

Does Mixed-Income Housing Facilitate  
Upward Social Mobility of Low-Income Residents?

The Case of Vineyard Estates, Phoenix, AZ

by

Aleksandra Durova

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Urban and Environmental Planning

Approved April 2013 by the  
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Nabil Kamel, Chair  
Deirdre Pfeiffer  
Joanna Lucio

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERISTY

May 2013

## ABSTRACT

Mixed-income housing policy has been an approach to address the problem of concentrated poverty since the 1990s. The idea of income mix in housing is founded on the proposition that economic opportunities of the poor can be expanded through the increasing of their social capital. The current in-depth case study of Vineyard Estates, a mixed-income housing development in Phoenix, AZ tests a hypothesis that low-income people improve their chances of upward social mobility by building ties with more affluent residents within the development.

This study combines qualitative and quantitative methods to collect and analyze information including analysis of demographic data, resident survey and in-depth semi-structured interviews with residents, as well as direct observations. It focuses on examining the role of social networks established within the housing development in generating positive economic outcomes of the poor. It also analyzes the role of factors influencing interactions across income groups and barriers to upward social mobility.

Study findings do not support that living in mixed-income housing facilitates residents' upward social mobility. The study concludes that chances of upward social mobility are restrained by structural factors and indicates a need to rethink the effectiveness of mixed-income housing as an approach for alleviating poverty.

## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my mom who never stops believing in me.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work became possible with the help of Professors Nabil Kamel, Deirdre Pfeiffer, and Joanna Lucio. I am especially grateful to my academic advisor and mentor, Professor Nabil Kamel, for his contribution to my intellectual development, as well as continuous support, encouragement and patience. I am also thankful to Professor Deidre for inspiring me with the topic and guiding me along the road and to Professor Joanna for sharing her research experience and helping me strengthen my study. I am grateful to my friend, Lenara Galimova, for always being close and supportive.

I am thankful to the residents who shared with me their life stories, concerns and aspirations for the future. This thesis is to acknowledge their voices.

I wish to thank the Fulbright Program for giving me an opportunity to achieve academic and professional growth, and a chance to meet wonderful people.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES .....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	ix
INTRODUCTION .....	1
CHAPTER	
1 HOUSING POLICY AND POVERTY DECONCENTRATION:	
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND .....	4
Rationales of mixed-income housing.....	7
Complexity of interactions: from supportive to negative .....	10
Types of interactions.....	10
Interaction across income groups: mixed evidence. ....	11
Factors influencing interactions.....	13
Upward mobility: evidence from research.....	19
Summary .....	22
2 METHODOLOGY .....	23
Hypothesis of the study.....	23
Measurements .....	25
Interaction measurements .....	25
Casual interactions.....	25
Instrumental interactions.....	26
“Leveraging” interactions .....	26
Negative interactions. ....	26

CHAPTER	Page
Proximity measurements.....	27
Physical proximity. ....	27
Social proximity.....	27
Social mobility measurements .....	28
Sources of data.....	28
Instruments: surveys, interviews and observations.....	29
Resident survey.....	29
Interviews.....	30
Interview sample.....	33
Observations .....	34
Limitations of the study .....	37
3 CASE STUDY .....	38
Mixed-income housing in South Phoenix.....	38
Neighborhood demographics .....	41
Housing characteristics .....	50
Vineyard Estates: place and people .....	54
Is social mix conducive to interaction?.....	61
Casual interactions .....	61
Instrumental and leveraging interactions.....	63
Interacting if “close” .....	68
Physical proximity.....	68
Social proximity.....	73

CHAPTER	Page
Children.....	73
Socioeconomic status.....	75
Race and culture.....	77
Family ties and networks .....	78
Perceptions of difference, stigma and other factors .....	79
Summary .....	82
Upward mobility: a restrained opportunity.....	83
Residents' changes in income, employment, and education.....	84
Factors influencing chances of upward social mobility.....	88
Information and resources exchange .....	88
Role models .....	91
Other mixed-income housing factors.....	93
Constraints to upward social mobility .....	94
4 CONCLUSION.....	99
Social interactions and leveraging: opportunities and barriers .....	99
The burden of poverty.....	102
Theoretical implications.....	105
Further directions: policy and practice implications.....	107
REFERENCES .....	110

APPENDIX	Page
A     INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL .....	114
B     MAP OF VINEYARD ESTATES AND DISTRIBUTION OF UNITS .....	116
C     SURVEY INSTRUMENT.....	119
D     INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT.....	125
E     DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS: CENSUS TRACT 1166.02 AND THE CITY OF PHOENIX (U.S.CENSUS, 2010).....	130
F     DIAGRAM: UNITS OF INTERACTING RESIDENTS .....	134



LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Characteristics of survey and interview participants .....	36
2. Change in racial composition of population from 2000 to 2010 in the Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood (Census Tract 1166.02) and the city of Phoenix (U.S. Census, 2010) .....	46
3. Housing characteristics of Vineyard Hills Estates (Census Tract 1166.02) and the city of Phoenix, 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010) .....	53
4. Allocation of units in Vineyard Estates, November 2012 .....	57
5. Residents' changes in employment, income and education since moving to Vineyard Estates .....	87
6. Demographic characteristics of the Census tract 1166.02 and the city of Phoenix, 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010) .....	131

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Theoretical framework: propositions of how living in mixed-income housing leads to upward mobility of the poor .....	18
2. Types of interactions and activities associated with them .....	27
3. Interview design: the logic model.....	31
4. The Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood as a part of a Qualified Census Tract (Census Tract 1166.02); Vineyard Estates and other LIHTC developments (HUD USER GIS Maps, 2013).....	41
5. Distribution of population by age in the Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood (Census Tract 1166.02) and the city of Phoenix, 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010) 42	
6. Percentage of African American population in the Census Tract 1166.02 and the city of Phoenix, 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010) .....	43
7. Percentage of Hispanic population in the Census Tract 1166.02 and the city of Phoenix, 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010).....	44
8. Racial composition of population, 2000 and 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010) ...	45
9. Percentage of population in Vineyard Hills Estates (Census Tract 1166.02) and the city of Phoenix receiving public benefits, 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010).....	48
10. Percentage of population below the poverty level in the Census Tract 1166.02 and the city of Phoenix, during the last twelve months, 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010).....	49

Figure	Page
11. The Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood (Census Tract 1166.02), Vineyard Estates and the surroundings (“Phoenix”, 33°23'22.44" N. and 112°05'12.50" W. Google Earth. June 8, 2012. April 14, 2013). .....	54
12. Villas Esperanza Neighborhood Park (March 2013) .....	56
13. Vineyard Estates: swimming pool, ramada and property office (on the right), one of the buildings (on the left) (March 2013) .....	58
14. Public spaces in Vineyard Estates (March 2013) .....	60
15. Playgrounds in the Foothills Village Apartments and Vineyard Estates (from the left to the right) (March 2013) .....	72
16. Seating places on balconies in Vineyard Estates (March 2013) .....	73
17. Computer facilities at the public housing development, Foothills Village Apartment (March 2013) .....	91
18. Theoretical implications: mixed-income housing and structural explanation of poverty .....	107

## INTRODUCTION

In the 1990s, the federal housing policy radically shifted towards a new approach for addressing problems of concentrated poverty. The idea of mixed-income communities, where less economically stable people reside close to the wealthier, has become prevalent in housing policies. These policies were founded on the premise that mixed-income communities can bring about positive social and economic outcomes of lower-income people by providing access to better facilities and services, role models of more affluent residents, and expanding economic opportunities by the increasing the social capital of the poor (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Kleit, 2005; Smith, 2002; Popkin et.al., 2004).

In the United States, mixed-income housing was promoted through federal housing programs and local zoning regulations. In 1986, Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC), the largest program for producing affordable rental housing, provided incentives for developers to include low-income units in housing projects. Another program, Mixed-Income New Communities (1990), allowed for up to 50 percent of units in public housing to be rented by households with incomes less than 80% of the area median income (AMI). The most recent program, the HOPE VI Revitalization Grants (1992), targets the rehabilitation of public housing into mixed-income communities. At the municipal level, zoning regulations encourage the inclusion of low-income housing units in market-rate developments, as well as limit the affordability level of housing projects in order to include market-rate units (Smith, 2002).

Studies have examined individual outcomes of low-income people relocated to lower-poverty neighborhoods and mixed-income housing developments. The studies of the early dispersal programs, such as the Gautreaux and Moving to Opportunity (MTO) programs, and recently implemented mixed-income housing developments explored whether living in mixed communities brings about socioeconomic improvements of low-income residents, and, if so, what is the role of interaction across income groups in this process.

The evidence from studies is mixed. On one hand, it illustrates that mixed-income communities have the potential to facilitate social and economic improvements of the poor (Rosenbaum, Stroh, & Flynn, 1998; Smith, 2002). On the other hand, it does not prove that social capital and social networks built within mixed-income housing developments are the precursor to upward social mobility of low-income residents (Goetz, 2010; Levy & Woolley, 2007; Curley, 2010a). Furthermore, the findings suggest that low-income people may become even worse off after relocation to a mixed-income community (Popkin et.al, 2004).

This study looked at a mixed-income housing development in Phoenix that was built under the LIHTC in 2002. The study aimed to test the hypothesis that mixed-income housing facilitates interaction across income groups and leads to upward social mobility of low-income residents. I explored levels of interactions across income groups within the development, factors influencing interaction and the ways in which interactions influence residents' employment and educational opportunities.

The study integrated qualitative and quantitative approaches to collect information and test the hypothesis. It incorporated the analysis of demographic data, surveys and in-depth semi-structured interviews with residents, as well as observations. The survey's and interview's sample provided insights into residents' attitudes toward living in a mixed-income development and revealed impediments to their upward mobility.

This thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter provides the historical background of the U.S. housing policies, the discussion in the literature regarding the study question and formulates a theoretical framework. The following chapter presents the research questions and methodology. Chapter three consists of three sections describing the case study: the demographics of the neighborhood, the housing development, and the findings on social interaction and upward social mobility of residents. The final conclusion chapter summarizes the findings and presents theoretical implications, as well as policy recommendations drawn on the evidence from the study. Appendices contain the map of the development, survey and interview questions, neighborhood's demographics and graphical representation of the study findings about interaction.

## Chapter 1

### **HOUSING POLICY AND POVERTY DECONCENTRATION: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

The idea of mixed-income housing became prevalent in the housing policy in the U.S. during the late 1990s. It was a modification of dispersal housing policy that targeted poverty concentrations in the country since the 1960s (Goetz, 2003). The shift towards the idea of income mix in housing reflected the changes in the ideological emphases of the political economy in the 1970s. The role of the state in the production of affordable housing lessened (Harvey, 2005; Wacquant, 2010; Marcuse & Keating, 2006). The market-oriented housing solutions focused on revitalization of stagnated areas by promoting socioeconomic mix (Goetz, 2003).

During the 1960s, along with civil rights movement and the opposition to the Vietnam War, housing rights also became part of the demand for social change. In the period of 1964-1968, social movements throughout the country occurred as a response to the displacements of urban renewal. These movements were followed by the introduction of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and legislation and programs addressing discrimination and housing problems of low-income residents (Marcuse, 1999; Marcuse & Keating, 2006). The introduction of the Fair Housing Act of 1968 and the first dispersal policies were taken against discrimination and towards the provision of low-income housing. Housing dispersal policy proposed to replace public housing with scattered-site assisted housing developments and disperse subsidized housing units at the metropolitan scale. Housing policy no longer focused on the construction of high-rise public housing and

promoted the provision of subsidized units in low-minority areas. Local and state housing programs focused on the provision of affordable housing in suburban areas. Dispersal policies aimed to end racially discriminative and exclusionary practices in housing (Goetz, 2003), and also manage poverty through “diffus[ion] of social anxiety” (Wacquant, 2010, p. 204).

Starting in the 1970s, neoliberal policies constituted the reversal of direct involvement of the federal government in social welfare, the reduction of direct state subsidies to provide low-income housing, and the increased role of the market and public-private partnerships in the provision of affordable housing (Hackworth, 2003; Marcuse & Keating, 2006; Florida, R. & Feldman, M., 1986). Already during the 1960s, a series of legislative acts incentivized the production of housing by private developers. Enacted legislation such as Section 202 (1959) and Section 23 (1965) provided low-interest loans and tenants’ subsidies to rent from private landlords. The “Turnkey” Program launched in 1965 provided subsidies to developers to actually build new housing. On the other hand, legislative acts furthered scattered-site housing programs. The Housing Act of 1968 became a step toward promoting homeownership among low-income residents, as well as the provision of rental housing by private developers. By doing so, low-income residents became considered housing consumers in the market (Hackworth, 2003).

Housing legislation of the 1970s and the 1980s further strengthened the role of the market in the provision of affordable housing. The Community Development Block Grants (CDBGs) and housing allowances (Section 8 vouchers) launched in 1974 led to a



greater flexibility of using federal funds in the market. Along with Section 8 tenant-based vouchers, the Section 8 New Construction program provided subsidies to developers for new construction or rehabilitation of housing (Marcuse & Keating, 2006; Goetz, 2003). The Section 8 program was followed by initiation of the Low Income Housing Tax Credit program (1986) that provided incentives for developers to include low-income units in housing projects.

