that resides in the networks of relationships among actors and takes meaning through its purposive use" (Joseph *et al.*, 2007, p. 380).

²² Although social capital is usually discussed in terms of relationships between individuals, community organizations may also serve to activate social capital (Coleman, 1988).

who act as recipients of needed information or influence: “[social leverage] helps one ‘get ahead’ or change one’s opportunity set through access to job information, say, or recommendation for a scholarship or loan. Bridging social capital is about access to clout and influence” (Briggs, 1998, p. 178). Furstenberg and Hughes’s (1997) and Korbin and Coulton’s (1997) ethnographic studies suggested social leverage plays a particularly critical role in parents’ support of their children’s social and educational development. Social leverage is particularly relevant in the theoretical rationale used for mixed-income neighborhoods. In theory, this mix may facilitate the extension of social networks to higher-income peers who have better connections to employment and education-based resources. These networks reflect vertical linkages, which connect individuals and groups across different systems or levels (Flora & Flora, 1993).

Granovetter’s (1973) theory of “weak ties” posited that social leverage often depends on the relationships one has with acquaintances rather than friends. Because friendships typically include people from similar backgrounds, these horizontal linkages typically do not provide the type of help that bridge an individual to a better job or educational opportunity. Extension of ties outside traditional friendship circles, however, creates vertical linkages and offers access to new information and opportunity (Granovetter, 1973, 1983).

Rydin and Holman (2004) extended beyond bonding and bridging capital to include a third type, known as bracing social capital. This form of social capital may include both horizontal and vertical linkages, and while it may be utilized for more strategic purposes than bonding social capital, it relies upon individuals’ common norms more so than bridging social capital. Bracing social capital “is primarily concerned to strengthen links across and between scales and sectors but only operates within a limited set of actors” (Rydin & Holman, 2004, p. 123). Bracing social capital might be reflected in a situation in which common norms support

the ties between actors from different sectors (such as business, state and local contexts) working towards the accomplishment of a common policy goal (Rydin & Holman, 2004).

Despite the importance of context, certain key types of connectedness exist in relation to social networks. Pretty and Ward (2001) identified five types of connectedness, which included local (horizontal linkages between individuals), local-local (horizontal linkages between groups), local-external (vertical linkages between local groups and external agencies), external-external (horizontal linkages between external agencies) and external (horizontal linkages between individuals from external agencies). The most relevant types of connectedness in this thesis' mixed-income neighborhood case study are local, local-local and local-external; these will be discussed in detail in Chapter Eight.

Social networks in a mixed-income context. The encouragement of social mobility through mixed-income developments relates closely to theories of weak ties and connectedness (Joseph, 2006; Popkin *et al.*, 2009). A low-income parent with limited work experience or education who lived next door to a higher-income resident with a professional job and college degree could, in theory, form social ties. These ties could then be leveraged for the purpose of providing advice about interviewing for a job or applying to university. How living in New Columbia may, or may not, have facilitated these types of exchanges among parents and youth from different backgrounds will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

Social ties, even weak ones based on acquaintance, may be difficult to form in a socially heterogenous environment such as mixed-income neighborhoods (Brophy *et al.*, 1997; Keane, 1991; Kleit, 2001, 2005). Even if individuals from different socio-economic strata meet and form connections, however, social leverage is not necessarily automatic. Briggs (1998) and Sampson *et al.* (1999) cautioned against directly equating social networks with social capital.

Although proximity facilitates social interaction, real or perceived similarity with a neighbor tends to determine whether or not a relationship forms (Briggs, 1998; Keane, 1991; Kleit, 2001).

Individuals tend to conceptualize symbolic boundaries between themselves and others, which may result in actualized social boundaries responsible for unequal distribution of resources and opportunities (Epstein, 1992; Lamont, 1992; Lamont & Molnar, 2002). Symbolic boundaries relate to perceived differences and social dynamics while social boundaries pertain to subsequent social inequalities between groups. Lamont and Molnar (2002, p. 169) suggested that “symbolic boundaries are conceptual differences distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. . . symbolic boundaries can be thought of as a necessary but insufficient condition for the existence of social boundaries”. These theories, applied regularly in sociological and anthropological research and increasingly in studies of urban poverty, constituted the boundary work approach (Small & Newman, 2001). This particular theoretical approach is specifically relevant to research on urban mixed-income neighborhoods owing to high levels of diversity and residential density, and potential for interaction in these settings. Intensified symbolic boundaries may limit the possibility of social networks that cross income and tenure groups.

Little empirical data is available on exactly what types of interactions constitute the social mixing necessary for social capital to be activated (Joseph *et al.*, 2007). Previous research on mixed-income neighborhoods, however, suggested that equal-status among residents may be a necessary precursor to the formation of social networks (Kleit, 2001; Rosenbaum, Stroh & Flynn, 1998). Allport (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998) suggested that relationships between people from different backgrounds may be formed most easily when they have equal status in a given group, have the opportunity to cooperate in work towards a common goal, and have authority

support for this work. Other processes, such as learning about the members of a given social out-group, may take place in this context and facilitate the formation of ties (Pettigrew, 1998). In relation to equal-status positioning and mixed-income neighborhoods, Kleit (2005, p. 1416) argued that “. . .it may be that mixed-income HOPE VI sites that offer community facilities and community-building activities may allow commonalities of interest and values to develop among residents of different backgrounds”. Empirical evidence on social network formation in mixed income neighborhoods has offered inconsistent results; this evidence will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter, and the ways in which bonding, bridging and bracing social capital were manifested among residents and staff at New Columbia will be explored in Chapters Seven and Eight.

A common problem with theory surrounding social capital is over-extension of the concept (Briggs, 1998; Fine, 1999), meaning that “enthusiasm for this collective dimension has given social capital a circus-tent quality: all things positive and social are piled beneath” (Briggs, 1998, p. 178). In order to provide a more clear understanding of how social networking processes have affected child welfare, I looked to a more specific interpretation of social organization in the form of Sampson’s *et al.* (1997, 1999) theory of collective efficacy for children.

Collective efficacy for children, which Curley (2010, p. 80) succinctly explained as “the shared trust, expectations, and values among neighbors that promote mechanisms of informal social control”, is different from earlier theories on social organization in several respects. In operationalizing collective efficacy for children, Sampson *et al.* (1999) identified three main indicators. These dimensions included intergenerational closure, reciprocated exchange and informal social control and mutual support of youth (Sampson *et al.*, 1999). The first,

intergenerational closure, will be discussed in this section because it relates directly to social network formation; the latter two dimensions will be analyzed in later sections on social exchange and social control. In his conceptualization of CEFC, Sampson *et al.* (1999, p. 635) argued that

although these two concepts [social capital and collective efficacy for children] have much in common, our distinction differentiates the process of activating or converting social ties to achieve desired outcomes from the ties themselves...collective efficacy for children is produced by the shared beliefs of a collectivity in its joint capability for action.

Social networks, and the trust they facilitate, play a critical role in facilitating the social control that protects children; CEFC theory places greater emphasis on specific social mechanisms at work in this process.

Another important difference between CEFC and social capital relates to activation method. While Coleman (1988) suggested that social capital could be conceptualized as a homogenous attribute belonging to a large group, Sampson *et al.* (1999) argued that the activation of collective efficacy for children could vary considerably within a single neighborhood. This allowance for neighborhood level variation complements the growing use of the conditional perspective in community research (Small, 2004). Any examination of CEFC, therefore, should be assessed normatively with the structural context of a given community in mind.

The networks between adults in the community who share concern over the children in the area reflect intergenerational closure. These individuals may include parents, teachers, staff members at community organizations, or simply concerned adults. When relationships form between these people, information channels about children are created and tend to widen over time. The critical factor in these adult relationships is a common interest in the safety and well-

being of the neighborhood's children. CEFC theory thus emphasizes the role of non-familial adults in social networks that may impact child welfare. This acknowledgement is particularly relevant to the analysis of mixed-income neighborhoods, because parent social networks that include higher income residents are theorized to enforce a type of social control that is more conducive to positive outcomes for youth (Briggs, 1997; Joseph, 2006). This normative proposition and the empirical evidence surrounding it has been contested, and will be discussed further in this chapter's later section on social learning theory. The types of norms that parents in New Columbia enforced, and if and how they differed according to socio-economic status, will be analyzed in Chapter Eight.

Social Exchange

The preceding discussion of social networks, and how they may be utilized for the purpose of activating social capital, relates to the role of social exchange in a community context. Social exchange theory has been extended across a variety of academic disciplines (Mauss, 1925; Firth, 1967).²³ In any context, however, an interdependent social exchange constitutes a “bidirectional transaction- something has to be given and something returned” (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005, p. 876). Individuals who have established relationships or connections are more likely to exchange information and assistance (Briggs, 1997). Social capital, and the ways in which social support and social leverage may be activated via social networks, is thus linked conceptually to social exchange. A comprehensive review of social exchange is outside the scope of this thesis' focus, but this section will review how social exchange may serve varied functions of social networks in different neighborhood contexts.

²³ Emerson (1976, p. 336) posited that social exchange theory was, in fact, a frame of reference rather than a theory: “[Social exchange] is a frame of reference within which many theories- some micro and some macro- can speak to one another, whether in argument or mutual support”.

In addition to intergenerational closure, Sampson *et al.* (1999) highlighted social exchange as another important element in collective efficacy for children. Sampson *et al.* (1999, p. 635) described this dimension of social exchange as reciprocated exchange:

Reciprocated exchange (Coleman, 1990) is the intensity of interfamily and adult interaction with respect to childrearing...and is reinforced by interactions such as exchange of advice, material goods, and information about childrearing. Reciprocated exchange leads to social support that can be drawn on not just by parents but by children themselves as they develop. This sort of exchange may be facilitated by, but does not require, the presence of strong ties such as those found in tightly bounded friendship and kinship networks.

This explanation of reciprocated exchange emphasized the way in which it occurs at the interpersonal context level. It differs from social control in that it requires that individuals form social ties before they can engage in social exchange.

As the term suggests, the expectation and presence of reciprocity is fundamental to reciprocated exchange. This form of social exchange extends beyond the presence of social networks to the substantive information exchanged through those networks. The social exchange traded between parents and other local adults concerned with child welfare in the community may help determine the amount of social support that children are able to access as they develop. Parents who are also neighbors are more likely to engage in social support, since multiplex relations in a community tend to facilitate greater levels of trust and communication (Coleman, 1988).

The theory of the community of limited liability is also relevant to within-neighborhood variations in social exchange. In the development of this theory, Janowitz (as cited in Lee *et al.*, 1991) posited that residents' investment, including inclination towards social exchange and social control, in a given neighborhood is at least partially dependent on perceived personal stake

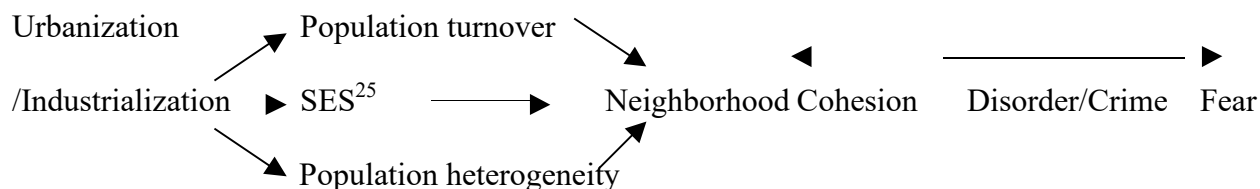
in that neighborhood's conditions. According to this argument, homeownership²⁴ reflects a financial investment that may lend itself to a greater inclination to collective engagement in the solving of community problems. This logic contributed to the larger argument for the influx of higher-income owners into areas of previously concentrated poverty (Government Accounting Office (GAO), 2003; Joseph *et al.*, 2007; Shlay, 2006), and relied partially on the larger assumption that higher-income residents would engage with their neighborhood in a more pro-social way than lower-income residents (Briggs, 1997). The debatable nature of this particular assumption will be examined more closely in the chapter's later section on social isolation, and patterns of engagement and exchange among owner and renter parents in New Columbia will be analyzed in Chapter Eight.

Social Control

The previously mentioned concepts are often discussed alongside the enforcement of social control. Higher density of social networks is associated with social control because behavior becomes more vulnerable to the monitoring and reaction of all other individuals in the network (Krohn 1986, Sampson *et al.* 1989). Alternatively, less dense social networks do not provide the same type of checks on potentially anti-social behavior. The strength of social control is, in theory, inversely related to macro level structural conditions, including urbanization, industrialization, poverty, residential instability, and racial heterogeneity (Kornhauser, 1978; Park *et al.*, 1925; Sampson, 1989; Shaw & McKay, 1942). Markowitz *et al.* (2001) identified feedback effects in the way that reduced neighborhood cohesion created fear, which further decreased cohesion. The non-recursive model below reflects the Disorder-Divorce Hypotheses, in which “decreases in cohesion increase crime and disorder, which increase fear, which in turn further decrease cohesion” (Markowitz *et al.*, 2001, p. 297).

²⁴ Homeownership is directly correlated with income (Rohe and Stegman, 1994; Shlay, 2006).

Figure 1. Nonrecursive social disorganization model



Source: Markowitz *et al.* (2001, p. 294)

The diagram above essentially shows how the three main tenets of Shaw and McKay's (1942) theory of social disorganization (residential instability, poverty and racial heterogeneity) contribute to a more limited sense of neighborhood cohesion, which in turn allows for greater social disorder and crime. As crime and fear increase, neighborhood cohesion further decreases, creating a self-reinforcing cycle. It is important to note, however, that social networks and cohesion do not automatically generate or sustain the types of norms that support safety or pro-social behavior. Relationships *may* lend themselves to social control through "closure" of social networks, which Coleman (1988, p. 105) described as "a necessary but not sufficient condition for the emergence of effective norms".

Enforcement of social control is particularly important regarding children. When parents exchange social support, and the communication and trust that accompanies it, expectations surrounding child behavior tend to converge. Information channels between parents also facilitate monitoring, especially in public spaces. This capacity for supervision is critical, as it relates directly to what Sampson (1989, p. 778) argued is the "most important intervening construct in Shaw and McKay's disorganization model...the ability of a community to supervise and control teenage peer groups". Social norms, however, are not inherently positive; depending on the community's cultural context, some social norms may encourage children to engage in dangerous or criminal activity (Coleman, 1988).

²⁵ SES denotes low socio-economic status, or poverty, of the neighborhood.

The level of social control in a community helps determine its social norms. In a cohesive neighborhoods, for example, individuals are likely to limit noise or aggressive conduct on their own property and may also make an effort to stop it in public spaces or on neighbors' property. This higher level of social control discourages anti-social behavior. Joseph *et al.* (2007, p. 378) explained that, in theory, a "collective sense of vigilance on behalf of the community promotes individual behavior modification among those previously inclined to delinquency and crime". An overall reduction in crime improves safety and outcomes for individuals, particularly children. In addition, local participation in formal and voluntary organizations may encourage a community's residents to behave in a way that protects collective interests, and consequentially enforce greater overall levels of social control (Joseph *et al.*, 2007; Small, 2004).

Whether demographic homogeneity lends itself to greater informal social control has been contested. With regard to race, the ethnic community model posited that blacks have experienced greater pressure to socialize and support one another against common threats, and as an overall expression of racial solidarity (Lane, 1959; Olsen, 1970). Alternatively, however, the concentration of very poor families has been theorized as detrimental to social control. The higher incidence of crime may cause trust to deteriorate and thus increase the use of social isolation as a protective mechanism (Wilson, 1987). Research has emerged to support each of these theoretical propositions, and how demographic homogeneity mediates social control has differed across various neighborhoods and contexts. Specific details on this research will be discussed in the next chapter.²⁶

²⁶ Methodologically, it has been problematic for social scientists to isolate race as a specific personal characteristic or as a property of a given neighborhood. Clear analyses of what is an individual or contextual variable have thus been difficult to complete (Lee, Campbell & Miller, 1991).

Sampson *et al.* (1999) identified the third dimension of collective efficacy as informal social control and mutual support of youth. Adult members of a neighborhood generally set expectations for both other adults and for children, and the resulting norms are woven into the larger social infrastructure (Bursik, 1988). Enforcement of social control may take place in the form of informal surveillance, direct intervention, or movement-governing rules (Bellair, 1997). Informal surveillance consists of casual monitoring of daily activities, while direct intervention involves more pointed questions or criticisms about behavior. Movement-governing rules reflect a community's shared understanding about the safety of certain spaces, such as a local park or particular block.

Informal social control indicates the ability and willingness of neighborhood residents to enforce consistent behavioral expectations in the community. Social control is especially relevant regarding teenagers' involvement in socially deviant group behavior; Sampson *et al.* (1997) posited that structural factors, such as poverty and residential instability, compromised a community's ability to enforce social control over adolescent peer groups in parks and other public areas. A higher prevalence of unsupervised youth has been directly related to greater rates of vandalism and criminal activity (Sampson *et al.*, 1989).

Sampson *et al.*'s (1999) interpretation of informal social control nevertheless makes a potentially problematic assumption about the role that non-familial adults play in the lives of youth. Within the CEFC framework, adults act as the enforcers of social control and adolescents are in need of this control; non-familial adults may act in quasi-parental roles. Empirical evidence, however, reports limited influence of non-familial adults on youth (Darling & Steinberg, 1997). This may be because youth have grown increasingly unresponsive to pastoral care outside their homes and schools or because the extent of these relationships is simply very

limited. Although the causal factors in this case are ambiguous, these questions have raised debate about who constitutes the key members of adolescents' social networks. Darling and Steinberg (1997, p. 127) concluded that "adolescents may benefit from the presence of many well functioning families not, as many theoretical models suggest, because of the direct contact they have with unrelated adults from these households but through their contact with the peers who are raised in them". The propensity for peer socialization grows exponentially as children age, and adolescents tend to spend roughly twice as much time with their peers relative to their parents or non-familial adults (Connell & Halpern-Felsher, 1997; Csikszentmihalyi, Larson & Prescott, 1977; Smetana, 1988).

The ways in which peers from different households influence one another in a mixed income context is further complicated by whether residents across different income brackets have children who are the same age (if they have children at all) and if they socialize in the same peer groups. Specific theories related to peer socialization and influence will be discussed in the second half of this chapter. The ways in which New Columbia's adolescents have approached their respective relationships with peers, and the efforts that their parents have taken to shape these peer influences, will be examined in Chapters Seven and Eight.

Mixed-income housing and social control. Structural explanations of spatially concentrated poverty, and the social problems associated with it, were provided in Chapter Two. Another type of explanation, however, emphasizes agency and behavior. This theoretical perspective argued the increase in persistent urban poverty was, in fact, the result of deteriorating social values and behaviors, specifically among urban African Americans. This culture was allegedly at the root of behaviors and choices that were fundamentally out of sync with those of

mainstream society (Lewis, 1966; Massey & Denton, 1993; Moynihan, 1965).²⁷ Arguments in favor of introducing higher-income residents as a means of enforcing positive social norms relied, in part, on these behavioral explanations.

The development of mixed-income neighborhoods in areas that were previously low-income may, in theory, encourage collective efficacy for children specifically through more stringent enforcement of informal social control. In theory, higher-income residents, typically employed homeowners, supposedly place higher premiums on order and safety (Briggs, 1997; Joseph, 2006; Sampson *et al.*, 1997). Tougher enforcement of these norms ultimately benefits all residents, especially children who tend to spend more time in public spaces and experience greater relative exposure to a neighborhood's adults (Joseph, 2006).

Joseph *et al.* (2007, pp. 387-388) clarified the social control rationale: "In a mixed-income environment, higher-income residents will raise the socioeconomic status and homeownership rates of the community...[this] should be associated with increased informal social control by residents, stronger accountability to norms and rules, and lower levels of deviant and antisocial behavior". Informal social control, in this context, may be facilitated through social networks between neighbors but may also be exercised without them. Neighbors need not necessarily like or even know one another in order to stay vigilant around one another's property or in public spaces (Joseph *et al.*, 2007).

This line of reasoning is problematic for two reasons. First, it assumes that low-income and high-income adults share different expectations for behavior and thus enforce different types of norms. Disadvantaged neighborhoods do not necessarily experience *disorder*; they instead reflect alternative forms of social organization (Crump, 2002; Gibson, 2007; MacLeod, 2004;

²⁷ Behaviors associated with areas of concentrated poverty allegedly included unemployment, welfare dependency, low educational attainment, substance abuse, violence, crime and a prevalence of single mother families (Bane & Jargowsky, 1991; Ruggles, 1994).

Power, 2007; Small, 2004; Suttles, 1968; Wacqaunt, 1997). Specialized forms of social networks, typified by exchange of help and mutual trust, are commonly cited among lone mothers in such neighborhoods often in response to the stresses associated with poverty (Gibson, 2007; Power, 2007). Second, it postulates that higher-income residents enforce inherently more desirable forms of social control. This normative assumption relies heavily on the notion that the problems associated with urban poverty are rooted primarily in behavioral pathologies of the urban poor, and ignored the context and structure in which behavior took place (Bennett & Reed, 1999; Crump, 2002).²⁸

Arguments based around a lack of social control in poor neighborhoods also posited that growing up in concentrated poverty had a negative socialization impact on children and young adults, and perpetuated expectations for behavior that served to further isolate the community (Auletta, 1982; Murray, 1984).²⁹ The inner city was perceived as an environment where deeply entrenched, socially deviant behavior was the cultural norm, and that these behaviors explained trends such as joblessness, teenage pregnancy, and school drop-out. An important development during this period was the idea of a “ghetto specific” culture in low income, high minority areas of the city (Hannerz, 1969). Exactly what constituted “ghetto specific” culture was often described in contrast to “mainstream” or middle class culture (Auletta, 1982; Lewis, 1969; Mead, 1992; Murray, 1984; Wilson, 1987). Isolation of very low-income households from “mainstream” culture supposedly resulted in a culture that was void of positive forms of social

²⁸ Considerable empirical evidence has largely refuted a pathological culture as the root source of urban poverty (Edin & Kefalas, 2005; Goldenberg, Gallimore & Reese, 2001; Jargowsky, 1997; Solorzano, 1992; Young, 2004).

²⁹ Ogbu (1992) attempted to explain this supposed culture’s roots through a theoretical construction of voluntary versus involuntary immigrant groups. Members of groups who historically came to America involuntarily, such as African-Americans, are more likely to experience racial discrimination and exclusiveness, resulting in a rejection of mainstream behavioral norms.

control, and was then replaced with socially deviant or anti-social behavior. Middle class flight from American cities contributed to this isolation, alongside overall growing levels of economic inequality (Wilson, 1987). Diminished job opportunities and growing unemployment, in theory, lent themselves to increased dependence on public assistance (Auletta, 1982).

Social isolation theory was developed in response to the “culture of poverty” (Lewis, 1969) thesis in order to outline a more nuanced understanding of how structural conditions influenced perceived opportunity structures and related behaviors (Wilson, 1987, 1996). Wilson (1987, p. 137) suggested,

What distinguishes the two concepts is that although they both emphasize the association between the emergence of certain cultural traits and the structure of social constraints and opportunities, *culture of poverty*, unlike *social isolation*³⁰, places strong emphasis on the autonomous character of the cultural traits once they come into existence. In other words, these traits assume a ‘life of their own’ and continue to influence behavior even if opportunities for social mobility are improved.

Social isolation theory appreciates how behaviors often reflect adaptations to the surrounding environment, and how aspects of this environment may encourage anti-social behaviors as coping mechanisms. Gang membership and propensity towards violence, for example, may serve as forms of self-protection. (Jargowsky, 1997; Katz, 1989; Wilson, 1987).

Social learning theory. Social isolation theory depends, conceptually, on a lack of pro-social behavioral role modeling in a given community. Bandura (1977) developed social learning theory to explain how humans learn observationally from others based on constraints and opportunity structures in a given environment. Uncovering the way individual behavior modification may occur when low-income and higher income residents integrate in the same neighborhood has been the subject of considerable research but is still considered a black box in

³⁰ Emphasis included in the original text.

the social sciences (Briggs, 1997; Ellen & Turner, 1997; Galster & Killen, 1995; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Kleit, 2005; Tach, 2009).

Bandura (1977) suggested that observation is at the root of learned human behavior; replicating and then receiving positive reinforcement for action allow it to become effectively adapted. Role modeling, when applied to a neighborhood context, may generally operate along two pathways. The first is through distal role modeling, which posits that the simple observation of repeated actions may encourage an individual to modify his or her personal behavior. In a mixed-income context, common examples of desirable behaviors might include watching a neighbor leave for work every morning, or a parent visibly monitoring his or her children in the park (Briggs, 1997; Joseph *et al.*, 2007). This type of social learning occurs at the community level. Another possible way for social learning to occur is through more immediate role modeling at the interpersonal level, such as one neighbor giving another neighbor advice about parenting, employment or educational opportunities. This latter form of social learning may, in theory, occur between adults, youth, or adults and youth.

Considerable criticism has been levied against this proposition because it rested on problematic assumptions. It posited that distinct socio-economic cultures exist in the form of a higher-income, “mainstream” culture and a lower-income, “oppositional” culture (Anderson, 1990; Harding, 2007; Massey & Denton, 2003). Higher-income individuals are not necessarily in an inherently better position to model or teach positive social behavior, and the assumption that higher income automatically equates to more positive social norms has been challenged consistently through research (Edin & Kefalas, 2005; Newman, 1999; Rosenbaum *et al.*, 1998; Solorzano, 1992; Young, 2004). Joseph *et al.* (2007, pp. 391-392) suggested,

Families from all income levels struggle with alcohol and substance abuse, domestic violence, and illegal and illicit behavior. Conversely, there are many individuals living

below the poverty line who have ‘mainstream’ aspirations for themselves and their families and remain in poverty despite abiding by the law and adhering to social norms.

The assignment of particular values or norms to people from different income brackets risks perpetuating stereotypes about the poor and offering undue attention to behavioral, rather than structural, attributes of disadvantaged communities (Crump, 2002). The types of norms that New Columbia residents from varying income groups adhered to, and how they perceived their neighbors’ enforcement of norms, will be examined in Chapter Eight.

Adolescent socialization via peers. Social learning theory, alongside the debatable concept of social isolation, may be better understood within supplementary theory about how humans are socialized. Although the nature of influences on adult behavior is questionable, particularly in a mixed-income context, greater research has developed in relation to influences on adolescents. Some research has supported the idea that the presence of middle-class adults may positively influence low-income children and adolescents’ behaviors in areas of education and sexual activity (Briggs, 1997; Ellen & Turner, 1997). The exact nature of this influence, and whether or not it involves role modeling at all, has remained unclear.

Other research on specific sources of adolescent influence suggested that peer influence, as opposed to adult influence, may serve as the most important mediator of adolescent social learning. Understanding interactions between the adolescent children from different income brackets, therefore, may hold more promise in explaining how socio-economic status affects socialization. Harding (2009a, p. 446) posited that “cross-cohort socialization”, the socialization of adolescents by older peers, tends to explain how common behaviors are learned. His qualitative research with adolescent boys in Boston outlined how cross-cohort socialization occurred in disadvantaged neighborhoods: “Violence in these areas reinforces the neighborhood

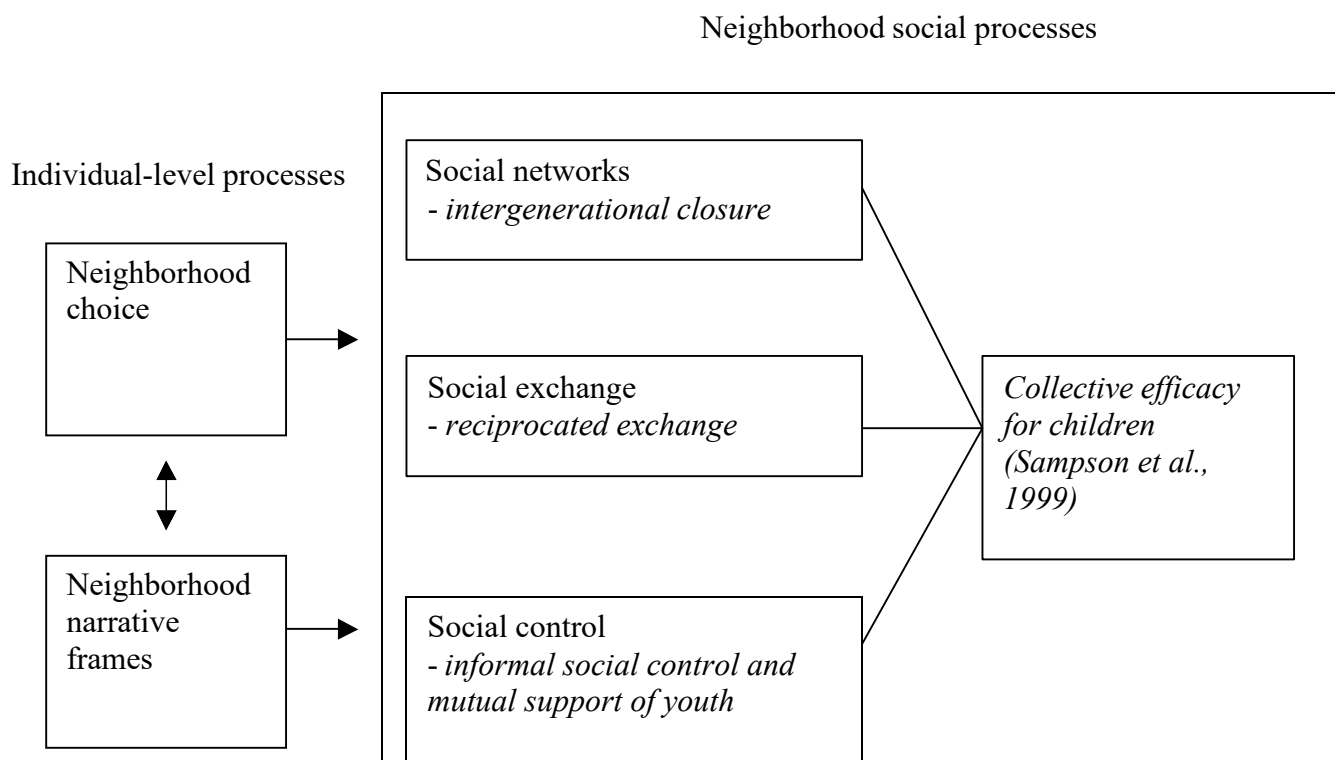
as a form of social identity, restricts adolescent boys' pool of friends, structures their use of geographic space. . . Older males, particularly those who are unemployed and out of school, become an important potential source of neighborhood socialization for these boys and have the power to influence their decision making in domains beyond safety" (Harding, 2009a, p. 446). This type of influence takes place at both the community and interpersonal context levels. Role modeling may also occur along pro-social dimensions. The presence of older adolescent peers engaged in positive behaviors, such as school involvement, may encourage younger peers to follow suit (Darling *et al.*, 1997; Galster & Killen, 1995).

Even though the incidence of antisocial behavior is higher in areas of concentrated poverty, a wide range of behaviors and expectations also exist. Harding (2009b) cautioned against associating social isolation with cultural isolation, and argued for a more nuanced understanding of adolescent socialization in his explanation of cultural heterogeneity theory. This theory recognized the breadth of cultural influences present in low-income neighborhoods and how this variety presented unique challenges to adolescents: "[they] face a dizzying array of cultural models from which to draw in interpreting social life, in making decisions, and in constructing strategies of action. The result is that they will be less likely to follow through on any particular strategy and will have difficulty constructing effective pathways to achieve their goals" (Harding, 2009b, p. 3). Although this theory was formulated specifically in relation to adolescents' decisions about sexual behavior and pregnancy, it speaks to the diversity of messaging and perception already present in disadvantaged environments and how one message, amidst many, may easily get lost.

This chapter, thus far, has analyzed five concepts- neighborhood choice, neighborhood narrative frames, social networks, social exchange and social control. The first two of these,

neighborhood choice and NNFs, emphasized the role of individual perception in relation to the community context. The latter three concepts have informed multiple theories on social interaction and neighborhood effects, and the most suitable theory for this research was collective efficacy for children (Sampson *et al.*, 1999). The concept map (Figure 2) below outlines how these five concepts relate to one another, and visually frame the way in which research results will be presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. Neighborhood choice and neighborhood narrative frames, individual-level processes that have typically begun before entrance into the community, influence one another and also shape the individual's approach to social processes in the neighborhood after he or she becomes a resident. The key social processes relevant to the research include the last three concepts previously discussed in the chapter: social networks, social exchange and social control. Sampson *et al.*'s (1999) three dimensions of collective efficacy (denoted in italics) for children align with the aforementioned concepts, as demonstrated below:

Figure 2. Concept map



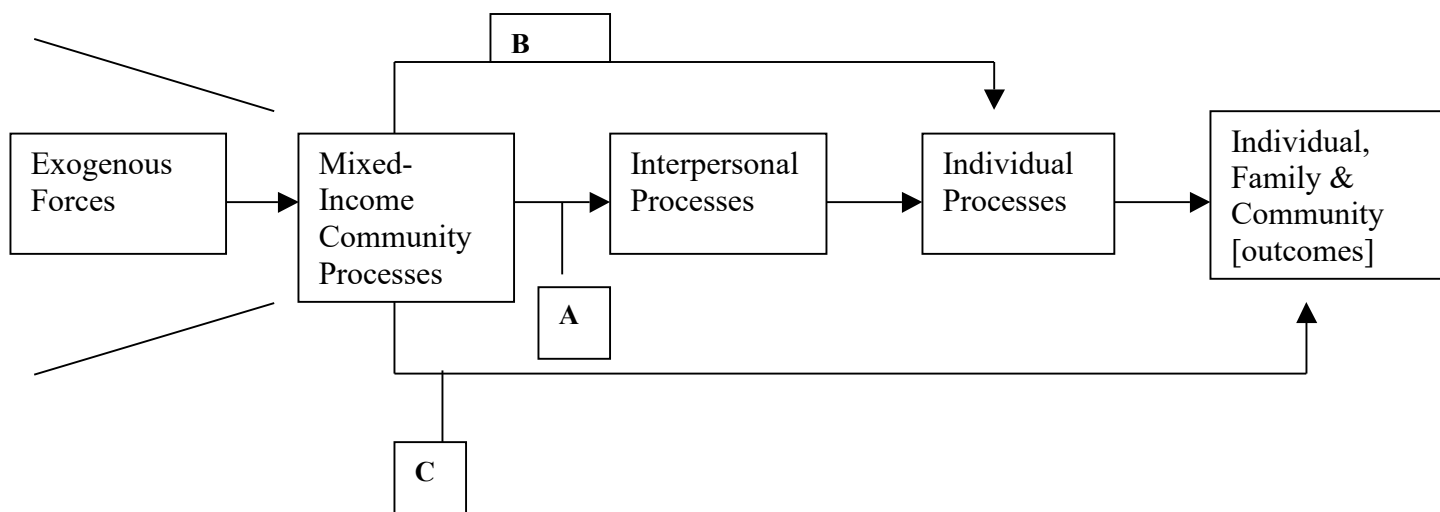
The first part of this chapter outlined five key concepts that frame the presentation of research results in subsequent chapters. The remainder of the chapter will focus on two theoretical models, the first of which outlines pathways of influence in a mixed-income context and the second of which focuses on how neighborhood effects influence adolescents. These two models help explicate social mechanisms relevant to previously discussed concepts, and show how these social processes fit into an ecological understanding of adolescent development.

Pathways of Influence

Social mechanisms reflect various pathways of influence between the community and individuals, and hold particular importance for youth. Sampson *et al.*'s (1999) theory of collective efficacy for children highlighted how elements of social organization influence child welfare, and this link has been echoed among other social scientists interested in child outcomes (Bursik, 1988, Ellen & Turner 1997; Korbin & Coulton 1997; Sampson *et al.*, 1989). Aber *et al.*'s (1997) conceptual framework for understanding the connections between community- and individual-level processes consolidated earlier theories about social organization (Sampson, 1993; Shaw & McKay, 1942), social capital (Coleman, 1988, 1990), and ecological approaches to human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1993). This model identified three types of processes that may ultimately affect an individual's developmental outcomes, including neighborhood and community processes, social and interpersonal processes, and individual processes (Aber *et al.*, 1997, p. 45). This model also noted how exogenous forces, such as macro-economic conditions or shocks, may also influence any one of the aforementioned processes.

Joseph's (2006) modified version of Aber *et al.*'s (1997) conceptual framework extended this model to a mixed-income neighborhood context, and it is this version of the model that applies directly to my thesis. This adaptation of Aber *et al.*'s (1997) model is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3. "Effects of a Mixed-Income Context" (Joseph, 2006, p. 217)



As demonstrated above, Joseph (2006, p. 216) labeled three pathways of influence within the original model: "[Pathway] (A) from community processes to interpersonal processes to individual and family outcomes, (B) from community processes to individual processes to outcomes, and (C) from community processes directly to individual outcomes".

Four types of theoretical propositions, which related to improvements in social networks, social control, behavior and political economy of place, have been used to justify and encourage the use of mixed-income housing policy as a means of improving social and economic outcomes for the urban poor (Joseph, 2006; Joseph *et al.*, 2007). These propositions were situated in Joseph's adaptation of Aber *et al.*'s (1997) model (Figure 3), and speak directly to this chapter's earlier review of social networks, social exchange, and social control. Mixed-income

neighborhoods, in theory, might encourage improvements in each of these areas through one or more of the three pathways that Joseph (2006) identified.

The argument about the potential for improved *social networks* in mixed-income neighborhoods, as outlined in this chapter's earlier discussion of social networks and social capital activation, relates to pathway (A) in Joseph's (2006) model. The exchange of information that reflects social leverage, such as advice about employment or educational prospects, takes place between individuals at a social or interpersonal level.

The second proposition relates to *social control*, which may take place along multiple pathways in a mixed-income context. When individuals know each other socially (pathway A), the trust that develops may translate to greater tendency towards social control. Also possible, however, is the activation of social control at the community level and the potential for this enforcement to influence both individuals' behavior and outcomes (pathways B and C, respectively). These latter two pathways acknowledge the possibility that the enforcement of social control is not necessarily dependent on pre-existing social networks. Social ties may provide the social infrastructure needed for neighborhood social control to occur, but do not automatically lend themselves to action (Briggs, 1997; Pattillo-McCoy, 2000; Sampson *et al.*, 1997; Wilson & Taub, 2006). A neighborhood with dense social networks, therefore, may not necessarily reflect a strong sense of shared norms. Social control can thus be activated through interpersonal or community-level processes. With regard to the latter, community-level social control lends itself to a collective sense of supervision, and this type of vigilance may deter criminal or anti-social behavior (Joseph, 2006; Sampson *et al.*, 1997, 1999). Although there may be links between social networks and control, therefore, the presence of one does not guarantee the other (Coleman, 1988).

The third theoretical proposition associated with the value of mixed-income neighborhoods centers around *behavior*. This proposition relates, conceptually, to Wilson's (1987) theory of social isolation and Bandura's (1977) social learning theory. Although the empirical evidence supporting the argument that higher-income residents may be able to model behaviors that lead to improved socio-economic outcomes is limited, this idea initially propelled mixed-income housing policy forward (Joseph, 2006; Joseph *et al.*, 2007). Modeling of behavior operates along pathway (A) when individuals learn behaviors on a social or interpersonal level, and pathway (B) when "the socioeconomic diversity in the community creates a dominant culture of work and social responsibility. . . the individual behavior modification in turn leads to improved individual outcomes as well as greater self-sufficiency among families and reduced illicit activity at the community level" (Joseph *et al.*, 2007, p. 378). Earlier in this chapter, the discussion of social isolation and cultural heterogeneity theory pointed out the limitations of this theoretical proposition, particularly the problematic assumption that certain behaviors and cultural norms are easily attributable to socio-economic status (Harding, 2007; Massey & Denton, 2003; Anderson, 1999).

The fourth theoretical proposition that Joseph (2006) identified in his model was the *political economy of place*, which is reflected in pathway (C). Higher-income individuals, in theory, may possess the social and political capital to demand and acquire better quality public services for a given mixed-income neighborhood. These improved services, such as a more prominent police presence, may ultimately hold positive externalities for all residents- including those from low-income households. This proposition relates most closely to the earlier discussion of social control and community of limited liability theory, which posited that higher-income residents (particularly homeowners) tend to have a higher stake in the community and

exercise the will needed to bring about positive changes accordingly (Greer, 1962; Hunter & Suttles, 1972).

This final proposition is also connected to school reform in urban areas. Upper-income parents who enroll their children in local public schools will, in theory, exercise their social and political capital in order to improve that school, which will ultimately benefit all children who attend it regardless of their income group. This type of civic involvement has been largely absent from school improvement efforts in American cities (Stone, 2001; Warren, 2005). Warren (2005, p. 135) suggested “addressing the structural inequality in American education requires building a political constituency for urban public schools. Collaborations with broad-based community organizations whose constituents have their children in urban public schools can provide an essential piece of the political effort necessary to address these [school improvement] issues”. This type of parental participation, however, hinges upon the willingness of parents to enroll their children in the neighborhood’s local public schools, and empirical evidence from current HOPE VI has shown this may not necessarily be the case (Varady *et al.*, 2005). How New Columbia’s parents and youth have engaged with the local schools will be analyzed in Chapters Seven and Eight.

The conceptual framework described previously focused on explicating the social mechanisms relevant to neighborhood effects and individual outcomes. Aber *et al.*’s (1997a) original model centered specifically on how these social mechanisms influenced outcomes among children, and relied heavily on Brofenbrenner’s (1979) ecological model of human development. Brofenbrenner (1979, 1993) made the argument that any comprehensive understanding of a child’s developmental outcomes depends, in part, on context. The emphasis given to the neighborhood and larger community, evident in the research devoted to the concepts

described earlier, as well as in Aber *et al.*'s (1997) and Joseph's (2006) models, speaks to the importance of context in the lives of children. The remainder of this chapter will discuss how child development and welfare issues are situated in analyses of social organization.

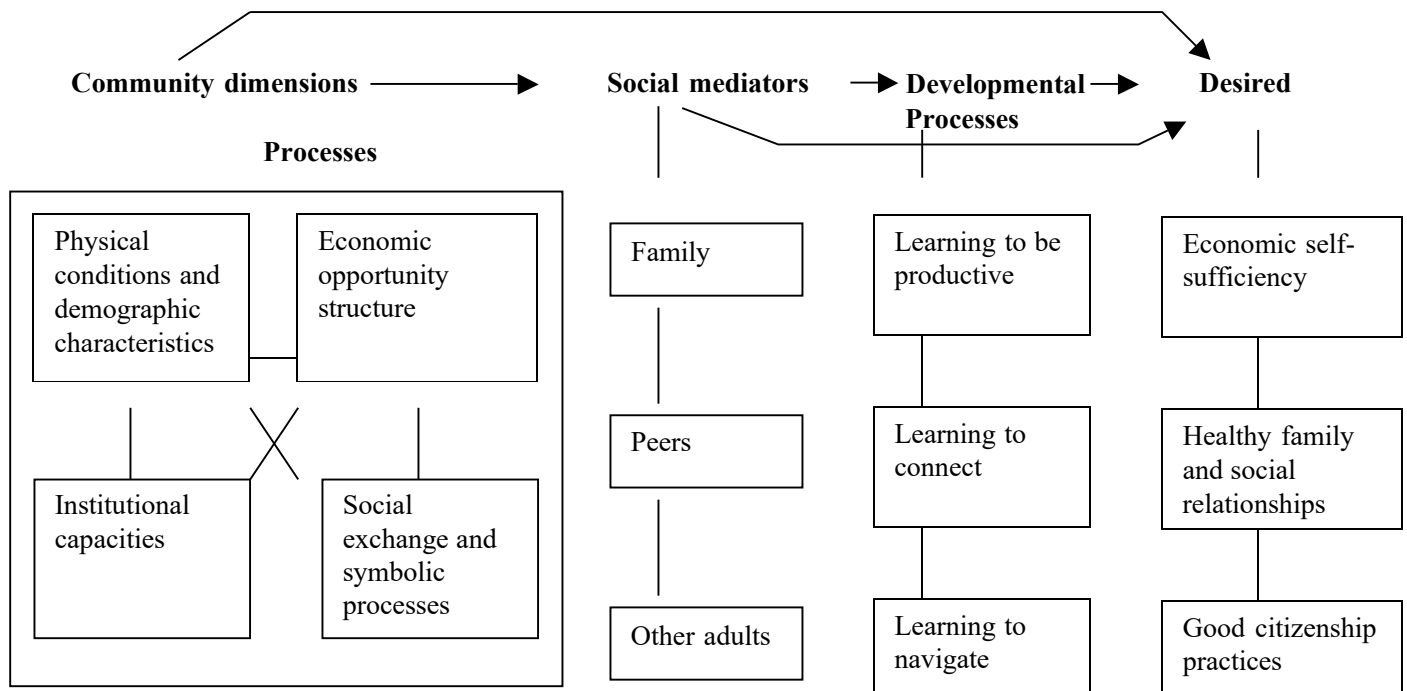
Four general stages have typically existed in studies of child development, which include preschool children aged 3 to 7, school age children aged 8 to 10, early adolescents aged 11 to 16, and older adolescents aged 17 to 20.³¹ Given the main research focus of this thesis is about early adolescence, this section will only go into detail about neighborhood effects in relation to this specific developmental stage. The major developmental task during early adolescence is formation of identity, and the acquisition of abstract reasoning skills facilitate the establishment of personal values and priorities; this takes place amidst greater autonomy outside of the home and heavier investment in social relationships (Brooks-Gunn & Paikoff, 1992, 1993; Brown, 1990; Feldman & Elliot, 1990). Given increased levels of exposure to the social environment outside the home at this stage, Aber *et al.* (1997a, p. 58) posited that “. . .by middle childhood and early adolescence, children will come into increasingly direct contact with neighborhoods, so that neighborhood effects should increase in magnitude”.

Connell, Aber and Walker (1995) constructed a model to outline four dimensions of neighborhood effects that relate to developmental outcomes among urban early adolescents. The first dimension included physical conditions and demographics of the neighborhood, while the second focused on the economic opportunity structure in the form of local labor market conditions. These first two dimensions relate to community level demographic factors as well as exogenous economic forces, which were referred to in Joseph's (2006) modified version of Aber *et al.*'s (1997) conceptual model (see Figure 3).

³¹ Youth aged 0 to 3 fall under a separate category of infant development.