In the early 1990s, dispersal housing policy focused on deconcentration of poverty by the dismantling of traditional public housing. The approaches to dispersion included the following: mobility programs based on “vouchering-out”<sup>1</sup>; allowing residents of public housing to buy their units; and introduction of the mixed-income policy to redevelop the existing public housing (Goetz, 2003). The vouchering-out initiative constituted “marketization” of public housing (Marcuse & Keating, 2006, p. 152). Along with vouchering-out, the largest mobility programs, the Gautreaux program and the MTO program thereafter, were initiated. The Gautreaux program was launched as a response to a lawsuit (1969) against segregation in public housing. It assisted African American households who were willing to move to more racially integrated neighborhoods. The MTO program initiated in 1992 operated in five cities and provided vouchers for households from public housing or high-poverty neighborhoods, recruited landlords to participate in the program and provided mobility assistance to relocated residents (Goetz, 2003). The last HUD’s initiative related to reorganization of public housing was the HOPE VI Revitalization Program (1992). HOPE VI aims to

---

<sup>1</sup> Tenant-based Section 8 subsidies allowed households to move to lower-poverty areas.

deconcentrate poverty by revitalization of public housing into mixed-income developments (Goetz, 2003; Marcuse & Keating, 2006).

## **RATIONALES OF MIXED-INCOME HOUSING**

The term “mixed-income housing” has no common definition and varies regarding the scale of mix within a project or neighborhood, ownership, and financing (Brophy & Smith, 1997). The types of income mix can be represented by a combination of a broad range of market- rate and subsidized units; the inclusion of market-rate units into low-income developments and affordable mixes for moderate- and low-income households (Smith, 2002). Among them are private developments with a dominant number of market-rate units and some share of subsidized units (e.g. 10%, 20%). It can also be an integration of market-rate units into public housing developments, where incomes may vary from 30% to 120% of the area median income (AMI) (Joseph et al., 2007).

During the last decade, the effectiveness of mixed-income approach to poverty alleviation has been questioned. By attracting more affluent households into low-income communities, the mixed-income approach aims to provide housing of better-quality for lower-income people, increase economic stability of neighborhoods, and facilitate upward social mobility of the poor (Joseph et al., 2007; Goetz, 2003). While investments in mixed-income housing were increased, there have been raised concerns about implementation of mixed-income developments and individual social and economic outcomes. The implementation concerns are connected to partial replacement of

demolished units and limited provision of services and assistance to relocated low-income residents (Joseph et al., 2007; Smith, 2002).

The rationales of mixed-income housing include four propositions of how life opportunities of low-income people can be potentially expanded. First, low-income residents can benefit through building social networks with more affluent residents and, hence, improving their access to information, resources and employment (for a theoretical framework refer to Figure 1). Social networks formed by “strong” ties, usually with friends and relatives, can be supportive and help individuals “get by” in their everyday life. More diverse social networks provide a means of bridging “weak” ties and let people “get ahead” through acquiring valuable information and access to resources (Briggs, 1998; Granovetter, 1983; Curley, 2005, 2010b). Second, proximity to people of a higher socioeconomic status can increase the level of recognition of informally established social norms by lower-income people (Rosenbaum, Stroh & Flynn, 1998). Furthermore, the influence of role models in the form of more affluent residents can lead to positive behavioral change among low-income people (Wilson, 1996; Briggs, 1997). Finally, higher-income households with more economic resources, political power, connections, and higher engagement are willing to advocate for better services and infrastructure (Smith, 2002).

The rationales of mixed-income housing are based on the theoretical explanation of poverty found in the cultural paradigm. The cultural explanation of poverty connects to William Julius Wilson’s (1996) concept that emphasizes the intersection of spatial concentration of poverty and socioeconomic problems of isolated neighborhoods. Out-

migration of higher-income population from inner-cities led to social isolation of inner-city communities with limited employment opportunities, poor public services and the lack of role models. The “underclass culture”, characterized by the lack of social capital, a loss of mainstream values and behavioral norms, reinforces marginality and disconnects the poor from chances of upward mobility (Wilson, 1996; Popkin et.al, 2004).

On the other hand, the rationales of mixed-income housing have been discoursed. There is inconclusive evidence that mixed-income housing facilitates the expansion of social networks from which lower-income people can leverage. Also, the role of residents with higher socioeconomic status in increasing the level of social organization in communities is not settled. Another argument questions the importance of role modeling of higher-income people (Greenbaum, 2008; Kleit, 2005). It suggests that lower-income people do not lack mainstream values but rather opportunities to get ahead. Finally, it has been questioned whether lower-income people benefit from resources and services advocated by higher-income residents. Their needs may not intersect and access to resources and services can be unequal (Joseph et al, 2007).

Furthermore, the theoretical assumptions at the foundation of mixed-income housing have been questioned from the political economy perspective. The opponents of mixed-income housing argue that this approach is simply treating a symptom of a much broader problem of income and resources redistribution, and unequal access to educational and employment opportunities. They assert that mixed-income approach does not address the causes of poverty and question the effectiveness of spatially-oriented policy in poverty alleviation. The discussion about poverty should be also complemented

with the role of the state and devolution of welfare in shaping and reinforcing marginality. They question the effectiveness of spatially-oriented policy, including mixed-income housing, in poverty alleviation (Marcuse, 2007; Joseph et al., 2007; Cheshire, 2007).

### **COMPLEXITY OF INTERACTIONS: FROM SUPPORTIVE TO NEGATIVE**

Given the proposition that low-income people expand their economic opportunities through building social ties with higher-income residents, interaction across income groups is considered as a premise to upward social mobility. While mixed-income housing may expand low-income people's chances to build social ties with more affluent residents, socioeconomic diversity can also become a barrier to interaction (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Curley, 2010b).

**Types of interactions.** Established relationships and interactions happening among residents within mixed-income developments can be described as supportive, draining and leveraging connections. Supportive connections constitute exchange of support and help in a form of sharing things, money and food, helping with babysitting and other favors. Supportive connections mostly represent close relationships among people and are based on needs in emotional and material support. Draining connections can evolve due to overuse of others' resources, bring negative emotional effects and can cause avoidance of interaction. On the other hand, connections may occur to be both draining and leveraging at different periods of time, according to changing circumstances. Leveraging connections, or job networks, in their turn, can be represented by either weak bridging or close ties that are useful in terms of getting access to

information about jobs, education and training, housing, services and other resources. Better access to useful information is seen as a premise to expanding opportunities of upward social mobility of the poor (Curley, 2009; Kleit, 2011).

On the other hand, interactions occurring among residents can be classified by types of activities and exchanges associated with them. Casual interactions mostly involve such activities as greetings and short conversations when encountering each other. Casual type of interaction, while accompanied with some recognition of each other, still implies distant relationships. Casual interactions are not usually associated with instrumental support, but may involve exchanges of useful information. This type of interaction can transform into instrumental interactions and manifest closer relationships established among people. Instrumental interactions, in their turn, are characterized with exchanges of information and favors in a form of giving a ride, helping out with groceries, and other help founded on knowledge of other residents and recognition of their needs. Also, interactions, especially casual, can become negative as a result of people's incompilance with established norms and rules, problematic behavior, differences in expectations of neighboring and ways of using public space, and other factors. Negative interactions can be accompanied by mistrust, disrespect, avoidance and vigilance (Chaskin & Joseph, 2011).

**Interaction across income groups: mixed evidence.** The evidence about interaction across income groups is mixed. A series of studies (e.g. conducted in Boston, San Francisco, Emeryville, Washington DC and other) found insignificant interactions among people of different socioeconomic status in mixed-income developments (Joseph,

2008; Brothy & Smith, 1997; Smith, 2002; Clampet- Lundquist, 2004). For example, the evidence from the study of the Jazz on the Boulevard public housing in North Kenwood, Oakland (2006-2007) showed that lower-income residents had little intention to build new ties with other residents within the development (Joseph, 2008). The other study of the Harbor Point housing development in Boston, formerly Columbia Point public housing, concluded that residents from market-rate and subsidized units “coexist” rather than interact (Smith, 2002). While some residents of different income groups in mixed-income developments demonstrated friendly attitudes to each other and considered giving each other help, generally few supportive connections were built (Joseph, 2008; Smith, 2002).

A few studies reported that people from different income groups did interact within mixed-income developments. For example, the Lake Parc Place mixed-income development, a redeveloped housing project in Chicago, was quite successful at attracting moderate-income people to the development, providing well-maintained housing, increasing safety in the buildings and the surrounding area, and facilitating interaction among residents of different backgrounds and incomes. However, the most common interactions among residents were casual, and more complex interactions occurred less frequently. While the study reported that interactions across income groups occurred, the income range of residents in the development was not wide: units in the development were rented to people with incomes less than 80 percent of the median income (Rosenbaum, Stroh, & Flynn, 1998). Other studies of mixed-income developments in

Chicago and New York found intense interaction among residents, but were inconclusive about whether interactions occurred across income groups (Smith, 2002).

*Factors influencing interactions.* Interaction among residents of different income groups is complex and influenced by different factors. These factors include physical proximity of units and design of public spaces, community activities, and shared characteristics and interests among residents (see Figure 1). Proximity, both physical and social, is an important factor influencing social interaction among residents in mixed-income developments. Physical proximity provides an opportunity of “repetitive interaction” among neighbors, allowing people to get to know each other and make connections. It can be described by integration of units by type (market-rate or subsidized units) and tenure (owned and rental units), and design of communal space. Social proximity can be characterized by similarities in socioeconomic characteristics, culture, language, familial status, etc. (Joseph, 2008; Curley, 2010b).

Physical proximity plays a significant role in the process of building social ties, especially among low-income people and residents who are limited in resources and their mobility (Curley, 2010; Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Joseph et al., 2007). Spatial arrangement of a housing development, such as the design of buildings and public space, and also availability of facilities in the community, can affect frequency of encountering other residents and, hence, chances for interaction. Residents may lack chances to interact, if they simply do not meet each other in the community (Joseph, 2008). For example, the study of the Maverick Gardens HOPE VI Program in Boston showed that “public familiarity” facilitated by organization of physical space, local institutions and



facilities led to increased frequency of encounters and building of social ties (Curley, 2010a). Furthermore, the study of the New Holly Phase I development in Seattle (1999) found that proximity plays an important role in shaping relationships among residents, despite its different effect on interactions across tenure (Kleit, 2005).

The significant effect of physical proximity on the interaction among residents is attributed to availability and design of communal spaces offering residents a chance to meet and interact. Often, limited interaction is explained by the lack of shared spaces in a community. The lack of public space may not only limit interaction, but also cause conflicts among residents. For example, the study of the mixed-income developments Oakwood Shores and Westhaven Park, the largest mixed-income projects in Chicago, found that conflicts among residents arose when communal space was used for gathering and outdoor activities rather than for its direct purposes (Chaskin, Joseph, & Voelker, 2009). Given that availability of communal space affects frequency of interactions among residents, restrictions on the use of space (biking, music, loitering, personalizing space, etc.) can discourage residents from interacting and lead to their isolation (Curley, 2010b).

Spaces for more-or-less equal interactions among residents can be provided through organizing community events and activities. Also, formal organizations and cooperative tenant associations represent the way for residents to meet people within the development (Ziersch & Arthurson, 2005; Joseph, 2008). However, the level of residents' participation can be impacted by time constraints (e.g. due to full-time employment and personal issues) and other barriers to attendance. These barriers include unwillingness to communicate and embarrassment related to inability to speak different languages, the

lack of motivation, and limited knowledge about facilities within a development (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Kleit, 2005; Joseph et al. 2007; Joseph, 2008). Also, residents can experience biased attitudes towards each other due to their differences in socioeconomic status, background, ethnicity and race, culture and behavior (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004).

While physical proximity is influential to people's communication, it alone does not lead to expansion of social networks and improved interaction (Joseph et al., 2007; Curley, 2009, 2010b). Physical proximity affects residents' social connections, when there are no other barriers to interactions associated with differences in ethnicity, culture and socioeconomic status (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Joseph et al., 2007). Thus, often physical proximity can be conducive to interactions in homogeneous environments (Kleit, 2005). "Social proximity," or homogeneity, in its turn, can have a much more significant effect on intensity of interaction within a mixed-income development. People tend to build connections with others similar to themselves in their social status, values, lifestyle, motivation, and demographics (e.g. race, ethnicity, gender, language, etc.), common needs, and other areas (education, occupation and housing tenure) (Curley, 2010b; Kleit, 2005).

The evidence from studies confirms that people's interactions are shaped around shared characteristics and similarities in goals and needs. For example, the study on the New Holly HOPE VI project in Seattle demonstrated that homeowners connected more with residents of the same tenure rather than with renters and public housing tenants. At the same time, residents from subsidized units knew more people receiving housing

assistance. The study also showed that more than half of the connections were made among people of the same ethnicity or language (Kleit, 2005).

Furthermore, children are an important bridging factor bringing people to communicate regardless of their socioeconomic status and tenure. Especially younger children can help residents build relationships with each other (Kleit, 2005; Joseph, et al., 2007; Joseph & Chaskin, 2009).

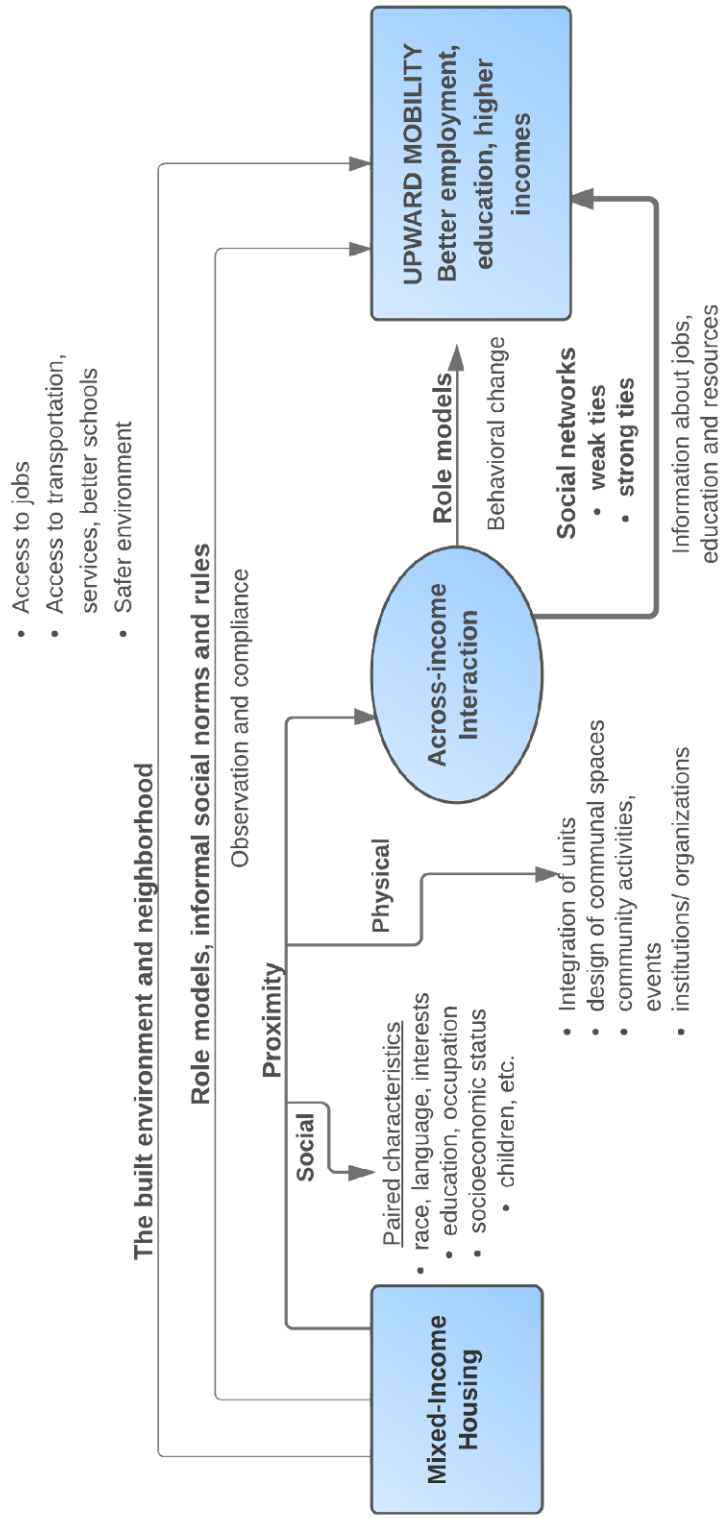
Length of residence and strength of external social ties also influence interactions among residents. Interactions can change over time due to residents' adaptation to a different social environment, familiarizing themselves with the surroundings, overcoming fears and biases and engagement (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Curley, 2010b). The study of the post-HOPE VI DuBois development showed that residents valued old, close ties from previous housing and were uncertain about building new relationships. A few years of living in a community may not be enough to establish close connections with neighbors (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004).

There is inconclusive evidence that community events and management's attempts are successful in facilitating interaction across income groups. The findings from the study of the Ellen Wilson Dwellings development in Washington DC demonstrated that, despite a high rate of residents' participation in community meetings, much fewer residents actually interacted within the development (Smith, 2002).

In socioeconomically diverse environments, interactions can become negative due to incompliance with mainstream norms, the lack of supervision over children, or perceived unfriendliness (Chaskin & Joseph, 2009; Smith, 2002). For example, tensions

among residents can occur on account of problematic behavior of children and teenagers, who are usually mostly residents of subsidized units in mixed-income developments, and, hence, negatively affect interaction across income groups (Brophy & Smith, 1997). Also, ethnic diversity and racial stereotypes can undermine trust among people, their engagement and even lead to conflict situations (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Curley, 2010b; Chaskin & Joseph, 2009). Avoidance of conflicts can limit residents' interaction to minimum. People also may not engage with the community due to their unwillingness to be associated with negative behavior. Residents can have prejudiced attitudes towards former public housing tenants or Section 8 beneficiaries. Overall, perceived "difference" (Chaskin & Joseph, 2009, p. 6) from others can lead to self-isolation and limited interaction across different social groups (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004).

Figure 1. Theoretical framework: propositions of how living in mixed-income housing leads to upward mobility of the poor



## **UPWARD MOBILITY: EVIDENCE FROM RESEARCH**

As previously stated, the housing policy shift was founded on the assumption that living in concentrated poverty results in negative social and economic outcomes of people. Dispersal and mixed-income housing policies were based on the proposition that relocation of the poor to lower-poverty neighborhood will expand their chances of upward mobility. Scholars have studied the effect of living in mixed-income communities or housing on employment and income changes of lower-income residents. There has been mixed evidence found about individual outcomes of living in mixed-income housing (Popkin et.al, 2004).

Generally, the evidence from research on dispersal and mixed-income housing policies challenges the proposition that low-income people benefit from relocation from high-poverty areas. Most of the studies did not find employment and income improvements of low-income residents facilitated by living in mixed-income communities. The assumption that interaction with higher-income people improves access of low-income residents to information about jobs can be questioned. Interaction across income groups may simply not incorporate exchanges of useful information. Even if low-income residents build ties with higher-income people, they cannot easily mobilize these ties and use exchanged information because of the differences in their social statuses, motivations, and education and skill mismatch (Curley, 2009, 2010a; Oreopoulos, 2003).

There is some evidence that close ties built by low-income people in a homogenous environment are more likely to be used for expanding employment

opportunities, rather than “weak ties” established with higher-income neighbors. For example, the studies of HOPE VI projects showed that residents in mixed communities did not use their connections with neighbors to search for jobs and relied on their external networks, or other sources of information. Connections built with people of higher income groups do not guarantee positive economic outcomes of low-income residents (Curley, 2010a).

The studies confirm that the environment that people live in does impact their social and economic outcomes and find positive outcomes of relocation to lower-poverty areas. For example, the study of the Gautreaux Assisted Housing Program (Chicago) evaluated the outcomes of moving to lower-poverty areas as mostly positive: employment rates among suburban movers were higher than those who moved to inner-city communities. Residents mentioned that an expanded choice of jobs, safer conditions and role models in their new communities positively influenced their employment situations. On the other hand, the study did not test whether positive outcomes were associated with interactions of lower-income and middle-class residents (Rosenbaum, 1995). Evaluation of the MTO program recorded positive outcomes of relocation, including improvements in families’ well-being, safety, satisfaction and health. However, neither statistically significant economic improvements among participants nor substantial behavioral changes were found (Cheshire, 2007; Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Popkin et.al, 2004).

A series of studies of post-HOPE VI housing developments (e.g. Lake Parc Place in Chicago, Duluth HOPE VI project, Maverick Gardens HOPE VI Program in Boston)

found no significant changes in economic situations of residents that could be directly associated with interaction across income groups (Rosenbaum, Stroh, & Flynn, 1998; Goetz, 2010; Curley, 2010a). While some low-income people experienced employment and income gains, most relocated residents were found in insecure situations, and some people faced even worse economic conditions (Curley, 2010a; Popkin et.al, 2004; Goetz, 2010).

The barriers restraining low-income people's opportunities to improve their economic situations are related to inadequate access to transportation and child care, low human capital, poor health conditions and family situations, and racial discrimination of the labor (Goetz, 2010). The Panel Study (2001-2005) of five HOPE VI projects suggested that relocation to mixed-income housing and provision of supportive services is unlikely to resolve economic problems of the poor due to other constraints they encounter, such as physical and mental health problems, the lack of accessible child care facilities and a low level of education. It points to the limitation of mixed-income approach to addressing the problem of poverty (Levy & Woolley, 2007).

The current evidence highlights that the long-term goal of mixed-income housing, facilitating upward social mobility of the poor, still needs to be evaluated. While there is a chance that living in mixed-income housing can potentially lead to improvements in low-income residents' economic situations (Rosenbaum, Stroh, & Flynn, 1998; Smith, 2002), the assumptions behind income mix in housing need to be reconsidered.



## **SUMMARY**

While mixed-income housing policy is seen as a path for low-income people towards upward social mobility, the question of whether low-income residents are likely to achieve positive economic outcomes through interaction with more affluent neighbors is still not settled. Short-term findings demonstrate that mixed-income housing projects can be successful in providing high-quality, well-maintained housing and safer environment. However, the evidence about individual social and economic outcomes of living in mixed-income developments is inconclusive, which makes us rethink the effectiveness of mixed-income approach in poverty alleviation.

The current case study combining qualitative and quantitative approaches to collecting data allows for examining interaction within a mixed-income community, and the extent to which people leverage from it. In-depth interviews with residents aim to ascertain the role of social networks built within a housing development in generating economic opportunities for the poor. Also, the study specifically focuses on gaining evidence about the factors influencing interactions within the community and barriers to upward social mobility. This case study tests the effects of physical environment, social proximity and organizational factors on the intensity of interactions. This research also aims to explore residents' perceptions of living in the mixed-income development and its association with the current life situations. The case study expands with the interpretation of the findings from a broader perspective and draws theoretical and policy implications based on the obtained evidence.

## Chapter 2

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **HYPOTHESIS OF THE STUDY**

The current case study of a mixed-income housing development in Phoenix tested a proposition that mixed-income housing facilitates across-income interaction and leads to upward social mobility of the poor. The study explored the proposition that low-income people can expand their employment and educational opportunities and improve access to resources through interaction with higher-income residents. Theoretically, more affluent neighbors present a source of valuable social contacts and role models for lower-income residents. However, it is questionable that living in mixed-income housing improves interaction across income groups. If so, these interactions may not incorporate exchanges of useful information and resources that are conducive to positive economic change. Economic improvements by lower-income population can be affected by exogenous factors such as economic, neighborhood and local conditions, but not necessarily by income mix in a community.

The study tested the following hypothesis and examined the propositions described below:

H1: Mixed-income housing facilitates interaction across income groups and leads to upward social mobility of low-income households.

#### Propositions:

P1: Physical and social proximity influences the level of interaction among residents:

- Integration of subsidized and market-rate units in buildings and quality of public spaces within the development influence interaction across income groups;
- Residents with shared characteristics (e.g. language, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, having children, etc.) and common interests and needs interact more intensely;
- Community engaging activities and events facilitate across-income interaction;
- The lack of public spaces and differences in behavior can cause negative interaction.

P2: Duration of residency affects the intensity of interaction.

P3: Strength of external networks limits interaction with residents in the development.

P3: Negative perceptions of the neighborhood and the development, and racial and cultural prejudices hinder interactions.

P4: Interactions across income groups may not incorporate exchanges of useful information and resources.

P5: There might be constraints to the use of information by low-income people, such as low level of education, lack of language and professional skills, lack of child care facilities, health conditions and others.

P6: The information and resources exchanged among residents can be insufficient to produce positive economic outcomes of low-income residents.

The case study of a mixed-income rental housing development in Phoenix, AZ focused on exploring types and intensity of interactions among people within the

development as well as factors influencing interaction. Also, it looked at the types of exchanges that these interactions incorporate. The study examined how lower-income people benefited from interactions, if existent, and whether living in mixed-income housing helped them improve their economic situations. The case study also aimed to provide a resident's insight into living in socioeconomically diverse settings and its effects on their life situations.

## **MEASUREMENTS**

**Interaction measurements**<sup>2</sup>. The case study described interactions as casual, instrumental, or leveraging by associating them with different types of activities and exchanges taking place between residents (for types of interactions refer to Figure 2). The study also connected interactions with relationships established among residents, such as casual (or distant), moderate and close. People with moderate relationships can visit each other, do activities and exchange things (e.g. food, money, etc.), but do not necessarily trust each other with personal matters. Close relationships can incorporate sharing secrets and discussing personal topics, as well as giving each other help and support.

**Casual interactions.** Casual interactions can be described as communication among residents who are familiar enough to talk with each other (Chaskin, Joseph, & Voelker, 2009, p. 1), know each other's names, can have short conversations and participate in some activities outside (e.g. walking their pets, playing with children, gardening).

---

<sup>2</sup>Some of the measurements of interaction are combined from the previous studies of mixed-income projects: early housing development Lake Parc Place (Rosenbaum, 1998), and recent Oakwood Shores and Westhaven Park mixed-income projects in Chicago (Chaskin, Joseph, & Voelker, 2009).

***Instrumental interactions.*** These interactions can be defined as communication based on some support and sympathy, common interests and sharing. They can incorporate such activities as conversations for longer than 10 minutes, watching each other's children, lending things (e.g. food, money, etc.), having a meal together or going out, watching each other's apartment, visiting each other, carpooling and other activities (Chaskin, Joseph, & Voelker, 2009).

***“Leveraging” interactions.*** Leveraging interactions are based on “weak” and “strong” ties that facilitate better access to information about jobs, training, services, and other resources (Curley, 2009). The study aimed at exploring whether interactions among residents could provide them with useful information and resources, or create employment opportunities within a housing development (e.g. babysitters, cleaners, etc.).

***Negative interactions.*** Negative interactions can be founded on avoidance, mistrust and tensions, racial and cultural prejudices, envy (incomes, opportunities), unfriendly attitude and problematic behavior of others, or personal dislike.