A third dimension of Connell *et al.*'s (1995) model included institutional capacities, which encompassed both direct and indirect sources of support specifically for youth.³² These capacities speak to this chapter's earlier section on social networks and the activation of social capital, particularly in relation to the role of non-familial adults as direct sources of support for children either directly or indirectly via parents. In further elaboration on the model, Connell and Halpern-Flesher (1997, p. 178) identified "social exchange and symbolic processes" as inclusive of the social exchange that may exist between youth and adults, as well as parents' and non-familial adults' informal social control of youth. These four dimensions, and the ways in which they connect to adolescents' developmental and behavioral outcomes, are outlined in Figure 4.

Figure 4. "Model depicting hypothesized relations among community dimensions, social mediators, developmental processes, and desired outcomes in young adulthood" (Connell and Halpern-Felsher, 1997, p. 177, adapted from Connell *et al.*, 1995).



³² Examples of direct institutional supports include Boys and Girls Clubs and other youth centered recreational programs; indirect institutional supports include the organizations or programs that parents might access in order to support their children (Connell and Halpern-Felsher, 1997).

The above model outlines how various community dimensions, which were outlined conceptually in the first part of this chapter as well as in Joseph's (2006) framework, may specifically influence early adolescents' outcomes. These dimensions, particularly institutional capacities, social exchange and the developmental processes to which they relate, will be discussed in the context of the research findings in Chapters Seven and Eight.

This chapter previously discussed how social networks alone do not necessarily serve as a reliable indicator of a community's self-regulatory capacity. Research has suggested that community organizations may promote social norms even when social networks among individual residents are limited (Browning, Feinberg & Dietz, 2004; Carr, 2003). A neighborhood's institutional resources may mediate the social processes between individuals, particularly between youth and adults. Leventhal *et al.* (2000, p. 326) explained:

[In addition to family members] clearly other adults or institutions in the neighborhood can be involved in the supervision/monitoring of children and youth... the existence of such community level institutions may be required to regulate the proliferation of physical risk to residents (especially children and youth), including levels of violence and victimization.

Although mitigating physical risk is likely a high priority for such organizations, collaborating with parents to address social and academic concerns may also be programmatic goals.

The main types of institutional resources that may work to activate social processes between youth and adults in a given neighborhood include those related to education, such as schools or supplemental learning programs, recreational activities and employment opportunities for adolescents (Beauvais *et al.*, 2003; Leventhal *et al.*, 2000). These institutional resources may act as important mediators of neighborhood effects, particularly on adolescent outcomes; youth in this age range tend to spend more time interacting with peers and adults in social environments outside the home (Beauvais *et al.*, 2003; Leventhal *et al.*, 2000). Overall access to

recreational, supplemental learning and youth employment programs tends to be complicated in disadvantaged neighborhoods where the population is racially/ethnically heterogeneous and the resources themselves are perceived as geared towards one particular group (Jarrett, 1997; Korbin and Coulton, 1997; MacLeod, 2004). In low-income neighborhoods where availability of institutional resources is perceived as limited, parents tend to seek resources *outside* the community (Elder, Eccles, Ardel & Lord, 1995; Jarrett, 1997). Presumably, therefore, both access to and perception of institutional resources are important factors in how members of the community interact socially and form networks.

Mixed-income neighborhoods are often the sites of considerable investment in the form of supportive services and community centered organizations. HUD guidance in the HOPE VI grant application process has explicitly stated that local housing authorities should plan for supportive community services that encourage original residents to reach self-sufficiency goals; these services have typically consisted of job training and placement, parenting classes and child care. It is left to the housing authority's discretion, however, exactly how these services are implemented, and what type of emphasis is given to youth (GAO, 2003). The recruitment and involvement of higher-income residents to these programs is, however, largely unknown. If they cater specifically to the low-income residents of the neighborhood and indirectly exclude higher-income families, the potential for intergenerational closure and expanded social control across income brackets is more limited.

Conclusion

The neighborhood, as an ecological unit of analysis, matters to children's developmental outcomes. Neighborhood context is especially relevant to early adolescents between the ages of 11 and 16, when issues of personal identity and social relationships become paramount (Aber *et*

al., 1997; Brooks-Gunn *et al.*, 1992, 1993; Connell & Halpern-Felsher, 1997). This thesis relies upon several related, yet distinct, theories on neighborhood effects, child development and social organization in both poor and mixed-income communities. Five key concepts were outlined in relation to neighborhood effects and child development: neighborhood choice, neighborhood narrative frames, social networks, social exchange, and social control (see Figure 2).

The variation in residents' *expectations* regarding neighborhood engagement, highlighted in Charles' (2005) interpretation of Blumer's (1958) group-position hypothesis in neighborhood choice and Small's (2004) theory of neighborhood narrative frames, is important to address before patterns of social interaction may be fully understood. Chapter Six will examine how parents and adolescents in New Columbia approached engagement with the neighborhood, and differences between income and tenure groups will be analyzed.

Although they represent distinct elements of social organization, considerable overlap exists among the latter three concepts discussed in this chapter. Sampson *et al.*'s (1999) research on collective efficacy for children was useful in conceptually synthesizing social networks, social exchange and social control in relation to child welfare. The three key dimensions of CEFC theory- intergenerational closure, reciprocated exchange, and informal social control and mutual support of youth- frame the presentation of research results in Chapters Seven and Eight.

Joseph's (2006) modification of Aber *et al.*'s (1997) conceptual framework highlighted the varied pathways and levels of context at which the neighborhood may influence individual outcomes. The assumption that upper-income residents will improve social control and the neighborhood's capacity for civic engagement has propelled mixed-income housing policy forward, although empirical evidence supporting these claims has been inconsistent (Briggs, 1997; Joseph, 2006; Joseph *et al.*, 2007). The next chapter will provide a review of the literature

related to the aforementioned concepts and theories. The results presented later in this thesis will extend collective efficacy for children theory, and theory on neighborhood effects more generally, through examining relevant social processes in the mixed-income, mixed-tenure context that is New Columbia.

Chapter Four: Literature Review

Introduction

A wealth of research has tackled questions about the role of neighborhood and community in the lives of residents, particularly since the federal government's emphasis on poverty deconcentration in the early 1990s. Verifying the nature of neighborhood effects, and how they may influence children, has nevertheless continued to challenge social scientists. As Chapter Three outlined, various theories have propositioned how socio-economic integration *ought* to ameliorate the social problems associated with concentrated poverty, but the empirical evidence to support these theories has remained mixed. Accurate measurement of neighborhood effects has proved challenging for social scientists, and different methodological approaches have generated varied results. This chapter will provide a review of the literature about neighborhood effects associated with both high-poverty and mixed-income neighborhoods, including the data sources and methods used to carry out these studies, and emphasis will be given to studies focused on adolescent outcomes.

The information in this chapter will be separated into two parts. First, various methodological challenges associated with the measurement of neighborhood effects and social organization will be outlined. Understanding these challenges, and the different ways that related research questions have been approached, will provide valuable context for the empirical evidence presented later. The first part of the chapter will also outline three programs that have served as important sources of data in the study of neighborhood effects and socio-economic integration: the Gautreaux demonstration, the MTO demonstration, and the HOPE VI program. The second part of the chapter takes a thematic approach in its review of the literature, and will present data collected from poor and mixed-income neighborhoods in relation to topics discussed

in Chapter Three: neighborhood choice and frames, social networks, social exchange and social control. Given that the American historical and geographic context is unique, and the thesis is focused on an American case study, this literature review will be grounded in research collected in the U.S.

Challenges in the Study of Neighborhood Effects

The research available on the relationships between neighborhood context and child development grew rapidly during the 1990s, but methodological limitations constrained the establishment of firm conclusions. Results from quantitative studies revealed both moderate and non-existent correlations between child outcomes and census tract characteristics which left the wider research community unsure about the very existence of these links, and even more uncertain about the causal mechanisms that might trigger or sustain neighborhood effects (Briggs, 1998; Small & Newman, 2001). This section will describe the nature of specific methodological challenges to the study of neighborhood effects, outline the type of quantitative and qualitative work that has characterized the literature to date, and highlight the research gap that this thesis was designed to help fill.

Quantitative studies of neighborhood effects have frequently relied on secondary analysis of data sources that were not necessarily intended to answer neighborhood-based research questions. Census tracts have frequently been used as representations for neighborhoods, and an individual's outcomes have then been linked to demographic characteristics of the census tract in which he or she lived (Brooks-Gunn *et al.*, 1993; Duncan, Brooks-Gunn & Klebanov, 1994; Garbarino & Sherman, 1980; Sampson *et al.*, 1989, 1999). Residents, however, do not necessarily perceive their respective neighborhoods according to the government's determination of census tracts, and use of census tracts as proxies for neighborhoods has offered inconclusive

results on the relationship between neighborhood contexts and child outcomes (Ellen & Turner, 1997; Small & Newman, 2001; Tienda, 1991). Ellen and Turner (1997, p. 844) suggested “it is possible that [census] tracts fail to accurately represent the neighborhood conditions that make a difference in peoples’ lives. . . if researchers are measuring neighborhood characteristics at the wrong scale, they are likely to *understate* the importance of neighborhood conditions in affecting individual outcomes” (emphasis mine).

An additional problem in traditional quantitative measurements of neighborhood effects has been the cross-sectional nature of this research. Large data sets tend to only reflect conditions of a neighborhood at a single point in time, and do not necessarily reflect differences in individual outcomes associated with varied lengths of residency (Ellen & Turner, 1997). Single point-in-time data sets may have led analysts to over- or underestimate neighborhood effects across individuals with varied residencies.³³

The role of nonlinear effects has also proven problematic (Crane, 1991; Duncan & Aber, 1997; Ellen & Turner, 1997). Most research studies in the 1990s assumed the relationship between neighborhood poverty and an individual’s outcomes to be linear, although neighborhood effects associated with poverty may only impact a community when the number of poor households has reached a critical mass (Crane, 1991; Ellen & Turner, 1997).

An additional challenge in the study of urban poverty has been identifying, isolating and accurately measuring the role of a single neighborhood condition in an individual’s life. The absence of individual controls in aggregate-level studies, and the inconsistency with which control variables have been used in other analyses, have resulted in debatable interpretations of data (Ellen & Turner, 1997; Furstenburg Jr. & Hughes, 1997; Small & Newman, 2001). This

³³ An exception to the single point-in-time trend is the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), an ongoing survey of U.S. households from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan.

methodological concern speaks to the difficulty inherent in disentangling family-level from neighborhood-level effects (Briggs, 1998; Ellen & Turner, 1997; Small & Newman, 2001). Debate has existed over exactly how the neighborhood environment has mediated these parenting and family-level variables. Controlling for these family-level variables may have led analysts to *underestimate* the role of neighborhood effects. These types of studies discounted the neighborhood's influence on parenting methods, and thus failed to acknowledge the indirect effect on child welfare (Brooks-Gunn *et al.*, 1993; Duncan *et al.*, 1994).

Mixed-income communities, in the likeness of HOPE VI projects, have presented unique challenges within the general study of neighborhoods. First, a lack of comparison or counterfactuals has limited the ability of research to offer definitive, conclusive information on the effects of living in mixed-income neighborhoods (Briggs *et al.*, 2009). Secondly, there exists no single model for a typical or standard mixed-income neighborhood design (Berube, 2006; Smith, 2002). A wide degree of variation may exist across sites. Housing authorities have used discretion when determining the exact proportion of units reserved for subsidized or market rate units, how these units are physically allocated, and if homeownership units will be made available (Smith, 2002; Fraser & Nelson, 2008).³⁴ Lack of a formal definition or threshold for “mix” is problematic, given policymakers' emphasis on its capacity to bring about social and economic change (Briggs, 1997; Joseph, 2006; Smith, 2002). Finally, in the general study of neighborhood effects, the identification of a critical mass or tipping point, is also a relevant issue in the study of mixed-income housing (Crane, 1991; Ellen & Turner, 1997). What type of income mix is sufficient to bring about the changes that are allegedly associated with it, and if this change occurs proportionally or exponentially, is unclear.

³⁴ It is important to note that not all mixed-income neighborhoods are formally planned and federally funded, some may have emerged as a result of population shifts and broader macro-economic forces within a given city (Berube, 2006; Briggs *et al.*, 2009).

Key Data Sources

Despite the methodological challenges associated with the study of neighborhoods, particularly mixed-income neighborhoods, a considerable amount of research on neighborhood effects and socio-economic integration emerged in the 1990s (Briggs 1997; Brophy & Smith 1997; Chaskin & Joseph, 2010; Epp 1996; Khadduri 2001; Khadduri & Martin 1997; Kleit, 2005; Popkin *et al.*, 2000; Rosenbaum, Stroh, & Flynn, 1998; Schwartz & Tajbakhsh 1997; Smith, 2002). The landmark Gautreaux demonstration required the racial integration of Chicago's public housing tenants, and with this initiative came the first formal source of data on the experiences of low-income families in non-poor neighborhoods. Research based on the Gautreaux demonstration revealed that parents who moved to non-poor, suburban neighborhoods were less likely to be unemployed than those who remained in higher-poverty census tracts (Rosenbaum & Popkin, 1991). In addition, the experiences of these parents' children pointed towards potential positive outcomes associated with a transition from a high-poverty to a low-poverty environment. Low-income, African American youth who moved to suburban neighborhoods were more likely to finish high school, attend college, and report more racially diverse peer social networks (Rosenbaum and Popkin, 1991; Rosenbaum, 1995).

The cross-sectional nature of the Gautreaux research, concern over confounded school and neighborhood effects, and a 30% non-response rate to the survey limited the conclusiveness of these findings (Briggs, 1998). Nevertheless, the aforementioned results motivated policy makers to carry out other poverty deconcentration initiatives, such as the MTO demonstration and the HOPE VI program. These latter two programs will be discussed in the context of what types of data emerged from their implementation.

The Gautreaux demonstration was initially based on racial integration, but ultimately

involved high levels of socio-economic mix as well. Although drawing firm conclusions from its participants' experiences has been limited for previously mentioned reasons, the Gautreaux demonstration's results nevertheless propelled forward the idea that socio-economic integration could improve opportunities for low-income families, particularly children. A more rigorous test of this hypothesis took the form of the MTO demonstration, which randomly assigned predominantly very low-income, African American families in public housing to one of three groups. Participants in the *experimental group* were offered rent vouchers only usable in non-poor neighborhoods alongside residential counseling; those in the *Section 8 comparison group* were given rent vouchers with no counseling or mobility restrictions; and a final *control group* was composed of families who remained in public housing and received no special assistance. HUD selected 4,608 participants across five local public housing authorities to participate in the MTO demonstration: Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York (Goering *et al.*, 2003).

After random assignment to one of the three groups described above, outcomes for all participants were carefully tracked over a span of ten years. The MTO demonstration's design allowed researchers an unprecedented amount of rigorously collected data on residential decision-making among poor families and neighborhood effects associated with socio-economic integration. Given the thesis' focus on adolescents and adults, MTO-related results presented later in the chapter will be restricted to these two age brackets.

The MTO demonstration was based around the dispersal of low-income families into already established, non-poor neighborhoods; the HOPE VI program differed in that it focused on the redevelopment of public housing projects into mixed-income neighborhoods. A significant amount of variation has marked the program across multiple dimensions, including

the design of new developments, the relocation process that impacted original residents, and how the new neighborhoods were managed (Smith, 2002). The quality of data available on HOPE VI has also been inconsistent. Popkin *et al.* (2004, p. 27) suggested,

The lack of consistent and reliable administrative data on housing and neighborhood outcomes for the original residents has muddied the debate about the performance of HOPE VI, and makes it difficult for policymakers to reach informed decisions about whether and how the implementation of the program should be improved. Even if better data were available, however, the debate about resident outcomes would be difficult, because there is no consensus about how to define success.

The ambiguity over whether or not a HOPE VI site is a “success” speaks to the different goals that projects have been designed to meet. Mixed-income development of a public housing project has been used as a tool for poverty reduction among original residents as well as a means of encouraging urban renewal and property values; the emphasis given to each of these goals has varied across American cities (Chaskin & Joseph, 2010; Joseph *et al.*, 2007).

As a result of the variation in implementation, HOPE VI provided social scientists with a wide range of research settings in which to pose questions about neighborhood effects and socio-economic integration. In the late 1990s, HUD sponsored the HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study (Tracking Study), which reflected the first systematic, multi-site analysis of outcomes for original public housing residents (Buron *et al.*, 2002; Popkin *et al.*, 2009). Later, the HOPE VI Panel Study (Panel Study) built upon earlier research through tracking outcomes for residents across five HOPE VI sites across New Jersey, North Carolina, California, Chicago and Washington D.C (Popkin *et al.*, 2009).³⁵ These government sponsored studies occurred alongside other quantitative research efforts aimed at uncovering outcomes for HOPE VI residents (for examples of recent studies, see Goetz, 2010, Curley, 2010; Anil, Sjoquist & Wallace, 2010). Other research efforts have used qualitative methods in order to provide in-depth case studies of

³⁵ Two surveys, distributed to approximately 720 respondents and taken two years apart, accompanied semi-structured, qualitative interviews with smaller subsets of participants (Popkin *et al.*, 2009).

various HOPE VI neighborhoods (Kleit, 2005; Chaskin & Joseph, 2010; Tach, 2009b; Clampet-Lundquist, 2004). Results from the Tracking and Panel Studies, as well as other quantitative and qualitative case studies of mixed-income neighborhoods, will be discussed throughout the remainder of the chapter.

The breadth of quantitative studies on neighborhood effects, the methodological problems associated with them, and the call for greater qualitative research into the social processes that govern mixed-income neighborhoods all influenced the specific research design of this thesis. Previous reviews of literature on neighborhood effects, and mixed-income neighborhoods in particular, called for deeper analysis into the very types of “how” and “why” research questions that qualitative work is designed to explore (Briggs *et al.*, 2009; Ellen & Turner, 1997). As Chapter Five will outline in detail, the methodology used in this thesis was unprecedented in earlier studies on mixed-income neighborhoods. Using qualitative methods to explore issues of collective efficacy, across parents and adolescents from both lower-income and upper-income groups in the same neighborhood, helped fill a research gap in the existing literature.

Three broad types of research guide the presentation of subsequent empirical evidence. The first consists of research on neighborhood effects, which has provided a useful frame of reference with which to compare results of various residential socio-economic integration initiatives. Secondly, research on poverty dispersal has revealed low-income families’ outcomes after they moved from public housing projects to non-poor neighborhoods. This type of research relied on data sourced from the MTO demonstration, households displaced through HOPE VI, and other smaller-scale housing voucher initiatives. A third type of research has reflected families’ experiences within mixed-income neighborhoods that resulted from HOPE VI and

similar urban renewal programs. These three types of research findings will be presented within the context of key concepts outlined in the previous chapter- neighborhood choice and framing, social networks, social exchange, and social control.

Neighborhood Choice

An extensive literature exists on residential decision-making, and it is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine it in detail.³⁶ Neighborhood choice will be discussed in the context of how diverse families navigated housing decisions specifically around mixed-income developments. The research available in this area has revealed important information about the varied factors that influenced lower-income families' choices about where to move after the demolition of their public housing units, as well as upper-income families' decisions about entering a mixed-income neighborhood.

Practical concerns tend to guide lower-income families' decisions to move, regardless of participation in poverty dispersal programs designed around relocating them to non-poor neighborhoods. In a mixed-methods study that followed public housing residents from four HOPE VI sites during relocation processes, Smith (2002) examined families' uses of Section 8 vouchers and their decision-making strategies regarding neighborhood selection. Results showed that practical, immediate concerns, rather than potential for social mobility, tended to guide lower-income families' decisions about where to move: "Most respondents were more concerned about finding an available and acceptable unit that met their minimum community standards for safety and basic amenities than about moving to a neighborhood that might offer increased economic opportunity" (Smith, 2002, p. 5). Practicality concerns, interestingly, focused on access to personal sources of social support rather than the availability of formal social services. This type of prioritization was consistent with earlier research on lower-income

³⁶ See Dieleman (2001) for a broader review of the literature on residential decision-making.

families' heavier reliance on social relationships for assistance (Lee & Campbell, 1991; Fischer, 1982). Social ties and attachment to place tended to guide families' choices, and a significant number of households relocated to neighborhoods very close to their respective original public housing sites (Smith, 2002).

Tendency for lower-income families to remain near the area they are already familiar with, even after given a housing voucher to be used in the private market, has also been evidenced in across other mixed-income development initiatives across the country. In an examination of five HOPE VI sites, Comey (2007) reported that less than 15% of relocated families used their respective housing vouchers in suburban neighborhoods; the vast majority framed their decisions around proximity to the central-city where they already had kin- and friend-based social networks. In other case studies of urban redevelopment initiatives in Minneapolis, Minnesota and Buffalo, New York, displaced residents ultimately only moved between one-half and three miles from the original public housing site (Goetz, 2003; Trudeau, 2006). Although varied factors helped explain these decisions, and individual cities' housing markets mattered in terms of what alternative housing choices were available, these quantitative results pointed towards lower-income residents' prioritization of familiarity with their neighborhoods, and hesitancy around severing established social ties, during the neighborhood choice process. Residents' reliance on the social support in a given geographic area also revealed the depth of existing bonding social capital, which typically operates within spatial boundaries (Putnam, 2000).

Clampet-Lundquist (2004) carried out a qualitative study of 41 low-income families displaced as a result of a HOPE VI project in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; she found residential background demographic characteristics and decision-making processes differed between tenants

who chose Section 8 vouchers and those who simply transferred to alternative public housing. The Section 8 recipients were more likely to have completed high school, and they prioritized entrance into a non-poor neighborhood. At the same time, however, their ultimate decisions were based around practical reasons similar to those that Smith (2002) had identified in her earlier study: “when they [Section 8 relocatees] made decisions about where they would look for housing, they largely based their choice on the neighborhoods that would fit their current daily routine rather than on future possibilities for social mobility” (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004, p. 441).

In contrast to the research on lower-income families’ residential choices in relation to urban redevelopment, empirical evidence on why upper-income families have moved to mixed-income developments is scarce. This reflects a gap in the literature, given the social capital goals of mixed-income housing policy depend on the presence of upper-income residents (Briggs, 1997; Varady *et al.*, 2005). In its qualitative analysis of decision-making strategies among *both* lower-income and upper-income residents of New Columbia, the information presented in Chapter Six will help address this research gap.

Whether or not mixed-income neighborhoods stay diverse also reveals information about residents’ choices to enter, stay, or exit. Using Census tract and block-level data, Krupka (2008) and Tach (2009a) examined the extent to which mixed-income neighborhoods remained diverse over time. Tach (2009a) found that approximately one in five mixed-income neighborhoods remained “stably mixed” between 1970 and 2000. Examining mixed-income neighborhoods in relation to more economically homogenous developments revealed the tendency towards change:

Only half of mixed-income neighborhoods remain mixed between decades and only 15% remain mixed in each decade from 1970 to 2000, whereas over 80% of low income neighborhoods and 70% of high-income neighborhoods remain that way for three consecutive decades. This instability within mixed-income neighborhoods is driven in part by the fact that they experience more economic change than majority low or high income neighborhoods and in part by the fact that mixed income neighborhoods are

created by a delicate balance of incomes that can be upset by modest amounts of economic change (Tach, 2009a, p. 28).

Krupka's (2008) census-based analysis of mixed-income neighborhoods also concluded that income heterogeneity was likely to decline over time. With regard to *how* mixed-income neighborhoods transitioned, Tach's (2009a) evidence suggested they were equally likely to veer towards greater poverty or greater affluence. Mostly black mixed-income neighborhoods, located in the central-city, served as the exception to this trend because they were far more likely to experience decline (Tach, 2009a). Empirical evidence has thus shown income diversity in mixed-income neighborhoods has not been sustained, organically, over time. Although these findings reflect general economic trends across American cities, they also speak to the types of choices that households have made over time regarding migration to and from mixed-income neighborhoods.

Using non-public Census data McKinnish and White (2010) analyzed demographic characteristics of the households who chose to enter mixed-income neighborhoods.³⁷ Within census tracts, McKinnish and White (2010) examined which households entered neighborhoods during the year before the Census took place, within five years before the Census, and within ten years before the Census. Through comparing the characteristics of these neighborhoods' in-migrants over time, patterns in neighborhood transition were tracked. Results showed that mixed-income neighborhoods effectively attracted a more diverse set of in-migrants relative to other types of areas, but echoed Krupka's (2008) and Tach's (2009a) findings in the conclusion that economic heterogeneity did not persist over time. McKinnish and White's (2010, p. 25) research also revealed information about the persistence of poverty: "households with permanently low incomes are less likely to inhabit mixed-income neighborhoods than

³⁷ McKinnish and White's (2010) work does not represent those of the U.S. Census Bureau. Their non-public data was extracted from the results of the 1990 and 2000 Census Long Form.

households with temporarily low incomes. Therefore, to the extent that mixed-income neighborhoods buffer the effects of individual-level income inequality, households with chronically low incomes are less likely to receive these benefits". This particular finding is relevant to questions about the use of mixed-income housing policy's role in encouraging social mobility among the poor, and related findings from my research will be discussed in the context of New Columbia's residents in Chapter Eight.

Race is another important dimension of the social mix in mixed-income housing developments. Because the neighborhood's racial minorities tend to be disproportionately lower-income, and white residents are more likely to be higher-income owners (Schwartz, 2006), the issue of racial integration and its desirability to potential in-migrants is another element of the residential decision-making about mixed-income neighborhoods.

Based on the results of opinion polls conducted during the late 1970s, the vast majority of both whites and blacks believed that residential racial integration was positive (Massey & Denton, 1993).³⁸ Despite this consensus, continued disparity in the willingness of white and black residents to actually move to integrated neighborhoods has persisted. Results from the 1976 Detroit area survey (DAS) showed that blacks were far more flexible than whites with regard to race-based neighborhood composition. Massey and Denton (1993, p. 93) concluded that, "Although blacks and whites may share a common commitment to 'integration' in principle, this word connotes very different things to people in the two racial groups. For blacks, integration means racial mixing in the range of 15% to 70% black, with 50% being most desirable; for whites, it signifies much smaller black percentages".³⁹ When DAS respondents

³⁸ 88% of whites and 98% of blacks agreed that blacks should live wherever they could afford to do so (Massey & Denton, 1993).

³⁹ According to Massey and Denton's (1993) analysis of the 1976 DAS, 84% of white respondents stated they would not want to move to a black/white neighborhood that was approximately 50/50, and 64%

were asked to explain the rationale behind their preferences, the majority of blacks stressed the importance of building racial tolerance and wanting to form better relationships with whites, but whites emphasized fears of property value devaluation and general neighborhood decline (Farley *et al.*, 1978).

It is important to note that Massey and Denton's (1993) conclusions were drawn from a survey that was distributed only in Detroit in 1976; it may be reasonable to believe that attitudes have shifted since that time and across regional areas. The Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality (MCSUI) was conducted across four cities in the U.S. between 1992 and 1994 (Boston, Detroit, Atlanta and Los Angeles) and used a methodology similar to that employed in the DAS (Charles, 2005). Results from this study showed that all ethnic groups surveyed (whites, blacks, Hispanics and Asians) were more willing to live in racially integrated areas relative to the 1970s, but a ranking system emerged with regard to which racial minorities were the most preferred neighbors. Across all racial groups, the hierarchy ordered from most preferred to least preferred was white, Asian, Hispanic and black (Charles, 2005).

Chapter Three highlighted Charles' (2005) application of Blumer's (1958) group position hypothesis to residential decision-making. This theory posited that individuals tend to replicate the socially learned level of distance between themselves and various race- or class-based out-groups. In doing so, households perpetuated the traditional, racialized hierarchy of group position (and associated power and status) in American society at large. Charles' (2005, p. 67) analysis of the MCSUI results supported this hypothesis: "For all minority groups, economic and social advancement is associated with greater proximity and similarity to white Americans. For

stated that they would try to leave such a neighborhood if it evolved to that level of integration. In another analysis of white respondents attitudes, Farley *et al.* (1978, p. 338) suggested "a 70% white 30% black neighborhood as the tipping point. . . neighborhoods with greater than 70% white will remain stably integrated".

whites, on the other hand, integration with any other group- but especially blacks- brings the threat of loss of relative status”.

Although individual choice and preference are clearly important in the decision-making process about where to live, weak enforcement of fair housing laws and related discriminatory housing practices have continued to shape the *perceived* choices of households and the broader ethnic make-up of many American neighborhoods (Squires, 2008; Yinger, 1998). Housing realtors and brokers’ tendency to withhold specific types of information from black applicants, typically about units available in predominantly white neighborhoods, has been well documented. The reasons behind these agents’ practices have been rooted in financial motives, and reflect more general white preferences that Farley *et al.* (1978) interpreted from the DAS results. Yinger’s (1998, pp. 900-901) research also supported the notion that agents are inclined to avoid the perceived racial tipping point in white neighborhoods; doing so caters to a white customer base that was larger and thus more lucrative than the Hispanic or black customer bases.

Residents’ choices about where to live are often intertwined with how they frame the neighborhood to which they ultimately move. Among studies of low-income residents displaced through HOPE VI developments, those who wanted to leave the original public housing project consistently reported better outcomes post-move relative to those who considered the move involuntary (Goetz, 2003; Goetz, 2010; Kleit & Manzo, 2006). Although more factors were relevant in this case than merely perception (such as dependence on local services), whether or not the move was considered a *choice* nevertheless played an important role in residents’ framing of their respective relocation experiences and the quality of their new neighborhoods.

Two case studies, both focused in Boston, Massachusetts, used qualitative methods to determine how a given neighborhood’s residents framed their communities. During the course

of his ethnography, Small (2004) analyzed community participation among the residents of Villa Victoria, a deeply subsidized housing project in a largely non-poor area of Boston. He identified two general categories of residents based on their neighborhood narrative frames (NNFs). The first group, or cohort, perceived Villa Victoria as historically and politically significant owing to the legacy of community activism that surrounded the area, and accordingly associated pride and nostalgia with the neighborhood. A second cohort did not know about or did not prioritize these elements of the neighborhood's past, and instead focused on the blight and disadvantage associated with it. Small (2004, p. 77) explained,

Neither cohort has delusions about the neighborhood's current problems; both can see the grime, the rodents, the drug traffic. But how they react to this situations depends on how they frame the neighborhood as a whole, which is why positing automatic reactions to changes in structural conditions is a mischaracterization of how people respond to concentrated poverty.

Tach (2009b) carried out a qualitative study with lower-income and upper-income residents of Orchard Gardens, one of Boston's HOPE VI sites. This neighborhood consisted entirely of rental units, but some were public housing and others market-rate. Interviews with residents revealed that long-term residents, those who had lived in the original public housing site and re-entered after construction of Orchard Gardens was complete, tended to frame the neighborhood positively in terms of its improvement. In contrast, newcomers to the neighborhood (who included lower-income and upper-income residents) framed Orchard Gardens much more negatively, and lamented the criminal activity still present in the neighborhood. Relative to newcomers with negative frames, long-term residents with positive frames were far more likely to seek out and maintain social ties with others in the neighborhood.

This section on neighborhood choice has focused primarily on who has entered mixed-income neighborhoods and how these areas have transitioned over time. Who enters these types

of neighborhoods has depended on a variety of economic and personal factors; these choices, and how they are made, relate to how residents behave after they have moved. Individual behaviors, such as propensity towards forming social relationships and exchanging help with neighbors, will be discussed in subsequent sections.

Social Networks

Social capital activation is predicated on the formation of social relationships. As Chapter Three outlined, social capital arguments for mixed-income housing centered on upper-income residents' potential to expand and improve lower-income residents' social networks. More affluent neighbors could, in theory, build "weak ties" with lower-income residents and help them achieve social mobility (Briggs, 1998; Granovetter, 1973, 1983; Kleit, 2001, 2002; Lin & Dumin, 1986). Social network formation, and the purposes that these networks may serve, has been analyzed across various HOPE VI sites and poverty dispersal initiatives.

Although mixed-income neighborhoods vary in size and composition, studies across different cities have found that physical proximity of residents from different socio-economic backgrounds has not necessarily lent itself to meaningful social interaction (Brophy & Smith, 1997; Buron *et al.*, 2002; Chaskin & Joseph, 2010; Goetz, 2010; Kleit, 2005; Rosenbaum *et al.*, 1998; Rosenbaum & Popkin, 1991; Tach, 2009b). Results from these studies supported earlier research on neighborhood social dynamics, which found demographic homogeneity was key in determining the likelihood of social interaction (Ahlbrandt, 1984; Kleit, 2005; Lee & Campbell, 1999). Demographic characteristics that mattered in this respect included race, gender, language, socio-economic status and family composition.⁴⁰

Race has also been a subject of interest among social scientists concerned with social

⁴⁰ Family composition, in this context, means whether or not the household included children. Parents with children in similar age ranges have been more likely to socialize (Ahlbrandt, 1984; Campbell & Lee, 1990).

networks and neighborhood effects. Lee *et al.* (1991) found that residents' social networks differed across racial dimensions in several key ways. Black residents were more likely to form social ties with their neighbors, and also more likely to use these social relationships for functional reasons based on social support as opposed to the "superficial sociability" more typical among white residents (Lee *et al.*, 1991, p. 526). Explanations for stronger social relationships among blacks focused on a sense of racial solidarity, as well as normative pressure to form adaptive coping mechanisms against a perceived lack of formal, institutionalized support (Lee *et al.*, 1991; Massey & Denton, 1993; Warren, 1975).⁴¹

A number of other studies contradicted Lee *et al.*'s (1991) findings after broadening analyses to include residents from areas of highly concentrated poverty (Tigges, Browne & Green, 1998; Small, 2007). Small (2007) used more recent data, from the Chicago-based Urban Poverty and Family Life Survey, to analyze social isolation and social networks in relation to five neighborhood conditions: neighborhood poverty, proportion black, residential stability, ethnic heterogeneity, and population density. Within-neighborhood, fixed-effect statistical models revealed that racial differences in social network formation could, in fact, be accounted for by differences in neighborhood poverty rates (Small, 2007). Small (2007, p. 340) ultimately concluded, "the racial segregation of Chicago has created conditions in which some races are more likely to live in high-poverty neighborhoods, but it is the poverty of the neighborhoods (not their racial composition) that is significantly associated with weaker social ties" (Small, 2007, p. 340). How race, ethnicity and other demographic characteristics informed social networks in New Columbia will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

⁴¹ Important to note in this research context, however, is that the 81 neighborhoods in the sample did *not* include any areas of highly concentrated, severe poverty such as public housing projects (Lee *et al.*, 1991). Because the neighborhoods studied included only moderately low-income and middle-income residents, potentially unique aspects of social interaction among black or white public housing tenants were not taken into account.

Data about how low-income individuals approached social relationships in non-poor neighborhoods was made widely available through the MTO demonstration, but these results were generally inconclusive. Results from the Los Angeles MTO site revealed that members of the control group (those who remained in traditional public housing) were twice as likely as those in the experimental group and Section 8 comparison group to cite friends who lived near to them. According to Hanratty, McLanahan and Pettit (2003), this was possibly attributable to these families' difficulties in forging new friendships in new neighborhoods. Across other MTO sites, however, differences in social ties were statistically insignificant across the three groups of participants.

Interestingly, social networks were not directly tied to perceptions of social order and cohesion. Members of the experimental group, who had used their vouchers to move to non-poor neighborhoods, were significantly more likely to agree that social trust was higher in their new, non-poor neighborhoods than those who had remained in public housing (Katz *et al.*, 2003). These differences may have been rooted in varied neighborhood narrative frames, based on the voluntary nature of residents' moves to non-poor neighborhoods.

Apart from MTO research, other studies have employed a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods in order to determine how families' use of vouchers and transition into non-poor neighborhoods affected social relationships. Although their new neighborhoods were generally perceived positively, with lower levels of crime, poverty and better amenities than the public housing they had exited, both parents and youth lamented a loss of close social ties and the social support they fostered (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Kleit & Manzo, 2006; Gibson, 2007). The involuntary nature of some families' moves to new neighborhoods may have contributed to this sense of loss. In a study of redevelopment in Minneapolis, Minnesota, involuntary movers

who were given vouchers simply because their current public housing project was undergoing demolition were less likely to interact with others in their new neighborhoods (Goetz, 2003).

Some differences emerged between youth and adults regarding social network formation. Clampet-Lundquist (2007) used qualitative methods to explore social networks among adolescents whose families had taken advantage of vouchers in order to exit public housing. These adolescents were able to establish new friendships with peers in their non-poor neighborhoods more easily relative to their parents' attempts to form new social ties. Related to this was a loss of intergenerational closure, meaning that parents were less likely to know their children's friends' parents. The results presented in Chapter Seven will also provide both parents' and adolescents' accounts of social ties, but will draw further comparisons between income and tenure groups within the same mixed-income context.

While the aforementioned studies focused on how lower-income residents navigated social relationships in non-poor neighborhoods, another strand of research centered on the nature of these relationships in HOPE VI (or similar) mixed-income neighborhoods. Brophy and Smith (1997) examined seven geographically diverse mixed-income developments in order to determine the degree to which residents crossed socio-economic and tenure boundaries in their social relationships. Although these sites varied in socio-economic composition, size and historical context, a consistent finding was minimal social interaction across households from different backgrounds (Brophy & Smith, 1997). According to results from the HOPE VI Tracking Study, public housing residents and HOPE VI returnees were far more likely than voucher or unsubsidized residents to report having friends in their respective neighborhoods, but a minimal number of residents across all groups reported anything more than limited interaction with their neighbors (Buron *et al.*, 2002).

These studies helped determine the presence or absence of social networks in different neighborhood settings, but researchers have also sought to uncover the social mechanisms and processes behind these networks. Details of studies across three mixed-income neighborhoods in Seattle, Chicago and Boston will be presented in the following section. Although each of these mixed-income neighborhoods was unique, owing to varied metropolitan context and history, all were redeveloped from previously low-income, highly distressed public housing projects. In addition, each neighborhood's development reflected efforts aimed at social infrastructure, such as new parks and community centers. The three case studies discussed next offer examples of how both demographic and community-level characteristics shaped social relationships among residents.

NewHolly HOPE VI site in Seattle, Washington. In her study of the NewHolly neighborhood (a 476 unit development opened in 2002), Kleit (2005) found physical proximity of one resident to another to be a key factor in whether or not social ties were formed between lower-income renters and higher-income owners in the neighborhood, particularly among owners. Multi-variate statistical analyses, supplemented with qualitative data collected during focus groups and one-on-one telephone interviews, also revealed common language, ethnicity and the presence of children in the household to be significant determinants of social relationships. Despite the considerable resources that the Seattle Housing Authority invested in community building, and the overall high levels of satisfaction that residents expressed about the neighborhood, homeowners and public housing renters demonstrated low levels of social interaction. Renters were also more likely than homeowners to use the community facilities in the neighborhood. Important to note, however, was the site's unusually high levels of ethnic diversity. This type of diversity, and the significant number of languages spoken in the

neighborhood as a result, may have presented additional barriers to social interaction among residents (Kleit, 2005).

Orchard Park HOPE VI site in Boston, Massachusetts. This 331 unit HOPE VI site was redeveloped in 1999. In contrast to the racial and ethnic diversity at the NewHolly site, Orchard Gardens was a predominantly African American neighborhood both before and after redevelopment. In addition, 85% of units were subsidized to households between 10% and 80% of Area Median Income (AMI), the remaining 15% of units were rented at local market rates, and none were available to own (Tach, 2009b).

One-on-one interviews with 50 residents from different subsidy levels, supplemental interviews with key informants, and neighborhood observation revealed that a primary differentiating characteristic between residents was whether or not they had lived in Orchard Gardens before it was redeveloped (Tach, 2009b). Newcomers (who spanned a range of incomes) and long-term residents approached social interaction and the enforcement of social control differently. With regard to social network formation, Tach (2009b) found that long-term residents had a greater number of ties in the neighborhood, and relied on these relationships for support. Newcomers, however, did not: “[It is given that] people with higher incomes tend to have less localized social ties. . . [but] most of the newcomers also *actively resisted* forming any new social ties within the neighborhood, suggesting that these ties may not be created in the long term either” (Tach, 2009b, p. 284). Fear of crime and low levels of trust resulted in newcomers’ avoidance of social contact with their neighbors; they instead relied on the ties they already had outside the neighborhood (Tach, 2009b).

The “Plan for Transformation” in Chicago, Illinois. Chaskin and Joseph (2010) examined three mixed-income neighborhoods that replaced public housing projects in Chicago,

which included Oakwood Shores, Park Boulevard, and Westhaven Park. All three developments had varied proportions of subsidized rental and unsubsidized for-sale units, but all received specialized staff efforts aimed at community building. Socio-economic status, and associated educational attainment and professional status, varied widely across residents. Ultimately, qualitative findings from this comparative study revealed similar results to the HOPE VI Tracking Study: there existed limited interaction across residents from different backgrounds, and the social ties that did exist were superficial in nature (Chaskin & Joseph, 2010). In addition, Chaskin and Joseph (2010, p. 327) identified “. . .[a] prevailing sense of ‘us’ and ‘them’ rather than shared identity and belonging” among the subsidized and unsubsidized residents.

This section outlined key research findings about social network formation in both low-income and mixed-income neighborhoods. Because neighborhood contexts have varied, consistent findings have been difficult to achieve, particularly with regard to understanding how neighborhood poverty and income diversity have mediated social relationships. Certain trends, however, are identifiable. In several studies of poverty dispersal initiatives public housing residents forged a larger number of social relationships within the project, at least relative to those who utilized housing vouchers in non-poor neighborhoods (Buron *et al.*, 2002; Hanratty *et al.*, 2003). In redeveloped mixed-income neighborhoods, social relationships have generally not extended between lower-income and upper-income residents, and the social interaction that has occurred has been identified as largely superficial (Buron *et al.*, 2002; Chaskin & Joseph, 2010; Kleit, 2005; Tach, 2009b). The next section will examine empirical evidence on whether social ties have manifested in social exchange.

Social Exchange

Chapter Three explained how mixed-income housing policy has been theorized as a

means of reducing poverty among low-income residents. Social networks between lower-income and upper-income residents could, in theory, create the weak ties needed to activate social capital and encourage social mobility (Briggs, 1998; Granovetter, 1974, 1983; Joseph *et al.*, 2007). This section will provide an overview of the research that has attempted to determine whether or not this type of activation has happened, as well as what other types of social support may exist in mixed-income neighborhoods.

Briggs (1998, p. 206) suggested that “individuals of all backgrounds need a two-sided treasure chest of social capital: access to social support that helps us cope with life’s stresses and challenges (‘get by’) and access to social leverage, the key to mobility or ‘getting ahead’”. In a Yonkers, New York poverty dispersal initiative modeled after the MTO demonstration, adolescents’ reliance on three types of social exchange were examined to see if they differed based on residence in a public housing project or non-poor neighborhood.

The three types of social support examined in this study included casual aid (borrowing a little money), crisis aid (needing a place to stay) and confiding aid (sharing personal problems); three types of social leverage included getting advice on securing a job, school-based advice or general advice about the future (Briggs, 1998). Findings revealed no statistically significant differences in the social exchange that adolescents accessed; it appeared as though moving to a non-poor neighborhood had little impact on the type of assistance adolescents could rely upon. Based on ordinary least squares regression results, results from the study indicated that parental work status was the strongest predictor of the adolescent’s access to job information. Employed parents often knew other employed parents, and adolescents could take advantage of these networks. Briggs (1998, p. 206) concluded

Net of other factors, [knowing] just one such [employed] person can fairly dramatically improve the adolescents’ perceived access to critical job information. This is clear

evidence that network diversity- having wider, 'social border-crossing' ties- can significantly enhance access to leverage-type social capital for poor youth of color.

The results of this study relate directly to Sampson's *et al.* (1999) collective efficacy for children theory. As the last chapter outlined, reciprocated exchange reflects the social support that parents may access from other adults regarding childrearing, and that children themselves can rely upon as they grow older.

Other studies based on poverty dispersal initiatives revealed similar results among adults. Findings from Kleit's (2001) study revealed that women who lived in dispersed, rather than clustered, housing tended to have more socio-economically diverse social networks. With this diversity also came access to individuals with varied job types. Dispersed residents were not able to access the same level of social support from close friends as those in clustered housing, but this also meant that they were less prone to restrictive, non-reciprocal social ties that drain personal resources and time (Curley, 2009; Stack, 1974). Kleit (2001, p. 560-561) concluded:

In theory, these more diverse, less close ties allow access to opportunities that are different from those available to people who have more homogenous, closer social networks...[but] To enable nonpoor residents in dispersed housing to have an opportunity to use their more diverse and less close neighborhood ties, the housing situation must encourage circumstances that overcome status differences between poor and nonpoor neighbors.

Although the potential for social capital activation was greater among women in dispersed housing, actual activation was still rare. Perceived symbolic boundaries resulted in limited social interaction (Kleit, 2001). A lack of equal socio-economic standing, and with it broader social standing, meant it was difficult for groups to gain the information they needed to trust one another and exchange information more freely (Kleit, 2001; Pettigrew, 1998). A comparative, quantitative study on employment rates among adults who moved as a result of HOPE VI projects showed that those who moved to another public housing unit in a mixed income

development and those who moved to the private market with a housing voucher, regardless of whether the move was voluntary, ultimately had higher employment rates than those who remained in traditional public housing (Anil, Sjoquist & Wallace, 2010). Although these results were statistically significant, the quantitative nature of the study could not reveal mechanisms at work behind these changes or if they were rooted in improved social networks, job-search neighborhood resources or other factors that may have facilitated access to employment. The qualitative approach of this thesis will explore how residents across income and tenure groups perceived social capital within New Columbia, which will contribute to the larger discussion on how mixed-income development may influence social mobility.

Elements of social exchange particularly relevant to mixed-income neighborhoods relate to social capital activation and social leverage (Joseph, 2006; Popkin *et al.*, 2004). As Chapter Three explained, a key theoretical rationale behind income diversification was centered on the notion that upper-income neighbors could connect lower-income residents to professional and educational opportunities. Social ties with *employed* adults, even if they are “weak ties”, have been cited as important sources of information and assistance for low-income adults and youth (Briggs, 1998; Granovetter, 1973, 1983; Joseph, 2006, Kleit, 2001). Results from mixed-income neighborhoods have shown that the proximity of more affluent neighbors, however higher their chances of employment, has not automatically translated to social capital activation.

In their examination of three mixed-income neighborhoods’ social dynamics in Chicago, Chaskin and Joseph (2010) found that social interaction by itself was limited, and that social exchange was even more rare. Social exchange consisted of small favors or acts of consideration, such as assisting with heavy groceries, and was typically restricted within tenure and income groups. More significant forms of social support (the type that Briggs (1998)

referred to as crisis aid and confiding aid) were also restricted within these socio-economic groups, and most common among public housing renters (Chaskin & Joseph, 2010). Examples of social leverage were not cited among residents.

When they analyzed seven HOPE VI sites across the U.S., Brophy and Smith (1997) found that interaction between residents from different income groups was also limited, but that residents in some sites had achieved varying degrees of self-sufficiency. The most critical determinant of professional mobility was not interaction with upper-income residents, mobility instead centered on access to targeted job training programs and social service supports within the neighborhood. Brophy and Smith (1997, p. 25) suggested, “Helping lower income residents achieve the goal of upward mobility may depend less on the income mix of a project than on opportunities to increase skills needed to find and keep a job”.

Curley (2010) explored residents’ access to social capital in three different types of neighborhoods: traditional public housing, voucher-based subsidized housing dispersed among non-subsidized private market housing, and a new HOPE VI neighborhood. Her study was notable because it was one of few quantitative American studies that examined how neighborhood resources and public spaces may influence residents’ social capital. Survey-based tools were used to analyze how residents across the three aforementioned neighborhood types perceived trust, social support and neighborhood resources, satisfaction, safety and problems. Results showed that a higher number of neighborhood resources, such as parks and libraries, was strongly correlated with perceptions of trust, social support, shared norms and values. Ultimately, Curley (2010) reported neighborhood resources held the strongest predictive ability when measured against social capital indicators. “Resources such as churches, parks, recreation facilities, employment centers, and even supermarkets may provide opportunities for both casual

exchanges and more meaningful interactions, and thus opportunities for building and accessing social capital in the neighborhood context” (Curley, 2010, p. 92).

Mixed-income housing policy was premised, in part, on the idea that social networks between lower-income and upper-income residents could be leveraged for the purpose of social exchange that could be translated to social mobility (Briggs, 1998; Joseph, 2006, Joseph *et al.*, 2007). Empirical evidence has revealed, however, that most interaction in mixed-income neighborhoods has occurred within income and tenure groups and that this interaction has facilitated social support more so than social leverage. Other factors associated with mixed-income development, such as access to neighborhood resources, have nevertheless proved significant in increasing residents’ access to social capital. The next section will examine whether or not another goal of socio-economic integration, stricter enforcement of social control, has manifested itself in mixed-income neighborhoods.

Social Control

As Chapter Three highlighted, an important objective of mixed-income housing policy was greater enforcement of informal social control. Joseph *et al.* (2007, p. 373) suggested the theory behind this goal “posits that the presence of higher-income residents will lead to higher levels of accountability to norms and rules through increased informal social control and thus increased order and safety for all residents”. In mixed-income neighborhoods, where socialization across different income and tenure groups has proven limited, there may still be opportunity for greater enforcement of informal social control. This section will present the studies that have investigated this proposition, alongside more general research findings about how a neighborhood’s social control may mediate adolescent and adult behavior

The way in which a lack of social cohesion may contribute to informal social control reflects a key aspect of Sampson's *et al.* (1999) theory of collective efficacy for children. Sampson and Groves' (1989, p. 799) early research on social disorganization theory found that limited social networks and civic participation, alongside unsupervised groups of adolescents, were correlated with higher rates of crime and anti-social behavior. This finding preceded a later analysis of neighborhoods across Chicago, where social cohesion and informal social control were again identified as the key mediators of crime and violence (Sampson *et al.*, 1997).

A lack of social control, rather than simply poverty, appeared to act as the key mediator in criminal behavior. Additional quantitative evidence found that poverty's relationship to crime was significantly reduced when community social control was accounted for in regression analyses (Bellair, 1997; Sampson *et al.* 1999; Warner & Rountree, 1997). As the previous chapter discussed, Sampson's *et al.* (1999) theoretical construct of collective efficacy for children relied on evidence that a neighborhood's degree of social cohesion and informal social control significantly impacted social order, and with it child welfare.

Although social control was associated with stronger social networks (Sampson & Groves, 1989; Sampson *et al.*, 1997), social control may not necessarily require social networks. As this chapter has shown, previous research on social ties and social exchange revealed that income diversity has not necessarily lent itself to either. According to several studies, even superficial social interaction may be lent to the type of social control that minimizes criminal behavior (Bellair, 1997; Elliott *et al.*, 1996; Morenoff *et al.*, 2001). Findings in Chapter Eight will explore the relationship between social networks and the enforcement of informal social control, specifically as it relates to adolescent behavior in a mixed-income context.

Several studies focused specifically on how neighborhood effects mediate certain

adolescent behaviors, including school drop out, child bearing out of wedlock, and general anti-social conduct. Clark (1992, as cited in Halpern-Felsher *et al.*, 1997) analyzed adolescent males' high school drop out rates in relation to neighborhood characteristics (after controlling for family-level variables), and found that the neighborhood's concentration of young adult male peers who had not graduated from high school was the most significant predictive variable of adolescent males' anti-social behavior in school. This result highlighted the important roles that peers may play in the lives of adolescents, particularly among males, and provided support for earlier theory developed on adolescent socialization (Harding, 2007). Connell and Halpern-Felsher's (1997) results also revealed that the socio-economic status of one's neighbor was a significant predictor of school drop-out among the boys in the study, although the quantitative nature of the research made it unclear how social relationships or social control may have mediated this effect.

These studies on neighborhood social control have explored outcomes for both adolescent males and females. Using PSID data, Brooks-Gunn *et al.* (1993) attempted to determine if a neighborhood's level of poverty or affluence mattered with regard to adolescent females' decisions to drop out of high school and have children out of wedlock. They concluded that neighborhood variables were statistically significant predictors of behavior, even after accounting for family effects. Among both adolescent males and females, therefore, neighborhood effects appeared to play a significant role in behavioral choices. Despite this, in each of these aforementioned studies, the way in which neighborhood effects mediated behaviors among male and female adolescents may still differ along coping and response strategies (Spencer *et al.*, 1997). Halpern-Felsher *et al.* (1997) re-confirmed these earlier results using several adolescent-focused data sets from New York state, and noted racial differences as well.

They concluded that “pressure from high-SES neighbors positively influences students’ school outcomes, especially for white youth. . . this positive effect of high-SES neighbors may also extend to black youth when those neighbors are themselves African American” (Halpern-Felsher *et al.*, 1997).

Both quantitative and qualitative research methods have been used to examine social control in lower-income families’ non-poor neighborhoods. The survey instruments used during the MTO demonstration often used self-reported criminal activity as a proxy for the presence of social control. Findings from Baltimore revealed that the proportion of adolescents who were arrested for violent crimes, as well as the overall number of arrests, was approximately halved after moving from concentrated public housing to a nonpoor neighborhood. This represented a statistically significant difference between youth in the experimental and control groups (Ludwig, Duncan & Ladd, 2003). In contrast, the incidence of arrest for property related crime (such as vandalism) for adolescents in the experimental group was 50% higher than that of the control group. Ludwig *et al.* (2003, p. 167) suggested that this higher arrest rate could, in fact, reflect better vigilance on the part of police and stricter enforcement of informal social control: “As with in-school disciplinary actions, the increase in property-crime arrests could simply reflect a higher probability of arrest per crime in low-poverty areas compared with high-poverty neighborhoods”.

The MTO demonstration in New York City revealed that adolescents’ peers engaged in different types of behavior depending on neighborhood location. Compared to the control group, adolescent boys in the experimental group reported a more limited number of peers who committed crimes or engaged in anti-social behavior (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). The opposite effect was true for adolescent girls: those in the experimental group were *more* likely to

report that their peers engaged in delinquency. This finding suggested that girls and boys negotiated social dynamics differently in their new neighborhoods, and that girls may have been experienced greater challenges adjusting (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2003).

In a qualitative study of adolescent boys who moved to non-poor neighborhoods as a result of displacement from public housing that underwent HOPE VI redevelopment, Clampet-Lundquist (2004) examined tendency towards delinquency and perceived informal social control. Changes in social network composition were relevant in this case, because parents were far less likely to know their children's friends' parents in the new neighborhoods relative to their former public housing development. Clampet-Lundquist (2004, p. 314) explained the link between this reduction in intergenerational closure and the type of informal social control that was exercised in the neighborhood:

With this decrease in intergenerational closure after the move, parents have lost some of the monitoring power and control over their children. For instance, half of the adults told me that they would not intervene if they saw a child acting up in their new neighborhood, a large decrease from the informal monitoring at [previous public housing project] DuBois.

This analysis of informal social control, in comparison to the results from the MTO demonstration previously discussed, revealed how different interpretations may be drawn as a result of varied data sources. While the MTO data focused on incidence of crime and arrest rates, Clampet-Lundquist's (2004) qualitative study emphasized parental or adult intervention in children's anti-social, but not necessarily criminal, behavior. Findings on the social norms and expectations, among both lower-income and upper-income residents, in a mixed-income setting that encourage one type of intervention over another (e.g. calling the police versus personally intervening) will be discussed in Chapter Eight.

Part of the theoretical rationale for mixed income neighborhoods centered on the

possibility that higher-income residents might enforce the type of informal social control necessary to discourage anti-social behavior and crime (Joseph, 2006; Joseph *et al.*, 2007; Kleit, 2001). Based on Jencks and Mayer's (1990) earlier research on neighborhood effects, alongside emergent findings on mixed-income communities, Kleit (2001, p. 544) suggested “. . .when neighbors set the social standards, affluent neighbors create an advantage”. According to qualitative data from Chaskin and Joseph's (2010) study of Chicago's mixed-income neighborhoods, the exercise of informal social control among lower-income and upper-income residents played out most clearly in the communities' public spaces. Common areas, such as parks and community centers, represent spaces where behavioral norms among children are shaped and enforced. Although residents stressed the role of property management and police in enforcing certain rules, they also placed an emphasis on the need for self-regulatory forms of social control. Most concerns related to behavior were directed towards public housing renters as opposed to market rate homeowners (Chaskin & Joseph, 2010). In other mixed-methods case studies of mixed-income neighborhoods, researchers have found that perceptions of what qualified as appropriate or inappropriate behavior differed across income and tenure groups (Chaskin & Joseph, 2010; Kleit, 2005). These comparisons will also be drawn in Chapter Eight's results, across both parents and adolescents from these different types of households.

As part of its analysis of collective efficacy, the HOPE VI Tracking Study measured residents' perceptions of social control across eight sites (Buron *et al.*, 2002). The metric used for social control was “the degree to which neighbors informally monitor behavior in the community. . . likelihood that a neighbor would do something if they saw children skipping school, painting graffiti, showing disrespect to an adult, or people fighting in front of their home” (Buron *et al.*, 2002, p. 88). Results showed that residents in HOPE VI sites were more likely

than public housing residents to trust their neighbors to intervene if a child was involved in vandalism, but equally likely to expect intervention with regard to a conflict. This difference could be attributable to a greater emphasis in HOPE VI projects on maintaining the physical space, given most of the units are new.

Chapter Three explored social learning theory in the context of mixed-income neighborhoods. Albeit problematic for reasons already discussed, this line of reasoning posited that upper-income residents might be able to model pro-social behaviors to lower-income residents (Joseph, 2006). Research on the extent of this modeling in mixed-income neighborhoods has found that the influence of upper-income adults is limited with regard to other adults, but may play a greater role among lower-income adolescents (Ellen & Turner, 1997; Jencks & Mayer 1990; Kasarda 1990). Furthermore, however, the adolescent children of upper-income parents may in fact be the more formative influence in the lives of lower-income teenagers (Darling and Steinberg, 1997). How social control and influence is mediated among both upper and lower-income adolescents will be discussed in the context of New Columbia later in Chapter Eight.

Conclusion

A wide range of research has explored how neighborhood effects mediate individual outcomes and behaviors. It was beyond the scope of the chapter to cover every study in the field, but this review of the literature did aim to highlight research that focused particularly on mixed-income neighborhoods and youth outcomes. Although methodological challenges limited the conclusiveness of results in this area of research, the varied nature of results pointed to both the importance of methods used and the metropolitan context of a given research site.

The quantitative studies described throughout this chapter revealed valuable information

about the presence or absence of neighborhood effects across different settings, and qualitative case studies helped unpack the black box of social dynamics that mediate such effects. Although a considerable amount of studies focused on adolescents, and another set centered on disaggregating results between upper and lower-income residents, no qualitative research has attempted to explore the social dynamics at work across four key categories of individuals in a mixed-income neighborhood- parents, adolescents, upper-income residents and lower-income residents. It was this gap that drove the research design of the thesis, which will be described in detail in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Research Methodology

Introduction

Once known as Columbia Villa, and still commonly referred to as the “Villa” by children and adults alike, New Columbia serves as the case study site for this research. Before the Housing Authority of Portland even submitted its HOPE VI application, however, Columbia Villa and its adjacent neighborhoods in North Portland had evolved considerably. The first part of this chapter documents the methodological decisions that guided my research, the recruitment and interviewing strategies I used during the course of fieldwork, and the analytical methods used in managing data and determining findings. All recruitment and interview methods discussed in this chapter met the ethics requirements of the University of Oxford and were pre-approved by both my academic supervisor and the asset manager on site at New Columbia.

The latter part of this chapter provides an overview of urban renewal in Portland, Oregon and major developments that have shaped the relationship between city agencies and minority residents. This historical account provides context for how Columbia Villa evolved, why HAP decided to carry out its demolition, and the rebuilding of New Columbia. The current status of the neighborhood, including demographic information and previously published research about its residents, will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

Research Design

As discussed in Chapters Three and Four, growing rates of concentrated urban poverty between 1970 and 1990 encouraged developments in theories of social organization. Related studies highlighted the neighborhood as an increasingly important ecological unit of analysis in the social sciences. Research suggested income and tenure mix alone do not necessarily lead to meaningful changes in social organization, collective efficacy, expanded networks and social

capital (Brophy & Smith, 1997; Buron *et al.*, 2002; Joseph *et al.*, Kleit, 2005; 2007; Smith, 2002). Further in-depth analyses were needed to test dominant theories about the social mechanisms at work in these types of communities (Ellen & Turner, 1997; Joseph, 2007; Kleit, 2005; Varady *et al.*, 2005). My research, therefore, aimed at contributing to the growing discussion about how neighborhood conditions and social organization affect child development in a mixed income context. The first part of this chapter will outline and discuss the methods used to answer the following research questions, the answers to which are included in Chapters Six, Seven, Eight and Nine:

- 1) *How did renter and owner families frame their respective decisions to move to a mixed-income, mixed-tenure neighborhood?*
- 2) *How do parents' and adolescents' income and tenure status inform neighborhood social organization, including the nature of social networks, reciprocated exchange and informal social control?*
- 3) *How does this neighborhood's social organization mediate adolescent welfare and behavior?*

New Columbia, a HOPE VI mixed income community in Portland, Oregon served as the case study for this analysis. The utilization of a single case study offered opportunities and challenges, both of which are discussed in the following sections.

Qualitative methodology. Use of qualitative methods expands on earlier investigation into the impact of income and tenure diversification. As discussed in the previous chapter, empirical evidence on The Moving to Opportunity demonstration, HOPE VI research and census tract level data have revealed facets of social organization across different types of neighborhoods (Brooks-Gunn *et al.*, 1997; Buron *et al.*, 2002; Duncan & Magnuson, 2003; Goering & Feins, 2003; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Popkin *et al.*, 2004). Although these

large sample sizes allowed for multi-linear regressions across neighborhood types and determined the presence of various indicators, they did not provide qualitative information about the mechanisms behind these indicators and how they play out in the daily lives of residents, specifically youth. Ellen and Turner (2003, p. 331) argued “a priority for future research should be to move beyond the question of whether neighborhoods matter and to attack the more difficult questions of *how* they make a difference and for *whom*”.

This gap in the literature helped frame my research questions about social processes among adults and youth in a mixed income context. My decision to employ qualitative methods stemmed from these research questions, which focus more on uncovering causal mechanisms than causal relationships. This interpretivist approach encouraged me to examine the specific ways that income and tenure relate to residents’ perceptions of youth-centered social processes *in context*, and how these perceptions are manifested in behavior. One-on-one, semi-structured interviews represented the best available tools with which to uncover these processes.

Both positivist and interpretivist approaches are helpful in explaining social phenomena. The former approach’s weakness lies in its clinical approach to real-life contexts, and its potential forcing of an experimental design into the interpretation of social processes that are simply too complex to allow for controlling of variables or cause and effect assumptions (Lin, 1998; Mason, 1996). Alternatively, sole focus on the interpretivist approach could entertain so many different variations on a social process that few meaningful conclusions could be made. Employing both strategies offers the most reasonable hope for reaching a better understanding. Because positivist methods had already been employed, both on a national level at other mixed income sites and at the local level in New Columbia, the best way for me to maximize my research contribution seemed to be through an interpretivist, qualitative approach.

Case study method. Ontologically speaking, the use of a single case study site reflected an adherence to reflexive rather than positive science. The reflexive model contextualizes the role of the investigator in the research process, and when combined with participant observation, allows a single case to serve as the primary unit of analysis. An alternative to traditional positivism, reflexive science “takes context as point of departure but not point of conclusion” (Burawoy, 1998, p. 13). Yin (1994) justified the use of case study method in research situations that offered the investigator little to no control in the outcome of behavioral events, and when the general circumstances of the study reflect social phenomena grounded in real-life experiences. My research questions revolved around the operation of various social mechanisms in a mixed-income context, which fit the use of a single case study. The circumstances that Yin (1994) fit to case study method usually lent themselves to research puzzles that ask *how* and *why*, and tended to depend on qualitative methods to open up the black box of human interactions and motivations. This study’s potential for building upon neighborhood-centered theory depended on my in-depth exploration of social processes between parents and children across different types of households; this goal was aligned with Yin’s (1994) recommendations about appropriate circumstances for case study research.

My epistemological approach adopts a conditional perspective, and is reflected in the use of a single case study site. Small (2004, p. xvii), whose ethnography of South Boston examined social processes similar to those under investigation in this thesis, suggested that the conditional perspective is critical in understanding underlying social mechanisms:

Case studies should be read as conditional accounts, in which the observed patterns of relations, no matter how consonant with standard expectations or stereotypes, are due not to neighborhood poverty in the abstract but to specific conditions under which poverty manifested itself in the neighborhood- conditions that, nevertheless, may well manifest themselves in other settings.

This conditional perspective, based in interpretivism, also depends on ‘thick description’ of the site to understand how these social processes are manifested (Geertz, 1993; Mason, 1996; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). The latter part of this chapter provides this thick description.

New Columbia’s Research Context

The best setting for exploring these types of in-depth questions was a single case, and the most appropriate case I could access for the purposes of this research was New Columbia, a mixed-income, mixed-tenure neighborhood located in Portland, Oregon. Worth noting is what this case study represents in the larger research context of urban planning and development. New Columbia was not chosen in an attempt to reflect a typical or average mixed income site; it would be difficult to label any site as such. The site was in fact selected specifically because its high proportion of children and considerable diversity across housing tenure, socio-economic levels and racial/ethnic groups made it a unique research context. Relative to other HOPE VI sites, the level of diversity in New Columbia is high along dimensions that included income, race and ethnicity, and age.⁴² Gerring (2007, p. 101) explained that “Often an extreme case corresponds to a case that is considered to be prototypical or paradigmatic of some phenomena of interest. That is because concepts are often defined by their extremes, that is, their ideal types”. Social mix, across various dimensions, is the concept under examination in this study. New Columbia’s high levels of diversity, combined with the neighborhood’s residential density⁴³ and potential for interaction between residents, made it a compelling example of extreme social

⁴² Although there exists little empirical evidence against which to compare the level of diversity, aggregated case study research on HOPE VI sites has revealed that housing authorities tend to structure the communities with a more narrow range of incomes and enforce strict right to return policies that exclude public housing residents with criminal records or lease violations (NHLP *et al.*, 2002)

⁴³ When New Columbia was designed, the number of households on the 82 acre area increased from 462 to 854.

mix. Schofield (2002, p. 189) described this approach as the study of “*what could be*”, with site selection aimed towards exploring what happens in a case that reflects particular conditions.

The use of New Columbia as a single case study is also appropriate given that large *n* survey data has already been collected from its residents over the past five years (Gibson, 2007; Housing Authority of Portland, 2007; Serbulo & Gibson, 2009). Survey results about neighborhood satisfaction, concerns and community support help contextualize the qualitative information that I collected from research participants in my study. Schrank (2006, p. 173) suggested the use of a case study as appropriate when “used in conjunction with a large-*n* statistical study to flesh out underlying causal mechanisms”.⁴⁴ My qualitative inquiry complements the earlier quantitative research completed with the community’s residents; together they provide a mixed methods approach to the research topic. In addition, the timing of my work with earlier research helps provide a longitudinal view of residents’ experiences in this specific neighborhood (Gibson, 2007; Serbulo & Gibson, 2009). Gibson’s (2007, p. 6) results showed that original residents (all consisting of public housing renters) perceived a “strong sense of community” at the public housing site, and she ultimately concluded that “buildings can be replaced, but the web of human relationships that make up community cannot”. Findings from my research on social organization help assess the accuracy of Gibson’s prediction. Relevant results from earlier research on New Columbia will be presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight to help contextualize my qualitative findings.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the theoretical suppositions of mixed income policy, combined with a lack of in-depth, qualitative data about social organization, neighborhood effects and child welfare in a mixed income context, reflected potential incongruence between

⁴⁴ For further justification of this methodological decision, see Kurtz and Barnes (2002).

the intent of a policy and its actual impact. My study was designed to help fill this research gap.

Eisenhardt (2002, p. 31) suggested that

there are times when little is known about a phenomenon, current perspectives seem inadequate because they have little empirical substantiation, or they conflict with each other and common sense. . . [in this instance], theory building from case study research is particularly appropriate because theory building from case studies does not rely on previous literature on empirical evidence. Also, the conflict inherent in the process is likely to generate the kind of novel theory that is desirable when extant theory seems inadequate.

How the results of my research build upon and refine theory developed from previous research will be discussed in Chapter Nine. The following section provides background information on Columbia Villa's transition into New Columbia and contextualizes the setting in which data collection took place.

Columbia Villa's transition to New Columbia. Columbia Villa (known informally in Portland as "the Villa") differed from the city's other public housing developments in that they were designed to permanently house low-income residents. HAP's centerpiece wartime housing project, the Villa property was built with suburban style properties. Housing units were primarily one and two story wood frame units, and the low-rise, low-density nature of the neighborhood allowed for open space, trees and other greenery (Sanders, 1991). During the 1950s, as the housing authority displaced black residents from other, temporary, public housing, Columbia Villa remained a stable community, with resident turnover rates, low levels of vacancy, and a largely white population. Local media outlets such as *The Oregonian* lauded Columbia Villa as a model example of public housing in the 1950s and early 1960s (Gibson, 2007). The neighborhood was built to be self-contained, which at the time was considered positive. Streets were curvilinear, with only three streets connected to North Portland's larger street grid (Gibson, 2007).

As financial pressure on HAP during the 1970s encouraged the shift towards means testing, the concentration of very poor families in the Villa increased. Although its financial solvency in the 1980s eased some pressure off of the housing authority, Columbia Villa's rapid deterioration in this decade presented unique challenges to the agency. Increased levels of drug trafficking, primarily in the form of crack cocaine, paralleled a rise in gang activity and violence. These problems increased the social service burden on the agency and its partners, and also contributed to Columbia Villa's growing stigma as a ghettoized environment. Violence was increasingly prevalent, and the 1988 drive-by shooting of Joseph Winston was a pivotal incident for both HAP and Columbia Villa residents (Bickle-Eldridge, 2007; Gibson, 2007).

Recognizing this incident as a critical moment in the trajectory of Columbia Villa, the housing authority's response was quick and purposeful. HAP instituted an integrated service model that included more rigorous enforcement of consequences for trespassing, community-driven policing and a greater concentration of social services for youth and parents. Community groups, city agencies and the Villa's residents came together in these efforts, and by 1994 drug related crime had fallen by 75% (Gibson, 2007). Although significant improvements were made in safety during the 1990s, the Villa continued to struggle as a result of its ageing infrastructure and isolation in North Portland. As mentioned earlier, the physical design of the community meant it was not fully connected to the larger street grid. HAP (2003, p. 2) claimed that "an internal street system, connecting at only three points with the surrounding grid system, effectively isolates the [Columbia Villa] site from the larger community as well as clearly identifying it as public housing. The physical separation fosters social and economic isolation, resentment, fear and stigmatization". Poverty rates remained high within the neighborhood and

stigma from earlier drug and gang involvement continued to linger (Bickle-Eldridge, 2007; Gibson, 2007; HAP, 2003).

At the time of its HOPE VI application in 2001, Columbia Villa's families constituted the highest concentration of poverty in the state of Oregon (HAP, 2007). The neighborhood was located in a census tract that had a poverty rate of 28%; within the 82 acres that made up Columbia Villa the rate was well above 40% (Gibson, 2007; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). This was high relative to the rest of the state; as of 2000 only 10.6% of Oregonian census tracts had a concentrated poverty rate of 20% and above.⁴⁵

In 2003, immediately before Columbia Villa residents were relocated and the construction of New Columbia began, demographic information collected on the 382 deeply subsidized households living in the neighborhood. This data revealed that 45% of adults self-identified as not able to work, owing to disability, age, or both. Although work-based self-sufficiency programs existed, participation rates were relatively low. The GOALS (Greater Opportunities to Advance, Learn and Succeed) program provided five years of comprehensive supportive services that include job training and referrals, child care referrals, and financial literacy training; also included was an asset building component through either a HAP-managed escrow account or Individual Development Account with a matching component (HAP, 2000). As of 2003, only 25% of eligible households were active participants in GOALS, the HAP-sponsored family self-sufficiency program. Most households (69%) had children under the age of 18 (Gibson, 2007, p. 10). The median number of years of residence at Columbia Villa was 5.25; a majority of households (57%) had been living in the neighborhood for less than 5 years and Columbia Villa's median household income was only \$8,754.

⁴⁵ The U.S. Census Bureau (2005) disaggregates levels of concentrated into four tiers according to the poverty rate of the census tract- Category I (0.00-12.39%), Category II (12.40-19.99%), Category III (20.00-39.99%), and Category IV (40.00% or more).

The Villa was exceptionally diverse, especially relative to the rest of Portland and the state of Oregon. The racial composition of original residents was 37% white (non-Hispanic), 32% black, 16% Hispanic, 12% Asian, and 4% self-identified as American Indian, Alaskan or Pacific Islander (Gibson, 2007, p. 10). The most common spoken language was English, but other languages included Spanish, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong and Russian.

The demographics of Columbia Villa, and of Portland in generally, also shifted in the 1990s owing to an influx of immigrants. Lotspeich *et al.* (2003) analyzed data from the Census Bureau as well as the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to show how immigrant patterns have evolved in Portland. They found that Oregon's immigrant population expanded by 108% during this period; this growth rate made it among the fastest growing immigrant states in America. Comparison of INS data (which only includes records for legal immigrants) with 2000 Census data encompassing all immigrants revealed important discrepancies (Lotspeich *et al.*, 2003). In contrast to INS data from the same time frame, the Census reported over double the number of Latin American immigrants in Portland's Tri-County area. Lotspeich *et al.* (2003, p. 6) explained that "the high percentage of Latin American immigrants found in the Census but not in INS data suggests that many are undocumented. The predominance of Asians and Europeans in the INS versus the Census data indicates that most of these immigrants are illegally present. . . our basic conclusion is that illegal immigration explains the rest of the difference in these numbers". HAP's policy towards undocumented immigrants is relatively flexible- no one is required to show proof of legal residency in order to apply for and receive subsidized housing (HAP, 2010). This policy facilitated the entry of undocumented immigrants into North Portland's public housing projects, including Columbia Villa.

While targeted drug and gang prevention activities took place in the Villa during the early 1990s, HAP was limited from pursuing urban renewal projects in other parts of Portland. In 1990 Oregon voters passed Measure 5, which effectively limited the types bonds that could be used for urban redevelopment. The political climate of the 1980s and 1990s discouraged the use of local tax money for development plans; the passage of Measure 5 in 1990 and Measure 47 in 1996 placed firm limits on property tax increases. Limits on the property taxes used to pay off urban renewal bonds seriously impacted the viability of urban redevelopment projects and encouraged HAP to look elsewhere for new funding opportunities (Wollner *et al.*, 2001). One such opportunity was HOPE VI, the 1992 federal program that encouraged demolition and overhaul of public housing developments in exchange for new neighborhoods with greater socio-economic mix.

As Chapter Two described, income diversification became an increasingly prioritized goal in American urban housing policy after the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing published its 1992 report. Although Columbia Villa did not meet all the criteria the Commission had used to identify severely distressed housing, the physical infrastructure “fell woefully short of modern building standards in virtually all areas: plumbing, electrical, ventilation, fire safety, and accessibility” (HAP, 2003). Hazardous materials, such as lead paint and asbestos, were common and most of the 60 year old units did not meet current building, safety and health standards (HAP, 2003). Mechanical ventilation problems made units particularly vulnerable to mold and mildew growth, and furnace intakes near bathrooms tended to mix combustion gases with the unit’s regular air supply. Failing lateral sewer lines seeped raw sewage into the ground outside individual units; inadequate site drainage consistently caused potholes and cracking and in roads and sidewalks (HAP, 2003). Out of 462 units, 382 were

occupied at the time of relocation. The vacancy rate of 18% reflected both an underutilization of space and potential for drug, crime and vagrancy problems associated with a high percentage of unoccupied units.

Chapter Two outlined considerable criticism had been levied against HOPE VI projects by the late 1990s, and these complaints informed the planning of New Columbia. In other HOPE VI projects, original public housing residents had been dislocated from their communities, not allowed participatory rights in the planning process and in many cases were barred from re-entry - if the redeveloped neighborhood was ever even completed (NHLP, *et al.*, 2002). When the Housing Authority of Portland submitted its HOPE VI application in 2001, it took into consideration the original goals of the program as well as the complaints that had been directed at various HOPE VI demonstrations across the country. Important aspects of Columbia Villa residents' relocation and re-integration were designed to avoid what many perceived to be mistakes with earlier HOPE VI projects. John Keating, HAP's initial Assistant Director of Community Services at New Columbia, stated explicitly "We were well aware of the criticisms of earlier HOPE VI projects and used those criticisms as a road map of how to do it right" (as cited in Bickle-Eldridge, 2007, p. 40).

A major criticism of HOPE VI was a lack of resident participation in important planning processes- namely, their relocation and the design of the new development. Portland had a rich history of citizen engagement, and HAP committed significant time and human resources into the involvement of residents in these processes. Before any residents were relocated, 90% of households had been personally visited by HAP staff and given the opportunity to ask questions and give input. This took the form of both comprehensive surveying of households as well as in-person visits. Over 60% of Columbia Villa residents expressed a desire to relocate within North

Portland, and HAP consequently negotiated with the area's private landlords in order to ensure that an adequate number of Section 8 rentals would be available. An unprecedented number of private landlords ultimately coordinated with the housing authority to provide subsidized units (Gibson, 2007).⁴⁶ Two-thirds of households moved into locations of their first choice, and the remaining third were moved outside North Portland (Gibson, 2007). Ultimately, the housing authority found relocation housing for about half the households in Columbia Villa, and the other half secured housing independently. During relocation, 73% of residents used Section 8 vouchers for rental units in the private market, and the remaining 27% were placed in other public housing units in Portland. In an evaluation survey of over half of relocated residents, less than 10% reported that they were "not satisfied" with the relocation services that HAP provided (Gibson, 2007, p. 11).

Resident involvement was also reflected in the formation of formal committees. An eighteen-member Community Advisory Committee (CAC) was established as a way for residents to easily relay concerns, comments and questions about the HOPE VI project, and a supplementary fifteen-member Relocation Task Force was assigned to manage issues related more specifically to relocation (Bickle-Eldridge, 2007). These two committees reflected a mix of Columbia Villa residents, HAP staff, residents from nearby neighborhoods, tenant advocates, and representatives from Portland Public School District and social service agencies. These committees did not have formal decision-making power, but the housing authority was nevertheless accountable to them throughout the relocation process (Bickle-Eldridge, 2007).

Finally, the housing authority was acutely aware of complaints against other HOPE VI sites about policies that excluded original public housing residents. HAP instituted an open

⁴⁶ In 2003, Portland's housing market was still relatively loose, which helped facilitate private landlords' coordination with HAP in the provision of Section 8 units.

right-to-return policy, meaning every resident relocated from the Villa had an automatic right to return to New Columbia when the neighborhood opened. Up to date criminal background checks, credit checks and former lease violations were *not* taken into account as residents moved back into the community (Wickham, personal communication, February 1, 2010). In an effort to preserve the number of hard units of public housing that the Villa originally offered, HAP made available 92 additional affordable units in the North Portland area (Housing Authority of Portland, 2007).

Another common HOPE VI criticism revolved around a lack of data and clear information on original public housing residents' outcomes (NHLP *et al.*, 2002). Early in the planning process, HAP initiated evaluation and research in order to document how the relocation process impacted residents. Dr. Karen Gibson, associate professor at Portland State University, was hired as an independent evaluator to conduct a mixed-methods evaluation of original residents over a five-year period. Three surveys, which consisted of both closed and open-ended questions, were distributed to original Columbia Villa residents in 2003, 2004 and 2007. The first of these surveys examined the impact of relocation on residents, and the latter two assessed how original families (including those who returned to New Columbia and those who stayed in their relocation housing) fared after the neighborhood opened. Dr. Gibson also worked in conjunction with Dr. Serbulo at Portland State University to complete a final evaluation on outcomes for Villa residents for HAP in 2009 (Gibson & Serbulo, 2009).

In addition, HAP sought out opinions from both renters and owners through the neighborhood-wide Community Speaks Initiative in April of 2009. A two-page survey was sent to the 810 occupied households in New Columbia, and HAP staff followed up in person to

maximize the response rate.⁴⁷ Ultimately, the overall response to the survey was 46.2%. A total of 345 residents (69% renters and 31% owners) completed it (Serbulo, 2009).⁴⁸ These percentages closely reflect the overall demographics of the neighborhood, as two thirds of New Columbia households are rented and the remaining units are owned.

The Community Speaks survey was made up of twenty closed ended questions, seven open-ended questions, and four questions that inquired about household demographics. Questions explored residents' opinions about New Columbia community programs, participation in governance, safety, cohesion with neighbors, and overall satisfaction. The survey was also translated into Spanish when it was initially sent through the mail, and translators were hired to distribute the surveys personally to residents who did not speak either English or Spanish as their native language (Serbulo, 2009). 52% of the sample's respondents had children under 18 living with them in the household. Relevant quantitative results from the Community Speaks survey's results, as well as Gibson's (2007) and Gibson's and Serbulo's (2009) work, will be included alongside my research's qualitative findings in the following chapters.

The Housing Authority of Portland's first HOPE VI site, New Columbia, is located on the same 82 acres in North Portland that were once home to Columbia Villa. After receiving the HOPE VI grant in 2001, HAP completed relocation and demolition by 2003, and residents were able to move into newly constructed units by 2005. New Columbia's households were then re-occupied as various sections of the neighborhood became complete, and most households had moved in by 2006. Of the 382 public housing families who had originally occupied Columbia Villa, 30% returned to New Columbia- the vast majority as either Section 8 or public housing

⁴⁷ The HAP staff whom completed the follow up, community builders who work daily in New Columbia, did not collect the surveys in person or review responses with residents in order to minimize bias.

⁴⁸ Length of residence in the neighborhood varied.

tenants.⁴⁹ In three cases, former Villa residents participated in Portland's Habitat for Humanity program in order to return as homeowners.⁵⁰ Of the 854 households, 232 (27%) are new homeownership units, 186 (22%) are new affordable rental housing units, 66 (8%) are new elderly rental units and 370 (43%) are replacement public housing units (of which 297 are public housing and 73 project-based Section 8). In order to ensure no net loss of affordable housing in Portland, 92 public housing units were built off site (HAP, 2007).

Because the land upon which New Columbia was built received federal urban renewal funding through HOPE VI, special incentives for homeowners were set up. Most homeowners in New Columbia are able to take advantage of a specialized property tax abatement program. New Columbia homes were assessed at the initial value of the property, and taxes levied on that property were frozen at that initial assessed level for the first 10 years. This meant, in theory, the value of the property could increase for the first 10 years of ownership without incurring a higher property tax.

New Columbia includes a Worksource Center designated for job training, a Community Education Center, the University Park Community Center, Rosa Parks Elementary School (which serves approximately 450 students, many of whom are New Columbia residents) and a Boys and Girls Club chapter located on the school site.⁵¹ In addition, HAP employs two full-time staff known as community builders who organize community-wide social activities in New

⁴⁹ Although HAP owns all the rental units, a private management company collects rent and enforces lease agreements (including eviction if necessary). The company that initially managed New Columbia, Allied, was replaced with a new management company called Guardian in the spring of 2009 owing to renters' and HAP's dissatisfaction with the previous agency. Although a significant number of employees in the leasing office kept their jobs, managerial positions were filled with new staff (Wickham, personal communication, February 1, 2010).

⁵⁰ Habitat for Humanity helps build homes for low-income, working families and provides them with low-interest mortgages.

⁵¹ The Boys and Girls Club is part of a national network of after-school youth centers (focused on academic and recreational programming) that are typically located in low-income, urban areas.

Columbia's park and community centers. Other staff on site, such as HAP's resident services coordinator and two full time officers from the Portland Police Department, also assist in community building activities and manage resident concerns (Keating, personal communication, July 23, 2009).

The physical design of the housing and of the larger community is aimed at promoting interaction between neighbors. Most housing units were designed with large front porches and windows facing streets and alleys to encourage residents to "keep an eye on their children, watch for the bus, and know what's happening on their street" (HAP, 2005). The priority placed on integration with the larger North Portland area was reflected in changes made to the street grid. In contrast to the three streets that had led in and out of Columbia Villa, approximately 16 streets now connect New Columbia to surrounding neighborhoods. Access to public transit was prioritized, and one of the Portland Tri-Met's high ridership bus lines makes several stops throughout the neighborhood.⁵²

As this section outlined, Columbia Villa underwent considerable changes in order to become New Columbia. Its intentional level of socio-economic diversity, mix of tenures, and strategic planning around the building of social infrastructure made it a compelling case study given this thesis' research questions about income mix and social organization. The rest of this chapter will present the steps I carried out during the fieldwork process as well as associated limits and challenges.

Methodological Limitations

⁵² Sustainability and green building were guiding principles in the construction of the neighborhood. Solar water heating systems supply approximately one third of the neighborhood's demand for hot water, and New Columbia's plumbing systems that "outperform Oregon's water code by 30%" (HAP, 2005, p. 2). In addition, strategically placed bio-swells filter over 98% of rainwater that falls on the property. This allows for a significant reduction in the amount of necessary underground storm water piping (HAP, 2005, p. 3).

Although the use of case study method and the analysis of a single case are justifiable in this research context, certain limitations are worth noting. First, no explicit control group exists. Common to experimental designs, a control group allows a researcher to isolate the effect of a given variable. Without a control group, it is sometimes difficult to assess which causes generate which effects. This is common among designs that utilize case studies, and limits the identification of clear causal phenomena. As mentioned earlier, however, my research questions are focused on understanding how parents and youth navigate a particular type of social environment. Exploring these social processes does not necessarily lend itself to the type of experimental design with which causation and correlation are usually associated.

It is important to note that findings from my research are not representative of all New Columbia residents' views and experiences. This research was not designed as a comprehensive investigation of the attitudes of all parents and youth in the neighborhood, and some opinions and experiences were undoubtedly missed as a result of the small sample. As the later discussion of my sampling and recruitment methods will demonstrate, however, efforts were made to allow for diversity within the sample and to minimize bias or overrepresentation of one type of resident.

Generalizability, also known as external validity, is another common cause for concern in qualitative research.⁵³ Theoretical and inferential generalizations tend to have a firmer place in the social sciences rather than natural sciences and are most applicable to my research design.

The former type of generalization relates to the applicability of the study's theoretical

⁵³ Representation generalizability is frequently focused on how applicable the results from the research sample are to the larger population from which the sample is drawn. This type of generalizability is usually used survey-based quantitative studies, and is often inappropriately forced upon qualitative methods that do not aim at a representational sample in the first place (Mason, 1996; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003; Schofield, 2003). The basis for representational generalization in qualitative research is based on the range of views under study that are also applicable to the population under study (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

proposition to other contexts, with the understanding that the theory may be continuously refined rather than simply proven or disproven. The nature of my research, and the conditional perspective it adopted, was designed with theory building in mind. My results do not reflect how parents and children in other mixed-income neighborhoods operate or perceive their surroundings, nor should they be used to predict how income diversification will affect a given community. Findings from this case study are instead aimed at refinement of general theory about social processes among parents and children in a diverse socio-economic context.

Another way that my results may be helpful in understanding other contexts is through inferential generalization. This type of generalization is dependent on how similar or congruent the context in question is to my research context (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Schofield (2002) argued that generalizability in case study research may be achieved through the comparison of the site under study to already existing studies. The in-depth description of New Columbia provided in the last section, combined with the outline of Portland's urban planning strategies in Chapter Two, constitute the type of 'thick description' necessary to make these comparisons (Geertz, 1993). Between 1995 and 2010, both single case and multi-case studies on mixed income developments have been sources of considerable scholarly research (Briggs, 1998; Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; Buron *et al.*, 2002; Chaskin & Joseph, 2010; Duncan *et al.*, 2003; Goering & Feins, 2003; Leventhal *et al.*, 2000; Popkin *et al.*, 2004; Tach, 2009b).

Sampling and Recruitment Methods

As discussed in Chapter Four, data collected directly from youth was limited in previous studies on mixed income neighborhoods. In an effort to include diversity within the sample, and thus allow for the range of opinions and experiences that come with different perspectives, my

research utilized an embedded design in which four levels of analysis occurred across four subgroups. A purposive, or criterion-based, sampling strategy generated sampling pools of research participants with specific characteristics. Within these sampling pools, selection was randomized as much as possible. This approach resulted in a stratified purposive sample, which Ritchie and Lewis (2003, p. 79) described as a “hybrid approach in which the aim is to select groups that display variation on a particular phenomena but each of which is fairly homogenous, so that subgroups can be compared”. The four primary subgroups within the sample included parents, adolescents, subsidized renters and unsubsidized owners. This method allowed for diversity within the sample, and attempted to represent the main types of residents in New Columbia.

Figure 5. Sample Matrix

<i>Primary Criteria</i>		
	Lower-income renters: 23	Higher-income homeowners: 20
Parent residents (18+)	12	11
Youth residents (11-18)	11	8
<i>Secondary Criteria</i>		
Resident race/ethnicity ⁵⁴	Latino: 8 African American: 14 White: 15 Somali: 2 Mixed race: 3	
<i>Tertiary Criteria</i>		
Family Composition	Single households: 8 Married or cohabitating households ⁵⁵ : 16	
Total households	24	
Total residents	42	
Total staff	10	
Total sample⁵⁶	52	

⁵⁴ Does not include races/ethnicities of staff.

⁵⁵ Four of these participants were cohabitating with partners but not legally married.

⁵⁶ Total sample size includes one pilot interview completed with a parent renter in early June.

In selecting participants this way, I hoped to minimize the bias that might come with other sampling techniques. A snowball sampling method might have led to overlapping social networks and the over-emphasis of a certain perception or opinion, and resident referrals through New Columbia staff or at community events might have biased the sample towards those who are already actively engaged in community activities.

The two initial criteria for selection included residency in New Columbia for at least 18 months and legal guardianship of a child between 8 and 18 who stayed in their household at least three nights a week. Minimum residency length was needed to ensure that participants had had a reasonable amount of time to adjust to the neighborhood and opportunities to form relationships with their neighbors. Guardianship was used as the other primary criteria because parenting and relationships between parents was a main focus of the study; additionally, speaking to parents first allowed me to determine quickly whether or not the adolescent in the households would be willing or able to participate. Other primary criteria consisted of tenure and income status; although there are some rental units in New Columbia offered at market rate prices, the majority of rentals are deeply subsidized, meaning they were reserved for a household with income below 30% of area median income. Likewise, the majority of owned homes are sold at market rate prices, although homeowners could apply for the previously mentioned property tax abatement. Tenure type and subsidy level, therefore, are highly correlated. Secondary criteria used for the purposive sample revolved around racial or ethnic characteristics and household type in order to avoid over-representation of one particular group. Household types included single, married and cohabitating adults within the home.

Renters. New Columbia contained 854 total housing units; 232 of these were privately owned and 622 were rented through the Housing Authority of Portland. HAP disaggregated New

Columbia into four spatial areas- Haven, Trenton, Cecelia and Woolsey, and renters and owners were included in each sub-section. A map of the neighborhood, which visually depicts the distribution of rented and owned units, is included on the following page.

Map 1. Map of New Columbia depicting owned houses (units shaded yellow) and rented apartments (non-shaded units) (HAP, 2003).

Because the initial criteria I used for participant selection was based on length of residence in New Columbia, subsidy and tenure, as well as status within the family, I requested demographic information about renters from the housing authority.⁵⁷ Comprehensive data on families living in rental units included household income, length of residence in the community, number of bedrooms in unit, address, sub-section within New Columbia, subsidy type⁵⁸, and maximum area median income (AMI) of the household in residence in any given unit. This demographic information allowed me a helpful, yet imprecise, way of targeting recruitment towards households in a particular subsidy level. The AMI percentage, for instance, attached to a particular household reflected a maximum allowable household income in that unit, rather than where the actual household fell in relation to area median income. I filtered the data to include only families who had been living in the community for at least 18 months, had a household income that placed them at 30% or below of AMI, and occupied rental units with at least two bedrooms. Based on knowledge of New Columbia's general demographics and the number of children, it was logical to assume that an individual renting an apartment with two or more bedrooms was living with a child.

This preliminary work with HAP's data allowed me to avoid targeting recruitment efforts at individuals who were not eligible for participation in the study, and the initial list of rental units with households at or below 50% of AMI was ultimately filtered down to 401 potential

⁵⁷ I learned after initial interviews that the demographic information attached to a particular housing unit was not necessarily up to date or correct. In some cases it was difficult for me to verify the information that HAP had originally given me, because the participant claimed to not know or did not wish to disclose information about household income and rental subsidy type.