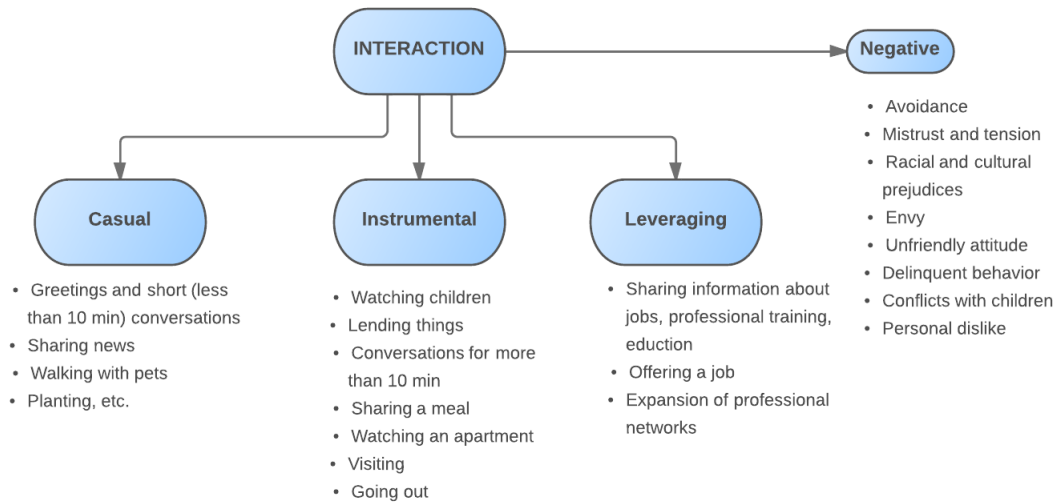


Figure 2. Types of interactions and activities associated with them

### Proximity measurements

**Physical proximity.** Physical proximity is characterized by design features of a housing development including the level of integration of subsidized and market-rate units, and quality of communal spaces and facilities. Also, community activities, functioning organizations (e.g. tenant organizations), and social services on-site can be considered as facilitating residents' interactions via providing a shared space for communicating.

**Social proximity.** Social proximity is measured by common characteristics found between paired interacting residents including demographic characteristics (e.g. age, ethnicity, language, etc.), family composition, socioeconomic status, and common needs (e.g. child care, taking children to school). Also, situations in a community requiring collective efforts of residents (e.g. incidents of crime, repair work) can facilitate people's interaction.

**Social mobility measurements.** In this study, the upward mobility was measured by positive changes in employment, incomes and education. Positive changes in employment can be described by the following: becoming employed or acquiring a permanent job, promotion and increase in responsibilities, an increased hourly wage, better work conditions, and other. Education also can constitute positive change as a chance to expand employment opportunities in the future. The study explores economic and educational improvements of lower-income residents associated with their interaction with higher-income people in the development.

The study explored changes in employment, incomes and education experienced by residents since moving to a mixed-income housing development. It aimed to examine the major sources of information that residents use in their job-seeking strategies and whether social networks established within the development are conducive to exchanges of useful information. It also looked at factors restraining economic improvements of lower-income residents.

## **SOURCES OF DATA**

During the study, I combined quantitative and qualitative methods including the analysis of demographic data, observations, surveys and in-depth semi-structured interviews with residents to explore the actual conditions and outcomes of people living in the mixed-income development. The field work, including the distribution of surveys and conducting interviews and observations, lasted from late October 2012 to early January 2013.

The information was acquired from the following sources:

- Information about the development: distribution of market-rate and subsidized units, maps, facilities and public spaces (interviews with the developer, observations of the development);
- Information about supportive services in the neighborhood (interviews with residents and property staff);
- Demographic characteristics including racial and age population composition, poverty level and unemployment, school enrollment and educational attainment, the percentage of public benefit recipients, educational attainment (U.S. Census 2010, American Community Survey 2006-2010);
- Housing characteristics including tenure, age of housing, vacancy rates, crowding, and property values in the neighborhood (U.S. Census 2010, American Community Survey 2006-2010);
- Available public transportation and proximity of the housing development to bus stops (observations, Google maps);
- Characteristics of the surroundings, such as other mixed-income or public housing projects in close proximity, public spaces and other (observations, Google maps, interviews with residents).

## **INSTRUMENTS: SURVEYS, INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATIONS**

**Resident Survey.** The resident survey focused on the two questions: the intensity of interactions taking place among residents within the development, and changes in employment, income and education since moving to the development. Residents were asked about the activities and frequency of engaging with other residents. They were also



asked about the type of relationships they built with people in the development. The survey included a few general questions about the duration of residency and monthly expenditures on housing. I also invited respondents to participate in the follow-up interview and include their contact information if they desired to do so.

The surveys included a general description of the study, responsible institution and the investigator, the terms of voluntariness and confidentiality of participation. The residents were also provided with the investigator's contact information. All the surveys were coded and matched with the information on the distribution of market-rate and subsidized units. The surveys were translated into Spanish (for the resident survey questions refer to Appendix C).

For distribution of the survey, I applied the door-to-door strategy in order to recruit more residents to participate. All residents were provided with a stamped university envelope to mail a completed survey back. When distributing, I briefly introduced the study and explained the structure of the survey to residents. Also, participants were invited to take part in the raffle of four 25-dollar prizes for those who return a completed survey. Out of 92 distributed surveys, fifteen were completed and returned. The returned surveys consisted of eleven females of different ethnic background and three African American males, and one respondent was not identified. The demographics of the participants can be found in Table 1.

**Interviews.** The design of the interview aimed to assess the cause-effect connection between living in mixed-income housing and economic gains of lower-income residents. The set of open-ended and probe questions was focused on facilitating

a discussion about residents’ perceptions of living in the community, the ways they built social ties and benefited from interaction and the environment. It also pursued the goal of identifying the factors influencing interactions, changes that are due to interactions across income groups and constraints to economic improvements, if any. The logic model of the interview is presented in Figure 3 and explained below.

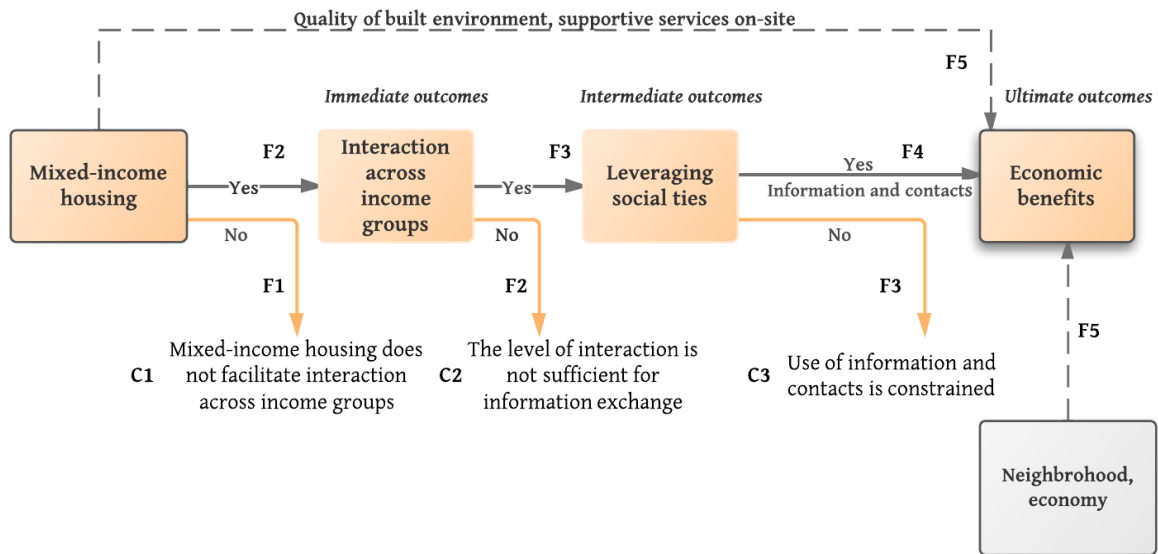


Figure 3. Interview design: the logic model

The logic model can be explained by the following sequence of findings and conclusions:

F1 (finding 1): No interaction across income groups is found, or interaction is limited.

C1 (conclusion 1): The mixed-income development does not facilitate interaction due to the following factors:

- Residents have no motivation to communicate;
- Quality of communal space, rarely encountering each other;
- Length of residence;

- Negative perceptions of the community, racial and cultural prejudices, and stigma.

F2: Interaction across income groups occurs, but at the level that does not lead to exchanges of useful information.

C2: The mixed-income housing development facilitates interaction among residents, but it does not allow for leveraging.

F3: Low-income people interact with more affluent neighbors and receive information about employment and education opportunities, but do not use it.

C3: The information does not fit the context, or the use of exchanged information is constrained.

F4: Residents report positive economic changes since moving to the current housing development and associate them with new social ties.

C4: The causality between positive changes in employment / education/ incomes and across-income interaction can be established.

F5: Residents report positive economic changes associated with the quality of the built environment and neighborhood conditions.

C5: The environment of mixed-income housing and neighborhood effect are instrumental in facilitating economic improvements of the poor.

The interview was divided into the three major sections (see the interview questions in Appendix D) that focused on residents' general perceptions of living in the community, their interactions with others, and economic outcomes of living in the mixed-income development. The first section (A) provided residents' background information and their general perceptions of living in the community, their engagement with other

residents, participation in the community activities and satisfaction with communal spaces. The questions focused on identifying how the quality of communal space and households' personal and socioeconomic characteristics affected their interaction with other people. The interviews aimed to encourage participants to discuss the types of connections they built within the development and to what extent their interactions incorporated exchanges of help and information. Residents were also asked about the barriers to interaction they encountered.

The second section (B) focused on people's economic situations, in particular their current employment and financial situations compared to before moving to the development, and the main sources of information about jobs, education, training and services they used. The questions aimed to identify to what extent residents relied on their external social networks with friends and family. The interviews also explored the constraints to improvements faced by people. The final section (C) included a few questions about changes in the community that residents would like to see. I also asked them to introduce me to other people who would be willing to participate in the interview.

***Interview Sample.*** During the period of the end of November-December 2012, I interviewed nine residents in the development. Some of those interviewees were people that I invited to participate while distributing surveys; others noted in the surveys that they were willing to have a follow-up interview. I did not use any racial, gender, age, income or location preferences to select the interviewees. Most interviewed residents were from subsidized units, and only a few were from market-rate apartments. I

contacted potential residents over the phone and set up the times for the interviews. At the beginning of interviews, I notified residents that our conversation would take about 30-45 minutes, introduced the topics, reminded them that all personal information would remain confidential, and provided them with my contact information. All conversations took place at residents' apartments. All the interviews were conducted in English.

The interview sample also consisted mostly of women: five females from subsidized units and three from market-rate apartments. Only one male from a subsidized unit was interviewed. Five of the participants were African American, three of them were Hispanic and one was White. Six out of nine interviewed residents were unemployed, one was temporary employed and one was retired. Four residents received public benefits, and two had Section 8 vouchers. Six out of nine households had children under 18 living with them; half of these households had three or more children. The demographics of the interviewed residents are presented in Table 1.

*Observations.* During the study, I conducted a series of observations in the development that aimed to explore the modes and level of interactions occurring outside and the ways residents used communal space. Observations took place mostly during the evening time (5:00 – 8:00 pm) on weekdays and in the afternoon on weekends. I spent some time outside, at the playground, walking around the development, observed the interiors of the buildings, the laundry room and the property offices, staircases and balconies.

I also had a chance to observe interactions indoors during a few interviews. I was lucky to conduct observations of the development during the Thanksgiving and

Christmas holidays. At the end of December, the property staff arranged the Christmas raffle for the residents at the property office, which I attended.

I explored the public housing development across the street and had a chance to see the computer facilities there, the market plaza, and a little park outside of the development. Distribution of surveys also provided me with an opportunity to observe the development at different times during the week. It allowed me to see the ways residents interacted and learn about some of the people's perceptions of living in the development.

Table 1

*Characteristics of survey and interview participants*

N	Source of info.*	Apt. type	Gender	Duration of residency, months	Ethnicity	Employment	Public assistance	Children under 18/ household
1	i	Sbd	f	96	Hispanic	Temp. empl	no	6
2	i	Sbd	f	48	Hispanic	Unmpl	Section 8	4
3	s	Mkt	n/a	12	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
4	s	Mkt	f	7	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
5	s	Sbd	f	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
6	s	Mkt	f	n/a	n/a	n/a	Section 8	n/a
7	s	Sbd	m	5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
8	s	Mkt	m	< 12	Hispanic	n/a	n/a	n/a
9	s	Mkt	f	0.03	Hispanic	N/A	n/a	n/a
10	s	Sbd	f	2	n/a	Unmpl	n/a	n/a
11	s/ i	Mkt	f	120	Black	Retired	n/a	0
12	s/ i	Sbd	f	8	Black	Unmpl	yes	6
13	s/ i	Mkt	f	10	Black	Unmpl	yes	1
14	s/ i	Sbd	m	5	Black	Empl	no	0
15	s/ i	Sbd	f	17	White	Unmpl	yes	1
16	s/ i	Sbd	f	5	Hispanic	Unmpl	no	1
17	s/ i	Mkt	f	6	Black	Unmpl	yes	1

*Note.* \* s/ i = survey/ interview

## **LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

There are a few limitations of the study that need to be mentioned. First, the study explores residents' relationships and interactions at one point in time and does not track changes in residents' employment, education and incomes over time. Second, the survey and interview samples are quite limited and mostly include female residents from subsidized units. The study does not provide statistically significant evidence on the research question. Generally, the study presents an insight of lower-income residents on living in a mixed-income development, their relationships with others in the community and economic and educational changes, if any. However, it reveals the perceptions of few higher-income residents on living in the mixed-income housing.