⁵⁸ Public housing, Section 8 and tax credit subsidies are different ways of subsidizing a given unit. A public housing subsidy is a subsidy that is attached directly to the unit to offset the rent paid by a qualifying tenant; Section 8 vouchers are either known as either sticky (attached to the unit) or portable (attached to the tenant) and given to qualifying applicants. Tax credit units refer to the financing used for the initial construction of the unit itself. A federal program issued through the state, tax credit financing trades tax credits to a developer in exchange for a guarantee that the property will remain affordable (reserved for residents under a certain threshold of area median income- 30%, 50% or 60%) for 30 years.

rental units for recruitment. I then sorted this filtered data into separate lists that reflected sequential recruitment stages; each one of these stages contained a list of addresses for households that met my recruitment criteria for renters. Each address was assigned a number and I used a random number generator in order to select which of these would be included in initial recruitment lists. Each of these lists were organized purposefully so that they contained equal proportions of renters from New Columbia's four subsections; this limited excessive recruitment in any one spatial area of the neighborhood. My initial strategy was aimed at recruiting one parent and one adolescent from each household, and I directed the first few stages of recruitment towards English speaking households.

The first two recruitment stages took place during the second week of June 2009. After spending several weeks in the neighborhood working in the Community Education Center and walking through the area, I had become familiar with the spatial layout of the community and felt comfortable walking alone before nightfall. My research budget allowed for \$10 in compensation to each participant, and HAP staff had recommended that this be given in the form of a voucher card to a local shopping center.⁵⁹ This compensation was mentioned explicitly in the initial recruitment flyers⁶⁰ I created for distribution to potential renter participants.

Each round of recruitment took approximately 90 minutes, and a significant amount of time was spent walking through different subsections of the 82 acre neighborhood. Time spent recruiting participants and walking through the neighborhood also offered me valuable opportunities for field observation, and all the notes that I took were later typed up in my formal

⁵⁹ This incentive amount, and the use of Fred Meyer as the shopping center for vouchers, followed earlier precedent set by the housing authority when recruiting residents for various reasons.

⁶⁰ See Appendix A.

log. During the first two rounds of recruitment, I contacted 28 households.⁶¹ Six households agreed to interview, which resulted in one pilot interview and seven additional interviews.

My observations in the field had encouraged me to explore how language barriers and ethnicity affected social organization among parents and children. I decided to make a special effort to recruit Latino and Somali participants who were non-native English speakers; Spanish and Somali are the two most common languages spoken in New Columbia after English. This decision reflected theoretical sampling, a particular approach within purposive sampling aimed at collecting data from individuals based on their potential to contribute to the construction and modification of a theoretical proposition. Decisions about which criteria to use when selecting research participants were thus made flexibly, in order to incorporate varying types of individuals and increase the richness of the data (Denzin, 1970; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This new direction in the sample required me to hire Spanish and Somali translators who were not associated with New Columbia or the Housing Authority of Portland in order to avoid the bias and conflict of interest that might arise.⁶²

I carried out three additional recruitment rounds with renters, which included the contacting of 55 additional households during both weekday evenings and during the day on the weekends. During this time, I kept track of the specific homes I visited where the resident spoke only Spanish or Somali, and re-visited those homes with my respective translators⁶³ later in the

⁶¹ Each household that I personally visited was considered “contacted”. Approximately one third of all contacts resulted in face to face conversations when a member of the household answered the door, but two thirds of all contacts consisted of me knocking, waiting and then leaving the flyer (print side up) wedged in the front door when no one answered.

⁶² A potential problem might be, for example, a resident’s fear of disclosure about a situation that would reveal a lease violation.

⁶³ The two translators I hired were unaffiliated with New Columbia or HAP, and were paid \$10 per hour with money from my research budget. Each translator signed a confidentiality form that stated she would neither reveal any information shared during recruitment or interview or reveal the identities of any participants.

month. By mid-September 2009, I had contacted 83 renters' households, and a total of 23 residents from 19 rented homes had agreed to participate. The overall renter household response rate was ultimately 23%.

Owners. Recruitment of owners in New Columbia proved to be more difficult than that of renters. The Housing Authority of Portland does not collect the same type of demographic information on owners because the units are privately bought and sold. Relative to renters in New Columbia, HAP has played a smaller role in the lives of owners. Most direct interaction that took place between HAP staff and owners occurred at periodic Homeowners' Association (HOA) meetings, which will be discussed in Chapter Nine. Because the housing authority owns approximately two thirds of the units in New Columbia and private owners occupy the remaining third, two staff members of HAP and one formally elected homeowner comprise the HOA Board.

One of the HOA's primary duties is to oversee the collection of owners' dues. Accordingly, the housing authority holds a comprehensive list of all the addresses in the community attached to owned units and had flagged those units already in the process of foreclosure, had liens placed on them, or who were involved in litigation because of severely delinquent homeowners' dues. Because these 21 homes were more likely to be vacant, I filtered them out of the original 232 owned units on the property. This left 211 units eligible for recruitment, but I did not know how many of these units would meet the 18 month residency criteria or have children between the ages of 11 and 18. Essentially, the recruitment of owners required me to cast a wider net with a smaller number of potential participants.

I completed four rounds of recruitment among owners, using the same type of door-to-door strategy across New Columbia's four subsections that I had used previously with renters.

These four rounds, which took place over 8 cumulative hours, involved contacting 88 households and resulted in the successful recruitment of only three participants to the study- a response rate of only 3%. Frustrated at this outcome and concerned that I would be unable to recruit an adequate number of homeowners and their children, I reflected on how the recruitment of owners had been different from that of renters. Both in the early evenings on weekdays and on the two weekend days, it seemed that far fewer owners were home when I visited, which resulted in only the drop off the owner-directed recruitment flyer (see Appendix B). In contrast to renters, who seemed more willing to talk informally with me and open to the idea of participation in the study, owners were less likely to introduce themselves or ask me questions. Also, the compensatory \$10.00 may have been more insignificant to these higher-income owners and thus did not provide the same type of incentive for participation as it had among renters.

Apart from the perceived lack of interest among owners, it was especially difficult to find youth aged 11 to 18 who lived in owned homes. During initial recruitment I met owner parents who were interested in participating but who had children slightly younger than 11 years of age. I made the decision to broaden the sampling criteria slightly so that parents of children aged 8 to 18 were eligible for the study (children under age 11 were still unable to serve as participants). Becker (2009, p. 547) suggested that “successful researchers. . . use what they learn from day to day to guide their subsequent decisions about what to observe, who to interview, what to look for, and what to ask about. . . Doing research that way is a systematic, rigorous, theoretically informed investigative procedure”. Although my decision to slightly broaden the participation criteria shifted the original direction of the sample, it was made in response to the important

insight that adolescent youth from owned homes were far outnumbered by adolescent youth from rented homes.⁶⁴

I took a less intrusive approach with the remaining owners in the sampling pool after deciding to broaden the participation criteria, and decided to send each owner a letter through the post.⁶⁵ Each letter included the general purpose of the study, criteria for participation and explained that I would be visiting in person in order to follow up unless I received notification (through phone or email) that the owner was not interested. In this way, I utilized an opt-out approach that aimed at securing higher rates of participation among members of the sampling pool. Although only three owners contacted me directly in response to the letters (two to decline the invitation and another to schedule an interview), my in-person follow up recruitment the following week yielded 8 interested owner households to the study. The letter approach combined with in person follow up yielded a response rate of 13% among owners. A total of 19 participants were ultimately recruited from 11 owned homes.

Important members of the sample who did not require formal recruitment methods were staff members. After spending several months in the field and observing the frequent contact that several staff members had with residents in the community, particularly children, I chose to recruit and interview key personnel. I sought interviews with staff members who worked in a direct, on-the-ground way with residents as well as those who played a more detached, managerial role in the community. Nine out of ten staff participants worked for the Housing Authority of Portland and one worked at New Columbia's elementary school, Rosa Parks. The

⁶⁴ Ultimately, three of the owner parents in the study had children between the ages of 8 and 11 instead of children aged 11 and older. Because it was important for both owners and renters to be represented in the sample's subgroup of parents with slightly younger children; I carried out additional recruitment among renters so that two of the renter parents in the sample ultimately also fell into the same category with regard to the age of their children.

⁶⁵ See Appendix C.

very small nature of the staff sampling pool meant that I could not randomize selection, but the inclusion of these participants allowed me a better understanding of neighborhood social dynamics.

Interview Methods

The interview itself was semi-structured in order to allow the participant to talk openly and make independent connections between opinions and experiences. A priori theory had influenced the direction of the research prior to my fieldwork, but new ideas and concepts nevertheless emerged directly from the data and were used to modify the direction of my questioning. Reviewing transcripts of earlier participants allowed me to modify the topic guide for future interviews according to emergent ideas; one example of this modification related to housing choice issues among youth. I had consistently asked youth participants where they had lived before moving to New Columbia, and how that environment compared with their current situation. One adolescent, however, mentioned how living in New Columbia had influenced how she thought about a future neighborhood she wanted to live in as an adult. She then went on to describe what type of neighborhood she would one day like to raise her own children in, and how this contrasted against New Columbia. Probing the participant on this question, and reflecting on her answers later, encouraged me to add in this type of question to the topic guide used with youth in later interviews.

All interviews took place in the New Columbia Community Education Center, located on Trenton Street in the center of the neighborhood. Interviews were scheduled either on a weekday after 6:30 PM or on Saturday or Sunday. Scheduling the interviews during non-work hours meant that the main office area was empty during the interview time frame; this limited interruptions and also preserved the participant's anonymity. The office space I used for

interviews was quiet and well lit, with several cubicles arranged throughout the room and framed photographs of community activities on the walls. HAP provided me with the spare set of keys necessary to access this space during out-of-office hours. The actual table I used for interviewing was a rectangular, six person conference table; for the participant and myself I arranged two chairs angled towards each other in order to minimize formality. Each semi-structured interview consisted of only the participant and myself; no children were permitted in their parent's interview and vice versa. I tried to interview parents and adolescents from the same household in an effort to corroborate information I received during separate interviews, and this was possible the majority of the time. Out of the 23 parents I interviewed, six had children who did not participate in separate interviews with me. Four out of 19 adolescent participants' parents declined to interview with me whilst offering consent for his or her child to do so.

Consent forms were reviewed prior to the interview and to any audio recording; participants were informed of the general purpose of the study, the right to skip any questions, and to end the interview at any time.⁶⁶ Parental consent was also obtained for any youth who participated. Oral rather than written consent was requested, and I signed my own name to each document verifying the receipt of oral consent from the participant. No documents related to the participants, including consent forms and surveys, contained real names or addresses. Participants' anonymity was preserved through the use of codes⁶⁷ and pseudonyms. All participants, however, were made aware that New Columbia would eventually be publicly identified as the case study site. Ultimately, 40 of the 42 resident interviews and all 10 staff interviews were taped with a digital audio voice recorder. These digital records were stored on

⁶⁶ Consent forms for parents may be found in Appendix D, consent forms for youth in Appendix E, and parental consent for the child's interview in Appendix F. Modified consent and confidentiality agreements were designed for staff participants and may be found in Appendix G.

⁶⁷ These codes helped me quickly reference each participant's key demographic information, for example, P20.LIR was the code used for the 20th low-income, renter parent in the sample.

my personal laptop, organized according to participants' codes and only accessed by me.

Following each interview, I requested that the participant complete a brief survey in order to provide background information on him or herself. Two different versions were used for parents and adolescents, and selected results from these surveys may be found in Appendices K and L.

As discussed earlier, this research study adopted a constructivist-interpretivist approach, which meant that I took on an active role in the construction of meaning in the interview process (Mason, 1996, Reissman, 2002; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Each interview was designed as a semi-structured conversation, meaning I referenced a topic guide periodically but the bulk of the exchange was designed to allow the participant to talk freely.⁶⁸ This openness gave me the opportunity to ask the types of probing, follow up questions that revealed feelings and beliefs that explained the participant's opinions.

Reflexivity

I aimed at forming “conversational partnerships” during interviews, which required me to first negotiate how my personal characteristics influenced both my research role and presentation to participants. My age at the time of my fieldwork, 25, made it easier for me to present myself as a ‘student’ during my first interactions with potential participants. This role was natural for me and relatively non-threatening to the parents and youth with whom I interacted. The housing authority's relationship with several local colleges, including Portland State University, meant that it was quite common for people my age to visit and volunteer in the community as students. I stated during the initial recruitment visit that I had permission from the Housing Authority of Portland to use their office space for the purpose of interviews but that I was *not* working for the organization or formally connected to it. My explicit disassociation

⁶⁸ The final version of the topic guide used for interviews with parents may be found in Appendix H, with adolescents in Appendix I and with staff in Appendix J.

from HAP was aimed at reinforcing the fact that any information I was given would be kept confidential and not held against the participant in any way. This was especially important with renters, who risked eviction if information about a lease violation was revealed. The fact that I look young was also an advantage with younger participants, as it helped me present myself as a non-threatening, non-authority figure and thus reduced the perceived power differential between adolescents and myself.

That I come from a middle class socio-economic background, am white and college-educated meant that, in general, I shared more background traits with higher income owners relative to lower income renters. Participants who had higher education levels, for instance, were more likely to have heard of the University of Oxford. This recognition seemed to increase my legitimacy in the eyes of some owners, increased the comfort level between us more quickly. With others, however, my association with Oxford was detrimental. The academic institution was perceived as prestigious and far removed from the neighborhood, and in these cases this distance instigated suspicion and initial discomfort. For the majority of participants it seemed like my academic institution was a non-issue and the fact that I was a ‘student’ was all the background information they desired to know.

In retrospect, my gender may have played a role during both recruitment and interview processes. At most of the households I visited, another woman was the primary and sometimes only caregiver of her children. Although I don’t know how participants would have reacted to me had I been male, women seemed more likely to want to interview with me than men. Of the parent renters in my sample, 10 out of 12 were female. Among parent owners, 7 out of 11 were women. The difference between female participation among renters and owners is due partially to the fact that fatherlessness was more common in renter households and no male was available

for interview. Some literature suggests that there are benefits to women interviewing other women, as it circumvents the communication gaps in some male-female conversations (Rubin *et al.*, 2005). I, however, personally noticed little difference in the way fathers and mothers communicated with me. Although there was no way for me to verify whether or not being female made it easier for parents to trust me with their adolescent children, staff at the housing authority told me that this was the case. As part of unsolicited feedback about my mannerisms and personality, I was described as the type of person who seemed competent talking to and working with youth.

Sharing certain personal details about my background helped build trust and mutual understanding with my participants. Personal questions directed towards me pre-interview were rare, but some parents did inquire about my rationale for the study and my background. I usually mentioned the fact that I used to be a sixth grade teacher and had experience working with and talking to children. Sharing this personal information about me allowed me to build trust more quickly with the participant, which was particularly important given the parent would determine whether or not I could independently interview his or her child. When youth participants occasionally probed me about my background and reasons for my interests, I explained that my younger sister was 14 years old (at the time of interview she was close in age to the participant) and that I thought it was important and interesting to get teenagers' opinions. In some instances this type of disclosure helped create a sense of reciprocity, which in turn built a foundation for more open conversation during the interview itself. I re-directed any in depth questions about my background and experience to the end, after the interview with the participant was complete. This maintained a necessary level of professionalism during the interview and limited the bias that my background may have had on participants' responses.

Although some of my personal attributes, such as age and gender, helped me build trust with most participants more quickly, other personal characteristics nevertheless presented social boundaries. My socio-economic background and race were two primary aspects to consider especially in relation to renters, most of whom were in a very low income bracket and self-identified as racial minorities. I consciously tried to ask questions and receive information with humility and understanding, and in most cases participants spoke freely about issues related to social class and race. My past experience as a teacher in a very low-income public school, where all my students and their parents were either black or Latino, had given me experience communicating and working with people across different socio-economic and racial groups. Although the barrier still presented itself, my personal comfort level was higher given my previous work experience. My personal experience and familiarity with adolescent children and their parents helped me establish an appropriate level of empathy with participants during interview. Rubin and Rubin (2005, p. 81) referred to the ability to empathize as a “critical personality attribute” among interviewers, because it facilitates a more immediate understanding of feelings and beliefs among participants.

Interviews with the 10 staff members took place in a different context.⁶⁹ Because the housing authority had given me work space in the same open office as New Columbia’s community builders and asset manager, I had developed a friendly, personalized relationship with several of the on-the-ground staff before I had formally interviewed them. In theory this may have presented an obstacle, because interviews between ‘friends’ sometimes rely on tacit information and fail to achieve a more explicit exchange of information (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). In my personal case, however, this closeness appeared beneficial. The trust we had built lent

⁶⁹ Staff members received no formal compensation for interviewing with me, at the request of the housing authority’s executive director. He thought compensation would unnecessarily formalize the interview process and compromise the conversation-like nature of my interviews with his staff.

itself to open conversation, and staff were generally very forthright about issues relating to race, social class and parenting in New Columbia. Interviews with some managerial staff were different, as we had not worked in the same setting and thus had more limited exposure to one another. Every staff interview, however, still yielded valuable information about New Columbia's design and operation and helped contextualize my understanding of the neighborhood.

Analytical Methods

The data collected in the course of this research was analyzed using the 'Framework' method (Ritchie & Spencer, 2002; Spencer, Ritchie & O'Connor, 2003). This method has commonly been used in the context of applied policy research, and prioritizes systematic, efficient and transparent use of data usually generated from interviews. The transparency of Framework methods allows readers and critics to understand how the data was interpreted; this in turn offers the research a level of rigor that is not always common in other forms of qualitative data analysis (Rubin, 2000).

My analytical methods were essentially inductive and followed the five stages prescribed in the Framework method. Spencer *et al.* (2003) identified the first of these stages as familiarization. Transcription of interviews, which took place both during and after my time in the field, was a significant part of the familiarization process. I transcribed all interviews personally, with the understanding that verbatim accounts of the interviews were critical for maintaining rigor later in the analysis process (Poland, 1995). My personal involvement with all aspects of data collection, and then full re-immersion in the data through transcription, gave me multiple opportunities to assess both the depth and range of the data. Interviews were transcribed verbatim, which was necessary considering the detailed level of analysis I had

planned to undertake. Understanding the values and beliefs underpinning various opinions requires that a maximum amount of text and corresponding interview details are available to the investigator (McLellan, MacQueen & Neidig, 2003). The use of my digital audio recorder and transcription from corresponding digital files facilitated the use of time markers; these time stamps at the top of each transcribed page made it easier to review and check any given audio segment with its associated transcript.

The principles used in the transcription process reflected a denaturalized approach, meaning I was less concerned with capturing a participant's particular accent than the actual substance of the interview. Although I was faithful to the general pronunciation and sometimes mis-pronunciation of words used during interview, including my own, I did not take great pains to portray a specific geo-ethnic accent common to some participants. Emphasis to this end would have, in the opinion of many ethnographers, detracted from the substance and meaning of the exchange (Oliver, Serovich & Mason, 2005). While familiarizing myself with the data through transcription, I regularly took notes on emergent patterns, concepts or interesting questions that the data sparked. Every transcript included non-verbal sounds and response tokens⁷⁰.

Spencer *et al.* (2003) cited the identification of a thematic framework as the second stage of analysis. During this stage, I drew upon existing theory on collective efficacy and social capital. These theories served as contextual background to the ideas that emerged as I reviewed my field observation log, minutes from Homeowners' Association meetings, and transcripts of my interviews. This thematic outline served as an organization tool that later facilitated the completion of data indexing

⁷⁰ Examples of common response tokens include "Mmm"; "Yeah"; "Um"; "Well".

Indexing involved the systematic assignment of codes to interview transcripts. HyperRESEARCH, a qualitative data analysis software program, was indispensable during this process. Each line of each transcript was indexed according to the labels that had emerged in the thematic outline; I also built upon existing themes in this outline as they emerged with thorough review of the data. The indexing process required me to accurately attach a given line from a transcript to the appropriate index or code; my own interpretation of a participant's thought determined what type of index it received. In order to increase the reliability of this process, I solicited the help of a colleague in the Development Studies department at the University of Oxford. This colleague was also a doctoral student and at the time was planning to incorporate semi-structured interviews and qualitative data analysis into her own work. After reviewing my thematic outline with her in detail, I gave her segments of eight different transcripts to index. I indexed the same transcript excerpts and then compared our respective transcripts to examine how we had applied the given list of codes. Our overall matching rate was 76%, which was reasonably high given my relatively deeper familiarity with the data and related concepts. After inter-rater reliability was established, I proceeded with the rest of indexing independently. This process allowed me to identify patterns and connections more clearly, particularly among the sample's subgroups.

Following the indexing process, I created a thematic chart for each of the three general areas of inquiry- housing choice, social organization and governance. For each of these charts, I organized columns according to themes, and rows according to participant pseudonyms and income-tenure subcategories. Particular passages from each participant's transcript, pulled verbatim or written as synthesized abstracts, were represented in the cells of the chart according to topic or theme (Ritchie & Spencer, 2003). Making this thematic chart and reviewing the final

visual representation facilitated the analytical process- making connections, seeing patterns, and noting discrepancies.

The final stage of Framework involved mapping and interpretation. Associations that presented themselves during earlier stages of analysis were explored in order to construct explanations and typologies. Spencer *et al.*, (2003, p. 321) explained that during this process “piecing together the overall picture is not simply a question of aggregating patterns, but of weighing up the salience and dynamics of issues, and searching for a structure rather than a multiplicity of evidence”. Polarities in phenomena were identified and connected to patterns of opinions that helped to explain them. Mapping these polarities helped reveal a typology of motivations and subsequent behaviors, which will be discussed in detail in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. Noting inconsistencies in the findings, or negative cases, was particularly important during this stage. These negative cases often pointed towards refinements that were necessary for theory development.

Reliability and Validity

Questions of qualitative data’s reliability, or its trustworthiness, often accompany concerns about its validity. With regard to qualitative research, Maxwell (2002, p. 42) suggested “Validity is not an inherent property of a particular method, but pertains to the data, accounts or conclusions reached by using that method in a particular context for a particular purpose”. This chapter has attempted to provide a fully transparent view of the methods used to recruit and interview participants, as well as the methods used to analyze the information they provided. As discussed earlier, efforts were made to minimize bias of potential participants through the development of a stratified random sample. This may have filtered out those parents or adolescents undergoing extreme hardship; residents involved in criminal activity, or any other

activity that might initiate eviction proceedings, might have also been disinclined to participate, considering the setting for the interview was a building owned and operated by the housing authority. Nevertheless, the way I structured both sampling and recruitment attempted to secure what Ritchie and Lewis (2003, p. 272) called “equal opportunity for all perspectives to be identified”. The clear steps outlined in the Framework method facilitated the analysis of results because it presented a systematic way to approach the data, and thus allowed for greater consistency in the interpretation of results.

Internal validity, closely linked conceptually to reliability, is often considered the credibility of the findings. My close examination of negative cases was critical during the interpretation stage of analysis, and will be reflected upon in subsequent results chapters. As discussed earlier, understanding how and why these negative cases did not fit with the emerging typology allowed for refinement of theory (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Clear justification of my findings, which will be presented in the following chapters, is another way to assess the validity of the research. In relation to increasing the validity of qualitative work, Mason (1996, p. 150) posited that “the basic principle here is that you are never taking it as self-evident that a particular interpretation can be made of your data but instead that you are continually and assiduously charting and justifying the steps through which your interpretations are made”. Subsequent results chapter will show the analytical steps I made in interpreting the data.

Conclusion

In an effort to maximize the credibility of my interpretations in the following chapters, this chapter aimed at providing a thorough and transparent look into the methods used to acquire the original data. In addition, it provided the ‘thick description’ that is often cited as critical in any case study (Geertz, 1993; Mason, 1996; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003; Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

Results of the 52 interviews obtained through these field methods, interwoven with my personal field observations, content from community meeting minutes and relevant results of HAP's survey research, will be presented and discussed in the following three chapters.

Chapter Six: Neighborhood Choice

Introduction

Identifying residents' motivations for moving to New Columbia was critical for understanding their approaches to neighboring. Social networks, exchange and enforcement of social control, topics covered in Chapters Seven and Eight, ultimately represent individuals' choices. Understanding these choices first requires exploring the decision-making processes that guided entrance into New Columbia. A family's decision to exit one neighborhood and enter another is typically based on a variety of considerations, and New Columbia's composition added unique dimensions to this decision-making process.

In Chapter Four, a review of the literature showed that limited research is available about neighborhood choice and mixed-income housing developments. This chapter will explore the topic in depth, first outlining the factors that played most heavily into renter and owner families' decisions to join New Columbia. The analysis will include types of information residents accessed pre-move, their priorities and reasons for them, and how these frames informed initial perceptions of and relationships to the larger neighborhood. These findings point to a typology of residents based on two sets of motivations for moving: those with pragmatic neighborhood narrative frames and those with ideological neighborhood narrative frames. Analysis of residential choices, and the narrative frames residents used to make them, provides the background necessary to understand patterns of social organization discussed in subsequent chapters.

Factors in the Decision to Move

Situations prompting the move to New Columbia tended to differ between renters and owners, as the latter group typically had a greater number of residential choices. Several renters

moved to New Columbia because they had been displaced from other public housing developments in Portland, including the city's second HOPE VI project, Iris Court. In most cases, however, over-crowding and a burdensome cost of rent encouraged renters to seek out alternative housing, and New Columbia reflected a practical option because of its affordability. When describing motivations for moving, these residents placed more emphasis on factors that had pushed them out of their previous neighborhoods rather than factors that had pulled them towards New Columbia. One lone mother, Hannah, explained her reasons for moving and her subsequent reaction to her new public housing apartment in New Columbia:

[I moved] To get away from the cockroaches (laughs) and it was a new place, and I had put in for, I had put my name on the list to get one, and when they called me it was like, oh my gosh. And when I first came and saw the apartment, I cried. I had never lived in a brand new apartment, never in my life, and everything was brand new, and I was like oh, my gosh (squeals).

Hannah's experience with the cockroach infestation in her previous apartment helped frame her expectations of housing, and thus the way she perceived her new home in New Columbia.

Tenants described extenuating circumstances beyond that of crowding or sanitation inside their former apartments; gunfire and a gang presence in the larger neighborhood were sometimes cited as motivators to leave and seek housing elsewhere. Although near homelessness did not immediately precede John's move to New Columbia, it was the main factor that drove him to initially seek a public housing subsidy from the Housing Authority of Portland (HAP) several years earlier:

The rent [at the previous apartment] was quite high for what we were getting, and, uh, finally it came down to...deciding whether I wanted to feed my family or pay rent and I decided I was going to feed my family. So we was being evicted.... a lady who worked for HAP downtown, and she said (mimicking voice), John, I got good news. I got a place for you, they're still working on it right now, cleaning it out, getting it ready, but it'll be about another week, 10 days. And I said ok, that's great! My wife and I can live in the car, and send the kids to their grandmother's, and she said (mimicking voice) live in the car? And I said yeah, we just got posted [with an eviction notice] by the sheriff this

morning, and she hung up and called back ten minutes later, and said (mimicking voice) I got a place you can move into right now, she said.

Renters' experiences in their previous homes and neighborhoods were usually framed as negative, and the move to New Columbia was thus considered an improvement in the practical aspects of their lives in terms of general safety, affordability and space. Expression of personal agency in the decision-making process seemed relatively low, as renters usually framed the decision to move as one that had been outside their control- the number of family members in the unit, for example, had caused excessive crowding. In general, renters dependent on a housing subsidy had fewer overall choices because this subsidy could only be unitized in a limited number of properties. Renters referred to the move to New Columbia in terms such as "I got transferred out here" or "They [HAP] demolished the complex where we were, and this was the only option that we had... They didn't have any other units big enough in Portland for us to move to."

When asked about the type of subsidy that they used for housing, all but one renter in the sample explained it was through public housing. The one exception was Jennifer, a lone, black mother of two children who was in New Columbia through a portable section 8 voucher. As Chapter Two discussed, Section 8 of the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act encouraged lower-income families' entrance into the private market through the provision of tenant-based vouchers that could be used to offset the cost of rent. Private landlords, however, are not required to participate in the section 8 program, and potential tenants with section 8 vouchers must meet the same screening criteria as other potential tenants. Jennifer explained that her credit score was too low for her to secure housing in the private market, even though her section 8 voucher would have made it possible to afford the cost of rent, and that New Columbia was one of the only viable options that remained after her housing search was complete.

Owners in the sample generally demonstrated a more neutral attitude when discussing their previous neighborhoods. For first-time owners, the situations that instigated moves were often conceptualized as part of a natural evolution of the growing family's needs. Becoming an owner represented upward social mobility, particularly among African American participants in the study. Tania, a married black mother of two children and primary caregiver to three nephews, attached symbolic weight to property ownership:

I also wanted them [my children] to not just settle, and just be ok with just (pause) just, um, just renting. To be able to want to basically say, to teach them, to show them that their mommy and daddy tried to, you know (laughs softly) give them that.

Specific programs made it possible for owners with a greater range of incomes to purchase houses in New Columbia, in particular first-time buyers without a great deal of credit.⁷¹

According to HAP, first-time buyers purchased approximately 80% of all owned houses in New Columbia; this was attributable, in part, to the financial incentives attached to the development. For example, the Portland Community Land Trust, a non-profit organization designed to facilitate home ownership for lower-income and moderate-income first-time buyers, played a significant role in New Columbia's housing market. The basic premise behind community land trusts is that the organization owns the land upon which the house is built, and leases it to the owner of the house for a nominal fee. Because the actual cost of the land is taken out of the sale price of these houses, a land trust house in New Columbia included a built-in subsidy of approximately \$70,000. Another homebuilder, HOST Development Inc., offered a \$5,000 subsidy to qualified buyers and referrals to lending agencies that catered to first-time buyers and those who may have been priced out of the traditional, private housing market as a result of poor credit. Finally, HAP required a total of 32 partially subsidized homes be built in New Columbia,

⁷¹ Several of the owners in the sample had taken advantage of the incentives offered through the Portland Community Land Trust and HOST Development Inc., but none had purchased one of the houses where HAP had enforced the 60% AMI threshold.

meaning the houses were priced for a household with an income that placed it at approximately 60% of area median income.

Among owners who had previously owned houses elsewhere, the move to New Columbia typically reflected a practical upgrade in housing quality and the opportunity to invest in property that had the potential to appreciate in value. These owners typically referenced the tax abatement they were able to take advantage of as a result of the federal government's designation of the area as economically distressed,⁷² and conveyed that they secured a "great deal" on the house.

Differences in reasons for entrance also shed light on how residents framed potential exit from New Columbia. Owners who emphasized property value in the decision to move were more likely to frame certain events, such as shootings, as problematic specifically because of the related risk of property devaluation and difficulty in re-sale. This revealed insight into their reasons for entering New Columbia as well as reasons for potential exit. For these owners, violence and disorder in New Columbia heightened concerns about financial loss and hastened their desire to sell the house. In contrast, renters' views regarding exit from New Columbia were more constrained. Difficulty in securing housing in the private market, and the more pressing affordability and space considerations described earlier, help explain why they generally did not provide specific reasons or conditions under which they might move out of New Columbia. For most renters, it was the only practical option they felt they had available. These findings help contextualize the census-based trends that Krupka (2008) and Tach (2009a) identified among

⁷² The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) may designate an area as "economically distressed" if the median household income in that area is no greater than 75% of the median state household income. Because of this designation, an individual wishing to purchase a home in this area could qualify for a ten year property tax abatement on the purchased home. Anecdotally, this abatement lowered property taxes from approximately \$2000 to only \$100 per year for the typical New Columbia owner.

mixed-income neighborhoods regarding the failure of income diversity in initially mixed-income neighborhoods to persist over time. The different ways in which renters and owners responded to problems in New Columbia, and the ways in which these fit to neighborhood narrative frames and held implications for residential stability, will be discussed further in Chapter Eight.

Personal Agency in Decision-making

Renters' explanations for entering New Columbia suggested a lack of personal decision-making authority in the process in which they determined where they would live. Although HAP's policy allowed a renter to decline the agency's offer to live in a given housing development, publicly subsidized units were limited in number. Waiting lists existed for every public housing development in Portland, and those in need of a subsidy often took what was available. Among those who had not been original residents of Columbia Villa, the majority of the renters in the sample framed the decision to enter New Columbia as one driven by necessity. This finding echoes other research on lower-income families' residential decision-making processes, which were driven largely by practical considerations regarding affordability and familiarity with the larger community (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Smith, 2002).

Regardless of which particular financial incentive motivated them, all owners tended to discuss factors that pulled them *towards* New Columbia and placed less emphasis on what they had not liked about their previous neighborhoods. For owners, moving to the neighborhood reflected an active choice. New Columbia was one option among several, and a combination of perceived benefits (financial and social) ultimately made it the most attractive choice. Although some renters undoubtedly also perceived New Columbia as the best option for their families, the neighborhood was often viewed in comparison to crisis-level housing situations that drove them

to seek public subsidies; in this sense the decision to move was driven more by necessity than voluntary preference.

To what degree residents perceived the move to New Columbia as involuntary or voluntary held implications for their eventual level of personal attachment to and involvement in the neighborhood. Studies on perception of residential choice revealed that voluntary movers consistently reported more favorable perceptions of the new neighborhood he or she ultimately entered (Goetz, 2003; Goetz, 2010; Kleit & Manzo, 2006). The reasons that framed residents' entrance to New Columbia influenced perception of their own roles in relation to the rest of the neighborhood, particularly with regard to the formation of social ties and intervention in community-level problems. Various forms of intervention, and the way in which governance was manifested, will be explored in more detail in Chapters Seven and Eight.

Childhood as a Reference Point

Although the neighborhoods that residents lived in immediately before arrival at New Columbia were important sources of comparison in their decision-making processes, parents in the study also used the types of neighborhoods that they themselves had experienced during childhood as reference points. Most renters came from lower-income backgrounds and most owners came from higher-income backgrounds, but some crossover existed: several public housing renters came from self-described "middle class" childhoods, while several of the owners had grown up in what they described as lower-income neighborhoods. When probed further during interview, most participants who identified their respective upbringings as "middle class" also referenced growing up in owned homes, with working parents, and no reliance public assistance.

The context of these adults' respective upbringings helped frame the way they perceived New Columbia. One renter and lone mother of two children, Jennifer, described the transition between living with her parents in the suburbs to living as an independent public housing tenant in contrasting terms, "I went from my parents' house to, you know, it's pretty mellow, calm, not a lot of violence, drama, to. . . [public housing]." She then explained her reservations about moving to New Columbia:

I was kinda like, nervous moving out here because I knew a lot of the old [Columbia Villa] residents from before were still going to be here. So I was kind of wary about bringing my kids out here. . . When I moved out of my mom's house, I had had my own place a couple of other times, but not in that type of area, not in that environment. So when I moved to that environment, no, I was like, total outsider, didn't know how to... type of person who kinds stays to myself, more reserved (laughs softly)...so yeah, it was kinda difficult. . . it puts you in a weird position when you're surrounded by people who live differently than yourself. . . You know, I've always worked, I've always had a job.

Jennifer viewed herself differently from her low-income neighbors, both in the public housing development she lived in prior to New Columbia and in her current neighborhood. Her self-description as an "outsider" and as "reserved" were made relative to others in the neighborhood; she drew distinctions between herself and other low-income renters based on her employment status and attitude.

Renters who had personal experience living in public housing generally approached New Columbia with a sense of initial wariness. In her early consideration of the neighborhood, Ilyana referenced the public housing developments (which she referred to interchangeably as the "projects" and the "hood") both she and her children had grown up in:

I had brought my kids out [to New Columbia], and this was before we knew was going to move here, they had that playground McCoy [park] and I said look kids, this is the area where we're probably going to move. So (pause) my kids were like this is the hood. They *knew right off the top* because they were raised in the hood. They knew that this was the hood but they love it too now, so. . . I grew up in three different projects, I'm kinda ashamed to say that, but I lived in projects in New York, Alabama, and now New

Columbia, and this is the cream of the crop right here (laughs) and the neglect is not as rampant, and you actually have parents here who really care about their kids, and so (pause) I like that (slaps hands together). I been to the gutter of the worst projects and this is not it.

Ilyana and Jennifer are both lone African American mothers with adolescent as well as elementary age children. They grew up, however, different types of environments- Ilyana in very low-income public housing outside of Portland, and Jennifer in one of Portland's middle class suburbs. Both had lived in subsidized housing immediately before moving and were initially wary of New Columbia, but the longer-term effects of their respective childhoods were manifested in how they ultimately perceived the neighborhood. Ilyana claimed that she "loves it", while Jennifer described her concern and related withdrawal from her neighbors.

Owners did not share the same type of initial reservation that public housing tenants Ilyana and Jennifer expressed. Some saw moving to New Columbia as a means of replicating for their children the type of environment that they themselves had experienced growing up. These parents tended to prioritize diversity and tolerance, and sometimes expressed this in terms of tenure, income and/or race. Monique, an African American, married mother of two children, grew up in nearby North Portland in a neighborhood that was also mixed-tenure:

That's how I grew up. We had a house, but up the block we had apartments, so it was like, we loved playin' with the people in the apartments and they loved comin' to our house, and I just liked the diversity. That's how I grew up, and I want my kids to grow up the same way I grew up. So I came over, toured a demo home, our house got built, and voila. We're here.

Other owners also referenced their personal backgrounds when they rationalized why moving to New Columbia may not have ultimately been the right choice. Ben, a white married father of three children, explained how New Columbia's high residential density had influenced the way that he associated with it, as well as his desire to leave the neighborhood when his children grew older:

I grew up in South Dakota, but I grew up in a state park in South Dakota, it was really remote. Like, the nearest town was fifteen miles. So there's all this background stress for me to live here, I'm just noticing. Just subconscious, not having space. So, again, it's a family move first and foremost, but almost as equally, it's a move to get to some open space, to some solitude, and creating that kind of environment for my children to grow up in that I had.

New Columbia's desirability as a neighborhood was partially dependent, therefore, on residents' previous residential experiences as adults and children. How parents perceived New Columbia in relation to these other environments was contingent largely on what they knew about the neighborhood before they moved, which will be discussed in the following section.

Access to Information about New Columbia

When asked about how much they knew about New Columbia's design prior to moving, residents' access to and prioritization of information appeared inconsistent. The high level of socio-economic, racial and ethnic diversity built into the planning of New Columbia was an incentive for some residents, a non-factor for others, and in some cases, not known at all before the move took place. In relation to knowledge about the mixed-income, mixed-tenure nature of the neighborhood, and the emphasis on social mobility that this design was meant to encourage, there was a sharp distinction between renters in the sample who had lived in Columbia Villa before the redevelopment (original renters) and those who had moved from other neighborhoods (new renters).

No new renters in the sample, with the exception of one, stated they had known about the neighborhood's intentional design: mixed income, mixed tenure and high density. When asked if they knew the community was purposefully designed this way prior to moving in, new renters said that they had not, and that they had instead learned informally after signing a lease contract and entering the neighborhood as residents. Although HAP was very public about the

neighborhood's design, new renters in the sample said they had not known New Columbia would include owned homes in addition to rented apartments. Ciera, a lone mother public housing tenant, explained "I thought it was gonna be all renters. So when they start building houses, I was like (raises eyebrows). . . When I first moved out here I was like, you can rent this house like you rent an apartment, but it's not the same way." As discussed above, the circumstances that often encouraged renters to relocate seemed to focus their attention on the environment they wanted to escape from, as opposed to the one they wanted to secure.

One negative case served as the exception to this trend among new renters. At the time of the interview, Ilyana described how she drove through the neighborhood before she committed to moving or signing a lease contract. Seeing the houses under construction served as an incentive for her to move. When asked if the presence of owned homes had influenced her decision, she explained: "It made me want to move here more, because if there's homeowners, maybe one day I can *be* that homeowner, it makes it more attainable, really. So, that part, I did like. I like it." However, while Ilyana did state that she had plans to seek out employment later in the year, she did not have specific ownership goals in mind.

Original renters in the sample described their access to information about New Columbia very differently. Prior to the demolition and relocation, HAP had made a concerted effort to inform and involve Columbia Villa's residents about the nature of the transition (HAP, 2005; Gibson & Serbulo, 2009). This level of involvement encouraged investment on the part of the Villa's families, and helped frame the move away from the Villa as temporary relocation rather than simply displacement. An original resident, John, had invested considerable time and energy as a volunteer during his time in the Villa, and had transitioned into part-time work for HAP as a

coordinator for New Columbia's youth employment program.⁷³ He explained that Columbia Villa residents who returned to New Columbia had done so in part out of a larger commitment to the community: "Those of us came back, we thought enough of what we were doing and everything that we *wanted* to come back". Although John's comments may not represent those of all 120 households that came back to the area, his opinion suggested that all original residents had made some sort of informed choice to return. HAP had invested considerable time and energy into effectively communicating plans for New Columbia to the Villa's residents and involving them in planning decisions when possible (Bickle-Eldridge, 2007). At the time of relocation in 2003, over 70% of original residents⁷⁴ had initially expressed a desire to return to the site (HAP, 2005).

The extent of the Villa's knowledge about and investment in New Columbia was testament to the housing authority's earlier efforts to integrate them into the planning process. At the time of HAP's HOPE VI grant application for the demolition of the Villa and construction of New Columbia in 2001, considerable criticism had already been levied against other housing authorities across the country for mass displacement of public housing tenants and lack of resident involvement in the redevelopment process (NHLP *et al.*, 2002). HAP made a concerted effort to avoid these complaints through transparent information sharing with the Villa's residents, opportunities for them to provide input into the redevelopment process, and an open right-to-return policy regarding entrance into New Columbia (Bickle-Eldridge, 2007; Gibson & Serbulo, 2009). Original residents' prioritized entrance into New Columbia, without the screening tools traditionally used in property management, may have ultimately created dissonance between the original residents on the one hand and other renters and owners in the

⁷³ John was not paid directly for this work, but he received an additional subsidy that significantly reduced his monthly rent on his public housing apartment.

⁷⁴ The sample included 90% of all original households.

neighborhood on the other regarding community norms. These social norms, especially those regarding child supervision and behavior, will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Eight.

In contrast to renters in the sample, every owner in the sample acknowledged that they had known about the mixed-income, mixed-tenure nature of New Columbia pre-move. The Housing Authority of Portland was explicit about the mixed nature of the neighborhood in its official publicity. In the official brochure the organization provided to potential homeowners, the neighborhood was described as “. . .An exciting new urban community in the Portsmouth neighborhood of North Portland. It has been carefully planned and designed to attract a population of diverse cultures, ages and income levels. Unlike a traditional subdivision, New Columbia incorporates a variety of residential housing types” (Housing Authority of Portland, 2003, p. 2). The priority that owners placed on this information in their decisions to move, however, varied widely. Christina, an owner who self-identified as mixed-race with a black father and white mother, is the single mother of four daughters. She had initially thought that New Columbia’s social mix was not necessarily a defining element of the neighborhood, and that it could be simply be tolerated alongside the breadth of improved amenities. The extent of the diversity was ultimately surprising:

Then the opportunity came up to get a house here, with it all being brand ne-e-e-w, and you don't hear about all the *bad* things, you hear about all the *good* things. It was a new pr-o-o-o-ject, everything's all built up, and it looks ni-i-i-i-ce, everybody's just. . . Well, you heard it [the fact that the neighborhood was mixed-income and mixed-tenure], it had been in the news for awhile. I guess I didn't think it was as *much*.

Other owners placed a much higher premium on the diversity at New Columbia in the decision to move. Ben, referenced earlier, explained how he initially felt the neighborhood composition was aligned with his family’s larger value system:

And, uh, my wife and I have values of living simply, living in solidarity with people who are, uh, marginalized. Yeah. . . we definitely had a value in building, in joining this kind

of project was a value to us, you know, building community and knowing this would be a mixed income neighborhood, working for social justice in general is one of our big values.

Some owners prioritized New Columbia's racial diversity when making the decision to move. Sarah, a married white mother of five children, including one adopted African American daughter, explained "We (pause) wanted to be in a place. . . where our daughter wouldn't be the only, the only black kid in her class". It is important to note that the city of Portland is not racially diverse relative to other American cities- the population is 75.5% white, 6.8% Hispanic, 6.6% black (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Relative to the rest of Portland, North Portland and New Columbia in particular is racially diverse- half of all homes are owned by people of color (Keating, personal communication, July 23, 2009). Perception of out-groups was a formative element in these owners' frames of New Columbia. The neighborhood reflected an opportunity for these parents to raise their children in a social environment with higher levels of diversity than those present in other areas of Portland.

The Villa's Influence: Residual Stigma Versus Attachment

Neighborhoods that adult residents had lived in immediately before the move, and those they had experienced during childhood, were two helpful points of comparison that informed residents' expectations and initial impressions of New Columbia. Personal experience with a neighborhood, however, was not the only means a resident had for forming an opinion about it. As discussed in the previous chapter, New Columbia replaced a public housing development known as Columbia Villa. This neighborhood had evolved from a community of shipyard workers and their families in the 1940s to one that struggled with drug trafficking and gang activity in the 1980s. Although the Housing Authority of Portland had re-invested considerable resources during the 1990s and neighborhood safety had improved significantly, its poverty level

as well as the stigma directed towards it remained high. Knowledge about Columbia Villa was often referenced when residents, both renters and owners, discussed their decisions to move to New Columbia.

Some renters were hesitant about bringing their families to New Columbia, but moved nevertheless because the neighborhood was the most viable financial option at the time. Most suggested that their initial understanding was that the neighborhood had been physically redeveloped but that the problems associated with the old Villa- gang activity, violence, and drugs- had not necessarily been eradicated. Ciera, an African American single mother living in public housing, explained “It's [New Columbia] sorta getting better but it's sorta gettin' back to the same way. The teenagers out here, they want to take over stuff and all the ... my daughter and I, we used to hear the shootin', and she not used to all that.” For some renters, Columbia Villa’s reputation for disorder was seemingly filtered anecdotally through friends or relatives who had lived in or around the neighborhood. A married Latina mother, Mariella, said that her teenage children had been opposed to the move based on what they had heard from others: “My eldest were against the move here because they had heard that it was a bad neighborhood, they warned me that there would be a lot of African Americans here, that I wouldn't be able to walk at night with my daughter alone.” Mariella’s reference to African American residents as potentially dangerous was echoed among other Latina mothers in the sample, and will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Among renter parents in the sample, three had returned to the neighborhood after relocation from Columbia Villa. Of the residents initially displaced through the building of New Columbia, 120 of the originally displaced 360 households reentered the area after construction

was complete.⁷⁵ Among the adult renters in this study's sample, three had originally lived in the Villa. Instead of reinforcing the negative stereotypes associated with the property, these renters emphasized how much they had liked the old neighborhood, and their description of the Villa were consistent with earlier research completed on Columbia Villa's social organization (Gibson, 2007; Serbulo and Gibson, 2009). Original Columbia Villa residents who had returned to live in New Columbia did so because they felt socially connected to their old neighborhood. The importance they attached to these social ties has also been described among other studies of low-income communities (Barclay-McLaughlin, 2000; Goetz, 2003; Hicks-Bartlett, 2000; Trudeau, 2006). It also confirms Gibson's (2007) qualitative research with Columbia Villa's original residents, in which she described residents' lamentation of lost social cohesion and ties that resulted from the replacement of the original public housing site with New Columbia. The sense of social cohesion that original Columbia Villa residents referenced focused largely on collective supervision of the neighborhood's children. Connections between parents regarding safety and welfare of their children reflect what Sampson *et al.* (1999) called intergenerational closure, and this dimension of collective efficacy for children appears to have played an important role in the social organization of Columbia Villa. Conversations with staff members at HAP, who had been employed with the agency for a number of years and had who seen the evolution of Columbia Villa through the 1980s and 1990s, further validated residents' descriptions of social dynamics in the neighborhood. The positive feelings that Columbia Villa residents associated with the area shaped, in part, their desire to enter New Columbia.

⁷⁵ Although only one third of original Columbia Villa residents moved to New Columbia, a majority of original residents had initially stated in 2003 that they wanted to return. Of the 70% of original residents surveyed, 90% stated they wanted to return to the neighborhood after the redevelopment was complete. Ultimately, stress associated with moving and satisfaction with their new residences kept many original Villa residents from returning to New Columbia (Gibson, 2007).

Based on the information collected from original residents in my sample, as well as Gibson's (2007) research and anecdotes from staff and other residents who had lived there prior to New Columbia's construction, many framed Columbia Villa's social environment positively. This positive frame lent itself to certain types of expectations about New Columbia, the most salient of which was the sense of collective supervision of children. Although original residents were satisfied with some of the types of changes that redevelopment had brought about, including a vastly improved physical appearance and access to amenities, others emphasized the difference between social dynamics in the Villa and New Columbia. Social support is more common in low-income neighborhoods, where the help exchanged through social ties is depended upon more frequently as a form of coping with the stressors of poverty. This has been especially true in African American communities, where social relationships served to supplement weaker infrastructure in the larger community (Barclay-McLaughlin, 2000; Hicks-Bartlett, 2000; Lee et al., 1991). When the social composition of New Columbia changed, so did the norms that had governed the previous neighborhood, which surprised some of the original residents because their initial frame of the area was based on what life was like in the Villa. Further discussion of new social norms will be provided in Chapter Eight.

In contrast to the combination of personal and anecdotal information renters relied upon, owners' information about Columbia Villa had been primarily accessed through more formal sources - the media and the Housing Authority of Portland. They had fewer personal ties to the old neighborhood relative to renters, and thus fewer personal narrative-based sources of information. Several of the owners, however, had grown up in Portland and had seen the Villa evolve through the 1980s and 1990s. One married, African American owner named Brian explained:

The housing authority had totally lost it... They had basically mismanaged it to the point that they had allowed cocaine and crack dealers to take over. Even the police wouldn't come in then. You had to set up a gang enforcement team headquarters in here, and actually, in my day the Villa had produced a lot of really nice families, back in the 50s, 60s and 70s. The Columbia Villa was a really nice place to live. It was post WW2 housing, it was a great place to raise kids, you knew everybody, and when the drugs came from LA, California, it just decimated the place. Yeah, from about (19)83 through about (19)94, maybe, and then. . . they [HAP] finally got control of it back.

The strides that the Housing Authority of Portland made during the 1990s with regard to community policing and reinvestment in the area appeared to be compensatory, at least in part, for the disorder that had characterized the Villa during the 1980s. Owners that made the decision to move did so with the perception that HAP had already demonstrated its capacity to “manage” the neighborhood. If the neighborhood had continued to demonstrate the same levels of crime and violence through the 1990s, it is doubtful these parents would have moved to New Columbia.

These views were closely related with owners' tendency to view HAP as a primary regulatory body in New Columbia. Although HAP had instituted a private property management company to oversee the daily management of the rental units, Brian and other owners had entered the neighborhood with the understanding that the public agency had taken the lead on redeveloping the neighborhood, and thus considered it responsible for the area's overall stability. This perception was further reinforced through two elements of the agency's involvement in New Columbia. First, HAP was explicitly involved in youth-centered community building events and programs, the exact nature of which will be discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight. Second, the housing authority held two out of three votes in the New Columbia homeowners' association's board of directors (Board). Because HAP owned roughly two thirds of the total

units on the property in the form of rented apartments, and individual owners the remaining third in the form of houses, the Board's votes were divided accordingly.⁷⁶

With regard to residents' framing of New Columbia, renters and owners expected HAP to play an active role in maintaining both the physical and social infrastructure of the neighborhood; owners in particular expected HAP to maintain a sense of order and help regulate behavior. Because HAP had been responsible for Columbia Villa's rental properties, and had then taken the initiative in the demolition of those units and the construction of the new development, there was a tendency among owners to frame the agency in relation to tension about management and tenant supervision in New Columbia. When asked about this expectation, HAP staff members appeared ambivalent: although they recognized the agency's formative role in creating and sustaining the neighborhood, resentment existed regarding the extent to which HAP was expected to monitor individual conduct. One staff member, who worked in the property and was familiar with both owners and renters, commented:

I think that there's a tendency for people to want to view HAP as the . . . teacher in the classroom. You know, tell the teacher, this person's going to get in trouble. I'd like to see more people take responsibility. If you have a neighbor who's causing a disturbance late at night, then call the police. Or (clears throat) you could go so far, amazingly, to go talk to that person face to face and say (mimicking voice) hey, you're causing a problem, is there a way for us to work this out? I mean, we also want them to tell us, because it is our job to supervise this community. So, we want information that will allow us to act accordingly, *but* we also want people to (pause) be responsible, and act like adults, and interact with each other.

Further information about community-level governance, and how residents approached intervention and confrontation with their neighbors, will be discussed in Chapter Eight.

Neighborhood Narrative Frames

⁷⁶ An owner was elected to represent owners' interest on the Board, which constituted the third vote. Renters did not have a formal vote on the Board because HAP owned the physical units in which renters lived. Social implications of this power structure will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Eight.

As this chapter has outlined thus far, both renters and owners moved to New Columbia with various sources of information and motives. Regarding the decision to move, there appeared to be more variation within rather than between the income and tenure groups. This variation is rooted mainly in the resident's perception of why he or she moved to New Columbia, which was closely linked to his or her orientation towards the neighborhood. Different perceptions of the neighborhood were based, therefore, in the resident's original motivation for moving there.

How perceptions inform attitudes and behavior has been explored in earlier research about an individual's relationship to his or her environment. Small (2004, p. 70) discussed these perceptions in the context of "neighborhood narrative frames" (NNFs):

Residents do not merely see and experience the characteristics of their neighborhood 'as it is'; their perceptions are filtered through cultural categories that highlight some aspects of the neighborhood and ignore others...Residents' framing of the neighborhood will, in turn, affect how they act in or towards it.

Understanding a parent's motivation for moving reveals aspects of her past experience with housing as well as the attitude she directed towards New Columbia as a community. The type of rationale or justification that a resident used when making the decision to move to New Columbia appeared to frame the way a parent perceived other families in the neighborhood, the boundaries placed on her child's interactions, and general methods of engagement- issues which will be discussed in further detail in the subsequent chapter.

Within the sample, a uniform type of perception could not be neatly and simply assigned to either renters or owners. A typology instead emerged between residents who had adopted an ideological narrative frame and those who subscribed to a more pragmatic narrative frame. Because a resident's decision-making process usually included both ideological and pragmatic factors, these perceptions should not be constructed as a binary variable: they exist, rather, on a

continuum. One set of motives was generally emphasized during a given interview as the primary driver in the decision to move; each of the two main types will be discussed in turn.

Parents who emphasized affordability, escape of a highly stressful housing unit or neighborhood, or other practical concerns as the primary motivator, adopted a largely pragmatic neighborhood narrative frame. Affordability concerns were reflected in discussion with both renters and owners; the former group relied upon rental subsidies from the housing authority and the latter emphasized special homeownership incentives that reduced property tax liability, down payment and overall mortgage. These residents moved to New Columbia either as a last resort or because the financing package offered for the house was the best available. In both cases, the decision to move was framed in largely financial terms. A married, white mother of two children, Jane justified her decision to purchase property in New Columbia:

We wanted to stay in the North Portland area, and it was the most affordable place to go... You know, we were pre-approved for a loan for \$250,000, and it was really one of the few areas where you could actually get something that you didn't have do a lot of work to.⁷⁷

Jane's reference to her loan deserves further contextualization. Most homes in New Columbia went up for sale between 2004 and 2006; during this time period housing construction and prices were rising rapidly, and with it flexibility around mortgage terms. Both national and local relaxation of standards in the lending industry meant that many households did not have to provide income or credit history in order to secure mortgages and large loans from banks; this encouraged acquisition of property across the country, including North Portland.

Although none of the HAP staff members in the sample were also residents of New Columbia, several had close relationships with various residents and were in a unique position to speak about the neighborhood's culture and norms. When asked to discuss residents'

⁷⁷ The lack of necessary "work" Jane mentioned related to the fact that all the houses were new, not in need of repair and under warranty.

motivations for moving to New Columbia, most staff referenced pragmatic reasons among both owners and renters. A managerial staff member from the housing authority emphasized what he perceived to be a lack of ideological considerations among owners:

There was a lot of attractive financing, I mean the same reasons that people buy homes anywhere. A brand new home, financing, uh, a HOA [Homeowners' Association] with very, very low homeowners' dues. And a big, brand new community. Everything's brand new. You have buried telephone wires here, cables, which makes a property look very attractive. The landscaping is all maintained and beautiful, new infrastructure, new streets. Tax abatements. So, a lot of reasons that people would want to buy here... I don't think people moved here and said, (mimicking voice) here's a social housing experiment, on 82 acres, I want to be part of that. I don't think people think that way.

When I asked HAP staff if both renters and owners had known they would be moving into a mixed-tenure neighborhood, they unanimously said yes. The staff assumption, therefore, was that all residents had understood the diverse nature of New Columbia's composition before moving in, even though a significant proportion of renters in my sample stated they had not. These renters were predominantly those who had not previously lived in the Villa.

Although renters did not consider "work" to the property, given HAP owns all the rental properties and a private property management firm is responsible for necessary physical maintenance, most spoke about the decision to move to New Columbia in very pragmatic terms. Low levels of education, limited job prospects and sole responsibility for their children meant that lone mothers tended to prioritize, first and foremost, affordability and sanitation in their housing decisions.

Some residents, including both renters and owners who subscribed to the pragmatic narrative frame, also referred to a desire to be near extended family as a main reason why they moved to the property, even if those family members did not live within the formal perimeter of the neighborhood. Renters were more likely than owners to cite proximity to kin and other sources of social support as important factors in the decision to move to New Columbia, which

confirms earlier research on the importance of strong ties among lower-income families (Barclay-McLaughlin, 2000; Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Hicks-Bartlett, 2000).

Neither renters nor owners who spoke about their moving decision in pragmatic terms mentioned the racial, ethnic or socio-economic composition of New Columbia as an influential factor.⁷⁸ All new renters to the neighborhood, who comprised the vast majority of the sample's renter sub-group, as well as approximately half of the adult owners, framed their respective decisions this way.

Residents who adopted a more ideological neighborhood narrative frame emphasized values when describing the decision-making process. These values ranged across several different dimensions that differed most according to the racial characteristics of the owner. Purchasing property in New Columbia reflected a significant financial and personal investment, and African American owners with an ideological narrative frame referenced the potential modeling process that they hoped their presence might initiate or support. Owners with this frame had experienced low-income childhoods and had worked their way up to what many would consider professional or white-collar jobs; assuming homeownership in New Columbia was a means of demonstrating how far they themselves had come. Monique, an African American mother and first time homeowner, described how she thought her presence in the neighborhood might help others:

Sometimes you can enlighten people, like maybe motivate them to, you know...they see that you, like, say for me, they can see for me, kinda where I came from, and you know, I used to work at McDonalds and did x, y and z but I work for a big company now, and have a house. They see, you know, where I came from and they're like, (mimicking voice) oh, you know. Get encouraged. I could do that too. Maybe I could go to school, maybe I could do this and that, and be where *you're* at, you know.

⁷⁸ Worth re-emphasizing is the fact that the majority of renters in the sample stated they had not known about the mixed-income, mixed-tenure nature of the neighborhood before signing on as tenants; this lack of knowledge helps explain why it was not a factor in the decision.

Implicit in Monique's statement, and in other comments made by black owners who shared an ideological narrative frame, is the understanding that New Columbia contains a significant proportion of low-income residents. The attitude these black owners directed towards low-income residents was unique in the sense that they felt they an intimate understanding of poverty and its difficulties. Inferences made about modeling professional or financial success were framed as supportive and hopeful rather than paternalistic.

This aspect of black owners' ideological narrative frames relates closely to what Joseph (2006) suggested was the behavior-related rationale for mixed-income housing policy. This particular rationale was based on the notion that higher-income residents might model pro-social behaviors and lifestyle choices to lower-income residents. Relevant to this discussion of neighborhood framing and choice is that black owners in the sample were more likely than any other sub-group to cite the potential for this modeling to occur as a factor in the residential decision-making process; whether or not actual modeling has taken place will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Eight.

White owners with an ideological narrative frame rarely made explicit comments about their potential to model behavior to others in the neighborhood. When the discussion did veer towards the idea of modeling, the conversation halted and became more awkward. The suggestion that they or others might have moved to the neighborhood as a means of modeling behavior made white owners uncomfortable, and this discomfort was evident in the interview. In contrast to Monique's personalized statement about her role, Ben's comment was made in the abstract:

I think it's [a mixed income neighborhood] about integrating people who are in generational poverty and have those kinds of experiences into middle class, stable kind of life. I'm not, like I said, I'm not trying to denigrate, but...um, yeah. Just the effort that it is in improving people's lives.

Ben actively tried to avoid statements that might be construed as condescending. Similar efforts and pre-emptive apologies were made among other white owners when interview topics shifted towards questions of how their presence in the community has impacted their neighbors.

Discussion was easier among white owners when they explained why New Columbia's composition and structure was an asset to their own children. Moving to New Columbia was framed as an effort to instill an appreciation for diversity- conceptualized in both racial and socio-economic terms- and greater sense of empathy or tolerance, among their children. Sara, a white, married mother of five children, explained the types of principles she felt were important for her children to understand and how New Columbia's diversity facilitated the transmission of those values:

My hope is that it (pause) opens them up to seeing everybody... as valuable. And equal... And so understanding and recognizing that (pause) in everybody, no matter what their race, or language or color, or...uh (long pause) attitude (laughs softly). So, um, so to recognize even when people are behaving in a way that feels really wrong to you, that they're still a child of God and they're still valuable, and sometimes, even if you feel like it's wrong, it's not *necessarily* wrong. It might be wrong for you and not wrong for them.

Although only two owners explained this rationale in the context of religious convictions or subscribed to the same type of position, all owners with an ideological narrative frame did stress that New Columbia offered their children exposure to different types of people and that this was a clear benefit. The neighborhood's racial and ethnic mix was included in this framing; no Latino owners were represented in the owner sub-group of the sample, but both black and white owners with ideological narrative frames reflected upon the positive ways in which this type of diversity might influence their children. Tania, an owner and married black mother of several children, described how she spoke to her young daughters about this element of diversity:

[I appreciate diversity] especially with some of the Africans who are darker. And because it's been *so*, like, in our African American, it's *bad* to be dark. And so, for our kids, I show them, like, (mimicking own voice) see that's beautiful, see that, that's *nice*.

Owners conceptualized diversity's benefits differently based on their own sets of experiences and desires for their children, but the pattern among owners with ideological narrative frames centered on valuing this type of mix for the types of values it could, in theory, help transmit to their children.

Not all residents who subscribed to an ideological narrative frame were owners.

Although most renters stressed the pragmatic reasons why they chose New Columbia, related primarily to affordability, former occupants of the Villa emphasized how they wanted to return to their community. These original residents emphasized that they had felt socially attached to the Villa, and entering New Columbia was a way for them to re-establish ties with the community that they had been displaced from during the demolition and construction phases. Although they were also eager to move to a neighborhood with new units and improved amenities, what was emphasized the most was a sense of place that they wished to re-establish.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter, and this thesis more generally, to offer an in-depth analysis of how residents made the multi-faceted choice to move to New Columbia. Residents' thoughts on their respective decisions can, however, be analyzed in relation to theory interaction with members of various out-groups and propensity towards integration. Chapter Three outlined theories of racial preferences that have been used to help explain residential decision-making. The prejudice hypothesis reflected two strands, the first focused on the significance of hostility from those in a given in-group to those in an out-group, and the second on the resident's sense of group status or position (Blumer, 1958; Bobo, 1988, 1999). This latter variant of the hypothesis offered a more nuanced understanding of prejudice, in that it highlighted the "magnitude or

degree of difference that in-group members have socially learned to expect and maintain relative to members of specific out-groups” (Charles, 2005, p. 67). Perceptions of the out-group members, therefore, are paramount in determining whether or not a resident ultimately chooses to live next door to them.

Based on analysis of residents’ explanations for moving, the group-position variant of the prejudice hypothesis is reflected clearly in the attitudes of homeowners who had grown up low-income. Those who moved to New Columbia as owners, but had grown up in Portland’s poor neighborhoods, expressed the greatest amount of comfort regarding residential integration with low-income renters. The degree to which these particular owners perceived renters as members of an undesirable out-group was low relative to owners who had lived primarily in the suburbs or wealthier parts of the city. This was especially true for the black owners in the sample.

The social learning aspect of the out-group prejudice hypothesis is also relevant. While some white owners had grown up in relatively homogenous neighborhoods, they were nonetheless eager to expose their children to others from different racial and socio-economic backgrounds. This decision was made with the hope that their children would develop more tolerant and open-minded views of society, and perceive fewer differences between themselves and out-group members. Ideological owners’ views of residents who were lower-income racial minorities, traditionally identified as part of the social out-group relative to higher-income whites, in fact reflected lower perceived levels of social difference between themselves and members of this group. Residents who moved to New Columbia for primarily pragmatic reasons, and who had not grown up in neighborhoods with similar demographics, were typically owners. They were more likely to differentiate themselves from other residents who were unlike themselves, and pursued greater social distance as a result.

Adolescents' Framing of Neighborhood Choice

Thus far, this chapter has focused on parents' residential decision-making processes and their framing of New Columbia. Based on the information I retrieved from adolescents during interviews, they had played a minimal, if non-existent role during this process. This is understandable given that the majority were around the age of 10 or 11 when their parents made the decision to move, and thus were perhaps not yet old enough to voice a strong opinion about that choice. Most youth in the sample said that the decision had been their parents', and that they had not felt strongly for or against moving at the time.

This chapter already reviewed parents' conceptualization of Columbia Villa in relation to New Columbia, but the former neighborhood also influenced the way that some adolescents thought about their current environment. Those who had lived in the Villa, before its redevelopment into New Columbia, explained the significance of living in a neighborhood without the automatic brand of ghetto. Hector, a 15 year old Latino and former resident of the Villa, described the physical and social differences between the two neighborhoods:

To tell you the truth, it was trashy. Yeah, there was like, garbage everywhere. It didn't look nothin' like this. It looked old. It was just. . . sorta lonely, how it looked, the environment. I guess they changed that around. Yeah, big improvement. Its people (pause) people aren't that violent anymore. There used to be lots of fights, shootings. Yeah. Accidents and a lot of fighting, a lot of drama in here. They used to call us the hood.

An important aspect of mixed-income development revolved around the impact it might have on children. As Chapter Three discussed, part of this was rooted in the idea of social mobility and presenting a lifestyle that educational attainment and steady employment would provide. An important finding from conversations with renter youths, however, revealed the more immediate psycho-social impact of living in a new, clean, redeveloped neighborhood. Their parents'

potential social mobility might not necessarily equate to exit from this neighborhood, because it was not strictly a place where poor people lived. New Columbia was no longer simply the “hood”, and carried less stigma for those who lived in it.

Discussion of neighborhood choice with adolescents also revealed a relatively consistent transmission of assumptions and values from parent to child. Older youths in the sample, who ranged from 15 to 18 years old, were better able to articulate why they thought their families had moved, and these reasons echoed the information provided by their parents during earlier interviews. Youths from renter households tended to focus on the negative aspects of the previous neighborhood or unit that had acted as catalysts for the move. Sanitation and crowding problems were usually mentioned in reference to the housing unit, along with safety concerns of the surrounding neighborhood. One fifteen year old Latina, Lourdes, described how the conditions in her family’s previous neighborhood had driven her parents to seek housing elsewhere.

There weren't many people our age, and there were older guys that weren't very respectful. . . we didn't really have anyone to hang out with, and we would go to the park, but then it was always, like, a gang, and my dad didn't like that. And then we moved here and my mom and my dad liked it.

Although Lourdes had not played an active role in the decision-making process, the primary reasons for the move to New Columbia centered around her safety and the safety of her brothers and sisters. As discussed earlier, this pragmatic approach to entering New Columbia was echoed among new renters in New Columbia.

Children of owners referred to their previous neighborhoods in mostly neutral terms. Some used New Columbia as a reference point for comparison, but very few made specific complaints about the housing units they had lived in previously. Jonathon, a 13 year old boy,

was the eldest son of another participant in the sample, Sara. An owner with an ideological narrative frame, she had described earlier how she wanted to move to New Columbia in order to broaden her children's perspectives on the value inherent in diversity. Interestingly, Sara had not explicitly told any of her five children that New Columbia contained both renters and owners. At the time of the interview, she wasn't sure if her son, Jonathon, had made a formal distinction between the two types of households in the neighborhood. When I interviewed Jonathon, he described the positive elements of New Columbia in the same way that his mother had in her earlier interview:

I do like it more, because I didn't really get to go and talk to people in my other neighborhoods. It was kind of my house, and the park, and that was pretty much it... But in this neighborhood I can go out, and it literally feels like a neighborhood. I like it that way... People have an infrastructure, and it's not like everybody's in their own house and they deal with their own problems.

Jonathon did know about the presence of renters and owners in New Columbia, even though no one had told him about it explicitly. He framed the main differences between the two types of households as aesthetic; houses had bigger yards and more space between them, and apartments were closer together. He stated that he had heard his parents and their friends talk about the neighborhood positively, and this appeared to influence his own opinion about it. It is interesting to note that Jonathon did not, in fact, have a wide social circle within New Columbia. Most of the opinions he heard about the neighborhood, therefore, were sourced from adults who were familiar with his parents. Peer influences, at least regarding the framing of New Columbia, were therefore limited.

Other youths of homeowners expressed a similar sentiment about interaction in New Columbia, with the implication that their previous neighborhoods had been less interesting owing to lower levels of social activity. Most said that there were more kids in New Columbia,

which in itself created more “action” and opportunities for friendship. An exception was an 11 year old girl, Jenna, from a white, married household. She explained why she preferred her previous neighborhood, which had been a house her parents had rented in another area of North Portland:

I really like the old one better, 'cause here I feel a little unsafe, and the people here are kind of mean, so. . . Like, sometimes they're, there's these kids up by...well they live around the corner from us, and we'll just be riding our bikes, and they'll just say stuff to us, like (mimicking voice) I'm gonna steal your bike, or stuff like that. . . Normally when they do that, or say (mimicking voice) hey, come over here, you just have to keep on riding, 'cause the kids in this neighborhood are troublemakers and you can't really say anything.

The opinions of youth tended to mirror, for the most part, those of their parents. Jonathon and Silvia, for example, had parents who had moved to New Columbia partially for the social makeup of the neighborhood. In contrast, Jenna’s mother had moved to the neighborhood largely for affordability reasons, was wary of the other children in the neighborhood, missed her old neighborhood and had repeated her opinions to her daughter. Neighborhood narrative frames were generally transmitted from parent to child.

Conclusion

This chapter’s analysis highlighted the considerable variation that existed between cases in the sample, according to demographics, needs and perceptions. Understanding the relationship between a neighborhood’s socio-economic diversity and its social organization points to the necessity of identifying the types of conditional factors outlined in this chapter. The interpretations drawn from these residents’ discussion of housing choice are not meant to represent the views of all New Columbia residents; as discussed in the previous chapter, the sample was too small to draw definitive conclusions about the neighborhood as a whole. Information gathered from respondents, however, revealed insight into the range of reasons and

justifications residents used when making the decision to move to New Columbia. As the chapter outlined, renters tended to prioritize escape from a severe housing situation and the attainment of affordable, decent housing; in doing so, most renters subscribed to a pragmatic neighborhood narrative frame. Some owners fell into this category as well, although their pragmatic priorities revolved specifically around special owner-specific purchase incentives. This set of motivators demonstrate the important role that government-backed financial incentives played in encouraging higher-income residents to purchase property in this area, although these residents did not necessarily share the same ideological commitment to New Columbia as other owners in the neighborhood. A smaller proportion of residents, comprised mostly of owners, demonstrated an ideological narrative frame of the neighborhood. These owners, including both African American and white parents, emphasized personal values and hopes when describing why they moved to New Columbia. A subset of renters who demonstrated an ideological narrative frame included parents who had originally lived in Columbia Villa before the neighborhood's redevelopment; they tended to emphasize loyalty to the Villa and a desire to return to the community from which they had been temporarily displaced.

Neighborhood narrative frame also helped inform residents' perceptions of *other* residents' motivations for moving to New Columbia. Whether abiding by a pragmatic or ideological neighborhood narrative frame, most parents implied that they had thought most of their neighbors had moved for similar reasons. Information and expectations were seemingly standardized from the viewpoint of the resident, meaning they had assumed other residents had moved for similar types of reasons as they themselves had moved; this was especially true among parents who moved for primarily ideological reasons.

Understanding the narrative frames to which residents subscribed as they entered the community is necessary for understanding patterns of social organization. A parent's willingness to intervene with other peoples' children, form relationships with neighbors, and defend public spaces may ultimately be traced back, in part, to his or her initial orientation towards the neighborhood. These social networks, associated social exchange and the enforcement of norms will be analyzed in the following two chapters.

Chapter Seven: Social Networks

Introduction

New Columbia was intentionally designed to include a diverse cross section of residents that spanned different racial and ethnic groups, ages, and income brackets. The Housing Authority of Portland invested significant economic and human resources into facilitating social relationships and building a sense of community in this new neighborhood, particularly among families with children. The last chapter examined why different families moved to New Columbia, and this chapter will show how these residential choices informed approaches to neighboring. How parents and adolescents from owned and rented homes built their respective social networks, what types of networks were formed, and perceived boundaries to social network formation will also be analyzed.⁷⁹

Child-focused social networks between adults reflect an important dimension of Sampson *et al.*'s (1999) theory of collective efficacy for children. Social relationships between these adults, who may include parents, grandparents, staff for a youth program or simply concerned citizens, reflect networks necessary for intergenerational closure. This type of social closure occurs when parents form social ties with their children's friends' parents and other adults who regularly come into contact with their sons and daughters. Communication between these adults may allow for the exchange of information about child behavior, and potentially facilitate the enforcement of norms that maintain safety.

This chapter will examine social networks, and intergenerational closure in particular, among New Columbia's renters, owners and staff. Key factors, including physical design, staff

⁷⁹ According to Kasarda and Janowitz (1974), length of residency is the one of the most critical factors in the development of friendship bonds. My research design prevented the inclusion of residents who had lived in the neighborhood for less than 18 months; most had framed opinions based on similar lengths of residency. Average length of residence for renters in the sample was three years; for owners it was three years and four months.

and community organizations, will be analyzed in relation to residents' social networks. Residents' perceived social boundaries also helped shape their social networks, and variations in perception will be discussed. Finally, an important aspect of social network formation was school choice. Portland's school choice program, and the different ways in which renter and owner families approached school selection, will be discussed in the context of the neighborhood's social networks. Relevant observations in the field and data from the Housing Authority of Portland's Community Speaks survey will also supplement and contextualize the qualitative information I collected during interviews with residents and staff.

Social Implications of Physical Boundaries

Parents' social networks generally did not cross income and tenure groups.⁸⁰ They tended to form ties with those who lived closest to them, which meant that most parents' social networks were confined to a given neighborhood block. The neighborhood's architectural design intended interaction between residents to be fluid, and distance between a rented and owned unit was typically less than one city block (HAP, 2003). Common spaces, such as parks, were equally accessible to renters and owners. Despite these efforts, other aspects of New Columbia's physical proximity contributed to parents' tenure-specific social networks. Although owners' blocks were evenly dispersed throughout the neighborhood, individual blocks consisted of a single tenure. Certain elements of New Columbia's design, therefore, encouraged cross-tenure interaction while others effectively limited it.

Regarding the physical appearance of the units, there were similarities and differences between rented and owned homes. Although renters and owners occupied different blocks, all

⁸⁰ Deviant cases included three owners in the sample who had grown up in North Portland and shared longstanding friendships with subsidized renters, as well as one public housing renter's cousin who was also a homeowner in New Columbia. Those relationships had been forged before either party had actually moved into the neighborhood.

the properties were relatively new owing to the recent construction. No unit looked rundown, much less dilapidated. Apartments were smaller and clustered together as two-level buildings, while owned homes were larger and self-contained as a result of yard space that surrounded each property. Photos 1 and 2 show the physical designs of rented apartments and owned houses; apartments across New Columbia generally resembled the type of design shown in Photo 1 but houses' respective designs were more varied than those shown in Photo 2.

Photo 1. Rented apartments' design in New Columbia (Source: R. Genevieve Quist, September 30 2009).



Photo 2. Owned houses' design in New Columbia (Source: R. Genevieve Quist, September 30 2009).



Crystal, a 14 year old African American who lived in a public housing unit with her aunt, commented on the role that the apartments' uniformity played in how children treated one another: "You can't really get picked on 'cause of the homes, all the houses look the same and that's what *great* about it. You don't have a raggedy house, you know? And the people live in apartments, so does almost everybody here, except for the homeowners, you know?" For Crystal, owners were not automatically included in "everybody" who lived in New Columbia, and instead were conceptualized as a separate entity. The tendency for a participant to equate his or her respective block, and perhaps an immediately adjacent block, to the site of his or her social network was common across age and tenure groups.

Photos 1 and 2 show how physical differences between larger owned houses and smaller rented apartments were clearly visible from the sidewalk. These differences tended to reinforce perceived differences in social class. Anderson (1990) posited that the potential for interaction between a neighborhood's residents depends partially on the type of dynamic process taking

place. When socio-economically diverse groups of residents occupy a given neighborhood, one of two processes is usually at work: gentrification or middle class flight (Anderson, 1990; Wilson, 1987). Recent entry of higher-income families into New Columbia, an area that previously had the highest concentration of poverty in Oregon, reflected the area's gentrification. This particular process, combined with the different physical appearance of owned homes versus rented units, did not allow for what Anderson (1990) called residential marginal areas. In marginal areas, one may not tell from the unit's physical appearance whether a poor or nonpoor family occupies it. These types of areas facilitate interactions, however informal or accidental, across social classes (Anderson, 1990; Schwirian, 1983). New Columbia's physical structure, and residents' distinctions between units and clusters according to tenure and socio-economic status, limited the number of marginal areas in the neighborhood. In New Columbia, the spaces that most closely resembled marginal areas were parks (which included the large McCoy park and the five smaller pocket parks), where residents could socialize without obvious accompanying markers about which type of housing unit they occupied. Norms and expectations for behavior, however, differed across the parks and discouraged some residents from making use of these technically public spaces. The norms attached to different public spaces, and the use of parks as non-critical neighborhood resources, will be discussed in the next chapter.

The use of physical space to differentiate between social groups is common, and this holds implications for both social network formation and the activation of social capital (Bærenholdt & Aarsæther, 2002). Because blocks were divided according to tenure and income, physical space frequently delineated both social networks and differences in social class. Close physical proximity between owners on one block, and renters on a different block, encouraged stronger social ties between residents from a similar income bracket.

During my four cumulative months in New Columbia, recruitment of participants required me to spend considerable time walking through the neighborhood, and my observations contextualized and helped explain participants' descriptions of their respective social networks. Although I carried out recruitment at different points during the week, in both afternoons and early evenings on weekdays and weekends, I saw fairly consistent socialization patterns. Along renters' blocks, I often did not need to knock on residents' doors because at least one member of the household was already outside, either sitting on the porch or in the yard. Elementary school-age children were typically in small groups, riding bikes or skateboards on the sidewalks or playing in yards. Based on information sourced from residents and staff, as well as my own observations, most of the children who played outside collectively at any given time came from renters' homes. Multiple points of contact between residents who lived next door to one another and had children who played together reinforced their social relationship. This helped cultivate multiplex social relations⁸¹ between parents in rental units, and was reflected in the conversations that could be seen and heard while walking through the neighborhood.

Owners' blocks tended to be quieter, and few residents could be seen outside their respective properties. As Chapter Five explained, initial recruitment of participants was more difficult on owners' blocks because far fewer residents were physically present at their homes, regardless of timing recruitment during the week or on the weekends. I eventually discovered, however, that owners sometimes utilized communication mediums that were not immediately obvious. Several owners in the sample referred to an email list for owners; this list was exclusively accessed and managed by and for owners in New Columbia. Although it's doubtful that all owners relied on this email list to the same degree, its existence points to an alternative

⁸¹ Multiplex social relations are connections between people that exist across more than one dimension (Gluckman, as cited in Coleman, 1988).

form of communication that helped them exchange information and build relationships with each other. This communication medium was self-restricted to owners; renters did not access it.

Although there was limited social interaction between renter and owner parents, each group's general perception of the neighborhood's social cohesion was positive. Analysis of the Likert scale responses to the New Columbia Community Speaks survey's statement, "I consider New Columbia a friendly neighborhood to live", showed that 77% of renter respondents and 75% of owners agreed or strongly agreed (Serbulo, 2009). While the survey response demonstrated that most renters and owners held positive impressions of general social interaction in the neighborhood, the qualitative data sourced during interviews revealed that social networks typically only extended to those on their block who shared the same tenure status. Greater social overlap, however, existed among their children. These patterns will be examined in the next section.

The Role of Neighborhood Resources in Social Network Formation

When asked to describe their social networks, most adolescents cited youth from both rented and owned homes. Physical proximity was a less critical factor for adolescents, which helps explain why these social networks tended to span different tenures more frequently; whether through the use of bikes or simply walking, youth seemed relatively more mobile within the neighborhood. Apart from physical proximity to their friends, a significant determinant of a child's social network included whether he or she participated in youth-based community programs. HAP's decision to fund these programs during the early years of New Columbia's growth was critical. These neighborhood resources, and the individuals who staffed them, were important to both social network composition and the potential for social capital activation particularly among renters.

New Columbia's staff⁸² implemented community programs that revolved around supporting the neighborhood's children and connecting with their parents. After-school, summer and vacation programs brought children from throughout the neighborhood together for both recreational and academic activities. The physical design of the neighborhood facilitated the execution of these programs; Rosa Parks elementary school and the Boys and Girls Club (which operated on the same property) were within a five minute walk from the Community Education Center, the building that HAP owned and operated for the purpose of community-related events and programs. In addition, the University Park Community Center was less than a 15 minute walk from most parts of New Columbia, while McCoy park and the smaller pocket parks were central to many community activities during warmer weather. Summer events, such as movie nights in the park and the annual National Night Out festival, were viewed as enjoyable and attracted both renters and owners, but these events did not necessarily encourage high levels of interaction between parents.

Participation in certain youth-centered programs encouraged social relationships among different categories of actors in the neighborhood: children across different households; staff and youth, staff and parents; and parents from different homes. Youth activities were periodically geared towards neighborhood improvement, such as litter pick up or volunteering at community events, but were primarily aimed at recreation. Ciera, a lone mother of one daughter and a public housing resident, explained how the neighborhood's community programs created positive and structured opportunities for both her and her daughter to socialize:

I try not to put her in negative situations. Like me, I'm in the choir, so she has something positive to look up to. And in the summertime she's not out here the way the other kids are out here, she's in a program. So I have her doing stuff like this, that, in the park.

⁸² Staff included adults who carried out daily social network-building related work in the neighborhood; in the context of this study these staff members primarily consisted of HAP's community builders and gang prevention staff, and secondarily those employed with the local Boys and Girls Club.

She's doing something. . .I can't, I can't speak for everybody, but I try to stay with the people who do get involved. The ones I know gets involved with their kids.

One HAP-sponsored youth employment program, K'Ching, explicitly incorporated parental involvement. Youth participants worked six hours per week for a total payment of \$50.00; jobs ranged from supervising activities at the Boys and Girls club to assisting with cleaning in the Trenton Terrace senior home. K'Ching also required the enrolled child's parent to volunteer three hours per week, which effectively facilitated social ties between parents from both rented and owned homes in the neighborhood. The scale of this interaction, however, was limited owing to the size of the program. A finite level of funding for the program meant that fewer than 25 adolescents could participate.

The qualitative information sourced during interviews, and my own observation of New Columbia's youth programming in action, revealed that child-centered programs were predominantly composed of renters' children. The overall perception of the organizations and programming located in or near New Columbia was nevertheless positive. According to the results from the Community Speaks survey, 82% of renters and 77% of owners strongly agreed or agree with the statement "I enjoy going, or sending my children to, the Boys and Girls Club or University Park Community Center". Based on anecdotal information, owners allegedly had higher participation rates at the University Park Community Center because this particular center was larger and provided programs aimed at adults as well as youth.

Renter youth were more likely than owner youth to be involved in these programs for several reasons. The higher number of school-age renter youth in New Columbia weighted participation in their favor, and renter parents were also more likely to depend on the free child care that these programs represented. One staff member who worked regularly with New Columbia children also explained:

It appears that the majority of homeowners have (pause) structured activities for the children in their homes, um, that they do. They're planned activities, (mimicking voice) spring break's coming, our family's going to do this, Christmas is coming, we're going to do this. Spring break appears to be the time that we, um, provide services or engage with, with homeowners' children [in addition to renters' children]. That just seems to be the time...the spring break period. And I think that comes from the *kids*, 'cause they know that during spring break, the community campus offers a *variety* of, um, activities and they can pick and choose, and I think that that's driven by the young people in those households. Not the parents.

This particular staff member, like others who worked in the neighborhood, had a greater amount of contact with renters relative to owners. Staff worked partially as social service providers and were typically first points of contact when a resident needed assistance, a referral, or intervention of some kind. Renters were more likely than owners to seek out this help from HAP staff, particularly in relation to child-care and general welfare issues.

Neighborhood narrative frames helped explain variations in owners' attitudes towards youth programs. Those with ideological narrative frames perceived these programs as ways for their children to tap into broader social networks, and interaction with a diverse set of people was prioritized. Sara, a white owner and mother of five children, explained why she wanted her thirteen year old son to participate in Crew:

They're (Crew staff) talking about how it's gang prevention and self esteem, and he's not really their target audience, this kid. He's the kid who's totally anal and he's never going to do anything wrong, you know, he's the first born, going to do it all right, make no mistakes kind of kid. But, I really wanted him to be a part of this program so that he could...kind of be in the trenches with other kids in the community and see, (mimicking voice) these are other kids, just like me, and we can hang out together, and that's no problem.

Even though Sara did not perceive her son to be at risk for gang recruitment, she valued the opportunity that Crew gave her son to form relationships with children from other racial and socio-economic backgrounds. The “trenches” she referenced related to integration with people she perceived as different from their family with regard to race and socio-economic background.

Monique, a married African American mother of two children, gave a similar explanation for why she involved her children in neighborhood activities: “It’s just a good feeling for me for her [my daughter] to be around or even for my son to be around different people so they can know different cultures, accept people for who they are”.

It is important to note that the extent to which these owners’ children formed lasting relationships with other New Columbia youth depended more on where they attended school than involvement in community programs. When I interviewed her son Jonathon later, he explained that he enjoyed Crew but did not form lasting friendships with any of the other participants. His social network was instead comprised of students he knew from the charter school he attended. In contrast, Monique’s daughter had a social network centered in New Columbia because she attended the local public school. The role of school choice in social network formation will be analyzed later in this chapter.

In contrast to those with ideological narrative frames, owners who entered New Columbia with pragmatic neighborhood narrative frames were far less likely to encourage their children to participate in these types of youth-centered programs, and expressed a lack of comfort with other youth in the neighborhood. Two owner parents, both of whom had moved to New Columbia with a pragmatic narrative frame, gave similar explanations for why their children did not participate in these programs. Jane, a married, white owner explained:

My kids didn't feel comfortable there, we tried it for a few times, I didn't really make them go back. They, you know, just didn't feel like they were welcome there or fit in... those kids say bad words. They're just not comfortable with that kinda stuff, that's just not the atmosphere that we have, and that we don't want to be around. So they don't like that.

A mixed-race owner and single mother, Christina, made more explicit references to differences in social class, and the behaviors she associated with lower-income or “ghetto” children, when

she explained why her daughters did not like to participate: “[My children say] that the kids are ghetto up in there. Just...they're not used to the loud, obnoxious (pause) stuff”. Further analysis of the norms that existed among adolescents, and the efforts that parents made to shape these norms, will be provided in Chapter Eight.

Lower-income renters’ higher participation rates in community activities, relative to higher-income owners, have also been found in other mixed-income neighborhoods. Kleit’s (2005) study of the NewHolly HOPE VI site in Seattle, Washington demonstrated similar findings regarding residents’ engagement; her results showed that renters were significantly more likely than owners to use community facilities and interact with one another as a result. In a qualitative analysis of community engagement at a HOPE VI site in Boston, Tach (2009b) also identified greater willingness to engage with the larger neighborhood among lower-income rather than higher-income newcomers. The qualitative findings from New Columbia help shed light on some possible reasons behind some higher-income residents’ limited participation in these community activities. Owners who entered the neighborhood with pragmatic narrative frames limited the involvement of their children in order to restrict exposure to behavioral norms they perceived as undesirable.

Staff’s Role in Social Networks

New Columbia’s Community Education Center, and more importantly, the employees in it who staffed supportive programs for families, reflected aspects of the neighborhood’s institutional capacity. Along with other elements of social organization, a community’s institutional resources serve to mediate adolescents’ developmental outcomes (Connell & Halpern-Felsher, 1997). New Columbia’s Community Builders and Crew staff (employees of HAP), as well as staff at the Boys and Girls Club and University Park Community Center,

worked closely with both parents and youth in the neighborhood, and social interaction between staff and parents often resulted from behavioral interventions with children. Several of the staff members included in the sample knew parents intimately through work with their children, and I was able to regularly observe their interactions with parents and youth during the four months I spent in New Columbia. Parents also referred to the important roles that staff played in the neighborhood. Ilyana explained how she came to know a male member of staff who worked with youth specifically on gang prevention:

He [staff member] is, like, the papa, of a lot of the kids around here, you know? Everybody knows him, he's another community member who, like, kinda makes it all come together. My son was stealing. . . stealing from other boys in the neighborhood. He was the bad element in this neighborhood. He would beat up other kids, he was out of control. . . he [New Columbia staff member] was the one who grabbed him by his collar and bring him to the house, and I love that, it's like old school, that's how it should be. And he would tell me everything that he [my son] did”.

Ilyana’s anecdote revealed the close nature of the relationships between some staff members and children in New Columbia. At the time, she was working a full time job and acting as lone mother to four children. Constraints on her time and energy meant that she relied on New Columbia staff to inform her of her son’s behavior and help her enforce consequences for anti-social behavior such as theft.

First hand observation of interactions between residents and staff revealed the closeness of these relationships. One staff member went on regular walks through the neighborhood during the evenings, and on one occasion I was able to accompany him. It was the only time that I had walked through the neighborhood past 10:00 P.M.; all my previous recruitment and socialization with residents had taken place earlier in the evening. This particular staff member was African American, and his language and dress mirrored that of the renters with whom he engaged. We stopped on renters’ lawns, and as he chatted with mothers through open windows

about their children and recent events in the neighborhood I noticed how informal the conversation seemed and how easily it flowed. We also stopped at McCoy Park, where a group of teenagers were playing basketball and socializing. Over half a dozen stopped to talk to this staff member, and update him on their respective summer activities and plans for the fall. Although this type of communication was part of the job, it appeared to be natural, and renter parents and youth seemed genuinely eager to share information about their lives. According to this staff member, who personally knew everyone he spoke to that night, no adolescent in the park that night was from an owned home. His informal rounds of the neighborhood focused predominantly on renters' blocks because those were the residents he knew best.

The way that intergenerational closure played out in the neighborhood differed according to tenure; renters relied more heavily on New Columbia support staff than owners appeared to with regard to the monitoring of their respective children. Relationships between staff and renter parents were more informal, and exhibited higher levels of daily social support, than those they had with owner parents. Parents did not necessarily reach out for the help that initiated these relationships; it was often the behavior or needs of children that instigated contact. The nature of these relationships between individuals working at New Columbia, particularly those that HAP employed as community builders and gang prevention staff, and renter parents revealed an interesting dimension of intergenerational closure. Sampson *et al.* (1999) identified this element of collective efficacy for children as the social networks between adults concerned with the individual and collective welfare of children in a given community; these networks facilitate information-sharing relevant to child welfare. A typical example of this type of social closure might be networks between various parents who share responsibility for the safety and well-being of their children and their children's friends.

Social networks between renter parents and New Columbia staff reflected examples of what Rydin and Holman (2004) called bracing social capital, which is a more nuanced theoretical construct than traditional categories of bonding or bridging social capital. Bracing social capital acknowledged the importance of common norms, between a relatively limited number of actors, in meeting specific objectives. Community-building efforts on the part of New Columbia staff with parents and children were instrumental in mediating ties to local schools and social service providers; these connections, which included both horizontal and vertical linkages, took place across several sectors. The number of actors involved, however, was not particularly extensive and the strength of their relationships depended partially on the common norms and expectations they shared. In New Columbia's case, paid staff who supervised the neighborhood's children played important roles in creating and sustaining this collective responsibility and information sharing regarding children; they also facilitated socialization between parents who might not have otherwise communicated. HAP's financial investment in the employment of these staff members ultimately returned dividends in the form of a more cohesive social fabric between renter parents and other concerned, non-parent adults, even if this latter group of adults were engaged, in part, because these were requirements of the job. Observations of interactions between staff and parents, and the information provided during interviews, pointed to HAP's success regarding the implementation of community building. Paid staff in the neighborhood thus played an important role in intergenerational closure and the construction of a more cohesive, child-centered social fabric. The type of information shared as a result of these social ties, which facilitated parents' access to educational and behavioral interventions for their children, revealed bracing social capital.