Also, it was difficult to draw conclusions relying on people's experiences of living in the development due to their limited period of residence. Only a few interviewed households had been in the development for at least two years. Nevertheless, all interviewed households had their personal stories and backgrounds, and these were informative and valuable for the study.

There is also certain subjectivity in the interpretation of the actual information provided during the interviews. In some cases, the lack of clarity can be explained by insufficiency of provided information and knowledge about residents' backgrounds. In other cases, the responses of residents could be affected by their unwillingness to associate themselves with the community and attempts to demonstrate their difference from other people. Also, it could be connected with their perception of the current housing as a temporary place and a transition to better opportunities.



## Chapter 3

### CASE STUDY

#### MIXED-INCOME HOUSING IN SOUTH PHOENIX

This study looked at Vineyard Estates, one of the recently built subsidized rental housing developments in Phoenix. The city of Phoenix, with its expanding territory, has been adding new housing to accommodate population growth. A key moment in the development of the city's housing stock began in the 1960s, when almost a third of Phoenix's current housing units were built. Over the last decade, as the population grew by nine percent, from 1.30 million to 1.45 million people, more housing was developed. About 82,500 new homes were added during the 2000s, reaching a total of 590,000 units by 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010).

The development of the study is located in South Phoenix, which was historically inhabited by minority populations, mostly Hispanics and African Americans. At the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, the territory to the south of the Salt River was separated by the east-west rail corridor that has served as a residential border between the neighborhoods of minority populations and the white neighborhoods of Anglo Phoenix for decades thereafter (Bolin et al., 2005). Before the 1960s, South Phoenix was beyond the city boundaries, consisting of residential areas of low-income populations underserved with basic urban services that were placed together with hazardous industries (e.g. warehouses, sewage facilities, factories, meat packing facilities, landfills, etc.). South Phoenix became the area of residency for the people of color who were excluded from the rest of the city. On account of bad living conditions, such as overcrowded housing, no

water and sewerage, contaminated water and air, South Phoenix was characterized as “the worst slum in the US” (Ross, A., 2011, p. 121). In the 1930s, the New Deal housing funds became available for building low-income housing in segregated neighborhoods of South Phoenix, but it did not resolve the problem of housing scarcity in the area. Also, in the 1930s minority neighborhoods of South Phoenix were red lined and made ineligible to receive Home Owners’ Loan Corporation funds. However, unplanned land use and very limited investments kept land costs in South Phoenix low. This fostered an influx of industrial development and further unregulated expansion of hazardous industries during postwar industrialization, which exacerbated poor living conditions in South Phoenix. The expansion of the highway system and the Sky Harbor Airport in the 1970-80s led to the displacement of residential areas with commercial and industrial facilities (Bolin, B. et al., 2005; Ross, A., 2011).

Vineyard Estates is a part of South Mountain Village. The territory of South Mountain Village is bounded by the Salt River to the north and one of the largest municipal parks in the country, South Mountain Park Preserve, to the south. It spans between 27<sup>th</sup> Avenue and 48th Street from the west to the east. According to the Rio Montana Area Plan, prepared for a part of South Mountain Village by the City of Phoenix Planning Department in 2000, there had been areas characterized with high crime rates. Among them were South Central Avenue and 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue. From the 1999 and 2011 crime statistics, overall crime rates in the area did not vary significantly with citywide rates. In 1999 auto theft, juvenile crime, gang crime and violent activities happened more frequently compared to the city (Rio Montana Area Plan, 2000). From the 2011 crime

statistics, the area at the intersection of S. 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue and W. Southern Avenue was characterized by moderate rates of reported arsons and motor vehicle theft, and moderately high and high rates of reported burglaries (Uniform Crime Reporting, 2011).

Vineyard Estates is located in the Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood that falls in the Census Tract 1166.02.<sup>3</sup> The census tract covers the area from W. Southern Avenue to W. Baseline Road and from S. 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue to S. 19<sup>th</sup> Avenue. A rapid development of this census tract occurred in the 1970s and continued after 2000, when 60 percent of the existing housing was built (U.S. Census, 2010). Based on the 2000 Census data, this tract was defined by HUD as a Qualified Census Tract (QCT). HUD considers tracts to be low-income areas when poverty rates are at 25 percent or higher, or the percentage of households with incomes at or less than 60 percent of AMI is 50 percent or more. Such areas are designated for the allocation of credit under the LIHTC program for the development of affordable rental housing (Qualified Census Tracts and Difficult Development Areas, 2013). The development of the census tract can be also connected with the city' expanded construction of subsidized and multi-family housing in the underdeveloped areas and urban fringe after the adaption of smart growth laws (the Growing Smarter Act, 1998 and the Growing Smarter Plus Act, 2000) (Atkinson-Palombo, 2009).

The geographical location of the study census tract and the housing development is showed in Figure 4. The colored census tracts on the map are Qualified Census Tracts. The map also shows other existing LIHTC projects in the surrounding neighborhoods.

---

<sup>3</sup> Further in the study, I will refer to Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood approximating its boundaries with the Census Tract (1166.02).

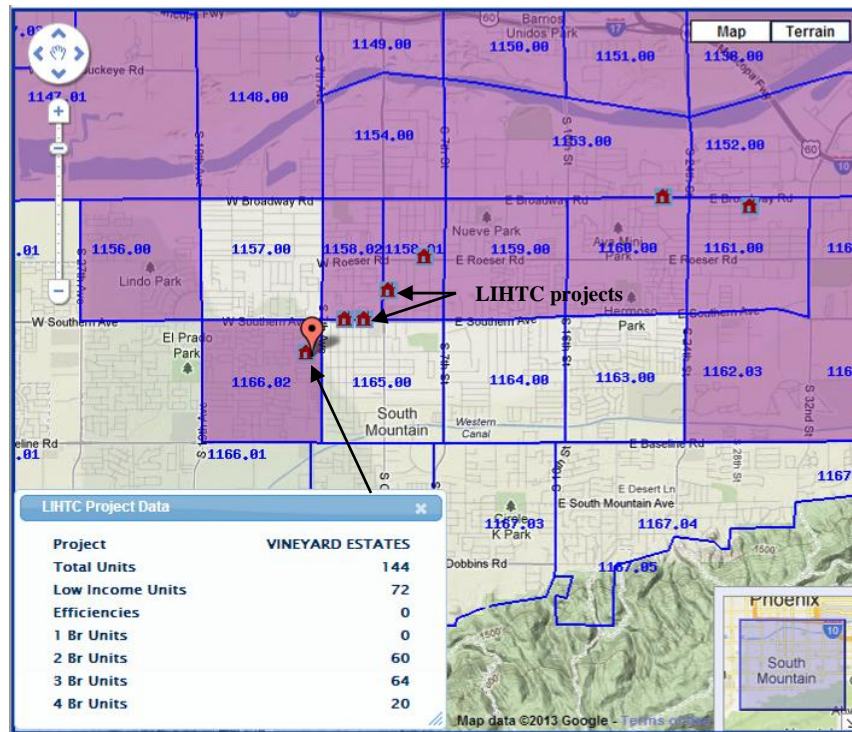


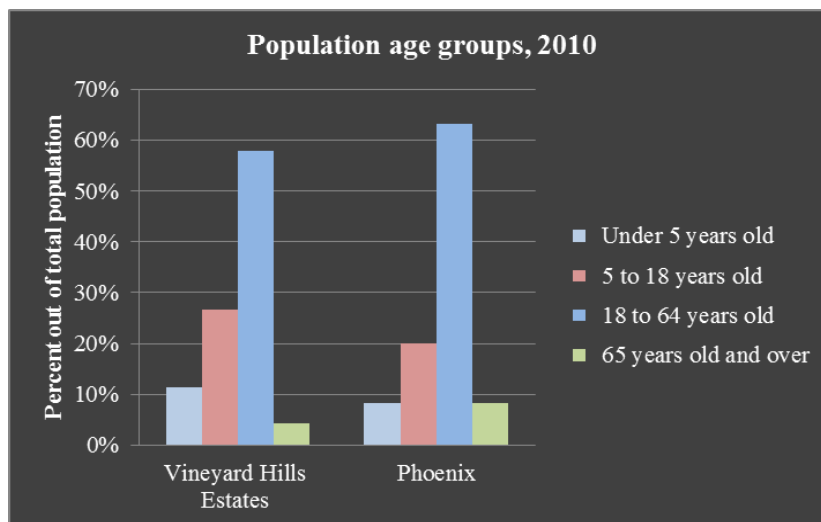
Figure 4. The Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood as a part of a Qualified Census Tract (Census Tract 1166.02); Vineyard Estates and other LIHTC developments (HUD USER GIS Maps, 2013)

## NEIGHBORHOOD DEMOGRAPHICS

In 2010, about 7,300 people lived in the neighborhood encompassing Vineyard Estates. In 2010, about 70 percent of the neighborhood’s population was Hispanic, compared to the 41 percent citywide. In comparison with the city, the neighborhood had a higher percent of African Americans and significantly smaller share of Whites: in 2010, sixteen percent of residents were African Americans versus six percent in Phoenix. In 2010, sixteen percent of the neighborhood’s population was White, compared to 46 percent of the city (see Table 2) (U.S. Census, 2010). The percentages of non-Hispanic

African American and Hispanic population in the neighborhood and the city are presented in Figure 6 and Figure 7.

In comparison with the city, the population in the area is relatively young. There is a significantly higher percentage of children and a smaller share of people age 65 and over. In the neighborhood, 38 percent of residents were younger than 18, compared to 28 percent in Phoenix (U.S. Census, 2010). In 2010, the share of the population age 65 and over in the neighborhood was four percent versus eight percent citywide. The distribution of population by age in the neighborhood and the city in 2010 is graphically presented in Figure 5 (for demographic characteristics refer to Appendix E).



*Figure 5.* Distribution of population by age in the Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood (Census Tract 1166.02) and the city of Phoenix, 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010)

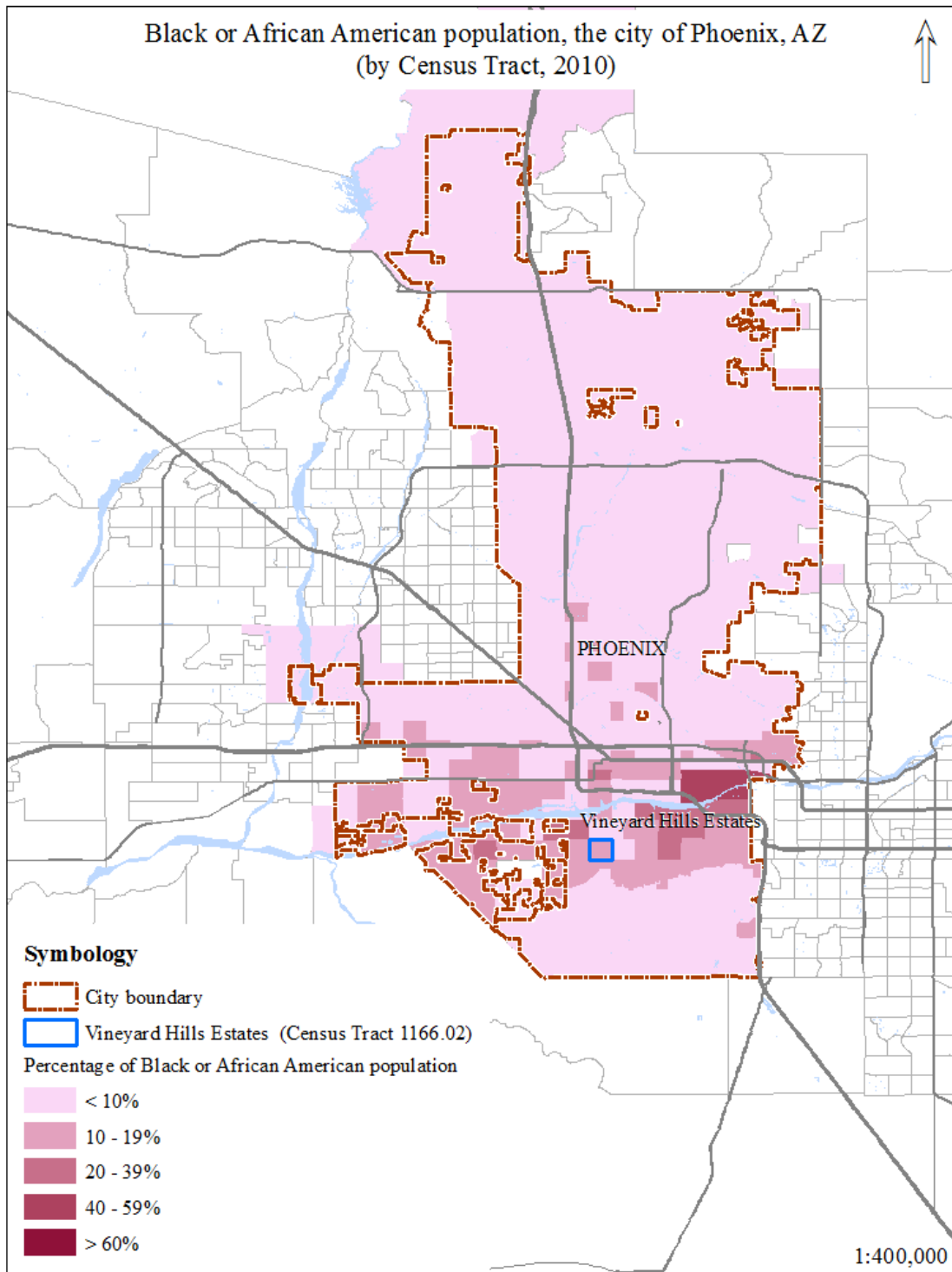


Figure 6. Percentage of African American population in the Census Tract 1166.02 and the city of Phoenix, 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010)