The function of social networks between specific ethnic groups and staff also reflected variations on how bracing social capital was manifested in the neighborhood. Several Latino residents discussed how they relied a great deal upon one key staff member at New Columbia who was fluent in both Spanish and English. Although several staff members on site could speak Spanish proficiently, this particular staff member was Latina and had taken a vested interest in the welfare of the neighborhood's Latino families. When asked whom they relied on for help, several Latino respondents in the sample mentioned this staff member by name, and explained in detail how her help extended beyond that of direct translation. She was perceived as a gatekeeper of valuable information, and was known among both residents and other staff for her willingness to advocate for tenants. This staff member had developed and incorporated herself into New Columbia's Latino social network through organizing language classes and community meetings; when I asked about the involvement of Latino residents in the community, most staff described her as the link. She had the type of access and trust that allowed her to easily bring out significant numbers of Latino residents for participation or involvement in a community meetings or event. Although this particular staff member did not reside in New Columbia, the type of communication she engaged in with Latino residents in particular reflected the type of information-sharing that leads to social leverage. Her knowledge of Portland, broad social network and willingness to advocate put her in a position to relay important information about employment, education and social service opportunities. This staff member formed strong ties with some residents, but it seemed as though many Latino parents in the neighborhood had heard of her reputation for acting as an advocate and agency liaison and were thus connected to her via weak ties. In this case, the relationship between New Columbia staff and its Latino renters reflected bracing social capital. Common norms facilitated trust, and staff's knowledge

and contacts were regularly relied upon. HAP initially framed the duties and responsibilities associated with this particular staff member's job at New Columbia. Although her individual prerogative determined the level of help available to residents, it was the housing authority's creation and maintenance of the job position that allowed her to carry out this work effectively. HAP's decision to invest in these types of human resources, in the form of her position and the other community builder positions, ultimately made a significant difference in the lives of New Columbia's renters.

It is important to note that not all renter parents automatically welcomed the assistance of New Columbia staff. Trust was built up over time and through experience, and required staff to take initiative with residents in order to incorporate themselves into the community. Hesitation or initial distrust on the part of renter parents emerged most distinctly when there was a perceived power differential between themselves and staff members. One staff member described how she realized she would need to take a more active role with residents in order to reduce the sense of perceived social distance and create stronger ties:

Sometimes I think people see me, and they're like, (mimicking voice) oh, she's out of touch. She just works in the office. And I had this lady. . . I was putting the newsletters out, and this lady came out, and she was like, (mimicking voice) oh I didn't recognize you, 'cause you're always behind that *desk*. And it just made me realize (pause) they think of me, as like, the girl in the office. And I couldn't help but think, oh, I'm just this white girl behind the desk in the office.

A different staff member, who worked closely with youth and parents with regard to educational interventions, explained that race-related boundaries influenced some of her interactions with African American mothers in particular:

Some of the comments that I hear, (mimicking voice) I don't need no white woman, no rich, tellin' me about my kids. (mimicking own voice) And I get that, and I get where that comes from. And I respect that about you. . . However, what we have found is that the majority of parents here in NC want that outcome that we make very appealing for their young person. And they do whatever they can do. It may be as simple as,

(mimicking voice) I'll call you if I don't know where my kid is, or I'll call you if the school calls me.

This illustrated how staff members in New Columbia served in several roles, including acting as a bridge between the family and a formal institution such as the child's school. Although these types of ties took time to create, and significant work on the part of staff to sustain, they helped integrate staff members more regularly into renter parents' social networks and further facilitated intergenerational closure. Relative to owners, renter parents described much closer relationships with staff; based on information from owners and staff, owner parents were far less likely to need intermediaries between themselves and their children's schools or other institutions.

As the chapter has outlined thus far, the composition of New Columbia's social networks varied based on tenure. Different types of networks mirrored three types of connectedness that Pretty and Ward (2001) discussed in relation to social capital: local, local-local and local-external. First, local connections, those between individuals and in the context of local groups, appeared in relation to participants' social ties with neighbors on their respective blocks. Second, connections between various groups within New Columbia, such as the HAP-sponsored Crew and the Boys' and Girls' Club, reflected local-local connections. Extended professional networks, knowledge of the school system and local service providers meant that these staff members had greater information and connections to access for the primary benefit of renter families. Any perceived power differential, however, was often diminished through exposure, establishment of common norms, and trust; as discussed above, this facilitated the activation of bracing social capital.

Because renters' children were most likely to interact with staff, however, bracing social capital and intergenerational closure existed primarily between staff and renters as opposed to between staff and owners. Another staff member, who worked daily in New Columbia and

assisted with managerial duties related to lease enforcement, suggested that the different level of interaction that staff had with renters versus owners, and the physical proximity of rented units, had important implications for social cohesion:

[Renters'] interaction with management is at a higher level. We inspect their units, they have to pay their rent every month, they have to come in and do paperwork every year, sometimes more often. Um, their level of interaction is, by necessity, higher. We do a lot of programs, community buildings and services, so we're in their homes, we're interacting with them in a way that we're not interacting with the homeowners. And that brings peoples' comments, opinions and feelings to the fore more easily. And it also makes them (pause) recognize that they're part of a broader community more often. So a person can still stay really private, but it's more likely for them to become more community aware, I think. It's just, you know, there's people living above them and next to them and below them, and they're seeing those folks all the time.

Social ties were more limited between members of staff and owners, with the exception of those that formed as a result of governance structures such as Town Hall and the homeowners' association. These ties provided an example of the third of Pretty's and Ward's (2001) types of connectedness that manifested itself in New Columbia's social networks: local-external, which were attempted between the local group and the Housing Authority of Portland. Implications of all three of these varied forms of connectedness for social capital and the exercise of power will be analyzed further in Chapter Eight.⁸³

Perceived Symbolic Boundaries

Participants presented certain justifications or rationales for the largely homogenous composition of their respective social networks, and these explanations highlighted perceived symbolic boundaries within New Columbia. As discussed in Chapter Three, symbolic boundaries represent how individuals conceptualize differences between themselves and others (based on dimensions including personal attributes, objects, space, etc.) while social boundaries

⁸³ In their typology of connectedness, Pretty and Ward (2001) also identified external and external-external connections, but these types were not immediately relevant to social networks within New Columbia.

reflect actualized disparities in resource allocation based on these differences (Lamont & Molnar, 2002). Interviews revealed a wide range of perceptions about various out-groups, and distinctions between groups, within New Columbia. Not all residents conceptualized the same types of symbolic boundaries, but clear themes emerged when parents were asked whom they tended to socialize with and how these relationships had developed. Youth respondents also shed light on the nature of boundaries, which they sometimes thought about quite differently from their parents. These symbolic boundaries will be discussed in this section and subsequent sections on race, ethnicity and income.

Owners with ideological narrative frames were particularly sensitive to the fact that their social networks were homogenous according to tenure. When asked about the composition of their social networks, these owners pointed out specific reasons why their social relationships tended to be limited to other owners. Mike, for example, explained that renters faced structural barriers to social interaction in the neighborhood: “A lot of folks here are single parents, and putting in long hours at very low wage jobs, and, you know, they don't really have the time or energy to interact or be part of the neighborhood”. Other owners with ideological narrative frames made similar references to the difficulties associated with poverty when they explained what prohibited their exposure to and interactions with renters.

Owners who adopted a pragmatic narrative frame also tended to have social networks based around other owners, but gave different reasons for why this was the case. Proximity was cited as the main determinant of their social networks, but several of these owners also made references to negative behaviors associated either directly with renters or with nearby blocks comprised of renters. Christina, an owner and lone mother of four children, explained why she thought renters were not engaged with the larger community in a productive way:

They don't *care*, it's not *theirs*, they're not paying anything. Mom's not working, Dad, if he's around...it's...I don't know. I've been here three years, and (pause) it's just slowly declining. I don't know, it was pretty bad the first year that I was here too. You got shootings going on here at the *park*. I don't even...my kids don't even go to the park. I've got my oldest daughter, who doesn't even do anything around the neighborhood.

Renters conceptualized their lack of social networking with owners in more neutral terms. According to parent renters in the sample, owners appeared to play a very small role in neighborhood activities and their overall presence felt limited. Many renters said that they had never come into contact with an owner, much less formed a friendship with one. Ilyana, a lone black mother who lived in public housing, explained:

I've never been to an owner's house, one of the homeowner's homes, no. I can't speak for everybody else, but I have to tell you the truth, I don't even want to. Those are people very much trying to stay to themselves. So, you gotta respect their privacy. And that's what I, I mean, if they're that guarded, you know what I'm sayin' (laughs softly), then I wouldn't even want to go that way...to tell you the truth, if you drive by some of the owners' houses, it damn near looks vacant because you really don't see them out and about like that.

The perception that owners were largely invisible was echoed among other renters. This was unsurprising owing to the overall composition of the neighborhood - approximately one third of units were composed of owners and the remainder consisted of renters; renters thus outnumbered owners roughly two to one.

Race and Ethnicity

Ethnicity and race informed participants' social networks and perceptions of boundaries in different ways, and New Columbia's racial diversity was discussed in both positive and negative terms. With regard to background information on New Columbia's racial and ethnic composition, out of 622 rented households, approximately 16% were Latino, 4% were African immigrant, 50% were African American and the remaining 30% white (Gray, personal

communication, June 23, 2009).⁸⁴ The majority of Latino and African immigrant renter adults in the neighborhood had very limited English language skills. Similar demographic information on the owned households was unavailable, but based on anecdotal information from staff and my own exposure to residents while walking through the neighborhood, people of color owned a significant percentage (estimated at 40 to 50%) of the 232 houses in the neighborhood.

Out of the 42 residents in the sample, five adults had immigrated to the U.S. and were non-native English speakers, and the Latina parents in my sample had been living in the U.S. for lengths of time that varied from three years to over ten years. None spoke English fluently, but those who had been living in the U.S. for longer lengths of time explained that they could understand English fairly easily but were uncomfortable speaking it. Their children were fluent in English, but Spanish remained the most commonly used language inside the home, and they required Spanish translators during recruitment and interviews. Three out of four of Latina parents in the sample said that they had minimal contact with any of their neighbors in New Columbia and instead cited relationships with kin either in other parts of the neighborhood or elsewhere in Portland. Although they exchanged short greetings with their English-speaking neighbors when they saw them, any meaningful or in depth interactions were limited. When necessary, their children served as translators or they communicated via hand signals. English classes were held periodically in the community, but the Latina parents I spoke to while in the neighborhood were ambivalent about learning the language. One teenage Latina teenager in the sample, Lourdes, explained that her mother didn't allow English to be spoken in the house because it prevented her from understanding her children. Spanish tied them and their families to

⁸⁴ These statistics were sourced from a staff member at the Housing Authority of Portland with access to official records on renters' demographics.

the larger Latino community and facilitated the maintenance of cultural practices and tightly knit social networks.

Out of all participants, the Latina mothers in the sample spoke the most explicitly about social differences that related to directly to race. Three out of four Latinas in the sample cited concerns specifically about African American members of the neighborhood, and brought up these concerns without prompting on my part or the translator's. Fear of aggressive or hostile behavior on the part of black residents kept these mothers from attempting to form closer relationships with them. Although some of these concerns were based on assumptions and stereotypes, they were also rooted in anecdotes that spread quickly through the Latino community within New Columbia. Incidences that involved young African American residents harassing or attacking Latino youth were used as justification for why their networks were kept limited. A HAP staff member who worked closely with residents in New Columbia recounted an experience that happened in the community between two 12 year old girls:

And the, one of the Latina girls got beat up by one of the African American girls. The Latina girl didn't fight back at all. She was scared to fight back, so she got hit pretty bad. . . the dad was just furious. His daughter, her face, they kicked her. She was kicked in the face. . . because she said that the Latina girl was starin' at her in school, in the classroom. And she (the African American girl) didn't like it.

Some of the stereotypical aggressive behaviors associated with black members of the community were difficult for non-English speaking Latinos to personally overcome because they had little direct contact with those outside their ethnic networks.

Other parents in the sample, including African American and white residents, discussed New Columbia's racial diversity in very positive terms even if their personal social networks were racially homogenous. Even if they had not moved to New Columbia with its racial diversity in mind, parents across tenures and narrative frames referenced it as a beneficial aspect

of the neighborhood. White and African American parents, who reflected the majority racial groups, tended to discuss the diversity of New Columbia's racial composition more positively than the Somali or Latino parents in the sample.

Parents' appreciation for exposure to residents of different races and ethnicities, however, did not extend to seeking out social interaction with them if they were not already proximate neighbors. They instead emphasized that their children played together frequently, especially children under the age of eight. My experience in the neighborhood confirmed this observation; I frequently saw smaller children of different races and ethnicities socializing in yards and on the sidewalks together. According to opinions from parents and youth in the sample, and collaborated with my own observations, younger children were more likely to cross racial boundaries than older youth and adults. One 16 year old African American owner adolescent, Terrick, summarized social dynamics on his particular block in racial terms:

People around where I live at, it's Mexican, there's African American, and there's Caucasian. . . and there's an African, he lives behind us. But everyone just gets along, all the kids play together. Grown ups never really hang out, they just say hi to each other.

Although socialization across different racial groups was more common among youth, adolescent respondents also discussed perceived racial divisions in the community far more explicitly than adults. In this regard, race trumped income or tenure as a point of social differentiation. Despite their parents' limited networks, Latino youth in the sample still tended to socialize across racial and ethnic boundaries. Crystal, a 14 year old African American girl living in public housing, discussed how she perceived the role of race in New Columbia's design⁸⁵:

They kind of have, like, the Mexicans on one side and then the blacks and then the whites and then it's like, some parts where it's mixed. But you can go to one part and tell how

⁸⁵ No official separation of race guided any aspect of New Columbia's design, although I noticed that several of the Somali rental units tended to be clustered together, most likely to encourage interaction among members of a group who might otherwise feel isolated because of language barriers.

it's different from another. And, it's like, we're all the same, but most of them don't get along with each other, that's probly why they put them in that certain place. . . Yeah, like blocks of their own.

Youth participants from both rented and owned homes cited various events that involved racial slurs or tension, but these events seemed more likely to occur in McCoy Park, where larger groups of youth congregated and parental supervision was lower, as opposed to throughout the neighborhood. The way that adolescents claimed authority over this public space, and implications for informal social control, will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Race was also occasionally conflated with tenure. Although New Columbia contained a considerable number of black homeowners relative to the rest of Portland, owners nevertheless tended to be white and renters tended to be people of color. Within the sample, youth were more likely than parents to point out that white people tended to live in houses and people of color in apartments. One fourteen year old African American boy who lived in an owned home, Alonzo, differentiated blocks in the neighborhood by race instead of tenure.

I think they (residents) kinda stick to their own 'cause what I've noticed, up there, two blocks up it's like a whole bunch of white people. . . Yeah. And then, like, down here [near Community Education Center and McCoy Park], it's congested, and Latinos and blacks all through here. . . But, like, on the movie night it just seems so cool, everybody just gets together, there's no fighting or nothing.

The “two blocks up” from his home was in fact a reference to a block of owned homes.

Alonzo’s comment also reveals HAP’s success in its attempt to integrate members of the neighborhood through community events. Several respondents cited the movie nights held during the summer in McCoy Park, as well as other summer specific events such as National Night Out⁸⁶ and concert series, as events that brought the community together.

⁸⁶ National Night Out is a yearly event during the summer in McCoy Park that brings together representatives from local social service providers, games and activities for children and music in a

Youth sometimes used race as a way to make quick stereotypical assumptions about an individual's attributes, and made decisions about social interactions accordingly. A 14 year old daughter of a black father and mixed race mother, Aly lived in an owned home with her single mother and three sisters. She described the types of initial judgments that were made about her:

A new friend that I made thought that I was, that I...that she had thought of me being really loud, and raspy, and ghetto. And also a guy, who was my color, thought that I was also gonna be loud and ghetto, and that I was this type of ghetto chick that would just yell at people and stuff like that... Like African Americans mostly, they tend to be loud, and to start drama and stuff like that. So that's why they probably thought I would be loud and raspy, and that's why they probably didn't even want to talk to me.

Other respondents told anecdotes that reflected similar types of stereotypes, specifically about African Americans. Large groups of black teenagers, both male and female, were perceived as hostile or intimidating. This perception was represented across all racial groups in the sample, including black youth. Alonzo, a fourteen year old African American boy who lived full time in an owned home with his aunt and uncle while his mother served a prison sentence, avoided the park after he had experienced harassment from other black teenage boys about his gang affiliation. The perceived threat of harassment, and the potential for it to turn into violence, deterred both parents and youth from socializing where groups of young black men tended to congregate. McCoy Park and bus stops were frequently mentioned as problematic areas for these types of reasons; attitudes towards these specific public spaces will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Income Inequality

Opinions on whether or not receipt of public assistance created social boundaries between New Columbia residents differed widely within the sample. Owner youth were most likely to

festival type environment for New Columbia residents. I attended National Night Out when it was held in August, and a large number of renters and owners came out for this event.

identify income as a relevant or sensitive issue, while renter youth tended to gloss over differences in income that exist in the neighborhood. Most adolescents from owned homes stressed that their renter friends thought of them as more wealthy than they perceived themselves to be. These differences were more pronounced when owner youth attended the local public school; it was then that their school and neighborhood social networks overlapped and tended to include a greater proportion of renters. Silvia, the white 16 year old daughter of New Columbia owners, explained:

We have really nice cars, and for us, this is a nice house. And so, my friends are like, (mimicking voice) why do you have a nice house or nice cars? And I'm like, we're not even rich. We just barely get by every month and stuff. And they think we're rich, and I'm just like, (mimicking own voice) no. So when I go to school I try to blend in. 'Cause I have nice clothes and stuff, but other people wear the same things every day, so I try not to, like, dress up every day. I try just getting along with school, and friends, and stuff.

Despite the fact that some of the youth respondents were sensitive to expressions of income, such as the type of clothing, car or material goods a family owned, no renter youth or owner youth implied that another person's income level would factor into whether or not they socialized with them. Renter youth did not notice major differences in material expressions of wealth among their peers in the neighborhood: a 14 year old white teenager in a rented apartment, Lisa, had previously lived in a suburb of Portland that was higher income, and explained why she felt more comfortable socially in New Columbia:

I like it [in New Columbia] better. I used to live in Beaverton, and, um, no, I didn't fit in there because, um (pause) my mom and me, well, my mom doesn't make a lot of money but my stepdad did and a lot of the people there are higher class, and they make a lot of money. And I didn't know about a lot of the stuff that they knew about.

When asked about the "stuff" that she didn't know about, Lisa referenced the types of brand name clothing and accessories that her former suburban peers had prioritized.

Issues related to socio-economic status were usually framed as cultural differences and were more difficult for both me and the respondent to talk about openly; most owner parents in particular were very hesitant to make statements that could be construed as condescending or elitist. Perceived differences in socio-economic status arose more prominently during discussions about the sharing of resources; this and other issues related to social exchange will be examined in more detail in Chapter Eight.

Implications of School Choice for Social Networks

Another dimension of neighborhood attachment, and of social networks more generally, was where children attended school. Chapter Two outlined how Portland Public Schools District's (PPS) responded to the federal No Child Left Behind program through its school choice policies. In its school lottery system, students with the lowest test scores, who *also* qualified for Free and Reduced Lunch, were prioritized for school transfer above higher-performing students or those in a higher income bracket. These low-income children were prioritized as part of the school district's effort to encourage proportional socio-economic representation in schools across the district and offer struggling students a learning environment in which a greater percentage of students are performing well. This particular policy was advantageous to low-income, low-performing students who wished to exit what No Child Left Behind formally deemed "needs improvement" schools, which were more widely known as simply failing schools. At the same time, however, it made it more difficult for better-performing low-income students or higher-income students to leave such schools. Parents with children who did not benefit from the school lottery, and were not placed in what they perceived to be a desirable schools, in many cases chose to simply opt out of the traditional PPS system and sent their children to charter or private schools. Families' responses to Portland's school

choice system, and specifically how neighborhood location and opinions on community investment further complicated these decisions, will be discussed in this section.

Although the small size of the qualitative sample does not allow for statistical analysis, it is important to outline the variation across owners' and renters' choices: out of 19 youths in the sample, only 8 attended the locally designated public school. The remainder participated in Portland's school choice program in order to attend a non-local public school, charter school or had opted out of the public school system altogether in order to attend private schools; the thesis will refer to this group of schools as alternative schools and the designated public school as local schools. Among the group of 11 youths in alternative schools, 5 lived in rented homes and 6 lived in owned homes.⁸⁷ In two instances, children had started full time virtual education programs at home. Decisions on where to go to school fundamentally shaped both child's and parent's social networks, as well as the potential for intergenerational closure and reciprocated exchange.

Although the amount of variation in the types of choices parents made about schools was consistent across tenure groups, the approach taken to the school selection tended to differ based on tenure status. This section first analyzes how different residents in the sample negotiated decisions about where to attend school and then how these decisions influenced the social relations between parents and youth in New Columbia.

Several of the adolescents enrolled in alternative schools had attempted schooling at the local public school, but perception of poor experiences drove them to seek out other choices. Natalie, a 16 year old from a rented home, explained why she chose to leave the local public high

⁸⁷ Of the total 19 adolescent respondents I was able to corroborate reasons for school choice with 15 of their respective parents.⁸⁷ Consequentially, while I was able to compare and contrast the types of reasons parents and their children gave for school choice in the majority of households represented in the sample, this was not always the case.

school: “I have problems understanding. Sometimes, like, I can't understand what the teachers say. And because it wasn't really that much one-on-one [in the local high school], I wasn't understanding what they were saying”. Her description of the circumstances surrounding her departure focused more on her personal needs than on the school’s deficiencies. The other youth renters in the sample described their schooling choices similarly. Liliana, an 17 year old Latina daughter of renters, had also transferred out of the local public school system and suggested: “It all depends on the people who are actually in it, you know? There's not really a bad school. It all depends on what you make of it”.

Both renter and owner youths acknowledged the poor reputation that some of the local schools had developed but were quick to point out that these schools were not necessarily low quality. The most common problem associated with these schools was gang activity and related violence. One 14 African American adolescent living in an owned home, Alonzo, described how he took a public bus for an hour each way in order to attend a higher performing high school in another part of Portland. He compared his high school with the local high schools that he would otherwise be attending:

It's [Grant] got higher standards for me, 'cause, like, I got applied for a transfer and got accepted. But like, if I mess up, I go to Roosevelt, the neighborhood school. . . . Roosevelt's kinda (pause) there's nothing *wrong*, but it's kinda bad, they got a bad image and stuff. . . . I think a lot more colleges look at Grant than look at Roosevelt. 'Cause say you got a 3.6 at Roosevelt and 3.6 at Grant. They probly think a 3.6 at Roosevelt isn't that big of a deal, but at Grant it is.⁸⁸

Alonzo was held to a higher standard at his alternative school for a combination of factors. His school had a reputation for being more academically rigorous, which he knew would help him during the college application process later. He also understood that a potential expulsion would leave him with no other option than the local neighborhood school. Other youths who attended

⁸⁸ Alonzo referred to a 3.6 out of a total 4.0 grading scale commonly used in American high school and university settings.

alternative schools were similarly hesitant to make any disparaging comments about the local public options. The decision to attend another school tended to focus on the fact that they liked and felt comfortable in their alternative school.

Youths who did attend the local public schools spoke with greater detail about these schools' strengths and weaknesses. Discussion of positive aspects of the schools revolved around students' involvement in clubs and after school activities. Although none of these respondents cited the school as a "bad" or "low-quality" school, certain limitations around specific classes or programs were discussed. One white 16 year old living in an owned home, Silvia, discussed her local high school with mixed feelings:

Last year I liked it a lot better, but my favorite teachers left last year, so we don't have that good of teachers this year. And I'm taking Advanced Placement classes, and the teacher don't really know what they're doing. So, it's kind of hard... They prepare you really well for college, but they don't prepare you well for the classes you're taking then. So they'll help you get into college and give you student...help for that and stuff, but in the classes you're taking you don't really understand what's going on, so. I think I can pass it [the end of year national test for college credit], but I think I'll have to get a lot more help outside of school.

In the cases of both Silvia and Alonzo, both teenagers had parents who had attended college. Knowledge of requirements and pre-requisites for university attendance was sourced, in part, from their parents. Silvia also knew that she could secure tutoring with the help of one of her parents. Renter youths tended to speak in more neutral terms about the quality of their education, and were less likely to critique the local neighborhood schools they attended.

Parents across tenure groups shared certain reasons for sending their children to alternative schools, but distinctions between renters and owners persisted. Both renters and owners pointed to low test scores at local schools as justification for sending their children to alternative schools. Renters, however, explained that they had received information about school achievement primarily in the form of letters from the Portland School District and emphasized

sending their children to any school *but* the local school, while owners framed the choice in terms securing what they perceived to be the best fit for their children.

Most renter parents discussed the decision to opt out of the local school system based on their low opinion of the local public schools. Of the twelve renter parents interviewed, six had chosen to send their children to alternative schools instead of local schools. Low opinion was established in some cases from personal experience in low-income public schools, and in others from the information on school ratings provided from PPS. Ilyana, a lone black mother of four children living in public housing, explained how her own schooling experience outside of Portland informed her opinion of the local public schools:

My concern is sending them to a school where (pause) there's majority black kids and Mexicans first off and, um, there's just the bad elements that, you know... it's just that I have experience with low-income schools, low-income neighborhoods. You're getting a second rate education. That's just my opinion. . . so I'd rather send them to other schools way out where I know they'll be getting a better education and a more diverse crowd of people. . . I don't think we [Ilyana and her friends] all got the best education (laughs softly) because I look at some of my kids' work and I'm like, wow, I don't remember learning this when I was in school.

The demographics of the school reminded Ilyana of the neighborhood and school that she grew up in, and poor associations with her experience encouraged her to seek out alternatives for her children. When I asked her to explain how Portland's school choice system worked, she explained the lottery system to me in detail. It was clear that she had prioritized her older children's attendance at alternative schools. Ilyana's exception, however, was the Rosa Parks elementary school where her six year old daughter attended first grade. She described how much she liked this particular school, citing the quality of the teachers and sense of community. After elementary school, however, she planned to enter her youngest daughter in the same school choice program that her older children had already been through. Ilyana didn't trust the local

middle and high schools to provide adequately for her children and had been pleased with the experiences that her older children had in alternative schools.

In relation to school choices for their respective children, owner parents differed from renter parents in several respects. First, owner parents were more likely to take advantage of charter or private schools in Portland instead of applying for a public school transfer under PPS' school choice program. Of the nine owner parents who adopted an alternative or mixed approach to school choice, six had selected charter or private schools. In contrast, no renter parents had selected charter or private schools for their children. Additionally, none of the owner parents in the sample described their own childhood educations as sub-par. They did, however, point to weaknesses in the local public schools as rationales for sending their children elsewhere. These weaknesses were mostly traced to the low ratings that PPS designated the schools under No Child Left Behind legislation. Out of the eleven parent owners in the sample, five had chosen to send their children to alternative schools, four used a mixed approach⁸⁹ and had chosen to send one child to the local school and another child to an alternative school, and two parents had children currently enrolled in the local neighborhood school but expressed specific plans to send them to alternative high schools.

Parents with ideological narrative frames discussed school choice differently than those with pragmatic narrative frames. Those from the latter group made no apologies for choosing to send their children to charter, private or alternative schools. The decision was framed in straightforward terms; they simply chose the better school for their child to attend. Parents who had moved into New Columbia for primarily ideological reasons, however, discussed the tension they felt over school choice. Michelle, a white owner and lone mother of one adolescent

⁸⁹ Explanations for this approach seemed context and child-specific. These parents had started their children at the local public school but ultimately discovered that it was not a good fit for one of their children. If the other child seemed to be doing well, however, he or she remained at that school.

daughter, explained the choice between the local public high school and a private high school as reflective of tension between a desire to invest in the local school system and her unwillingness to compromise on the perceived quality of her child's education:

The Portland public schools are goin' to hell (laughs softly) and I was a firm believer to stick in there and fix the problem, until it came time for me to send her to school. Then I was like, no way. It's [North Portland] changed dramatically now, but the schools have not changed because they've just got the reputation. . . they're bad schools, there's always bad kids, there's fights, there's weapons. So I think it's just got a really bad reputation, and people are not sending their kids there if they don't have to. And they don't have the (test) numbers, period, so it's a combination of stuff. And it's just too wishy-washy right now. I can't afford her future to try to fix such a huge problem. Like, I really want to stick in there and go (mimicking voice) let me get involved in school, let's get other parents involved and fix it, but like I said, I wimped out. So, [when] she's up to bat, guess what, we're not going there.

Neither renter nor owner parents with pragmatic narrative frames seemed to share the same type of inner conflict that Michelle described and that a few other owner parents with ideological frames inferred. These owners' children ultimately took advantage of school choice either through nearby charter or private schools in spite of this ideological dilemma. When parents felt as though they were presented with a choice between prioritization of the local community and the educational quality afforded to their child, they unanimously chose their children.

These qualitative findings pointed to relatively considerable variation *within* tenure groups regarding school selection, but quantitative results from the Community Speaks survey revealed greater disparity between renters and owners regarding parents' attitudes. In response to the survey statement "I am satisfied with the schools in my neighborhood", 63% of renters and only 24% of owners agreed or strongly agreed (Serbulo, 2009). Based on this large *n* sample of New Columbia residents, therefore, renters were two and a half times as likely as owners to be satisfied with the quality of the local schools.⁹⁰ The statistically significant difference between

⁹⁰ This statement did not disaggregate between quality of local elementary schools versus middle or high schools.

owners' and renters' level of agreement with this survey statement implied that renters were less discerning over the quality of local school options. Qualitative findings, however, pointed to different but equally nuanced approaches towards determining school quality and school selection.

Where a child attended school influenced whom he or she socialized with in New Columbia, and also impacted his or her parent's social network. Youth who attended the local public schools tended to have a greater amount of overlap among the friends they knew at school and in New Columbia. In two instances, youth owners who attended charter or private schools referred to one or two friends who also attended these alternative schools and lived in New Columbia, but these social networks tended to be very small and restricted to other owners. Typically youth owners and renters who attended alternative schools continued to make an effort to socialize in the neighborhood and maintain specific, neighborhood-based friendships. Because the frequency of contact was limited, however, these social networks were usually simply sustained and limited to specific individuals.

Some youth who attended alternative schools, including renters and owners, referred to the tension that they occasionally experienced from living in New Columbia and attending school elsewhere. Demographics sometimes differed between school and neighborhood, and some youth were put in a position of defending New Columbia against negative comments. Both renter and owner youth shared anecdotes that involved them confronting stereotypes about the neighborhood. Terrick, an African-American 16 year old son of an owner, described an exchange he had with another student at the private school he attended:

I remember I was arguin' with this girl, and it made me angry, 'cause she said I live in the Vill, and it's like horrible in that place, and I was just like...you don't know what you're talkin' about, at all. This girl who goes to my school, she's very wealthy, so I couldn't really, like...I didn't want to come back at her.

Youth who attended local schools did not cite prejudice or assumptions directed towards New Columbia, most likely because the other children who attended those schools were familiar with the actual neighborhood as opposed to lingering stigma related to Columbia Villa.

When parents have children who attended the same school, the frequency of contact and information shared between them tended to increase. Monique, a married African American owner and mother of two children, explained:

You know, it's like, my kids go to school with some of their friends, and their friends live around the corner, it just feels kinda like a family. An extended family. So, I like it 'cause of all the different people that are here and the interaction that we have with them. You just feel like it's a family, a big family.

The parents in the sample who sent their children to non-local public schools, charter schools, private schools or alternative schools were less likely to have neighborhood-based social networks. Portland's open school choice system allowed families greater choice, and their children often appreciated the opportunity to attend a higher performing school regardless of whether or not other youth in New Columbia attended it. Access to choice, however, tended to compromise opportunities for neighborhood-based social interaction. The potential for school-centered civic capacity, which Stone (2001) identified as joint mobilization among different actors and sectors, was consequentially limited among New Columbia's families.

Conclusion

This chapter examined how parents and youth, across different tenures and races, approached social network formation in New Columbia. Within the neighborhood, renters demonstrated higher rates of intergenerational closure than owners. This was attributable to several factors, including the higher proportion of parents among renters relative to owners and renters' higher dependence on youth-based community programs. Paid staff members connected

with children's parents through these programs and activities, and the communication and trust built over time facilitated higher levels of intergenerational closure between renter parents and these non-familial adults. Among owners, those who moved to New Columbia with ideological neighborhood narrative frames were more likely to invest time and energy into social activities with their neighbors, and encouraged their children to do the same.

Most parents' social networks did not cross tenures. New Columbia's physical design facilitated within-tenure social networks because each block was limited to a single tenure type; this ensured that one's most proximate neighbors shared one's tenure group. Adolescents' social networks were not limited in the same way; school attendance largely determined their peer groups, and they were also more likely to know peers beyond the individual blocks on which they lived.

In the sample, almost all the owners' children and a significant, but smaller, proportion of renters' children took advantage of Portland's school choice lottery system. The decisions that parents made about where to send their respective children to school held significant implications for the types of social networks those youth formed, and whether they extended inside New Columbia. Families, including both parents and youth, who participated in Portland's school choice program had more limited neighborhood-based social networks. Strength of intergenerational closure, therefore, depended in part on where parents chose to send their children to school.

Social networks are an important element of collective efficacy for children because they relate to reciprocated exchange and the enforcement of informal social control (Sampson *et al.*, 1999). Although greater levels of communication facilitate the exchange of help and development of common norms, they are not necessarily a prerequisite condition (Joseph, 2006).

How parents and youth in New Columbia navigated social exchange and social control will be examined in the following chapter.

Chapter 8: Social Exchange and Norms

Introduction

The previous two chapters outlined how New Columbia's renters and owners framed the decision to move to the mixed-income neighborhood, and the ways in which they approached social networks after entering. This chapter will analyze if and how residents engaged in social exchange, specifically in relation to the activation of bonding, bridging and bracing forms of social capital. Reciprocated exchange, an important dimension of collective efficacy for children, will also be examined across income and tenure groups (Sampson *et al.*, 1999). Functional roles of social relationships differed across income and tenure groups; manifestations of bonding social capital, or horizontal linkages between individuals that facilitate equivalent exchanges of social support, were particularly distinct between renters and owners. If and how this form of social exchange occurred will be examined in the context of New Columbia's youth and parents.

Social relationships in New Columbia also reflected bridging and bracing forms of social capital. The former is based upon social ties aimed at leverage or mobility (Briggs, 1998), while the latter reflects how common norms can be lent to implementing strategic, policy oriented action (Rydin & Holman, 2004). The chapter will analyze bridging and bracing forms of social capital in relation to residents' social exchange, particularly in the context of community governance structures.

Sampson *et al.* (1999) identified informal social control and mutual support of youth as the third dimension of collective efficacy for children. How parents across tenure groups approached informal social control will be analyzed according to both parents and adolescents; this dual perspective offered a unique understanding of how adults interacted with youth in

different contexts. Interviews with parents and adolescents explored the physical and social contexts in which specific anti-social behaviors, specifically violence and aggression, took place. Finally, the issue of territoriality, or the power and control exercised over specific spaces, will be explored in relation to social dynamics between youth and adults in New Columbia.

Bonding Social Capital

Chapter Three outlined how social support between individuals may range between performing small favors to stepping in to help during an emergency, and is usually exchanged between friends, family members and friendly neighbors. These exchanges, and the relationships that are strengthened through them, represent bonding social capital.

The nature of bonding social capital in New Columbia varied between and within tenure groups, where tendency towards bonding social capital particularly differed between those owners with ideological and pragmatic neighborhood narrative frames. Owner parents with ideological narrative frames described their neighbors as people they trusted to watch out for their children, depended on to borrow minor household items, and from whom they gathered relevant information about activities in the neighborhood. Sara, a white owner and married mother of five children, emphasized how childcare was one of the primary ways that she and the other owners on her block exchanged help:

We have really friendly neighbors, who are really, you know, sort of all wanting to be, you know, friendly to each other, and involved with each other, and sharing meals, and our kids run back and forth to each others' houses, um. . . Kid care, for sure. Watching each others' kids is, like, really big [help].

These forms of social support were facilitated through the friendships that had been forged with proximate neighbors on particular blocks. Because blocks tended to physically concentrate either renters or owners, social support was generally restricted within tenure groups.

Owners with pragmatic neighborhood narrative frames were more likely to describe themselves as self-sufficient, and exchanges of social support were limited accordingly. The exception to this was inclement weather, which was repeatedly listed as an instigator for social support even among those who rarely interacted with other households. When asked if or when they exchanged help with their neighbors, owners with pragmatic narrative frames unanimously brought up isolated incidences such as annual snowstorms, and more rarely, electricity outages. It was then that these owners helped each other dig snow out of driveways, lent candles, or offered to pick up food for one another at the local grocery store. Proximate neighbors on the same block tended to assist each other, which meant this specific type of social support also was restricted within-tenure.

Renter parents tended to rely more heavily on one another. In addition to the help that was offered during weather-related struggles, parent renters frequently described social exchange that took place on a daily basis. This type of help included the use of appliances such as phones, washing machines, or giving spare cans of food. Renters (regardless of neighborhood narrative frame) were far more likely to describe situations in which they had either sought or given help; these situations included lending money or household items, and watching each other's children during emergencies.

Renters emphasized the reciprocal nature of this help, or willingness to both offer and receive assistance. Intensified social exchange among renters reflected higher rates of material insecurity and subsequent dependence on each other for help. When probed about whom they exchanged help with and why, both renter adults and adolescents discussed the importance of reciprocity in social support. Perceived understanding or empathy with the difficulties associated with poverty facilitated requests for help. Natalie, a 16 year old half-Latino, half-

white resident, living in a public housing apartment with her custodial parents, explained why she and her other renter friends felt more comfortable relying on one another for help. Six months pregnant with her first child at the time of the interview, she discussed this type of help in the context of her pregnancy:

It's like you can talk to them [low-income friends] about problems without feeling like, (mimicking voice) oh, I'm talking to a person with money, they could afford it, so it's just like...like, almost kind of them looking at you like you *can't* afford it. A lot of my friends are lower-income, just 'cause we have more to connect with... we kinda all have needs. It's like, we're not really afraid to ask each other for it, because we know that if they needed help they would do it too, or something, you know. Like me being pregnant and stuff, I needed help with baby stuff 'cause I couldn't have afforded that on [my family's] low-income. So, my friends, they'll help me get stuff. It's like I don't really feel embarrassed about it, 'cause they know if they needed help I'd help them out... like a person with money who has it, what can you really do to help them, you know what I mean? 'Cause they already have it.

Empirical evidence has shown that socio-economic status is correlated with the degree of help that an individual seeks from his or her close friendships (Hicks-Bartlett, 2000; Lomnitz, 1977; Stack, 1974; Power, 2007; Unger & Wandersman, 1985): poverty creates insecurity that is offset, in part, by greater reliance on friends. Natalie's explanation, along with other low-income renters' examples and anecdotes, revealed greater insight as to why they tended to limit social support to those who faced similar challenges. Expectation of empathy, and perceived avoidance of negative judgment, made reaching out for help less stressful.

In their discussion of collective efficacy for children, Sampson *et al.* (1999, p. 635) discussed the potential for children to benefit from the reciprocated exchange between their parents and other adults: "Reciprocated (or relatively equal) exchange lends to social support that can be drawn upon, not just by parents, but by children themselves as they develop. This sort of exchange may be facilitated by, but does not require, the presence of strong personal ties such as those found in tightly bounded friendship and kinship networks". Although renters and some

owners demonstrated relatively frequent rates of social exchange between adults, instances of exchange between a child and non-familial adult were more rare. When parents had been directly approached by their children's friends for help during emergencies, these children were unanimously renters. The greater tendency among renters' children to seek out this type of help was attributable, in part, to the much higher proportion of renter children to owner children in the neighborhood. In addition, however, renter adolescents appeared more comfortable seeking out help from non-familial adults. During an interview with John, a white, married renter and custodial father of two teenagers, he explained how his children's friends had sought out shelter at his apartment when they had felt unsafe in their own homes. The nature of this help highlighted Sampson *et al.*'s (1999) point regarding the ability of children to seek out help from other parents, even in the absence of strong ties between their own parents and these adults. This specific type of reciprocated exchange relates to the degree of trust and social cohesion between children and non-familial adults. John and his wife were both original residents of Columbia Villa, and particularly willing to open their home to others in need. He suggested that others in New Columbia shared this sense of generosity towards children.

What they oughta do, if you're in New Columbia, is just, like. . . a plaque thing, you put it out front (of your house). And kids would know that's a safe haven, I can go there if I have to. (Mimicking voice) if my dad or my uncle or that man is trying to abuse me, sexually, physically, whatever, I'll go there and they'll protect me. . . Maybe we could come up with different people that we know who could do that. There's a lot of good people here, there really is. Not just homeowners. There's a lot of good renters, really.

John was also sensitive to the comparisons drawn between renters and owners in the neighborhood, and made the qualifying comment above even though I hadn't yet specifically asked about who constituted the "good people" to whom he referred. Assumptions that renters and owners held about one another, and their willingness to engage in the larger community, will be examined in further detail later in the chapter.

Bridging Social Capital

Mixed-income housing policy was, in theory, a way for lower-income residents to benefit from social relationships with higher-income residents (Briggs, 1997; Joseph, 2006). This type of social leverage reflected bridging social capital, in which vertical linkages between individuals or groups reflect an unequal balance of power or information that may work in favor of the individual in need of information or help. Although some owners explained how they extended this type of help to others, it was difficult to confirm or validate exactly how the extension of this help may have actually improved renters' lives. Certain owners with ideological narrative frames described interactions or exchanges with others that suggested the possibility of bridging social capital. One owner, Monique, an African American mother of two children who had grown up in North Portland, discussed how her career track had put her in a position to help others to attain professional mobility:

A corporation I work for, I've known people and they be like, (mimicking voice) oh, I don't know if I can do that. I've helped people get their foot in the door with that, and get in there, and be like, (mimicking voice) I *could* do it, you believed that I could do it and helped me get in the door... Yeah, you know, or (mimicking voice) you helped me with this resume, or you helped me with this computer skill or something like that.

Monique specifically referenced renters when she described extending this type of help. This social exchange may have blended elements of bonding *and* bridging social capital because Monique's ties to these individuals appeared strong (based on friendship) instead of weak (based on acquaintanceship). Monique's familiarity with renters stemmed primarily from the fact that her daughter attended Rosa Parks, the local public elementary school built in the neighborhood, and the parents of children in her daughter's classroom were predominantly New Columbia residents. She knew most of these renters because she saw them both at the school and in the neighborhood; repeated exposure and interaction fostered stronger social ties.

The only other example of potential bridging social capital that emerged during interviews was when Ben, a white owner and father of three children, mentioned a conversation he had earlier with the mother of one of his son's friends. This mother, a renter who also lived in New Columbia, had discussed school options in Portland with Ben. He had encouraged her to consider the private, parochial elementary school that he and his wife had chosen for their son. Like Monique, Ben's contact with the mother of his son's friend occurred because their children played together. Both Ben's and Monique's closest ties included family members and personal friends they had known before moving to New Columbia. Social ties with renters in New Columbia were formed through their respective children.

The development of these acquaintances and the potential for exchange of mobility relate to Granovetter's (1973, 1974, 1983) research on weak ties. As discussed in Chapter 3, he argued that the relationships between acquaintances hold greater potential, relative to the types of relationships between close friends, for social leverage. Acquaintances, and the weak ties they hold, are less likely to share overlapping social networks. Granovetter (1974, pp. 52-53) explained that there is a "structural tendency for those to whom one is only weakly tied to have better access to job information one does not already have. . . [In contrast] Those to whom one is closest are likely to have the greatest overlap in contact with those one already knows, so that the information to which they are privy is likely to be much the same as that which one already has". Granovetter's (1973) argument was based around probability instead of causality. According to his theory, strong overlapping ties between low-income residents decreased the likelihood that new, helpful information exchange about employment or educational opportunities would be exchanged. The cases at New Columbia generally supported this theory. The way that

information was exchanged about job openings at Monique's company or access to the private school that Ben's child attended reflected the activation of weak ties.

The direct applicability of Granovetter's (1973) theoretical propositions on weak ties to the examples previously mentioned, however, is limited. Although empirical evidence has shown that weak ties are related to job mobility, it was impossible for me to determine whether or not Monique's assistance to others in New Columbia had in fact resulted in meaningful improvement in professional status. I was able to follow up with Ben about his exchange of information with the renter parent about school options. Although this mother was interested in enrolling her son, she ultimately decided against it because the cost was prohibitive. As a result, her son attended Rosa Parks Elementary, the local public school. Decreased opportunities for contact meant that socialization between their children eventually stopped, and Ben had limited further contact with this particular mother as a result. Because their respective sons did not attend the same school, these children developed differentiated social networks, and their parents consequentially spoke far less. An exchange of information had occurred, but according to Ben no action regarding the child's school choices had resulted. It was difficult to identify, in this case, whether social leverage could still eventually take place.⁹¹

As the two examples above illustrated, tracing exactly how bridging social capital may have been activated in New Columbia was difficult. This type of social capital was distinguished more clearly during interviews with respondents from the neighborhood's minority ethnic groups, primarily Latino and Somali residents. Because of language barriers, communication was frequently restricted to members who belonged to the same ethnic minority group, but the

⁹¹ Another factor to consider is whether or not the quality of the education received at this private school would have exceeded that received at Rosa Parks, and if attendance at the private school would have even qualified as "leverage". Based on yearly test score data, it appeared as though the private school ranked as a higher "quality" school according to commonly used standards.

social ties among members of these groups may have resulted in bridging as well as bonding forms of social capital. One of the Somali participants, a 13 year old girl living in a public housing unit with her parents and two siblings, described how her father spent a considerable amount of time helping other New Columbia Somali families with the completion of necessary employment and lease-related documents, as well as with agencies outside the neighborhood such as the Department of Motor Vehicles. His English skills and native fluency in Somali made him a unique resident in New Columbia. His language skills, American employment experience and familiarity with Portland helped him act as a valuable link between other members of the Somali community and English speaking staff at agencies in and around New Columbia.