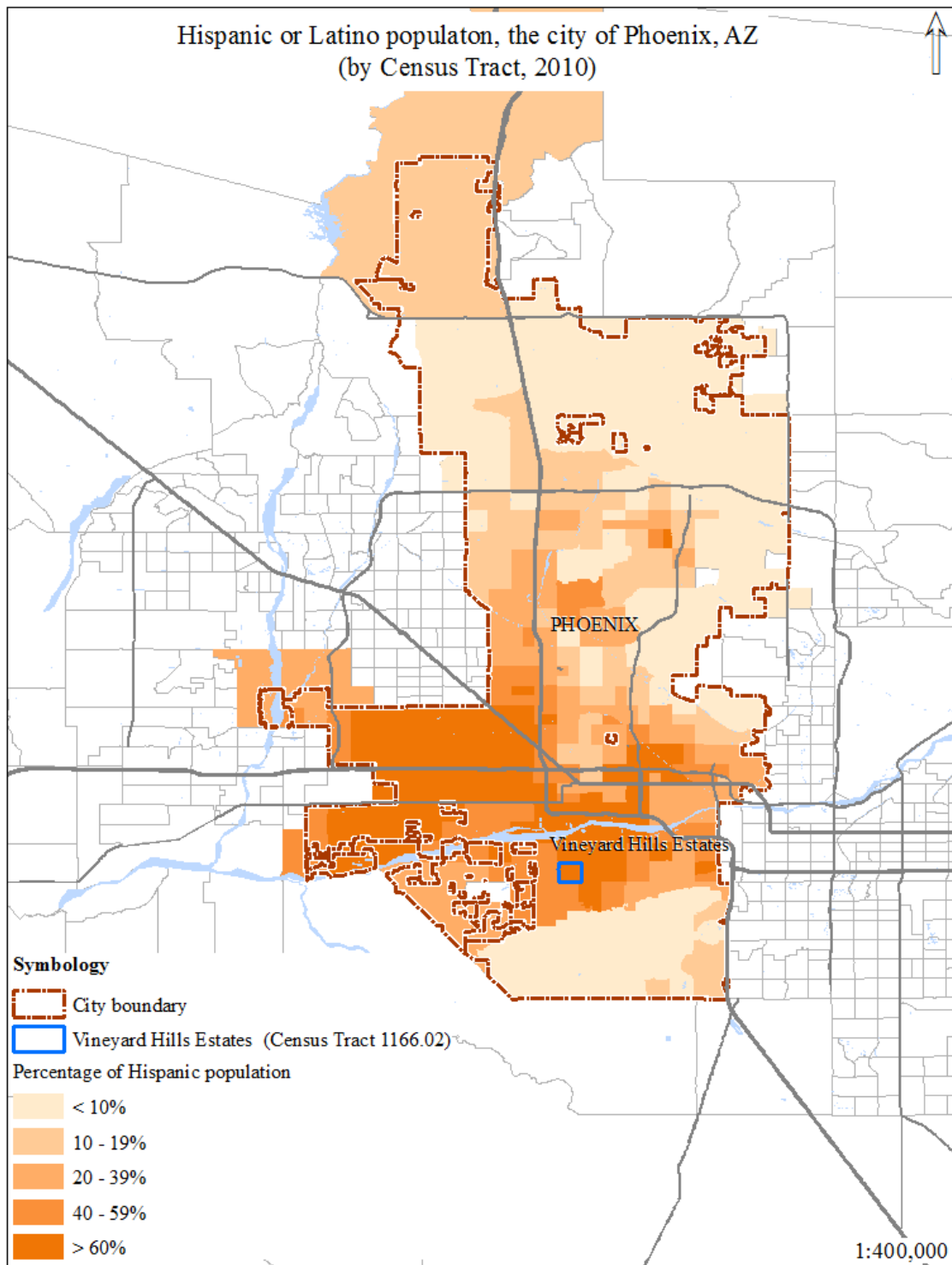


Figure 7. Percentage of Hispanic population in the Census Tract 1166.02 and the city of Phoenix, 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010)

During the 2000s, the neighborhood’s population grew faster than population in the city, doubling from 3,369 in 2000 to 7,325 in 2010. Hispanics and African Americans accounted for much of this population increase. The African American population almost tripled, and the Hispanic population increased by 87 percent (see Table 2) (U.S. Census, 2010).

The area also changed racially. The share of the Hispanic population dropped during the period from 2000 to 2010, while the percentage of Whites and African Americans slightly grew. On the other hand, the population composition in the city changed significantly less, but there was some decrease of the White population (nine percent) and increase of Hispanics by 31 percent (see Table 2). Changes in population composition are presented in Figure 8.

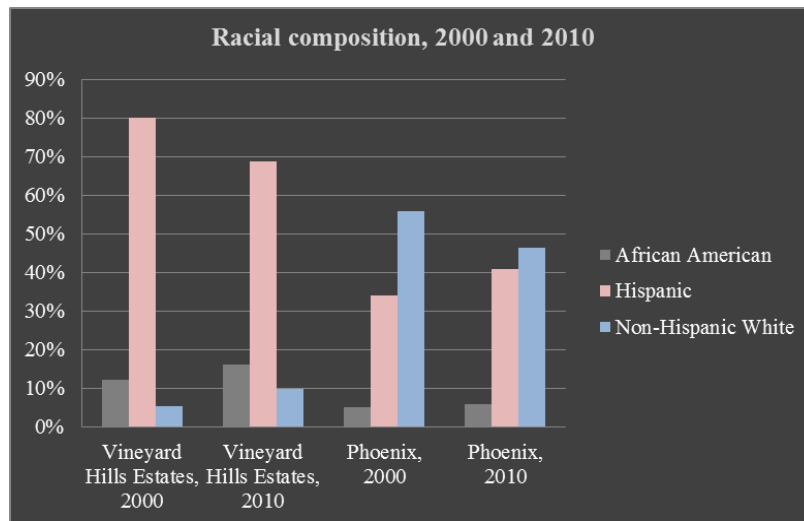


Figure 8. Racial composition of population, 2000 and 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010)



Table 2

*Change in racial composition of population from 2000 to 2010 in the Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood (Census Tract 1166.02) and the city of Phoenix (U.S. Census, 2010)*

Characteristics	Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood (Census Tract 1166.02)				The city of Phoenix			
	2000		2010		2000		2010	
		%		%		%		%
Total population:	3,369	100.0	7,325	100.0	1,321,045	100.0	1,445,632	100.0
White alone	179	5.3	715	9.8	736,844	55.8	672,573	46.5
African American alone	409	12.1	1,175	16.0	67,416	5.1	86,788	6.0
Other race alone	1,317	39.1	259	3.5	271,500	20.6	71,518	4.9
Hispanic or Latino	2,695	80.0	5,048	68.9	449,972	34.1	589,877	40.8

People in the neighborhood, compared to citywide, have a lower level of education. In particular, there is a much lower percentage of males at the age of 15 and over enrolled in college or graduate school. While three percent of the male population from 15 to 24 years old was enrolled in college or graduate school in Phoenix in 2010, no one was in the neighborhood. A smaller percentage of residents in the neighborhood, compared to the city, had college and graduate degrees: eighteen percent in the neighborhood versus 33 percent in the city (see Table 6, Appendix E) (U.S. Census, 2010).

Vineyard Hills Estates has a high rate of poverty. In 2010, 23 percent of the population at the age of 18 and older in neighborhood was under the poverty level versus fourteen percent citywide<sup>4</sup> (see Figure 10). A significant part of the population in the neighborhood, compared to the city and the region, received public assistance. In 2010, 23 percent of households in the neighborhood received Food Stamp benefits, while only ten percent received these benefits in the city. Also, in 2010, a higher percentage of households in Vineyard Hills Estates received cash public assistance income: eight percent of the neighborhood's residents versus only two percent of people in Phoenix (see Figure 9). While the percentage of poor people in the neighborhood was higher compared to the city, the rate of unemployment in the Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood was comparable with the citywide unemployment rate (U.S. Census, 2010). The fact that poverty rate in the neighborhood was higher than citywide, while unemployment rates did not differ significantly, can be connected to a higher share of neighborhood's residents with lower level of obtained education (see Table 6, Appendix E).

---

<sup>4</sup> The share of residents under the poverty level significantly dropped since 2000, by sixteen percent, but still remained higher compared to Phoenix (U.S. Census, 2010).

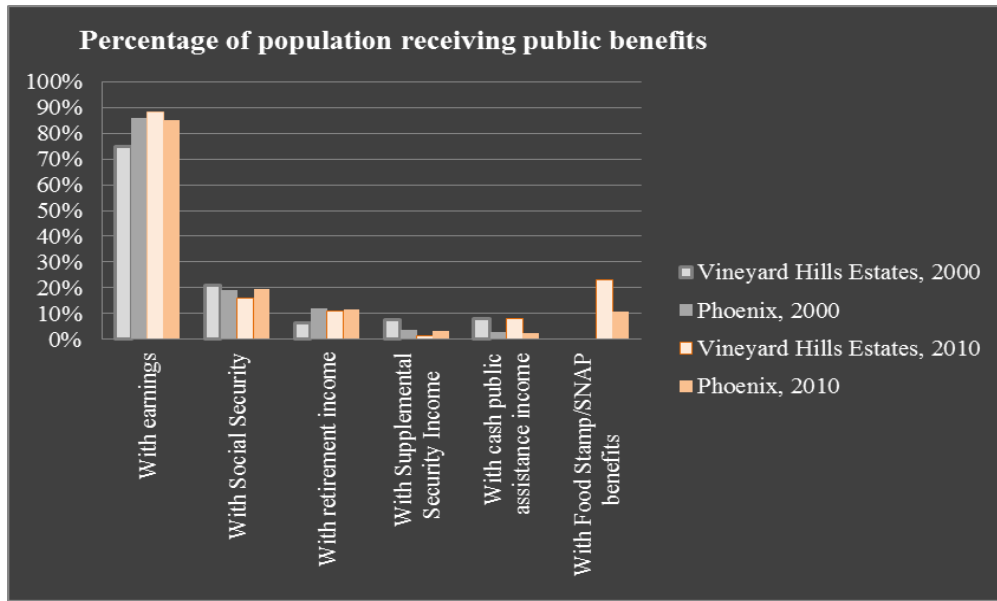


Figure 9. Percentage of population in Vineyard Hills Estates (Census Tract 1166.02) and the city of Phoenix receiving public benefits, 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010)

In 2010, the Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood had a slightly higher share of low-income people<sup>5</sup> compared to the population in the city: 61 percent in the neighborhood versus 54 percent in Phoenix. On the other hand, the city had a higher percentage of more affluent residents with incomes higher than 80 percent of the median income: 46 percent citywide versus 39 percent in the neighborhood (see Table 6, Appendix E). In 2010, the median income in the neighborhood was less by fifteen percent compared to the median income in the city: \$41,656 in the neighborhood versus \$48,823 citywide (U.S. Census, 2010).

<sup>5</sup> The study considers the following breakdown: extremely low-income people earning 30% of median income or less, very low-income people - 30-50% and low-income people - 50-80% of median income.

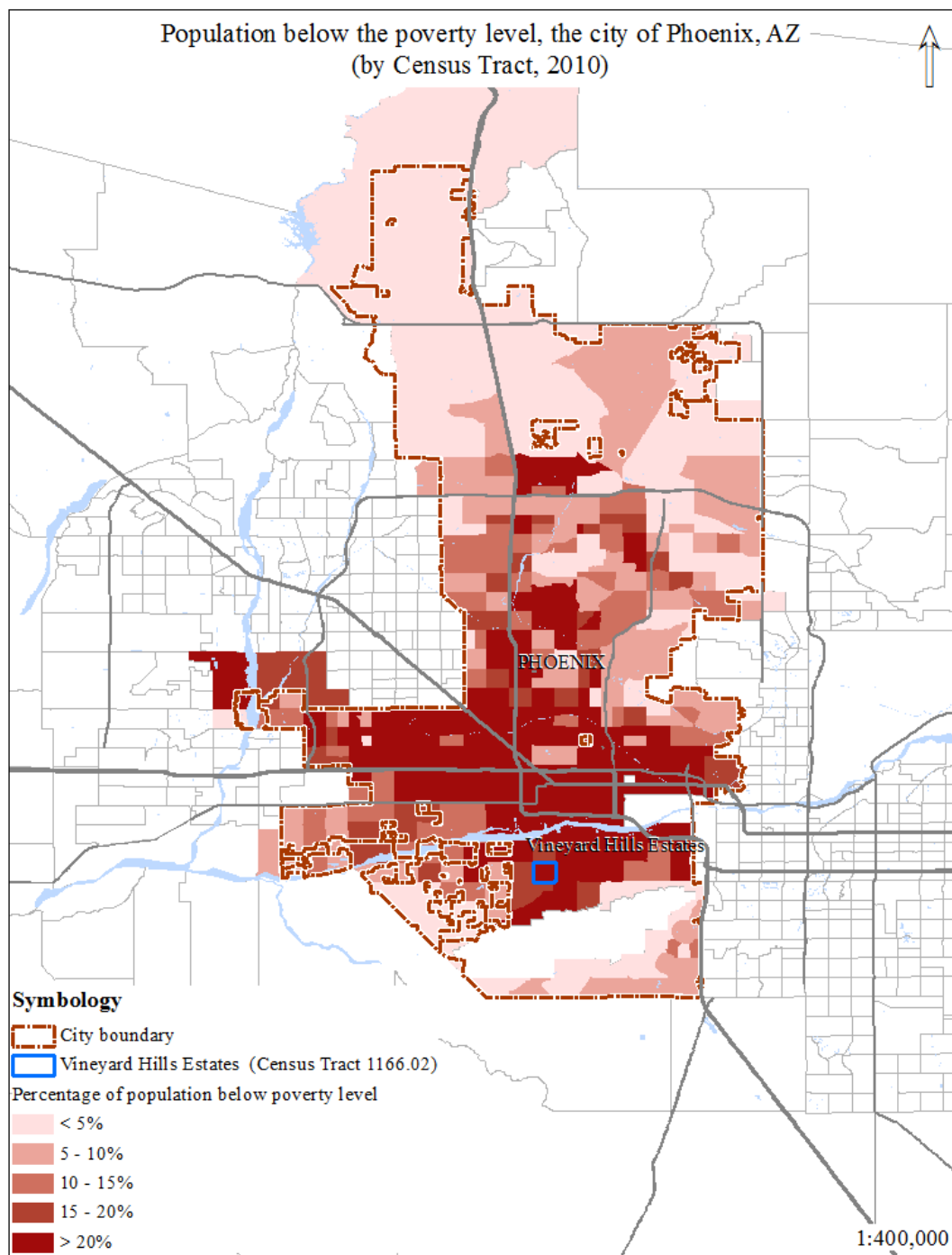


Figure 10. Percentage of population below the poverty level in the Census Tract 1166.02 and the city of Phoenix, during the last twelve months, 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010)

## HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS

The Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood is mostly built up with single-family homes. There are about 2,200 housing units in the neighborhood, of which less than twenty percent are multifamily homes. This compares to a rate of about 32 percent in Phoenix. About 37 percent of households rent their homes, compared to 40 percent in Phoenix (see Table 3) (U.S. Census, 2010).

Compared to the city of Phoenix, vacancy rates in the neighborhood are relatively low. Less than nine percent of housing in the neighborhood versus thirteen percent of housing units in Phoenix was vacant in 2010. Vacancy rates for rental units are much lower than for ownership units: 47 percent of ownership units and 22 percent of rental homes were vacant in 2010 (see Table 3) (U.S. Census, 2010).

There are also some differences in crowding of owner- and renter-occupied housing units in the neighborhood and citywide. In the Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood ten percent of owner-occupied units were overcrowded<sup>6</sup> versus four percent of owner-occupied units in the city. On the other hand, the percentage of overcrowded renter-occupied units in the neighborhood, three percent, was lower than eleven percent citywide. Overall, the share of overcrowded units citywide did not significantly differ from the share of overcrowded units in the neighborhood: six percent citywide versus seven percent in the neighborhood (see Table 3) (U.S. Census, 2010).

There are also some noticeable differences in tenure among different races. Most White residents in the neighborhood are homeowners, while African American

---

<sup>6</sup> In the study, units with more than one occupant per room are considered overcrowded.

households almost equally occupy rental and ownership units. According to the 2010 Census data, 78 percent of Whites lives in owner-occupied housing units, and 45 percent of African American families own their homes. Among the Hispanic population, almost two thirds of the residents are owners, and the rest live in rental housing within the neighborhood. Compared to Phoenix, in 2010 the neighborhood had higher percentages of homeowners and lower percentages of White, African American and Hispanic renters (see Table 3) (U.S. Census, 2010).

Over the decade, the neighborhood's number of the owner-occupied housing units by White householders significantly increased, and the number of rental units with White residents dropped. From 2000 to 2010, the share of White householders owning their homes increased by 22 percent, while the share of both Hispanic renters and owners decreased during this period by half (U.S. Census, 2010).

Property values in the neighborhood are lower compared to the city of Phoenix. In 2010, the median value of owner-occupied units in the neighborhood was by 31 percent lower compared to the median value citywide. The percentage of more expensive homes in the neighborhood was significantly lower compared to the city: four percent of homes with a value over \$300,000 in the neighborhood versus 30 percent of homes in Phoenix (U.S. Census, 2010).

In 2010, about half of the renters in the Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood and the city were burdened by housing cost.<sup>7</sup> Among homeowners, a slightly higher percentage of households in the neighborhood experienced housing cost burden than

---

<sup>7</sup> Households paying more than 30 percent of their monthly income for housing are considered cost burdened.

citywide: 44 owners in the neighborhood versus 37 percent of owners in Phoenix (U.S. Census, 2010). This may be explained by lower median income in the neighborhood compared to Phoenix.

Table 3

*Housing characteristic of Vineyard Hills Estates (Census Tract 1166.02) and the city of Phoenix, 2010 (U.S. Census, 2010)*

Characteristics:	Census Tract 1166.02, 2010		The city of Phoenix, 2010	
		%		%
<u>Total housing units:</u>	2,177	100.0	590,149	100.0
Occupied housing units	1,993	91.5	514,806	87.2
Owner occupied	1,253	62.9	296,742	57.6
Renter occupied	740	37.1	218,064	42.4
Vacant housing units:	184	100.0	75,343	100.0
For rent	40	21.7	38,493	51.1
For sale only	87	47.3	13,310	17.7
<u>Owner-occupied units, by race:</u>				
Non-Hispanic White households	250	77.9	201,534	66.4
African American households	175	45.8	11,135	33.8
Hispanic households	762	63.9	70,257	47.4
<u>Renter-occupied units, by race:</u>				
Non-Hispanic White households	71	22.1	101,991	33.6
African American households	207	54.2	21,838	66.2
Hispanic households	430	36.1	77,985	52.6
Crowding				
<u>Crowding of owner-occupied units:</u>				
1.00 or less occupants per room	1272	90.3	296930	96.6
1.00 or more occupants per room	137	9.7	10609	3.5
<u>Crowding of renter-occupied units:</u>				
1.00 or less occupants per room	786	97.4	186382	89.5
1.00 or more occupants per room	21	2.6	21780	10.5
Median (\$) value of owner-occupied units	153,100		221,800	



## VINEYARD ESTATES: PLACE AND PEOPLE

Vineyard Estates is one of the recently built rental housing developments in the area. The development is situated at the intersection of S. 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue and W. Alta Vista Road, and is a part of the Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood (Census Tract 1166.02) (see Figure 11). The neighborhood spans the area between W. Alta Vista Road, S. 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue, S. 10<sup>th</sup> Drive and W. Vineyard Road. The development is surrounded by other single-family residential developments, such as Mountain Vistas, Vista Grande, and Southgate, Desert Breeze Condominiums from the south.

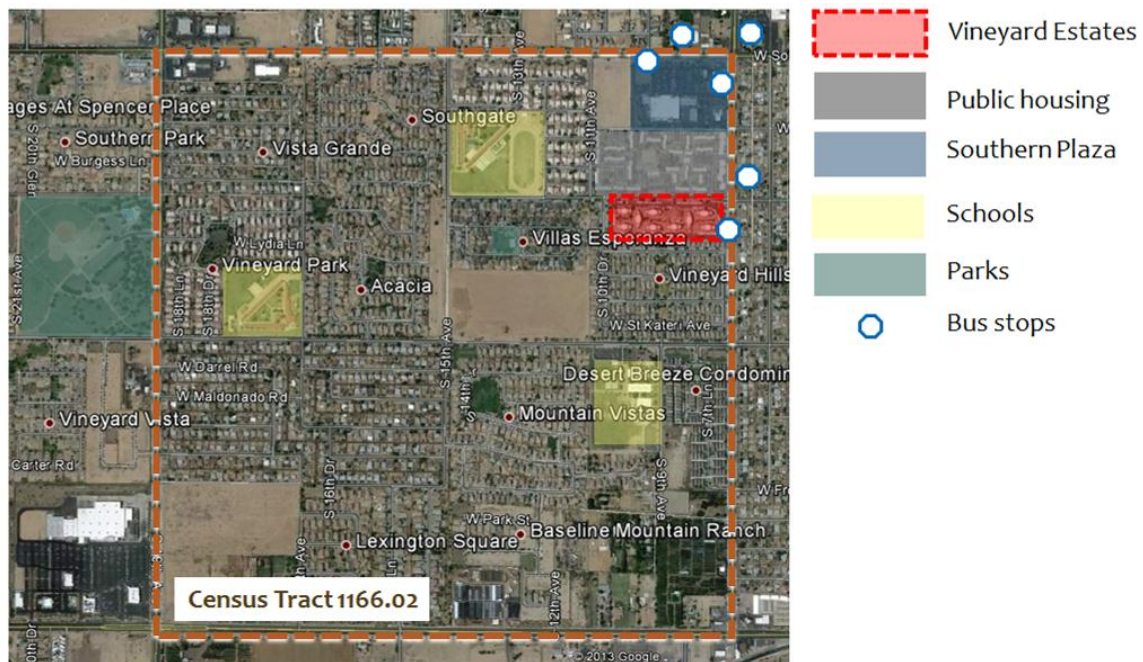


Figure 11. The Vineyard Hills Estates neighborhood (Census Tract 1166.02), Vineyard Estates and the surroundings (“Phoenix”, 33°23'22.44" N. and 112°05'12.50" W. Google Earth. June 8, 2012. April 14, 2013)

The development is situated in close proximity to such arterial streets as S. 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue and W. Southern Avenue. It is a 5 to 10 minute walk to two bus stops. A stop on

S. 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue and across the street is for bus # 8, and the other stop on W. Southern Avenue and across the street is for bus # 61. The frequency of buses on weekdays and weekend is 30 minutes. Although bus stops are located close to the development, there is a missing crosswalk at the intersection of 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue and W. Alta Vista Road, which decreases the safety and comfort of using public transportation. Downtown Phoenix (Central Station) is 30 minutes away from Vineyard Estates by public transportation.

Vineyard Estates is located in close proximity to three elementary schools and a shopping center. The three schools close to Vineyard Estates are John R Davis School (95 D), Ignacio Conchos School (91 D), and V H Lassen Elementary School (104 C).<sup>8</sup> Going to the north and passing by the Foothills Village Apartment public housing project, residents reach the Southern Plaza with a grocery store (Food City) and a bank. The closest parks to the development are El Prado Park, at the intersection of W. Vineyard Road and S. 19th Avenue, and El Reposo Park in between Central Avenue and S. 7<sup>th</sup> Street. El Prado Park is located 1.5 miles away from Vineyard Estates, and the distance from the development to El Reposo Park is 1.2 miles. Some residents of Vineyard Estates also use a small but well-kept neighborhood park located at the intersection of S. 13<sup>th</sup> Drive and W. Street Catherine Avenue in the Villas Esperanza neighborhood (see Figure 12).

---

<sup>8</sup> According to the A-F School Letter Grade, John R Davis School and Ignacio Conchos School received a D Letter Grade in 2012; V H Lassen Elementary School was ranked with a C Grade. A-F School Letter Grade is calculated, according to student achievements, student growth, and the overall school performance (Arizona Department of Education, 2012).



*Figure 12.* Villas Esperanza Neighborhood Park (March 2013)

Vineyard Estates was built under the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit and placed in service in 2002. The cost of the project was about \$12,100,00. The development is located right next to the Foothills Village Apartment, a 180 unit conventional public housing development, built and operated by the city of Phoenix since 1972. Surrounding the development, there are also two other Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) projects: the Paradise Palms Senior Housing and Paradise Palms II development (HUD USER GIS Maps, 2013).

Vineyard Estates was located on the plot of a former cotton field. The housing development was built and has been managed by Celtic Property Management, LLC, which manages other affordable housing developments in Arizona including Urban League, Paradise Palms, Coral Gardens in Phoenix and others.

Vineyard Estates contains 144 units: 72 rental market-rate and 72 LIHTC units. There are 60 two-bedroom units, 64 three-bedroom and 20 four-bedroom apartments. Complying with the LIHTC Program eligibility requirements, 50 percent of the units in Vineyard Estates are allocated for residents with incomes at or below 60 percent of the area median income (with an adjustment for a household size). According to information

on the allocation of subsidized units received from the developer (November 2012), seven units were provided for the households with a monthly income not exceeding 40 percent of AMI, 58 apartments went to families or individuals with a monthly income at or below 50 percent of AMI, and seven units were allocated to the households with incomes at or below 60 percent AMI (see Table 4). Also, five apartments provided for households with a monthly income below 50 percent of AMI were subsidized under the HOME funds (for the map of the development and the list of market-rate and subsidized units refer to Appendix B).

Table 4

*Allocation of units in Vineyard Estates, November 2012*

<u>LIHTC</u>		Total, %
Units	Incomes, % AMI	
7	40	4,9
53	50	36,8
7	60	4,9
HOME funds		
5	50	3,4
Market-rate units		
	72	50,0
Total units		
	144	100,0

Vineyard Estates consists of nine three-story buildings placed around a centrally located ramada and the swimming pool. Facing the front entrance of the development, there is a property office with mailboxes and a playground (see Figure 13). The buildings have a main entrance and a staircase leading to four apartments on each floor, and two separate staircases from other sides of a building leading to two more units (one above another) on each side. The development has bushes all along the walls and provides lanes of parking.