As the chapter has outlined thus far, reciprocated exchange proved to be a multi-faceted construct in New Columbia. Based on the qualitative information sourced from the participants in my study, renters tended to seek out help, including assistance in emergency situations, more regularly than owners. A request for help, however, did not necessarily mean help would or even could be given. Because the level of reliance among renters appeared to be higher, the frequency of disappointment when a request for help went unfulfilled was higher as well. When asked in the Community Speaks survey if they agreed with the statement “I can rely on my neighbors if I need help with something”, 76% of homeowners agreed or strongly agreed and 9% disagreed or strongly disagreed. Among renter respondents, 64% agreed or strongly agreed while 20% disagreed or strongly disagreed with the same statement (Serbulo, 2009). Varying degrees of reliance, combined with the insular nature of owner-concentrated blocks, may help to explain the significant difference between owners’ and renters’ responses to this particular survey question. Implications of responses to this survey question in the context of the

qualitative data outlined above, however, point to a need for further investigation into the varied needs of New Columbia's renters and owners, and how these residents negotiate them.

The Role of Community Governance in Social Capital Activation

Some owners' participation in community governance activities, although seemingly aimed at collective action, ultimately served to intensify social boundaries between tenure groups. Chapter Seven outlined the different socialization contexts that existed among owners and renters; renters were more likely to communicate in person on sidewalks, front lawns and porches while owners relied more heavily on an email list that included only other owners. This email list had a practical purpose, given some of the information distributed related directly to homeowners' association meetings or other topics that were only relevant to owners, but it nevertheless served to create a communication medium that explicitly excluded other non-owner residents. Neither staff at New Columbia or renters had access to this email list.

Information between owners was also facilitated through neighborhood-based safety programs such as Neighborhood Watch (also referred to as Feet on the Street). This program started as a way for residents to carry out informal patrols of the neighborhood and report any suspicious activity or acts of vandalism. Patrols took place in either pairs or small teams, and the small nature of these groups encouraged social interaction among those involved. According to information collected from owners involved in Neighborhood Watch, no renters or staff were involved, and it was unclear if any recruitment for the program had been directed towards any renters. This source of resident-based neighborhood supervision and the ties it fostered, therefore, was restricted to owners.

Town Hall and homeowners' association (HOA) meetings, although intended to foster community engagement, ultimately served to further divide renters from owners. Each of these

meetings took place monthly in the same conference room at New Columbia's Community Education Center, but the intent, composition and structure of Town Hall and HOA meetings were distinctly different. Both renters and owners were invited to Town Hall meetings, and the environment was generally informal. Some parents brought their small children with them, and HAP staff provided light food and refreshments. According to staff who worked in the neighborhood and who had regularly attended Town Hall, the meetings were intended as forums for residents to socialize with one another, collectively address neighborhood concerns, and coordinate solutions. In contrast, HOA meetings were designed as formal setting in which to settle business-related owner issues, such as HOA fees and landscaping protocol. Specific individuals were designated as representatives of HAP and the owners and spoke on issues according to these roles; meeting agendas were institutionalized, and formal meeting minutes were recorded and kept on file. The homeowners' association board (Board) was composed of one owner representative and two HAP representatives, given HAP owned roughly two thirds of New Columbia's units in the form of rented apartments. Renters were not invited to HOA meetings, and to my knowledge, no renter had ever asked to attend.

In theory, both HOA and Town Hall meetings reflected opportunities for what Pretty and Ward (2001) called local-external connectedness, in which vertical linkages exist between a local group and an external agency. This type of connectedness, combined with the horizontal linkages among owners and the cumulative effect of individuals across sectors working towards strategic objectives, may lend itself to bracing social capital. In reality, however, the antagonistic relationship between HAP and the owners who regularly participated in the homeowners' association meetings meant that actual constructive partnership was limited.

Although HOA's purpose was to address largely financial and practical matters related to property ownership in New Columbia, HAP staff explained that the meetings had evolved into spaces where owners regularly issued complaints about renters' negative behavior and consequences for the community. According to both staff and owners who attended these meetings, owners perceived HAP as a lax enforcer of rules and sanctions among renters. A managerial staff member, who did not carry out his daily work inside New Columbia but had overseen the evolution of the neighborhood from the beginning, explained his opinion on the way owners perceived HOA meetings and HAP's role:

We have these vocal homeowners, who are not comfortable in the larger forum with renters. I think some of them feel the issues are not the same, and HAP in particular is way too rental centric and we favor the renters. (We) Probably do. I mean, that's our mission.

Both owners and staff expressed frustration at the way HOA meetings were conducted, and a perceived lack of accountability.

Owners' complaints about renters were channeled directly to staff during these meeting forums, and they were less likely to voice these particular complaints during Town Hall meetings where other renters were typically present. Among owners in the sample, fewer than half had attended either Town Hall or HOA meetings. The majority had chosen not to attend because of constraints on their time, and doubts about the productivity of community meetings in general. Those who had attended had only done so sporadically, citing tension with HAP staff and lack of constructive conversation as reasons why they decided not to return. Mike, a white owner and married stepfather of two teenage daughters, suggested:

I think a lot of folks just kind of got so frustrated with the housing authority's bureaucratic response, that we, and a lot of folks, have just lost interest. Originally there was this real excitement, we were all tryin' to be involved, and we just got frustrated with the housing authority. . . They have two votes and homeowners have one, so what the housing authority wants to happen. . . happens.

As Mike explained, the Board's composition meant that HAP could consistently override the owners' vote. This expedited voting procedures and extended debate, but the inherently unequal power balance also contributed to the antagonistic relationship between some owners and HAP staff. Potential for bracing social capital, therefore, was effectively limited. The trust needed to build common norms was not present, and the links between owners at the HOA and staff from HAP were not utilized to achieve strategic aims.

The structure and content of HOA meetings also exemplified how social capital may help bond some individuals at the expense of excluding others. Social capital does not always lead to positive or beneficial ends; it may impose costs when members of one group create the types of ties that effectively limit social networks with those outside the original group (Schulman & Anderson, 1999; Woolcock, 1998). Bonding social capital developed among owners who felt the need to work with one another in order to achieve demands from HAP regarding management of rental units. This type of bonding social capital, however, came at a two-fold cost: lost opportunities for both bracing social capital between owners and staff as well as bridging social capital between owners and renters. Intensified bonds between owners, which were facilitated through the structure of community governance activities, ultimately served to exclude renters and created greater social distance between tenure groups.

Both renters and owners were welcome, in theory, to participate in Town Hall as an official community forum, but social boundaries between the two tenure groups were manifested in this setting as well. A member of staff who worked primarily with renter parents and children in New Columbia was adamant about her refusal to attend any Town Hall meetings:

“Homeowners, sometimes in those Town Hall meetings (pause) I don't even go anymore. They sound like gang members. . . It's us against them. And there's fault finding, and there's all of

these *assumptions* about low-income people who don't own their own homes". During interviews with renters, I also inquired about the nature of Town Hall meetings and why they chose to attend or not attend. The majority did not attend, owing to time constraints or personal preferences that echoed owners regarding doubt over the usefulness of the meeting. One public housing renter called Melanie, a married, white mother of three children, explained how she felt after attending two meetings: "It was odd, and it was just unexpected the way some people were (pause) obviously they were homeowners. . . It's the way they were talking. The renters, like, (mimicking voice) they do this and that. I mean, there are a few bad apples, but not everybody's like that". Melanie's feelings of discomfort at those initial Town Hall meetings reduced her desire to attend again, and left her wary of interaction with other owners in the neighborhood.

Although owners generally relied more heavily on HOA meetings as their primary forum for communication about issues in New Columbia, some still attended Town Hall. During the four months I carried out fieldwork, I was able to personally attend two Town Halls and one HOA meeting. I also learned about content from earlier meetings through speaking with staff, residents and reviewing meeting minutes. The first Town Hall meeting included ten residents, and according to staff members present who were also familiar with residents, five were elderly renters, while the remainder consisted of middle-age renters and middle-age owners. Those most vocal during the meeting were owners; they were willing to question the new property manager who stood up to speak, and challenge comments that other staff and residents made during the meeting. The comments directed towards the staff members who moderated the meeting were phrased as either questions or complaints. Some of these complaints were related to practical issues, such as the number and spacing of public garbage receptacles in the neighborhood. Others were related to issues of safety; one owner complained how bullets from a shooting near

her property had damaged the exterior paneling on the side of her house. Most of the meeting's communication was directed from staff towards residents in attendance and related tangentially to the complaints they made, for example, procedures for potential evictions were explained in detail. No definable action steps had taken place by the end of the meeting; residents and staff appeared tired and slightly frustrated.

At the last Town Hall meeting I attended in September of 2009, the only two residents in attendance were two owners. This sudden shift was perhaps attributable, in part, to the start of the school year and increased time demands on parents in the neighborhood. I recognized the two owners present at this Town Hall meeting from the HOA meeting I had attended earlier; both were white and middle aged, and neither were parents. A guest at this particular Town Hall meeting was a representative from the Portsmouth Neighborhood Association, the larger community-level governance body outside New Columbia. This guest spoke about the city's plans to demolish a school that was no longer being used; its vacancy for the past two years had inadvertently invited gang members to use the space as a site for drug sales and the building had been subject to considerable graffiti. An upcoming meeting was scheduled to discuss the issue, and city officials had been invited to listen to residents' concerns and ideas. The only two residents present at this Town Hall meeting were the two owners mentioned above; it was unclear if the information about the vacant school would or could be circulated to other residents. A seemingly valuable opportunity to disseminate information about gang activity and general safety, and to learn about a forum where one's opinion could be shared directly with city officials, was thus lost.

Perceived personal investment in New Columbia operated across different dimensions for renters and owners. The theory of community of limited liability posited that a resident's

perceived personal stake in a neighborhood was linked to his or her willingness to engage in collective action to protect and improve it (Janowitz, qtd. in Lee *et al.*, 1991). Based on this theory, property owners in a given neighborhood may be more willing to engage in community improvement activities. Mixed-tenure neighborhoods, therefore, were expected to benefit from the financial and personal investment of higher-income owners who purchased houses there (Joseph *et al.*, 2007; Shlay, 2006). Examination of New Columbia's formal community governance activities revealed that owners were more likely to participate and be vocal about neighborhood concerns, and this observation lends support to the theoretical rationale used to justify their entrance. Analysis of residents' participation in community activities across New Columbia, however, showed that renters were more socially integrated in youth-based programs and activities that ultimately required far more time, and exposure to other residents and staff, than either HOA meetings or Town Hall. In a review of the literature on community attachment, Slovak (1986, p. 582) concluded that

attachment to the local community was largely a function of a person's local social status, and not his or her general status, which in turn was presumed a function of immersion in the local systems which confer status and worth. These studies converge to suggest that one's degree of social connection to nearby friends, neighbors and facilities determines one's emotional attachment to the defended neighborhood.

As the chapter has outlined thus far, bonding social capital existed in New Columbia, but was manifested differently across social contexts and physical space. Renters depended on fellow renters on their block for higher levels of social support; owners also expressed positive feelings towards the other owners who lived near them even if the rate of social exchange was relatively lower. Different ways of participating in community activities, however, perpetuated assumptions among both tenure groups that the *other* tenure group was disengaged, or at least only limited their engagement with those who shared their tenure status. Mike, a white, married

owner and father of two teenage daughters, explained: “It [New Columbia] was the first neighborhood where we felt a sense of community. But it's a community, unfortunately, in my opinion, it's a community of the homeowners. There's a real divide between the renters and the homeowners”. Lourdes, a 15 year old Latina and daughter of renters, similarly observed, “People who own houses are separate. They don't really talk to us, just to themselves”.

Explanatory reasons for other residents' perceived lack of participation varied widely. Owners who moved with ideological neighborhood narrative frames tended to assume that the stresses associated with poverty, such as lone parenthood and erratic work hours, explained lower levels of participation. Other owners, who did not prioritize New Columbia's diversity to the same degree, were more likely to link renters' lack of involvement to disparate levels of neighborhood investment. Mayra, an African American owner and lone mother of two children, explained renters' behaviors in terms of an apathetic or “whatever” attitude: “See, to me, the whatever attitude is more renters. Because (pause) yeah, when you...when you have a thirty year contract, your attitude can't be whatever, you know? I don't know, it's hard to explain”. Among renters, reasons for owners' lack of participation in youth-centered programming, and their limited visibility out in the neighborhood more generally, was assumed to be a personal preference or a lack of children to instigate involvement. Ilyana, a public housing renter and lone mother of four children, suggested “You seen how, like, even just a block away how much they [owners] really stay to themselves. I can only say on my block, but that's not people who are trying to interact with the community”. Because community engagement methods were differentiated across income and tenure groups, social networks and a sense of community attachment tended to develop within rather than across renters' and owners' blocks. The ways in which tenure status and community attachment informed residents' enforcement of informal

social control, across different types of spaces in New Columbia, will be examined in the remainder of the chapter.

Behavioral Norms

Expectations for behavior, combined with formal or informal sanctions if those expectations are not met, constitute social norms (Kandori, 1992). Interviews with New Columbia's residents explored social norms related specifically to non-familial adult responses to anti-social youth behavior. Sampson *et al.* (1999, p. 635) explained why informal social control was important to collective efficacy for children, and how it was distinct from social capital:

A third but often neglected aspect of neighborhood social organization concerns expectations for the informal social control and mutual support of children... we argue that collective efficacy for children is produced by the shared beliefs of a collectivity in its conjoint capability for action. . . the meaning of efficacy is captured in expectations about the exercise of control, elevating the 'agentic' aspect of social life over a perspective centered on the accumulation of 'stocks' of social resources.

When asked about typical child behavior in New Columbia, parents from both tenure groups cited children's willingness to engage in violence, use profanity and their parents' lack of direct supervision as problematic. Renters and owners, however, expressed varied opinions about the severity of these behaviors and their personal willingness to confront them. This inconsistency held implications for the enforcement of informal social control and adolescent behavior.

Adolescents' navigation of certain behavioral choices in New Columbia will also be analyzed in this section, as these related to larger theoretical questions about social isolation, modeling and culture in a mixed-income neighborhood.

Bonding social capital among renters, described earlier in the chapter, extended to general trust that one's neighbors could and would supervise children's behavior and general welfare. Ciera, an African American renter and lone mother of one child, explained that she

trusted her next door neighbor to watch out for her 11 year old daughter: “I could be gone, doing errands, and my daughter come home and I'm not home, she'll, yeah, she'll come over there, and wait over there. And I know their dad, and he's like real strict with his kids, and I'm like, ok”. When I asked Ciera if she knew any more about this particular father, she said that she did not know detailed information about him, including his name. Her judgment of his character was based on how Ciera saw him interacting with his own children, and the level of comfort that her daughter shared about spending time at his apartment.

Decisions about whom children spent time with, and when and how this time was spent, were made more flexibly among renter parents than owner parents. In addition to Ciera, other renters in the sample described how their neighbors stepped in to help their children when they were unable to do so, including checking that they got to school on time in the morning. Renters were more likely to express higher levels of trust about the safety of the general neighborhood, while owners often qualified positive comments about safety with specific references to their own blocks.

An exception to the general consensus among renters was Jennifer, an African American renter and lone mother of two children. She had grown up in a higher-income suburb of Portland, and entered New Columbia with reservations about its safety. When asked about child supervision in the neighborhood, Jennifer consciously differentiated herself from the other parents she lived near and tried to limit her children's exposure to other youth:

Because even though you, you know, you try to raise your kid a certain way, it doesn't mean that they *won't* be influenced by others. You do your best, and you send them out there, but nothing's guaranteed. [I worry about them] like, getting caught up in gangs, or (pause) being influenced by people who just have no respect for other people, and now your children are walking around being disrespectful to other people, and then they come home and it's a situation, and you know, it's just kinda (pause) turns into this infestation. It's just a mess.

Differences in child-rearing practices were a source of stress for parents who felt they had more strict behavioral expectations for their children, and worried about their children's exposure to social norms that perceived to be undesirable. These concerns led Jennifer, and other parents who shared her views, to actively limit their children's exposure to nearby youth. These strategies ranged from placing restrictions on their movement in New Columbia, limiting the time they could spend with neighborhood-based peers, and sending them to alternative schools.

Although the majority of fault-finding was directed at renters from owners, some concerns were also expressed regarding owners' alleged lack of care for the collective welfare. The expectations surrounding child supervision and monitoring appeared to differ between renters' and owners' blocks; the related shift in the social dynamic was attributed to owners' presence. Betsy, a public housing renter and African American custodial parent of two teenage boys (one with health problems), had lived in the Villa and then returned to New Columbia. Her comparison of the two neighborhoods highlighted the difference between the two social environments:

Two communities don't compare. [In the Villa] if your kid did something today, you knew it today. Everybody associated with everybody. Now, If my son comes out, has a seizure, I can holler for help, but. . . (shakes head). Everybody seems pretty nice, but keep to themselves.

The social ties Betsy had depended on for help with her children and during emergencies had been displaced, not only because owners had shifted the composition of the former neighborhood, but also because many new renters occupied the development. Michelle, a white owner and lone mother of one teenage daughter, discussed the behavior of renters' children in the context of Columbia Villa's re-development into New Columbia:

I think a lot of the people who lived here before have a sense that it changed too much, like (mimicking voice) when this was the Villa we used to always look out for each other, and it didn't matter when my kid was out, somebody else would be looking out for him,

and. . . that bothers me because the homeowners, I say, (mimicking own voice) hey, we're trying to look out for each other too, and we do, but there's definitely a difference. . . where our kids aren't running around at ten o'clock at night, and how much are we supposed to look out for your kid? Some of the people who returned think (mimicking voice) these homeowner people think that they're just too good, when it was the old Villa we never had that, it was no big deal if we were loud or up and out all night, you know, things like that.

Michelle's explanation suggested that renters carried tenure-based assumptions about owners, and that tension existed over the fact that income and tenure diversity had brought about changes in the area's social dynamics. It also highlighted that owner parents' hesitancy to directly intervene with other residents' children was rooted, at least in part, in a perceived lack of reciprocity: they did *not* expect or desire other parents in the neighborhood to intervene with their own children.

The severity of social deviancy attached to certain behaviors, such as loud behavior or aggression, differed between renters and owners. Renters perceived these events as problems, but of a more ordinary or typical nature in a neighborhood with a large number of children. Owners tended to place a higher priority on individual responsibility for one's child, while renters frequently relied on their friends and neighbors to informally supervise their children.

Owner and renter parents also held different perceptions about intervention with other peoples' children. Renters were more likely to express comfort intervening with other peoples' children if they saw problematic behavior, and were also more open to other parents admonishing or giving directives to their own children if they were not present. Hannah, a white renter and lone mother of two children, explained:

It takes a whole neighborhood to raise a child, you know. Everybody's got to watch. If one's doing something wrong, you know, you tell 'em (mimicking own voice) I think you need to go home, (pause) don't do that. Don't be rude, don't try to scare the heck out of them, just tell them (mimicking own voice) that's not right, go home...if you don't want to listen, then I'll find out where you live, and I'll tell your mother.

Hannah knew most of her children's friends and their parents, and the other renters on her block were also familiar with her 14 year old son and 11 year old daughter.

Owners, regardless of pragmatic or ideological neighborhood narrative frame, expressed greater levels of discomfort at the idea of correcting someone else's child. Because parents' social networks typically did not span tenure groups, most owner parents did not know the parents of the renter children they saw in the neighborhood. Correcting other children's behavior was a method of last resort, even for owner parents with ideological narrative frames who had moved to New Columbia with an explicit desire to socially integrate. The type of integration they wanted did not include behavior correction. One such parent, a white owner called Ben, recalled one of the few times that he had intervened with strangers' children in McCoy park:

There were two boys that were chasing her and they pushed her and one of them, someone said (sic) faggot or something like that, so I end up, the first time that I was actually aggressive and stepping forward and said, I kind of yelled, (mimicking voice) hey! But usually, it, I guess that was just kind of like general parenting instincts. Like, that kind of aggression just isn't healthy. . . I guess deep down, what's underneath all that, when I think about it, like, later at night or whatever, what motivated me to speak up or whatever, I wonder. . . I guess I just wonder if they get it anywhere else. I feel like if I don't say anything, I'm not sure anyone else will. At home, or whatever.

The previous comment revealed Ben's specific concern that other adults in the neighborhood (including other parents) would simply ignore behavior of this type, and that these children would come to think of certain anti-social behaviors as normal. Ben felt personal pressure to intervene, on one level, because he was unsure if any other adults in the neighborhood would do so. Other owner parents did not feel the same pressure to enforce this type of social control, typically because "they're not our kids", and shared similar doubts about the willingness of other parents in the neighborhood to intervene.

Owners' relatively low levels of social integration with renter parents and their children meant they were more uncomfortable at the thought of correcting or admonishing other peoples'

children. They cited general discomfort at the idea of confronting strangers, alongside specific fears that the children or their parents might retaliate against them. Furthermore, owners felt less personally prepared and capable of intervening or stopping what they perceived as inappropriate or dangerous behavior. Owners' sense of collective efficacy for children, or trust that other adults would act in order to control and mediate child behavior, was thus limited. This contrasted against the general attitude shared among renters, whose more extended social networks facilitated a sense of trust that behavioral norms would be uniformly enforced.

The potential for higher-income residents to increase the overall level of safety in the neighborhood, through more strict enforcement of social control, was a theoretical rationale for mixed-income housing policy (Joseph *et al.*, 2007). Because renters' social networks were more extended to other parents in the neighborhood, these residents were more comfortable either speaking directly to children or to their parents about anti-social behavior. Renters, relative to owners, tended to enforce informal social control more frequently because of higher overall levels of engagement and integration in the neighborhood. Renter parents experienced higher social integration for a combination of reasons already discussed: physical proximity, New Columbia's higher proportion of other renter households with children, and the greater tendency among renters to participate in reciprocated exchange. Higher-income owners' enforcement of social control was carried out through different mediums, such as calls made to the police or complaints made at Town Hall or HOA meetings. In this sense, their presence may have *indirectly* contributed to higher levels of social control, even if direct interventions on the part of owners were rare.

An example of this indirect social control appeared in the form of an increased police presence in the neighborhood, which was directly linked to the entrance of higher-income

owners. According to information collected from staff, the summer of 2006 was stressful for both residents and HAP because it was the first period when the neighborhood had reached high density and most children also were out of school. Youth throughout Portland, particularly North Portland, began participating in “flash mobs”. These consisted of large groups of 40 to 60 teenagers who would arrange to congregate in a specific area, typically simply to cause a general disturbance and occasionally to fight. The frequency of the flash mobbing in New Columbia, alongside the robbery of an ice cream truck at gunpoint, shook residents and staff deeply. In order to respond to and prevent these types of events, HAP coordinated two police officers’ regular patrol of New Columbia. The housing authority arranged for the payment of one of these officers, while the Portland Police Department paid for the other.

During my time walking through the neighborhood, I regularly saw evidence of the Portland Police Department’s presence in the neighborhood. Approximately every 20 to 30 minutes, an officer could be seen in his or her car driving through the development and occasionally stopping to walk around. Because these officers were designated to this specific neighborhood, they were familiar its spatial layout and with the families living there. Police were unable to regularly prevent conflict or harassment among children and youth, owing both to the familiarity that youth had with police routes and the physical nature of the development. The emphasis on pedestrian mobility, and ease of movement throughout the neighborhood, sometimes worked against the police, as described by Jennifer (renter and lone mother of two children):

Cause a lot of people stick together out here, as far as, you know, they're all doing something bad and they're going to cover up for each other. . . And I've seen very large groups of people in the park, and there's like people fighting and stuff. And then I'll see, I'll be looking out the window, and I'll see the police roll up, or hear them coming, and they just all just (pause) you know how there's walkways in between the complexes?

Everyone will just scatter everywhere. And the police arrive and I'm hanging out the window (thumps hand) and no one's *there* anymore. That's frustrating.

Owners, particularly those with pragmatic neighborhood narrative frames, echoed Jennifer's sentiment about the role of police in New Columbia. In general, owners appeared to have higher expectations for the ability of these officers to address criminal activity and disorder. In response to the Community Speaks survey statement, "New Columbia has two Portland Police officers assigned to the New Columbia community. Do you think they provide a benefit to the neighborhood?", 81% of renters strongly agreed or agreed, while 37.70% of owners strongly agreed or agreed. Owners' attitudes towards police were similar to those they expressed towards the housing authority; expectations for public agencies' oversight and management of the neighborhood were high and regularly went unmet. Not all residents, however, shared the same expectations regarding behavior. The following section will analyze how the perception of specific social norms varied across New Columbia's residents.

Conflict. Wilson (1987, 1996) posited that the social isolation of youth in high-poverty neighborhoods allowed for the perpetuation of anti-social behavior. These adolescents, in theory, used violence and aggression as means of resolving conflict because they did not have other models of behavior available to them. Interviews with New Columbia parents and adolescents explored attitudes towards conflict, which included aggression, violence, and/or the threat of violence. Attitudes towards conflict, and the necessity of engaging in it, varied; this variation helped explain the lack of consistency in the informal social control related to conflict.

Many adolescents, from both owned and rented homes, explained how use of violence to defend oneself was in many cases strategic, and necessary in order to avoid the threat of further harassment. Natalie, the 16 year old daughter of a renter, suggested:

Like, they don't want their kid to be targeted, so they want their kid to learn how to be tough, you know. Except I don't think a kid should have to learn that, they should just be a kid and play and stuff. I think it's just that...like, parents get defensive 'cause that's how they *want* their kid to be, so. I actually have a friend, where her parent encouraged her to fight, and *encouraged* her to do stuff. Like, she's my age. (long pause) They just don't want their kids to be. . . nervous. Or weak or something, I guess you could say. They'd encourage them. And I don't think that's right, but that's how some parents are, unfortunately.

The common trend among parents who cited violence as an acceptable form of defense was their childhood background; all had grown up in predominantly low-income neighborhoods. These parents perceived it as an appropriate coping strategy that they themselves had also adopted as children. A staff member at New Columbia, who worked closely with renters and their children, explained how she felt other parents approached this issue based on her own experience:

I learned how to fight at an early age. And, so when my kids got beat up in school, my boy? I told him, I said (mimicking own voice) if you don't fight back and stand up for yourself, they're not going to respect you. You *have* to fight back. Just show him that you're not afraid. Once you do that, you're not going to have to fight anybody else. And it was true... And I know we don't want our kids fighting, I know we don't want (pause) that violence never settles anything. But in reality, I think it does, at times.

Older peers sometimes also encouraged violence among adolescents as a means of resolving conflict, or sometimes, as a form of entertainment. When I asked Lisa, the daughter of a renter, to explain New Columbia adults' typical reactions to teenagers fighting, she explained, "They might actually stop and watch it. . . As in (mimicking voice) ooh, look at that! Especially the younger adults in their twenties". During my time in the neighborhood, I also saw frequent instances when early adolescents shouted profanity, or grew particularly aggressive or hostile with one another, without regard for the audience of younger children. It is possible that these younger peers served a purpose as witnesses, as it gave the altercation more significance, and carried greater potential for earning "respect" if one did not back down. Alonzo, a 14 year old African American boy from an owned home, explained how the main types of social differences

in the neighborhood were based less on income and more on willingness to fight and earn the associated respect:

It ain't all about money, it's about respect. Yeah, that's it. I guess how hard and tough you are. Like, fighting. Pretty much like earning your stripes. Kinda like sink or swim. (long pause) This is what I don't like, this is why I don't like going to the park with my little brother and sister. 'Cause (if) somebody had messed with my brother that's older than my brother, then I got to protect him. But if I mess with him, then I got to deal with *his* big brother. Then I got to fight him. . . So, it's, like, pointless. . . pointless fighting and arguing and stuff.

This comment also underscored how a threat to family members essentially served as a threat to oneself, and the social pressure to respond to harassment or violence in kind was thus extended.

Another adolescent from an owned home, Aly, explained how she conceptualized her choices when responding to intimidation in the neighborhood:

I wonder about teenager girls. That's something I really don't like. Like, a group of girls, by a corner, and you're just walking by yourself, and they want to say something to you. Like, (mimicking voice) (sic) look at that bitch (clicks tongue), look at how she's trying to do this. And it's like, it makes you think in your head, (mimicking own voice) should I say something, or it's like, should I walk away and let them keep saying something to me?

When probed about her choices, Aly explained that her approach was inconsistent, and often depended on the context. She suggested she was more likely to engage in conflict when a larger group of youth was nearby, and less likely to engage when she was alone.

Harding (2009a) identified “cross-cohort socialization” as the primary way in which younger adolescents learned behavior and constructed social identities, and Darling *et al.*'s (1997) results also emphasized the role that peers, rather than non-familial adults, played in influencing youth. Based on the information collected from adolescents, peers were indeed a primary source of socialization. Socialization, however, did not only occur in the neighborhood; peer groups were predominantly formed at school, and adolescents who attended alternative schools were less likely to socialize in New Columbia and face neighborhood-based conflict..

Mixed-income housing policy assumed that higher-income residents could and would model pro-social behavior (Briggs *et al.*, 1997; Joseph, 2006; Joseph *et al.*, 2007). Results from New Columbia showed that little direct contact, much less modeling, actually took place between higher-income and lower-income adults in the neighborhood. The composition of adolescents' social networks were determined primarily through where they attended school rather than where they lived, and it was these school-based peers who ultimately appeared to exercise the most amount of influence on each others' behaviors.

Interviews with New Columbia's adolescents revealed a wider range of behaviors and understandings of what constituted normal or appropriate behavior. Many adolescents from lower-income, rented apartments expressed views similar to those from higher-income, owned houses with regard to normative views on how children should act, and what they considered acceptable or unacceptable behavior. Differences in behavior, therefore, could not be simply traced to income or tenure groups.

The majority of youth in the sample, whether they lived in rented apartments or owned homes, navigated multiple social contexts. Hector, the 15 year old Latino son of a renter, attended an alternative school where most of his friends were higher-income, but remained tied to neighborhood-based peers through New Columbia's youth programs. Silvia, the 15 year old white daughter of an owner, attended the local public school and most of her friends were lower-income and neighborhood-based. An important part of her social network, however, was contained on her block, where all the other residents were owners and she babysat for their younger children. Hector's and Silvia's social networks exemplified the multi-faceted nature of the social worlds in which they operated. Most of the other youth in the sample also participated in social networks that spanned across different socio-economic contexts. In this sense, social

isolation was relatively minimal. These adolescents expressed nuanced, rather than simplified, understandings of which behaviors were appropriate in different scenarios. This supported Harding's (2009b, pp. 12-13) cultural heterogeneity theory, which posited that

a culture is not a monolithic or coherent system in which an individual is completely embedded but rather a repertoire from which to draw. Moreover, the elements of one's toolkit come not just from direct experience or local social interaction but also from the wider culture via institutions such as the media, schooling, and religion. This theoretical perspective draws into question the tight link between social isolation and cultural isolation often assumed in social isolation theories of neighborhood effects.

Harding (2009b) applied cultural heterogeneity theory to his study of uniformly low-income neighborhoods, but it is also relevant to the experience of adolescents in New Columbia. In this socio-economically diverse environment, lower-income and higher-income residents accessed different cultural tools according to the situation, and understood that different settings carried expectations for specific types of behavior. Modeling of behavior did not come from strictly one source, it was instead present in a variety of social contexts both inside and outside the neighborhood.

Territoriality. Behavioral norms varied across different types of spaces in New Columbia. In its five smaller parks (called pocket parks), behavior varied according to the specific area of the neighborhood in which each park was located. This variation highlighted the different types of social norms that existed in geographic sub-sections of the neighborhood.

Adolescent behavior could be traced to the tendency of parents to join their children in a particular park. Pocket parks with a relatively higher proportion of parents accompanying their children were perceived as more safe, whereas those with a higher proportion of unsupervised adolescents were considered undesirable. Most parents said that they avoided McCoy Park because it was the site of fighting and occasionally the use of weapons. It was set up as a space for both younger and older children to socialize and play, with playground equipment, basketball

courts and open space. During my time in the neighborhood, I occasionally saw parents at this park, but the number of children greatly outnumbered them. McCoy Park was a public city park, and under management of the Portland's Department of Parks and Recreation rather than the Housing Authority of Portland. Although HAP regularly used the space for community events, it was informally viewed as a site that adolescents dominated.

Anti-social behavior in McCoy Park appeared to be a self-reinforcing cycle. Parents feared the behavior that they saw in the park, they avoided it and also gave instructions to their children to avoid it, unless a structured youth program was taking place. On an everyday basis, therefore, McCoy Park was generally void of both adults with higher standards for behavior, and the children of adults who abided by these standards. This allowed for a greater amount of anti-social behavior, including fighting and use of profanity, to go unchallenged.

Some owner parents' efforts to limit their children's direct contact with McCoy Park served to distance adolescents across tenures. Lisa, the 13 year old daughter of a renter, explained the differences she perceived between youth from owned and rented homes:

Yeah, well, some of the house owners are different with their kids. They don't allow them to go to the parks without them, and don't allow them to do certain stuff. Which I think, that, they should at least let their kids experience a problem...where they might need help, because if they don't, then their kids are going to get picked on. Because I know that a lot of the people who live in the houses, their kids get picked on a lot. Most of the white people are owners. People around here. . . judge them on where they come from, like, they think, (mimicking voice) well they're higher than us cause they're in houses, and they happen to look at the race too, and that's why they judge them. (In the park) Um, they're kind of like (mimicking voice) go home, and stuff. They (owners' kids) just go home. I don't think they want to deal with it.

Lisa's comment highlighted the argument made earlier regarding approaches to conflict, and how avoidance was perceived as an undesirable strategy. In Lisa's example, the owners' children did not participate in conflict, which arguably allowed it to persist. The idea that fighting back would actually quell future instances of hostility is in some ways counter-intuitive,

but this was the argument presented by adolescents and parents. In certain social contexts, it was what made the most sense to the people involved.

Territoriality, as a concept, acknowledges the intersection of power, social relations, and physical space (Sack, 1986; Bærenholdt & Aarsæther, 2002). On its 82 acres, New Columbia contained roughly double the amount of households that had previously existed in Columbia Villa. This high rate of residential density meant that issues of space, both private and public, became paramount. Bærenholdt and Aarsæther (2002, p. 157) posited “Power is. . . connected to the control of material resources and the production of spatial orders. In fact, it is difficult to speak of power without the materiality and spatiality of human bodies and environments. . . territoriality is about spatial aspects of exercising power”. Tenure groups exercised power across spaces in different ways; renters tended to use common spaces more frequently, particularly adolescent renters in McCoy Park. Based on typical adolescent behavior in McCoy Park, many owner parents generally did not socialize there, (except in cases where HAP had initiated a structured activity) and discouraged their children from going near the park as well. Social control over that particular public space, therefore, belonged predominantly to adolescent renters. Natalie, the 16 year old daughter of an owner, explained why she thought anti-social behavior tended to dominate these areas:

(Mimicking voice) like, this is a new area so we're gonna make a claim, or this is something new so they feel like they have to. . . make it into their territory, I guess you could say? I don't know. . . this is a really family-type community, it has a store, and the Boys' and Girls' club. I just feel like people just feel like they need to make something theirs.

The comment above also highlights how New Columbia's physical redevelopment, and the fact that it was “new”, presented a unique context for youth. Informally claiming space was a way for youth to assert themselves and exercise a form of power.

The logistical nature of McCoy Park's designation as a public city park weakened HAP's ability to formally sanction behavior. The agency could bar any individual from HAP property, namely rented units, for causing a serious disturbance. These individuals included minors and non-residents, and if a renter's child was formally excluded from New Columbia, the family would need to leave the property altogether or find another home for the child. McCoy Park, however, was still a public space in which these individuals could socialize. According to residents and staff, the loophole in this exclusion policy was widely known and often exploited.

Individuals who had been formally excluded, and other people who might not have met HAP's criteria for residency, were still allowed relatively easy access in and out of the neighborhood through Portland's Tri-Met bus line. Columbia Villa had experienced a high degree of physical isolation because only three streets ran in and out of the 82-acre development. In order to connect New Columbia to the larger street grid, a total of 16 streets ultimately led in and out of the new neighborhood. Access to public transportations was prioritized, and buses made regular stops at the neighborhood's three bus stops. Although access to this public transportation was a benefit to many members of the community, it also facilitated the entrance of non-residents who had no particular affinity towards New Columbia or sense of personal investment in maintaining order. Some of the more egregious violent acts that had occurred, such as incidents involving weapons, were linked to non-residents. Monique, a black owner and married mother of two children who had moved to New Columbia with an ideological narrative frame, suggested that the problems she had seen near her house were attributable to the bus stop and non-residents who chose to enter via the bus.

We had a shooting on our corner, but it was someone who didn't live there. Like I said, the bus line is kinda a bad situation on our corner. So I think that it was somebody, I'm sure they didn't live in New Columbia, they were comin' to visit somebody, or something like that. . . Yeah, and there are people gettin' off the bus at the bus stop and causing

fights, who didn't live at New Columbia, and the police have to come break it up, you know. So I don't think it's, in general, the area that's bad, it's just people comin' in from other places. They may know some people out here or whatever, but they're causing some problems.

HAP's efforts to connect New Columbia to the rest of Portland resulted in both benefits and costs to the neighborhood. Residents without direct access to private cars could use the bus line to travel to schools, employment and recreation more easily, but non-residents and excluded members of New Columbia could just as easily enter the neighborhood with the intent to cause a disturbance.

Other aspects of New Columbia's physical design also determined how informal control was enforced. The physical structure of houses and apartments helped determine uses of space in New Columbia, and residential density also affected the way in which informal social control was practiced. Renters lived in closer proximity to one another than owners, and this increased the likelihood that they became involved in each other's personal lives. Their units often shared walls, their front porches were right next to one another, and the yard in front of a given cluster of apartments was often considered common space. Although the size of owners' respective yards varied, they were consistently larger than the grassy areas in front of renters' homes. Owners had sole rights to the yards attached to their individual properties, while renters' spaces were less defensible. Rodney, a white owner and married father of two children, explained how this issue was negotiated on his property:

When we first moved in, uh, there would be kids playing, uh, in the front of the house and sometimes they would walk in the alley way behind the houses. And a lot of them seemed to not think anything of, um, hopping over the fence and running through the small, um, backyard as a short cut or as part of their play, to get back to the front area where the pocket park was. That it was just something that they did and it was (pause) I caught some kids doing that and I, I spoke with them, and (pause) they seemed, um, not hostile but just, they looked like they were processing the concept of, um, personal property, and that those little yards were off limits, they weren't available for play. . . they seemed to actually be listening to the words and sort of thinking about it and reflecting on

it. They were thinking about it as if it were a new idea. And so, I don't remember, clearly, all the details, but I thought it was going to be left at the admonishment, but it went a little bit farther than that.

Rodney's interaction with these children, whom he identified as renters' children who lived on a nearby block, revealed how different social norms existed in different areas of the neighborhood. These norms did not differ because higher-income owners had inherently different expectations, rather, because the nature of property ownership shifted between renters' and owners' blocks.

The difference in ownership rights, and the power differential that existed as a result, was sometimes perpetuated even when renters or their children were not directly on owners' properties. Most renters were aware that they needed to avoid the types of behavior that could be identified as disturbances, in order to avoid a potential lease violation and eviction from the property. Because only renters could be formally evicted from the neighborhood, the threat of forced exit was construed very differently across tenure groups. Some neighborhood rules, such as the type of lawn furniture allowed or the size of pet dogs, were fairly consistent across tenures owing to renters' lease agreements and HOA guidelines for owners. The sanctions for breaking these rules were, however, far more severe for renters. While an owner's failure to abide by such rules could result in a fine, a renter's violation could result in forced eviction. John, a white renter who had lived in Columbia Villa before it was redeveloped into New Columbia, commented on how this seemed inherently unfair:

Makes me wonder, if they don't abide by it (the rules), what are they going to do? They can't evict them. What are they going to do to them? So there's kind of a double standard. [Me being] from the old Villa, and some other people who lived in the Villa, we notice these things because back then we didn't have any homeowners.

Although some neighborhood guidelines were similar, renters were generally subject to a greater number of specific rules in order to maintain good standing and avoid eviction. Most of these

rules related to behavior, that of the renter and his or her guests, and the avoidance of disturbance or disorder in the neighborhood.

Owners also knew about these types of rules, and some freely reminded renters of the power differential that existed. Lourdes, the 15 year old Latina daughter of renters, recounted an interaction she had with a male owner near her apartment:

Like, sometimes they get upset, and, like, if we have the music too loud they'll come up to us and say (mimicking voice) don't play it too loud, I can go complain and I can kick you, I can kick *any* of you out, and all this stuff. . . And our parents just say (mimicking voice) don't be making too much noise, 'cause then they're gonna be upset.

According to HAP staff, eviction could be a lengthy process depending on the degree of evidence that property management had collected, and on whether or not the tenant had chosen to appeal. Therefore, while HAP had successfully pursued evictions of tenants who had not fulfilled their lease contracts, it was not necessarily a quick or easy way of sanctioning behavior. The *threat* of the sanction, instead of eviction itself, served as the key differential in the type of informal social control enforced between owners and renters. Owners exercised territoriality in this way despite a lack of control over the neighborhood's public spaces.

Conclusion

Social exchange and informal social control are multi-faceted concepts, and were manifested in different ways in New Columbia. Relative to owners, renters tended to participate in reciprocated exchange more freely with one another and the activation of bonding social capital was more frequent as a result. Bonding social capital was also present among owners who had moved to New Columbia, but this exchange generally did not extend to renters.

Within its 82 acres, different groups exercised power and control over different types of spaces. Adolescents tended to set norms in public spaces, particularly McCoy Park, and parents often avoided these areas as a result. Owners perpetuated power over space in other ways

through leveraging their status as property owners, in direct contrast to renters' more tenuous ties to the neighborhood. Owners also tended to exercise control over governance forums, which held implications for their relationships with both renters and staff in New Columbia. The nature of these forums exemplified lost opportunities for bracing social capital, and highlighted how intensified social bonds among members of one group (owners) served to exclude members of another group (renters). Likewise, the bonds that developed between renter parents and staff at New Columbia, although helpful to renters, may have also served to exclude owners.

Informal social control concerning youth was conceptualized differently between renters and owners. Parents who had grown up in low-income neighborhoods, regardless of current tenure status, tended to understand aggression and violence as an unfortunate, but occasionally necessary, coping mechanism. The variation in perception on this issue resulted in inconsistent approaches to informal social control. Some parents were less likely than renters to trust that other adults in the neighborhood would enforce desirable forms of social control, and limited their children's exposure to other neighborhood youth as a result. Because renters and owners predominantly operated in separate social networks, and renters were more likely to have school-age children, renters were also more likely to know other parents in the neighborhood and feel more comfortable enforcing social control with their children as a result. Owners were less likely to intervene with neighborhood children than renters; they feared retaliation from children and from their parents.

Most adolescents and parents cited the socializing effect of non-familial adults on New Columbia's youth as occasional but insignificant. More formative influences in adolescents' lives were their peers; youth interviewees, including those from rented and owned households, attended a mix of local and alternative schools and their main peer groups were often not based

in New Columbia as a result. Socialization of youth, therefore, occurred as much outside the neighborhood as it did inside.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

Introduction

Spatial concentrations of poverty in American cities have undermined the health, safety and welfare of the children who occupy them, and the social disorganization associated with large, uniformly low-income public housing developments have discouraged collective efficacy for children (Ellen & Turner, 1997; Leventhal *et al.*, 1997; Popkin *et al.*, 2004). Proponents of mixed-income housing policy, and the HOPE VI program in particular, posited that socio-economic diversity would bring about greater informal social control and also present lower-income residents with the weak ties theorized to improve their professional opportunities and social mobility. These new neighborhoods could also, in theory, facilitate the positive socialization of lower-income children who might otherwise have been subject to what Wilson (1987, 1996) called the social isolation of poor neighborhoods.

Over 200 HOPE VI projects have been built since the early 1990s, and social scientists have invested research efforts into determining what effects, if any, these neighborhoods have had on residents. Previous studies, largely quantitative in nature, determined that new HOPE VI projects did have lower crime rates and improved physical infrastructure (Brophy & Smith, 1997; Buron *et al.*, 2002; Popkin *et al.*, 2004; Popkin *et al.*, 2009). The ability of quantitative research instruments to explore how residents perceived and approached social control and other aspects of collective efficacy for children, however, was limited. Earlier qualitative studies carried out in HOPE VI neighborhoods helped shed light on these issues, but none to date have sourced the perspectives and experiences of parents and adolescents across income groups. This thesis served to fill this research gap and help build upon the existing literature about how mixed-income housing policy has manifested in the lives of residents.

The study examined issues related to collective efficacy for children, including social networks between parents and other adults, reciprocated exchange, and the informal social control and mutual support of youth. These topics were explored through 42 qualitative interviews with parents and adolescents from both lower-income rented and higher-income owned homes, as well as 10 interviews with staff who worked in and around the neighborhood. New Columbia, a HOPE VI site in Portland, Oregon since 2005, served as the research setting for this study. The Housing Authority of Portland's efforts to build its residents' social infrastructure, through both elements of the neighborhood's physical design and dedicated staff, reflected an environment in which families had multiple opportunities to form social ties with each other. New Columbia's composition, which included two thirds lower-income renters, one third higher-income owners, a wide range of races and ethnicities and over 1300 children under age 18, made it a suitably diverse setting in which to explore relevant aspects of social organization. The study's timing complemented earlier research on New Columbia (Gibson, 2007; Gibson & Serbulo, 2009), and the neighborhood-wide Community Speaks survey carried out in April of 2009 provided valuable quantitative data that supplemented my qualitative findings.

In addition, unlike some other public housing authorities in the United States, HAP had committed to an automatic right-to-return policy for former residents. This meant that a significant proportion of the renters who moved to New Columbia brought with them the challenges associated with traditional public housing renters - inconsistent employment histories, poor credit and rental backgrounds. The resulting mix at New Columbia thus reflected a truer version of socio-economic integration: higher-income and lower-income residents living in close

proximity, as opposed to higher-income and heavily screened, strategically selected lower-income residents.

Gibson's (2007) and Gibson's and Serbulo's (2009) previous research on the neighborhood had focused exclusively on the experiences of Columbia Villa's original public housing residents, and the diverse set of perspectives included in this thesis helped contribute to a growing body of research on the community's evolution. Findings from this study, however, should not be misinterpreted as the final word on how the neighborhood has developed. As this chapter will highlight, important events and transitions took place in the ten months after completion of fieldwork, and other changes will undoubtedly take place as time moves forward. Like any urban space, New Columbia is engaged in an evolutionary process, and findings from this thesis are only applicable to the time period in which they were collected.

New Columbia was an appropriate single case study for the purposes of this research, but the study did have specific limitations. HAP's approach to New Columbia's construction, and the more general political and historical context of Portland in which the neighborhood was situated, was not necessarily typical.⁹² The experiences of residents and staff, therefore, may not be immediately extrapolated to different HOPE VI sites in other cities. Detailed information about Portland's urban planning history in Chapter Two, and HAP's strategy with regard to New Columbia in Chapter Five, was given to allow readers a complete view of the research setting's context.

Additionally, the study was not designed to demonstrate cause and effect; only an experimental design could offer these types of conclusions. Qualitative data, however, did reveal how participants perceived collective efficacy in the neighborhood, and why they held certain

⁹² It would be difficult to identify any public housing authority's approach to urban planning as typical or average, considering each one is based on its specific area's metropolitan context.

opinions about one another and their respective roles in the neighborhood. Although the diverse nature of the sample attempted to capture a range of perspectives, the views of participants did not reflect all opinions about New Columbia. Qualitative research methods were utilized to explore perspectives and experiences in-depth, and a wider breadth of opinions was compromised as a result. In addition, the participants who chose to participate in the study most likely did not include those with very severe life disruptions, such as chronic illness or addiction, and these perspectives were thus lost. At the same time, however, participants did describe problems that reflected a range of real-life difficulties in their respective households, including interpersonal problems among family members, unemployment, financial distress, child delinquency, domestic violence and teenage pregnancy.

Qualitative data analysis adhered to the Framework method (Ritchie & Spencer, 2002; Spencer, Ritchie & O'Connor, 2003). This particular approach offered a rigorous and careful examination of the data, but the voices of participants were ultimately filtered through my own in the writing of this thesis. Despite this limitation, the perspectives of respondents were conveyed as accurately as possible.

In spite of the aforementioned limitations, results from the thesis help inform theory about social organization and also reveal how mixed-income housing policy has been actualized in the experiences of parents and their children. Because the study's methodology relied on qualitative data collected from parents and adolescents across both higher-income and lower-income households, its findings represent a unique comparison of perspectives that had previously gone unexamined in the literature on mixed-income housing. These perspectives are valuable because they shed light on whether the theoretical assumptions surrounding mixed-income housing policy have held in the reality of residents' lived experiences. Mixed-income

housing policy's objectives, such as expanded social networks between lower-income and higher-income residents, and stricter enforcement of informal social control, related largely to Sampson et al.'s (1997, 1999) theory of collective efficacy for children. If and how such goals have been met in residents' lives, and how the study's findings help extend current theory and might inform policy implications, will be outlined in this chapter. Relevant events and changes in New Columbia since October of 2009, when fieldwork for the study was completed, will also be explained. Finally, although the study contributed to the larger body of research on mixed-income neighborhoods and collective efficacy for children, it also sparked a number of other questions about neighborhoods more generally. The chapter will conclude with recommendations for future research.

Neighborhood choice

Neighborhood choice revealed itself as an important explanatory factor in residents' general attachments to and perceptions of New Columbia. As Chapter Six outlined, families moved to New Columbia with a tendency towards one of two neighborhood narrative frames: pragmatic or ideological. The vast majority of renters came to New Columbia for pragmatic reasons centered on escape from a previously unaffordable and/or overcrowded housing situation. Two exceptions included renters who had lived in Columbia Villa before it was redeveloped, and had wanted to return to what they had perceived as a familiar and stable community. Renters' reasons for moving to New Columbia mirrored results from other studies on residential choice; lower-income families tended to make decisions that prioritized familiarity with the area and reliance on known social ties (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Goetz, 2003; Smith, 2002; Trudeau, 2006).

HAP's right-to-return policy shaped the composition of renters who entered New Columbia when it opened in 2005. Hesitancy over displacing original residents discouraged HAP from instituting more stringent residency criteria, and many of Columbia Villa's residents were given first preference for rented units. Difficulty adjusting to the new neighborhood, combined with the lax approach of the property management company contracted between 2005 and the spring of 2009, meant that behaviors that might otherwise have led to eviction were allowed to persist. In September of 2010, HAP will shift the waitlist procedure for New Columbia's public housing and Section 8 apartments in order to prioritize individuals who are already involved in full-time work, job-searching or education (Keating, personal communication, June 16, 2010).⁹³ As public housing authorities make decisions about which residents should be prioritized for re-entry into a newly redeveloped mixed-income neighborhood, they must balance equity concerns with the need for prevention of anti-social behavior among some original public housing residents who are unfamiliar with new and more strict types of lease regulations. These choices will have an important effect on the composition of mixed-income neighborhoods and the stability of their socio-economic diversity over time.

Owners were generally divided among those who had moved to New Columbia for pragmatic reasons related to property investment and value accrual, and those who had prioritized the neighborhood as a socio-economically and racially diverse community in which they wanted to raise their children. These variations on motivation held implications for how residents approached neighboring and community engagement after they arrived, along with how they perceived decisions surrounding exit from the neighborhood. Owners with pragmatic neighborhood narrative frames expected to see the values of their respective properties rise, especially given the city's overall level of re-investment in the neighborhood. Anti-social

⁹³ The elderly and disabled are exempted from this new condition.

behavior in public spaces, crime, and particularly violent incidences involving weapons discouraged these owners from further financial investment and hastened their inclination to sell. Although these types of events were also undesirable to owners who had moved with ideological NNFs, they were not conceptualized as financial risks and immediate reasons to exit the neighborhood. These owners were more inclined to frame New Columbia as a community they wanted to remain and engage in because they wanted to prolong their families' experience in it.

Owners with pragmatic NNFs were more likely to disparage New Columbia and cite desires to leave, which implied higher potential rates of residential instability and the typical problems that accompany it. Higher vacancy rates make properties more vulnerable to illicit activities, and residential turnover discourages social cohesion among neighbors. Unless residents with equivalent incomes and resources move into these houses relatively quickly, the neighborhood's proportion of higher-income to lower-income residents would most likely shift and thus upset the balance of income diversity that had existed. Tach (2009a) determined that the stability of mixed-income neighborhoods was more tenuous than that of socio-economically homogenous neighborhoods; only 15% of mixed neighborhoods sustained consistent levels of income diversity between 1970 and 2000, contrasted against the persistence of income homogeneity among 80% of low-income and 70% of high-income neighborhoods. Although Tach (2009a) examined some mixed-income neighborhoods that did not include official HOPE VI developments or sites of formal redevelopment efforts, her data along with Krupka's (2008) research point to the precarious balance of income diversity in most mixed-income neighborhoods. The attitudes of New Columbia's owners helped reveal the reasons behind this instability; those who move with the hope of greater gentrification and rising property values intended to sell the property when it turned a sufficient profit, or at least before they suffered

financial loss. Many of these owners either did not have children or only had children under the age of five, and did not frame New Columbia as a particularly positive place to raise school-age children.

Understanding owners' motivations for entering a given mixed-income neighborhood helps explain other trends in community engagement and potential reasons for exit. Changes in mixed-income neighborhoods' respective compositions over time, therefore, may be traced to the motivations and expectations of the residents who enter them. Regardless of motivation, it is likely that all owners desired some kind of appreciation of their respective properties' values. The degree of importance that they attached to their financial investment, however, did tend to differ between owners based on neighborhood narrative frame, and holds consequences for how the neighborhood develops over time. Policy implications of this finding relate directly to how public housing authorities choose to market new mixed-income neighborhoods, what types of higher-income residents they attract as a result, and how they approach retaining them as residents.

Social Networks and Social Capital Activation

New Columbia's social networks served a variety of functions. Sampson *et al.* (1999) identified intergenerational closure as the social networks between parents (and other adults concerned with child welfare) that facilitate information sharing and informal social control. Analysis of social networks in New Columbia was aimed at uncovering opportunities for association, and how residents perceived them, as opposed to a quantitative measurement of networking. This approach explored ecological, rather than personality-specific, determinants of interaction (Huckfeldt, 1983; Small, 2004).

Although HAP designed New Columbia with cross-tenure socialization and community building in mind, certain institutionalized activities served to reinforce interaction, and associated bonding social capital, *within* rather than *between* tenure groups. Youth-centered community programs, such as K'Ching and Crew, recruited a far larger number of children from rented homes relative to owned homes. This was due, in part, to the demographic composition of the neighborhood and the larger absolute number of school-age renter children. Youth programs, particularly Crew, were aimed at reducing anti-social behavior among youth and preventing involvement in gangs and other delinquent activities. Accordingly, adults who staffed these programs worked explicitly at engaging parents in the interventions and programs directed towards their children, and connected adults to social services when necessary. In this way, renters had more frequent opportunities to form social ties with New Columbia staff and each other. The children involved in such programs, and the staff who managed them, also helped link renter parents to one another. In a heterogenous community, Anderson (1990, pp. 147-148) suggested that children may serve as a source of social cohesion among adults:

Children can become important agents for knitting the community together socially. Political and social ideologies are often deemphasized, people are more often taken as individuals or as just families, and distinctions between old and new residents blur. Thus the social lives of children are indirectly responsible for certain amounts of neighborhood solidarity and friendly involvement.

The scenario that Anderson (1990) described, in which parents socialize organically as a result of having children who play informally with one another, was far more typical among renters because they were more likely to have school-age children in the neighborhood.

Formal youth programs and paid staff played important roles in linking renter parents to each other and to other institutions in New Columbia. These ties were largely engineered through HAP staff rather than formed organically through residents. Although the financial cost

of employing these staff members is significant, HAP has continued to fund these positions as part of its community building strategy. This investment appeared to achieve considerable social dividends, at least with respect to renters. Through the programs that HAP staffed, renter parents were offered a greater number of opportunities to interact specifically about issues related to their children, and bonding social capital was seemingly activated within this tenure group as a result. Because most owners did not have school-age children, and those who did tended to not involve their children in programs at the same rate as renters, they did not participate in the same type of bonding social capital.

The power inherent in relationships between HAP staff employed directly in New Columbia, staff employed by other organizations who also served New Columbia⁹⁴ and renters reflected what Rydin and Holman (2004) deemed bracing social capital. New Columbia represented the spatial boundaries wherein social capital was activated; the specific nature of these boundaries is more consistent with definitions of bracing rather than bridging social capital. A combination of linkage types also resonated with bracing social capital; social ties between renters and staff represented vertical linkages, while horizontal linkages typified the connections between HAP staff in New Columbia and other social service providers in Portland. These employees worked together across different scales in order to achieve specific objectives related to social mobility among low-income parents and the safety and welfare of their children, and the way in which they approached their work and interacted with one another also reflected a sense of common social norms. Individual staff members and their agencies focused on goals ranging from gang prevention and educational interventions among youth to job search assistance for adults; cooperation across these sectors facilitated valuable bracing social capital that ultimately

⁹⁴ Other organizations included Rosa Parks Elementary School and the Boys' and Girls' Club, both located directly in New Columbia.

benefited renters and increased staff members' overall effectiveness. As policy makers examine how social capital activation is encouraged or discouraged in mixed-income neighborhoods, they should take into account different types of social capital, including bonding, bridging and bracing. Social capital is sometimes activated at a cost, and understanding who benefits and who does not benefit from this activation will be important to consider.

Social Mobility

In theory, social networks in mixed-income neighborhoods may result in greater rates of social exchange and bridging social capital between lower-income and higher-income residents. Chapter Eight outlined the types of social exchange that were ultimately manifested among New Columbia's tenure groups, and revealed that renters were far more likely to exchange social support with other renters and that other types of assistance were limited. Sampson *et al.* (1999) identified reciprocated exchange as an important dimension of collective efficacy for children because it reflected the help and information traded between parents with respect to childrearing. Consciously or unconsciously, renters and owners restricted these types of exchanges to others in the same tenure group. On one level, this reflected a practical dependence on those who were the most physically proximate: renters and owners tended to occupy distinct blocks. Restrictions of reciprocated exchange, however, sometimes also reflected the tendency to give and receive assistance with those whom one considered to be similar to oneself. This was especially relevant to renters who restricted requests for help to one another; the perception that the relationship was reciprocal made requests for help less uncomfortable and easier to carry out.

Renters were more likely to benefit from the gains associated with bridging social capital through contacts other than owners. Social mobility among lower-income residents has been cited as a goal of mixed-income housing policy, yet the presence of higher-income residents has

thus far appeared to accomplish little in terms of professional or educational advancement. Although some owners cited instances in which they had given advice or encouragement to renters, the actual gains that lower-income parents needed to make in order to secure and keep employment, such as job training or more extensive child-care, was not made possible via owners.

The implications of these findings challenge certain assumptions of mixed-income housing policy. In theory, higher-income residents could form weak ties with lower-income residents; these weak ties may connect lower-income residents to opportunities that encourage social mobility. In order for social mobility to be truly realized, however, targeted asset-building efforts among low-income parents appear to be more realistic and effective than theorized effects of weak ties with higher-income residents. HAP's Opportunity Housing Initiative (OHI) exemplifies this type of program. Participants enrolled in OHI are required to commit to full-time employment, education or job-search efforts. In most cases, a household's higher income results in a higher rent payment, but the excess money that OHI participants would have normally been required to pay in rent is instead diverted into a savings account that can be accessed after five years and exit from the program. This form of asset building is targeted towards facilitating social mobility, and the eventual goal of reducing low-income families' dependence on public subsidies. It also avoids the infamous poverty trap, in which low-income families' increased earnings tend to be off-set by a reduced amount of public subsidy. At the time of the writing of this thesis, HAP had decided to make participation in OHI a requirement of renters' re-occupancy in other, smaller HOPE VI sites in Portland, but only 30 New Columbia renters were enrolled. Expansion of such policy efforts and careful analysis of resident outcomes appears warranted, given the need for targeted social mobility programs as opposed to reliance

on the abstract and unreliable promise of bridging social capital between lower-income and higher-income residents.

The expansion of institutional resources, including job training or financial literacy programs associated with OHI and the other community-based supports focused on youth engagement discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight, appear to hold significant potential for improving renters' access to social capital. These resources speak to what Connell and Halpern-Felsher (1997, p 177) called "institutional capacities", which serve to mediate adolescent outcomes in a community context. HAP's investment in human resources, in the form of community builders and similar staff positions who serve as a daily presence in the neighborhood, coincided with the agency's investment in programs designed to encourage social cohesion among residents- particularly children. Curley's (2010) quantitative research showed that neighborhood resources were the strongest predictor of social capital across different types of settings, including public housing, Section 8 housing dispersed within the private market, and a HOPE VI site. With regard to social capital, Curley (2010, p. 95) claimed these resources ultimately appeared far more important than the demographic composition of a neighborhood:

Building and/or strengthening neighborhood facilities and institutions that serve a variety of residents, making communities safe, fostering a sense of community and attachment to place, and providing residents opportunities to observe and meet one another may be a more effective strategy for improving low-income people's social capital than simply focusing on achieving the 'right' social mix in their community.

Although neighborhood resources were defined largely as simply institutions in the context of Curley's (2010) study, they may arguably extend to the staff who keep these facilities running and functional. These quantitative results on the importance of neighborhood resources complemented qualitative findings from New Columbia, which highlighted the critical role of

HAP staff who served as human links between residents, their children and available social programs.

Pathways of Influence

A goal of mixed-income housing policy centered on higher-income residents' potential to model behavior, and serve as a positive influence, for lower-income residents (Briggs, 1997; Joseph, 2006). Previous research on HOPE VI projects, and poverty dispersal programs such as MTO, revealed that residents from different income and tenure groups typically only had limited interaction with one another (Brophy & Smith, 1997; Buron *et al.*, 2002; Kleit, 2005; Tach, 2009b). In addition, the possibility that simply modeling the behaviors associated with higher-income lifestyles, such as full-time employment or participation in their children's schools, would result in different choices or outcomes among lower-income residents was unlikely and arguably patronizing.

Exploring the nature of social networks in New Columbia re-confirmed a general lack of meaningful social interaction across income and tenure groups in a mixed-income setting, as well as a lack of role modeling between adults. Reasons for this included the physical design of the neighborhood, wherein one's proximate neighbors also shared one's tenure status, and the different types of forums in which socialization tended to happen. Renter parents' reliance on HAP's youth programming and community support activities encouraged interaction between them and staff; owners tended to socialize and collaborate via owner-restricted email lists and homeowners' association meetings. The fact that this email list was restricted to owners, and that it occurred via the medium of email and required access to a computer, compounded the social exclusion of renters and simultaneously encouraged stronger ties between owners.

Analysis of New Columbia residents' conceptualization of behavioral choices and lifestyles revealed a wide continuum *within* each tenure group rather than between tenure groups. Parents living in rented and owned households tended to desire similar types of educational and behavioral outcomes for their children. Renters' and owners' relatively equal take-up rates in Portland's school choice system, which ultimately reflected desires for their children to receive higher-quality educations, illustrated this tendency. These observations shed further doubt on the alleged disparity between higher-income and lower-income parents' priorities for themselves and their children and the theoretical potential of behavioral modeling. The types of behaviors associated with higher-income residents, such as full-time employment, could be more effectively encouraged through access to targeted job training, education and job search assistance rather than simply by example. This finding challenges a key assumption of mixed-income housing policy.

Adolescent socialization was a more complex issue because children in this age range are subject to a greater number of influences. Previous research demonstrated that children, including teenagers, are in general particularly sensitive to social and environmental influences (Brofenbrenner, 1979, 1993; Brooks-Gunn & Paikoff, 1992, 1993; Brown, 1990; Feldman & Elliot, 1990). Proponents of mixed-income housing policy often posited that lower-income youth could receive positive sources of socialization from higher-income adults and peers (Briggs, 1997; Joseph, 2006). Results from the MTO demonstration showed that youth who moved to nonpoor neighborhoods did have significantly lower arrest rates, but exactly how, why or from whom pro-social behavior may have been transmitted has been less clear. Based on analysis of adolescents' choices, perceived social pressures, and behavioral trends in New Columbia, youth socialization was indeed multi-faceted. Adolescents were exposed to and

interacted with adults and peers across income and tenure brackets, but not necessarily because they lived in a mixed-income neighborhood. Lower-income children were exposed to higher-income adults by virtue of the staff who worked for HAP's youth programs, and those who attended alternative schools often had friends from higher-income families. It is doubtful, therefore, that mixed-income housing policy served to combat the social isolation to which Wilson referred in his earlier research on concentrated poverty (1987, 1996). Even if they had remained in a poor neighborhood, community and social service programs, along with Portland's school choice system, would have exposed these children to adults and youth from different socio-economic backgrounds to a similar extent as if they had been living in a mixed-income neighborhood. Whether these lower-income children would have received the same level of focused social-service programming without residence in a newly developed mixed-income neighborhood, however, is more questionable.

It is also important to note that New Columbia's adolescents navigated decisions about behavior based on context. When in McCoy Park, for example, teenagers felt greater pressure to respond to violence with violence, and posture in front of a larger peer group in order to establish and maintain respect. The park's social norms appeared to condone certain types of behaviors that they knew were anti-social, and adolescents who had a greater number of friends in New Columbia were more likely to socialize in McCoy Park, and participate in these types of behaviors. In contrast, those who did not have extended social networks in the neighborhood tended to avoid this physical space, as well as the behaviors associated with it.

This finding highlighted the applicability of Harding's (2009b) cultural heterogeneity theory, which suggested that adolescents draw upon an array of attitudes or behaviors according to the context in which they are situated. As opposed to experiencing isolation from pro-social

behaviors, adolescents tended to draw upon whatever strategy they felt would help them cope most effectively in a given space or situation. Those who felt that the social stakes were higher for them in New Columbia, because the majority of their friends lived there as well, also felt greater pressure to engage in hostile or anti-social conduct: for them, it was the most strategic way to cope in specific social situations. The influence of peers, particularly those who were slightly older, was thus significant. Peers served to enforce specific types of social norms and social control more frequently and effectively than adults, a finding which supported Darling *et al.*'s (1997) research on the importance of peers relative to adults with regard to adolescent socialization.

Considering one of mixed-income housing policy's goals was to encourage greater interaction between lower-income and higher-income residents, the most practical demographic with which to start this process would be youth. Given the composition of New Columbia and other HOPE VI projects similar to it, however, this may present a challenge, as the relatively small number of owners with school-age children reflected a barrier to youth interaction across income groups. Varady *et al.* (2005) suggested that the viability of a mixed-income neighborhood hinged primarily on its ability to recruit and retain higher-income families *with children*. This certainly appeared true in the case of New Columbia, particularly with regard to school-age children. If the vast majority of the neighborhood's children continue to belong to renters' households, the assumptions attached to youth behavior and overall sense of collective efficacy for children may continue to stratify renters and owners.

The Role of Schools in Community Building

Although housing and education policy have not traditionally been linked at the federal level, they intersect consistently in the lives of parents and children living in America's

neighborhoods. Interviews with parents and adolescents in New Columbia about children's social networks and behavior ultimately addressed issues related to the local school system and school choice. Both renters and owners took advantage of Portland's school lottery in efforts to send their children to higher quality schools, and these decisions held implications for the social networks of both parents and adolescents.

A new elementary school, Rosa Parks Elementary, was built in New Columbia at the time of the neighborhood's construction. The purpose of this school was to serve as a nexus point for the community, and in many ways it was successful. Although the general opinion of the school was positive, owner parents were less inclined to send their children there because of larger class sizes and lower test scores. Owner parents who had moved to New Columbia with explicitly ideological neighborhood narrative frames expressed regret over the nature of this perceived choice between deeper community engagement and the quality of their children's education, but consistently chose what they believed was in the best interest of their individual children. Renter and owner parents opted out of the local school system at more equal rates after 5th grade, when their children were routed to larger middle and high schools.

Children tended to form social networks with classmates at their respective schools. This meant that families who opted out of New Columbia's local schools, and instead chose alternative schools, significantly limited their neighborhood-based social networks. Adolescents who attended alternative schools did not prioritize socialization within New Columbia because their friends were simply located outside the neighborhood, and were also less likely to perceive pressure to engage in neighborhood-based anti-social behavior. The parents of these children had fewer opportunities to socialize with other New Columbia parents as a result.

School choice was also relevant to adolescent socialization. Adolescents who attended alternative schools were more likely to be exposed to and influenced by peers and adults outside New Columbia. Mixed-income housing policy's assumptions about pathways of influence did not necessarily take into account the role of school choice, and how attendance at non-local schools may limit the influence of neighborhood-level processes. This appeared to be true for youth from both rented and owned homes.

After the election of President Obama in 2008, greater emphasis was given to the intersection of housing and education policy. Under the leadership of Shawn Donovan, Secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the HOPE VI program will be phased out and replaced with a new initiative called Choice Neighborhoods. Based on expansion of some of the key principles that drove HOPE VI forward, this new program also addresses spatial concentrations of poverty and dilapidated public housing. The key difference, however, is the breadth of change that the program will attempt to bring about. Recognized weaknesses of HOPE VI included the failure of a new, mixed-income development to bring about long term change in the lives of poor residents without accompanying changes in local education and other social services. HUD's 2010 fiscal year budget request for Choice Neighborhoods was \$250 million, which was more than twice the amount available for HOPE VI during 2009 (Donovan, 2009). Increased levels of funding will allow a greater number of relevant private, public and non-profit agencies to participate in different types of improvement efforts in a given neighborhood. These efforts might be related to job training, youth programs, or start-up funding for local businesses. Choice Neighborhoods also makes explicit the connection between housing redevelopment and school reform, and encourages cooperation between housing and education organizations and program initiatives (HUD, 2009).

HAP's development of New Columbia, in coordination with the Portland Public Schools District's construction of the Rosa Parks Elementary School, reflected the type of cooperation that the Choice Neighborhoods initiative hopes to encourage. Findings from parents and youths in New Columbia, however, revealed the far-reaching nature of necessary school reform. The construction of one new elementary school was insufficient to retain a significant proportion of New Columbia's school-age children in local rather than alternative schools. Dispersion of neighborhood children throughout the school system allowed families greater choice, and in some cases, higher quality education for their children. The effect of this dispersion, however, was a weakening of neighborhood-based social ties and the overall level of collective efficacy for children that accompany them.

Territoriality and Governance

Opportunities for socialization, in the form of physical structures such as parks, and the efforts of staff focused on community building, were frequent in New Columbia. HAP sponsored regular recreational events in the park for the entire community, such as summer movie nights, concerts in the park, and the yearly National Night Out festival. Many of these activities took place in McCoy Park, the neighborhood's largest and most central public space, and its uses revealed how residents perceived exercises of territoriality in the neighborhood. Various groups attached to it at different times, and the attachment of certain groups served to exclude others. When HAP's formal activities took place, owners and renters tended to participate to the same degree. Many of these activities, however, were focused primarily on entertainment, and social interaction between residents who were not *already* friendly typically did not occur. At other times, McCoy Park was typically populated with groups of adolescents who frequently engaged in anti-social behavior. Chapter Eight explained how many owners

were wary of McCoy Park for this reason, and tended to restrict their children's socializing to other areas. In this way, adolescents from rented homes tended to exercise power and control over this public space. Territoriality in the smaller pocket parks was more inconsistent, and depended largely on the engagement levels of the parents and other adults who lived closest to it.

Control and power exercised in governance forums demonstrated owners' territoriality in other areas of the neighborhood. As Chapter Eight explained, forums such as Town Hall were intended to draw residents together in order to address neighborhood-wide concerns, but the structure of the Homeowners' Association meetings and other owner-initiated activities ultimately served to intensify the divisions between renters and owners. HOA meetings offered an assembly that was restricted to owners, and the composition of these meetings facilitated a sense of bonding social capital at the expense of excluding renters. When owners did attend Town Hall, they tended to sit only with one another and speak as representatives for all New Columbia owners, emphasizing distinctions between themselves and renters. Both staff and renters who initially attended Town Hall noticed these implications, and the overall unproductive nature of the resulting conversations. Many grew discouraged and ultimately chose not to attend.⁹⁵ The bonding social capital reinforced among owners in governance forums lent itself to tenure-specific communication and action in other settings, such as the use of an owners' email list and the initiation of a Neighborhood Watch patrol. Goals of the patrol included reporting graffiti, any suspected illicit activity such as drug sales, and general familiarization with the area and one's neighbors. These aims were desirable to most residents, regardless of tenure; however, because the patrol initially recruited and involved owners, the activity ultimately served to strengthen only owners' social ties. Both HOA meetings and the Neighborhood Watch

⁹⁵ Certain staff members continued to attend because moderating such meetings was part of their job descriptions.

patrol revealed what has been called the dark side of social capital; bonding among members of one group may prevent ties with members of another group (Schulman & Anderson, 1999; Woolcock, 1998). Owners' ties were reinforced at the expense of interaction with renters.

The Housing Authority of Portland recognized that HOA meetings were largely unproductive, as owners tended to congregate at these meetings in order to aggressively lodge complaints about the neighborhood. Meanwhile, attendance at Town Hall continued to dwindle. Aside from deepening divisions between renters and owners, antagonistic interactions at HOA meetings served to further compromise potential for bracing social capital between staff and owners. Significant changes to these governance structures took place in the fall of 2009, after fieldwork for the study was complete. According to follow-up conversations with New Columbia staff after formal fieldwork was complete, public comment was officially limited at HOA meetings as of November 2009; this meant that only items on the official agenda were open for discussion among members of the Board. Staff had hoped this change at HOA meetings would encourage greater participation in Town Hall, which was the formally designated forum for public discussion. This limitation on public comment also occurred two months after a change in the frequency of HOA meetings from monthly to quarterly annual meetings. Owners grew angry and resentful at the imposed nature of these changes, and one staff member described the HOA meeting in which these changes were discussed as "the worst meeting I've attended in all my years at the housing authority. Lots of personal attacks". Ultimately, owners decided to hold their own informal monthly meetings in order to openly discuss neighborhood issues.

HAP has considered re-structuring the HOA Board. The traditional structure of the Board included two HAP staff members and one owner, and a proposal for the new structure

would add two more members- another owner and a renter. In this way, power would be diffused among five as opposed to three members of the Board and renters would have a formally institutionalized voice in neighborhood related decisions. As of early October 2010, however, this proposal had not yet been implemented (Keating, personal communication, October 8, 2010).

In an attempt to make Town Hall a more attractive option for community participation, HAP staff re-structured what was originally one Town Hall meeting for all residents into smaller Town Hall meetings that were centered in different sections of the neighborhood. New Columbia was split into five sub-sections, each comprised of both owners and renters, with the goal of tailoring each meeting to issues more specific to that particular area and greater social cohesion among both renters and owners from smaller sub-sections. At the time of the writing of this thesis, staff reported that results from these changes were mixed, with certain areas of New Columbia experiencing greater success than others with regard to attendance and participation. Related policy implications include a greater need for governance structures and systems that encourage participation from all community members, and strategically designed forums in which this is made possible.

Social Implications of Physical Design

Although some elements of the neighborhood's design did encourage interaction between neighbors, other attributes highlighted socio-economic stratification. Aspects of New Columbia's physical design, such as a well-connected street grid, ease of walkability, access to public transportation and public spaces, reflected the influence of New Urbanist principles. Rented and owned homes were intermingled by block, representing fluid versus fixed socio-economic boundaries (Anderson, 1990). A sense of division persisted, however, due to a limited number

of marginal areas, or spaces that not physically disaggregated according to socio-economic status, within the neighborhood. In marginal areas, an individual unfamiliar with the neighborhood would not be able to tell which units or spaces belonged to lower-income versus higher-income families (Anderson, 1990). New Columbia's parks theoretically represented marginal areas, as they were accessible to all residents, but the arrangement of owner- and renter-based street blocks tended to place clear boundaries around which socio-economic bracket comprised which space. Although all units were new and in good physical condition, the owners' blocks contained larger, single-family houses and yards while the renters' units were often built as two-story town homes with shared yard space. These differences held consequences for the way residents perceived specific parts of the neighborhood, and the assumptions they attached to both renters' and owners' blocks.

These types of spatial differences were arguably practical given that rented apartments are typically smaller than owned houses, but contributed to heightened sense of symbolic boundaries between tenure groups. Not only did the units look noticeably different, they were physically separated according to street block. The type of social support often exchanged between proximate neighbors, such as the lending of household items or help during a weather emergency, was thus reinforced within rather than across tenure groups. This further accentuated social divisions, as residents attached certain behaviors, attitudes and attributes to physical spaces in the neighborhood that belonged to specific tenure groups. Members of a different tenure group were, therefore, often conceptualized as members of a social out-group. The role that physical space played in residents' respective constructions of symbolic boundaries, and implications for social boundaries, was thus significant. Mixed-income neighborhoods are premised on the idea that a reduction in physical distance between higher-

income and lower-income residents will potentially equate to a reduction in social distance. Briggs (1997, p. 197), however, suggested that “geographic proximity does not a neighbor make – at least not in the social sense”. The persistence of symbolic boundaries drawn along socio-economic status, and the ways in which the physical design of units contributed to the construction of these boundaries, revealed the complexity and challenges of an engineered integration project such as HOPE VI.

The aforementioned principles of New Urbanism, such as access to public transportation and public spaces, were well-intentioned but occasionally contributed to social disorder that both renters and owners disparaged. Non-residents of New Columbia had relatively easy access into the neighborhood via the public bus line, and were often blamed for instigating violence. Although the accessibility of public transit is certainly not directly responsible for such events, it did nevertheless facilitate entry of non-residents who occasionally had disruptive intentions, and thus came with costs.

New Columbia’s public spaces, particularly McCoy Park, were frequently sites of adolescents’ anti-social behavior. Apart from when the space was used for a formal community event and heavily monitored by staff, most adults perceived the space as relatively unstable and avoided it. Those adults who had stricter standards for child behavior also discouraged their own children from attending, but these children often needed no such guidelines and actively avoided the park. Checks on anti-social behavior in these types of spaces were thus limited, and often allowed to persist as a result. The social benefits of public spaces, therefore, were regularly lost because of a lack of informal social control. During interviews, residents frequently cited the need for higher-quality security personnel in these spaces as a means of enforcing sanctions for exceedingly hostile behavior, including the loud use of profanity and physical aggression. How

HAP staff or formal security might serve in this capacity is an interesting question for policy makers, as it relates to the role of paid staff in creating and enforcing norms and sanctions that typically develop more organically among community members. In areas such as New Columbia, where the very development of the neighborhood represents a degree of social engineering, the role of paid staff in establishing social norms must be balanced with the needs and preferences of actual residents. Negotiating these boundaries will be an important issue for public agencies. At the same time, tightened public budgets will force agencies to make difficult choices about the best use of limited human resources and how to prioritize the time that staff spend at work.

Enforcement of Informal Social Control

New Columbia's predominantly within-tenure social networks served to compromise the neighborhood's sense of informal social control. Sampson *et. al.* (1999) suggested that this type of control did not depend on pre-requisite social networks in order to exist, meaning neighbors could monitor the general safety and welfare of children without necessarily formally knowing one another first. A lack of interaction, however, between New Columbia's renter and owner parents meant that owners were less likely to know the parents of the majority of children in the neighborhood and thus felt less comfortable intervening with them. Different norms appeared to exist among renters, who were more likely to have children, know one another, and intervene with each others' children. Owners' trepidation about intervention was rooted in several factors, including fears of retaliation among children and adults they did not know, and a lack of desire over reciprocal intervention with their own children. In addition, owners were less likely to express trust in most other adult residents (particularly renters living on non-adjacent blocks) to

maintain order and provide adequate supervision; they often limited their children's movement and socialization around the neighborhood as a result.

It was challenging for HAP to enforce standardized rules about youth behavior across New Columbia. Although staff personally intervened with adolescents when they saw blatantly anti-social behavior, such as violence or property destruction, legally enforceable exclusion of a child from the neighborhood was a much longer and more tedious process. Assault, causing severe injury, possession and/or use of a weapon were examples of the types of incidences that put into process exclusion notices for that child. In some cases entire families decided to leave the neighborhood, in others only the child was displaced, and in some instances the family successfully fought the order and the child was permitted to remain. The less serious, and far more frequent instances of anti-social behavior such as physical aggression, verbal harassment and profanity, and general use of intimidation, did not warrant such legal action but nevertheless deterred a significant number of residents from frequenting McCoy Park or approaching any youth about a behavior-related concern. A public agency's appropriate role in managing undesirable (but not necessarily criminal) behavior was difficult for most staff and residents to agree upon. Intervention, in this regard, would serve as a state agency's intrusion into what has traditionally been conceptualized as an individual family's choice: what specific behavioral boundaries should be placed around children's behavior? This finding implies the types of normative considerations that policy makers and public agencies must take into account as they make decisions about how public policy can or should influence a community's social norms.

Although the thesis' discussion of informal social control has centered mostly on non-criminal anti-social behavior (such as intimidating uses of profanity in public spaces), it is important to note the effect of events that this type of social control, and collective efficacy for

children more generally, are unable to mediate. Homicide, for example, typically holds social consequences that run deep into communities. Small (2004, p. 143) explained the different impact of these types of crimes in the context of drive-by shootings:

Drive-bys, when compared to robberies or assault crimes, are relatively rare. Nonetheless - and this is the crucial issue here - their effects on communities are lasting, much more powerful, disheartening, and debilitating than common robberies and burglaries. These are rare events that cause neighborhoods to deteriorate by virtue of the lingering memory - and, often, heavily recorded memory - associated with the neighborhood, its resources, or its public spaces.

Residents of Columbia Villa witnessed one gang-related drive-by in 1988, which helped instigate HAP's re-investment in gang prevention and community development during the 1990s. When New Columbia was built, the new elementary school and adjoining Boys and Girls Club was built at the intersection where the 1988 murder occurred (Brettman, 2010). Since the neighborhood opened in 2005, multiple shootings have occurred in and around it, but these have resulted primarily in property damage. During the four month period that I completed fieldwork, three shootings occurred within the boundaries of the neighborhood. Between January and June of 2010, police records revealed that New Columbia saw four gun-related aggravated assaults and one attempted murder with an unlicensed firearm. The latter event caused personal injury to a male resident, but the previous shootings resulted primarily in property damage. News about these types of events spread throughout the neighborhood fairly quickly, via both word of mouth and local media outlets. Adolescents from both owned and rented homes explained that their parents had given them explicit directions on what to do if they heard gunfire outside, such as backing away from windows and crouching low to the ground.

New Columbia experienced its first fatal shooting during June of 2010. Billy Moore, a 17 year old African American and resident of New Columbia's public housing units, became involved in a personal argument with a 16 year old non-resident of the neighborhood. After both

teenagers exited a public bus that stopped in New Columbia, Billy was shot in the back and died shortly thereafter on the front steps of his family's apartment. To the police's knowledge, neither adolescent had any ties to gangs. Billy had recently graduated from high school and was planning to attend Portland Community College (Bernstein, 2010). The 16 year old offender was arrested, charged with murder with a firearm and was detained in a juvenile detention center in Portland (Bernstein, 2010). How staff and residents respond to this event, and whether responses are ultimately stratified across tenure groups, will be critical in determining the reputation and attachment associated with the neighborhood. This murder will also inform the overall level of trust and cohesion that continues to evolve between neighbors. The fact that Billy Moore's death was not gang-related and that the perpetrator was apprehended quickly, combined with HAP's rapid response to the event with regard to community support and cooperation with the police, may also inform the nature of residents' responses. A third full-time police officer was permanently assigned to New Columbia after the shooting, and greater emphasis has been given to the role of police officers as community builders and less as simply enforcers (Kavanaugh, 2010). These changes will be important to monitor as the neighborhood evolves.

Directions for Future Research

Owing to the limited scope of the thesis, certain aspects of the study's findings could only be addressed superficially and in relation to collective efficacy for children, but these topics deserve greater in-depth research. One such issue was community-level governance, which had clear implications for the formation of social ties, activation of social capital and stratification across income and tenure groups. The significant structural changes that affected the neighborhood's homeowners' association and Town Hall meetings during late 2009 revealed HAP's attempt to shape governance forums in accordance with community building efforts.

Future research should examine the relationships between governance structures, social cohesion and perceptions of social boundaries in different neighborhood settings.

Issues of race and ethnicity were woven throughout the thesis' discussion of social integration, but were typically discussed in relation to social class. The conflation of race with social class will continue to complicate residents' views of one another and perceptions of social boundaries, and deserves to be explored in more depth as cities take more proactive approaches to residential integration.

This research also raised interesting questions about how sustainable mixed-income neighborhoods are, and how the composition of the neighborhood and its reputation may change over time. As a greater number of cities prioritize the development of urban sustainability indicators and search for best practices in urban regeneration, the status and direction of mixed-income neighborhoods should be periodically re-assessed. Examining how demographic composition changes over time, and whether income diversity is maintained, will reveal valuable information about urban dynamics and the success of socio-economic integration efforts.

Related to this question of sustainability is education reform's inextricable link to urban redevelopment efforts. Development of a mixed-income neighborhood, without sufficient consideration given to the local education context, fails to acknowledge the tight links between schools and communities. For children to integrate across racial and socio-economic dimensions, local school options for all the children in the neighborhood need to be viable. Schools are the most promising social institutions available for leveraging many parents' democratic influence and activating political economy of place across income brackets. Although this may be beyond a single public housing authority's locus of control or influence, current federal policy efforts have begun to shift the paradigm in which education and housing

reform takes place. Policy initiatives under the Obama administration, such as Choice Neighborhoods and Promise Neighborhoods, warrant close examination to determine how they impact both higher- and lower-income children and their families as well as how they inform social relations and civic participation.

Higher-income residents' recruitment and retention to urban regeneration projects, such as HOPE VI sites, also deserves future research. What types of owners are ultimately recruited, and how they conceptualize their roles in the community's sustainability, will inform how neighboring and social organization develop. The same is true for renters; more research should be directed towards how they are recruited to or screened out of these neighborhoods, as well as to subsequent conceptualization of community engagement and social ties with those from different income groups.

There appeared limited evidence for higher-income adults' direct modeling of behavior or lifestyle choices to lower-income youth, and pathways of influence were more focused within family- or peer-based networks. Residence in a mixed-income neighborhood, which is less stigmatized than a traditional public housing development, may nevertheless have a positive, if subtle, psycho-social influence on how youth conceptualize the environment in which they live and the choices available to them. Living in New Columbia did not automatically mean reliance on public housing or identification as poor, unlike living in the Villa. Exploring how this may impact the way adolescents perceive themselves in relation to others, and how it may inform their decision-making, will be important areas of research in the field of child development.

Adolescents in the study discussed how living in New Columbia had shaped certain opinions about neighborhoods and where they would like to live as adults, which also prompts future research. Given some owners with ideological neighborhood narrative frames moved with

the explicit purpose of raising their children in a diverse environment, it is worth exploring how these children's views about symbolic boundaries and perceived out-groups change over time. Whether these adolescents want to live in similar neighborhoods, or prioritize integration more generally, when they themselves exercise residential choice as adults, are other questions to be explored. Answers will help determine how youth from a specific neighborhood context eventually reconcile their respective childhood experiences with their adult preferences.

Conclusion

The original contribution of this thesis is two-fold, and includes its research design and findings. Collective efficacy for children had not yet been qualitatively explored in a mixed-income housing setting, and the study relied on perspectives from four critical subgroups to provide a comprehensive view of the topic: parents and adolescents from both higher-income and lower-income homes. With regard to findings, the thesis revealed how certain assumptions associated with mixed-income housing policy deserve to be challenged, as well as how other aspects of living in this type of environment affect social relationships, parenting strategies and adolescent development.

Mixed-income housing policy was designed with specific expectations about how lower-income and higher-income neighbors might relate to one another, even though empirical evidence had not yet supported such presumptions (Joseph *et al.*, 2007). Results from New Columbia support the qualitative findings from other case studies of mixed-income neighborhoods, and showed that there is limited social interaction between residents from different income groups even in a mixed-income environment (Brophy & Smith, 1997; Kleit, 2005; Small, 2004; Tach, 2009b; Chaskin & Joseph, 2010). Furthermore, the idea that higher-income residents would effectively model desirable behaviors to lower-income adults has not

held. Lower-income residents who were, for example, unemployed, or had children with school truancy problems, could not find solutions through simply observing higher-income households who did not have such problems. To assume this would be the case seemingly ignores the deeply entrenched structural problems associated with poverty, and places far too much emphasis on alleged behavioral deficiencies. The weak ties that would, in theory, connect lower-income residents to professional or educational opportunities via higher-income neighbors have also not appeared to manifest in a measurable or tangible way. Although there were some exceptions, most adult social interaction appeared to take place within the same tenure group.

Minimal social ties across income groups effectively limited the establishment of reciprocated exchange and informal social control associated with the neighborhood's collective efficacy for children. Although this type of collective approach to child welfare was present in smaller sub-sections of the neighborhood, divisions between income groups meant it was based largely within rather than between income groups. Stratification between income groups also held implications for who effectively controlled various public spaces, which ranged from parks to governance forums. Interaction between adolescents from different income groups appeared to be more fluid, but this appeared to be related more to social ties formed in schools than in the neighborhood. Housing policy and education reform are tightly bound to one another, and it will be important for future policy to take these links into account.

Although some of the assumptions that drove mixed-income housing policy forward have not necessarily held in the reality of residents, it is also critical to emphasize other positive aspects that living in such a neighborhood have offered. First, the level of financial investment and media attention directed towards New Columbia encouraged HAP to maintain the neighborhood's physical appearance, and the structural quality of renters' homes was generally

far superior to the conditions they had lived in previously. The physiological and socio-emotional effects of living in sanitary and structurally sound physical conditions, with regard to both one's housing and larger neighborhood, reduces environmental stress on children and adults (Brofenbrenner, 1979; Evans & English, 2002; Evans, 2005). HAP's investment in community-building strategies also served to facilitate ties between renter parents and social service providers, particularly staff who had a vested interest in child welfare. Renter parents and adolescents' social ties to staff who worked inside New Columbia were critical, as they facilitated the activation of bracing social capital. Therefore, although theorized bridging social capital may not have manifested between renters and owners, the positive effects of bracing social capital between renters and the neighborhood's staff members appeared promising.

Second, unlike residents of Columbia Villa or other traditional public housing developments, lower-income renters in New Columbia did not suffer the stigma of living in a neighborhood associated unequivocally with poverty. Renters typically liked living near owners, even if they had minimal contact with these other residents; residence in a mixed-income, mixed-tenure neighborhood helped blur socio-economic associations with a given space. Social mobility could manifest in the same physical space, in theory, because both lower-income and higher-income residents occupied the same housing development. Improved professional or socio-economic standing was not, therefore, immediately associated with exit from the neighborhood. The children of New Columbia renters are able to grow up in a neighborhood less constrained by the assumptions and stereotypes associated with a ghetto. Although direct role modeling between higher-income and lower-income neighbors appeared limited in New Columbia, there existed the possibility that living in proximity to higher-income properties carried with it aspiration-related effects: because property ownership was immediately visible,

perhaps it also seemed more tangible. As mentioned in the previous section, longitudinal research could explore how the psychological impact of living in such a space may translate to changes in an adult or child's goal development and subsequent decisions.

Finally, the typology of residents' motivations for moving to New Columbia revealed how some higher-income parents moved to the neighborhood with the explicit purpose of raising their children in a diverse environment, and lower-income renters also expressed preferences for their children to know and be open to different types of people. This desire speaks to the importance of children's exposure to and tolerance of people unlike themselves. Without cities' active facilitation of mixed neighborhoods across socio-economic, racial and ethnic dimensions, either through HOPE VI, the new federal Choice Neighborhoods initiative, or other policy measures, it is questionable if integration will occur organically. Although integration carries with it its own set of challenges, it appears far more preferable than a deepened sense of inequality and separateness between the poor and nonpoor.

The regeneration of urban neighborhoods is politically contentious, requires significant funding, and the cooperation of a variety of stakeholders. This thesis contributed to the growing body of research on how poverty deconcentration policies, such as the HOPE VI program, have shaped urban neighborhoods, parenting strategies, and child development. Collective efficacy for children reflects a neighborhood's capacity to protect its youth, and is critical for public agencies to consider as they invest in community-building strategies. Findings from this thesis showed how certain theoretical assumptions that drove mixed-income housing policy forward deserve to be challenged, and will hopefully encourage further questioning about the benefits and costs of creating these neighborhoods. Understanding exactly how residential socio-economic integration facilitates or disrupts parenting strategies and community safety will continue to

challenge social scientists, but this research is critical in developing sustainable and socially just neighborhoods for all children.

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