*Figure 13.* Vineyard Estates: swimming pool, ramada and property office (on the right), one of the buildings (on the left) (March 2013)

The property office is open from 8.30 am to 5.30 pm on weekdays and from 10.00 am to 4.00 pm on Saturday. The office has common space for public use: a couch and a coffee table in the center of the room, a desk with folders for advertisements and fliers, and a kitchenette. However, from my observations, this space is not used by residents on a regular basis: they come to the office to pay rent or to attend community events. This was further corroborated by interviews. The development does not offer computer facilities or social services on-site.

Vineyard Estates is not always well-maintained. Walking around the development and observing the public space and the buildings revealed that the trash is not always collected in a timely manner. There are items of unwanted furniture kept outside apartments. Further, the public space is not in its best condition. The green space in between the buildings is not always clean and well-kept. During the evening time, the development is not well-lit, and the parking lots are dark and unsecure. When the study was conducted, 122 of 144 units were occupied. Some of vacant units had broken windows, and some of the balconies were filled with garbage and abandoned items.

It became clear from my repeated observations that the most frequently used communal places in Vineyard Estates are the playground and front yards. Children under seven, alone or under supervision, spend some time at the playground. Other children and teenagers may roam around the development, ride a bicycle, walk pets or gather closer to their apartments. Some teenagers use staircases and balconies as gathering places (see Figure 14). There are not many adults spending time outside, besides people doing laundry, picking up mail and watching kids, or chatting. Adults go straight from cars to their apartments.

Vineyard Estates seemed relatively quiet except for a few times, when teenagers were listening to music late in the evening, or dogs were barking behind the wall enclosing the area of developers. During weekdays, there were few people outside, if any. Weekends were not significantly different from the rest of the week, though more people were around spending time outside. Given the limited time that I was in the community,

my observations may contradict, to some extent, with residents' perceptions. They reported a lot of noise, fights and shootings.



*Figure 14.* Public spaces in Vineyard Estates (March 2013)

While the neighborhood is mostly Hispanic, I observed mainly African Americans using the public spaces in Vineyard Estates. In turn, based on my observations, the population in the development seems relatively young: there are a lot of children, especially African Americans, and young adults.

During the few months of my fieldwork, one community event was arranged by the property management staff. A Christmas raffle took place on Saturday, December 23

at the property office, where about 30 people gathered. Among them were mostly women with children, Hispanics and African Americans and fewer Whites. A few men, including the staff, attended the event. The project manager dressed in a costume, led the raffle, and organized entertainment activities for both children and adults. Other staff helped with arranging food and giving away gifts. The space and activities were engaging, though no evident interaction among residents was noticed: people were more focused on their families. Generally, community events are not frequent at the development and are not necessarily appreciated by all residents. Some people in Vineyard Estates are not aware of what is happening around the development or simply do not want to attend such events.

### **IS SOCIAL MIX CONDUCTIVE TO INTERACTION?**

The current chapter describes the types of interactions such as casual, instrumental and leveraging happening among the residents of Vineyard Estates and the relationships established between residents. Interactions taking place among residents are characterized by activities that people are involved in together, as well as exchanges they incorporate. The chapter concludes with factors influencing interaction within the housing development.

**Casual interactions.** The study showed that causal interactions are the most common among residents in Vineyard Estates. Casual interactions occurred in the form of simply saying “Hello”, or having a short conversation with neighbors or other residents while walking pets or watching children playing outside. Casual interactions also happened in the laundry room, while picking up mail, or running across each other at



the property office on the days when the rent was collected. Often, interaction in Vineyard Estates does not go beyond greetings. Three out of nine interviewees asserted that their interactions were limited to saying “Hello” to their neighbors. The rest of the interviewees also had more intense interactions with other residents. Interviews did not identify any cases when casual interactions were accompanied with sharing useful information.

It is worth noting that the returned surveys also demonstrated a low frequency of casual interactions. Out of fifteen survey respondents, four stated that they did not have any interactions with residents and five did not have casual but more intense interactions. One resident from a subsidized apartment and three residents from market-rate units mentioned that sometimes they casually interacted with other Vineyard Estates residents. Only one respondent from a market-rate unit indicated that casual interaction occurred often.

Casual interactions happened mostly among people that were not related. Residents encountering each other and exchanging greetings did not necessarily know anything about each other’s background, besides what they could observe. For example, Sara<sup>9</sup>, a young Hispanic woman living in a subsidized apartment with her mother and sister, described her casual interactions with a neighbor as the only case when she would communicate with somebody within the development:

...I meet him [neighbor] quite often, and he seems to be nice. He always asks “How are you doing?” I don’t even remember his name, but he told me that he

---

<sup>9</sup> Here and further in the chapter, all real names are replaced with pseudonyms.

has seven brothers. This is all I can tell you about him. Except that, I cannot think of any other circumstances of interacting with people in Vineyard Estates.

Also, Helen's interaction within Vineyard Estates is limited to saying "Hello" to her neighbor downstairs. She is an African American woman in her 40s, currently unemployed due to her health problems. She lives in a market-rate two bedroom apartment with her two sons, who have ADD. Another son is currently incarcerated for robbery. A while ago, Helen used to help a young lady living in Vineyard Estates with money for utilities and transportation, but has never asked anybody in the community for help. She does not interact with other residents any longer:

I think people are quite friendly here, especially older people, but I don't want to interact with anybody. I don't like that people just take. That is why I simply try to keep to myself and not make any connections.

Another interviewee with very limited interaction, Jessica, is an African-American retired woman with four adult children and several grandchildren. She moved to Vineyard Estates in 2002, right after it was placed in service. Living in Vineyard Estates for more than ten years, she mostly has kept to herself and hasn't had any close contacts within the development:

I don't communicate with anybody here. I am never outside and do not mingle...That is why they [other residents] treat me as an unfriendly person...

**Instrumental and leveraging interactions.** Casual interactions can evolve into more substantial, supportive interaction, such as instrumental and leveraging. Instrumental interactions consist of activities such as sharing food, having a meal

together, having conversations, carpooling, visiting each other, looking after children, and others. Also, people can leverage from interactions through receiving useful information about jobs, education and training, and services, and other available resources (e.g. money, computers, babysitting.)

The surveys showed that activities associated with instrumental interactions, such as those mentioned above, happened more frequently compared to casual activities. Almost half of the fifteen survey respondents (four from subsidized and three from market-rate units) mentioned that these activities sometimes take place in their relationships with other residents. Five out of these respondents were African American residents. The rest of the respondents reported that activities associated with instrumental interactions did not commonly happen with them at Vineyard Estates. However, activities that can be associated with more trusting relationships took place in Vineyard Estates less frequently. For example, only five respondents mentioned that they sometimes shared a meal, baby-sat, and looked after somebody's apartment, while ten residents reported that they had never done any of those with people at Vineyard Estates.

Instrumental and leveraging interactions are likely to be founded on common interests and needs, and mostly take place among people with moderate and close relationships. These relationships constitute knowing each other, and are associated with honesty and the recognition of other's needs. Such activities as borrowing food, carpooling, and sharing information, can also happen among people with distant relationships. However, the study showed little evidence that they took place as a part of

distant relationships and no evidence that people leveraged from their casual interactions with others.

The study showed that residents knew few people in Vineyard Estates with whom they had built moderate or close relationships. In the surveys, I asked respondents to think about closest to them people, that they could discuss important issues and share secrets with, as well as watch each other's children. Residents with moderate relationships, as noted in the survey, could visit each other and lend things, but did not necessarily trusted each other with personal matters. From the surveys, only two residents mentioned that they had moderate relationships with other people in Vineyard Estates, and three residents described people they interacted with as close. People who mentioned that they had moderate or close relationships with others were from subsidized units located in close proximity to each other. Also, closer relationships were built between people receiving public subsidies (subsidized apartment, Section 8 vouchers, or public assistance).

In the interviews, Adriana characterized her former interactions with other people in Vineyard Estates as intense and supportive. She is a single mother of four children and used to interact with other residents in situations like hers:

I've already been in Vineyard Estates for four years. When I lived in the apartment [xx], it was a completely different time. I used to communicate more with a lot of other residents. They were also single mothers; we would always support each other, invite each other to come over and spend time together. I would always share food when somebody was in need.

Also, describing her close relationship with Kate, a single mother raising four children, Sophia characterized their interaction as mutually supportive. They met on a bus ride to South Phoenix, and since then they have established close relationships:

We tend to invite each other, to have a meal together and let our children play.

Kate is a single mother with four kids. I try to help her with some clothes, when it doesn't fit my son or with other things.

On the other hand, in one of the interviews, Emma disclosed that instrumental interactions can also occur between people with distant relationships. Emma, a mother of three in her 20s, has lived in Vineyard Estates for eight years. She described that, even if only interacting casually with other residents in Vineyard Estates, she is willing to provide help and support to residents who are in need:

Generally, I say 'Hello' to everybody...Sharing things or giving somebody a ride is also okay with me, if people would come and ask.

Interactions between Brian and his neighbor go beyond casually saying "Hello" and having a short conversation. He invites his neighbor to have beer and watch TV, and also communicates with his grown-up child he considers. However, Brian considers their relationship as distant. It can be associated with his reliance on his family ties and limited trust in his relationships with a neighbor. Generally, instrumental interactions between residents who do not consider their relationships with others as close or at least moderate are rare. From the interviews, leveraging interactions in Vineyard Estates are rare, but do happen among residents. For example, Sophia, a 40 year-old unemployed woman with a

mentally ill son, sometimes communicates with her neighbors downstairs and alludes to how helpful exchanges of information with each other can be:

Once, I let my neighbor know that she was eligible for transportation assistance. I helped her to get a bus pass and also find information about Food Stamps.

Emma and Betty also engage in instrumental and leveraging interactions. Their relationships, built on common interests and needs, incorporate exchanges and different kinds of support, from sharing food, helping with transportation and baby-sitting to giving information about jobs. Emma and her husband moved to Vineyard estates almost eight years ago. Currently, they have three children and live in a three- bedroom subsidized apartment with Emma's cousin and her three kids. Emma and her husband are temporarily employed, and her cousin stays at home with her children. Betty moved to Vineyard Estates in August 2012. She is a single mom of eight children. Six of her children currently live with her in a four-bedroom subsidized apartment. She has been unemployed and taking care of the children by herself. Betty characterizes the relationship between their families as trusting and the closest that she's had in the development:

We trust each other with children-related and other matters, and our kids spend plenty of time together. They would come over, when I cook, and grab some food...I also have difficulties with transportation, and Emma tends to help me with that. Once, I urgently needed to go somewhere, and she let me drive her car. I truly appreciated that. Also, there was a case when Emma told me about a job opening...

Although casual interactions in Vineyard Estates are the most common, residents do interact more intensely and build closer relationships between each other rather than just casual. These interactions mostly occur among people living in proximity to each other and having common characteristics and needs. Interactions among residents are also influenced by other factors including the built environment and residents' perceptions.

### **INTERACTING IF “CLOSE”**

In addition to the role of inter-personal interactions, the study examined the role of the built environment, residents' socioeconomic backgrounds, existing networks, perceptions, and, to a lesser extent, organizational factors, on dynamics of interaction. The current section discusses the factors that appeared as the most influential in shaping people's interactions. Among these factors are physical proximity, including design of public space and community facilities, and social proximity that incorporates similarities in socioeconomic status, race and language, familial situations, and residents' perceptions.

**Physical proximity.** From repeated observations and interviews, physical proximity seemed to play an important role in shaping residents' interaction in Vineyard Estates. Location and design of buildings and public spaces in the development let residents observe and encounter each other. Physical proximity provides an opportunity to become familiar with other residents and discover commonalities in interests and needs. The mapping of returned surveys showed that most people tend to build ties with others within close proximity. The surveys showed that out of fourteen interactions, eleven took place between residents from the same buildings, and four of them were

between residents living on the same floor. Six interactions were mentioned by people living on different floors but having a common entrance to a building. Two out of three interactions between residents from separate buildings happened between people living close to each other.

The interviews provided us with descriptive cases emphasizing the role of physical proximity in facilitating interaction. For example, Betty and Emma live close to each other and see their children playing outside together. In these circumstances, they got to know each other and started interacting. Jessica used to communicate with her neighbors upstairs, as they were the people that she most frequently came across within the development. Sophia regularly encounters and speaks with her neighbors downstairs while being outside.

Although spatial proximity is one of the mechanisms that can increase the chances of interaction, it does not guarantee intense interaction among residents. The surveys showed that out of eleven paired connections between residents living close to each other, seven were casual.

In some cases, spatial proximity can cause increased tension among people. Residents with diverse interests, values, behavior, and different ways of using communal space may have negative attitudes towards each other. Residents may consider others' behavior as disrespectful, for example, because of the loud music, fights, lack of supervision over children and dogs, or not picking up trash. It can cause friction among residents and hinder interaction. Gabby is a 21 year old Hispanic female who moved to Vineyard Estates with her husband, a two year-old child, and her brother five months



before the study. She connects her avoidance of interaction within the community with fears and problematic behavior:

We are constantly exposed to drama and fights among people in this building. It has been too “dense” in this sense. There are people next door, and sometimes you can hear something bad happening, but don’t usually know what exactly. I don’t want people to know anything about my family; the more people know about you, the more in danger you feel. I limit my communication to saying ‘Hello’ and prefer to keep to myself. I don’t let my child play outside, and we usually spend time somewhere else rather than here.

Graphically, apartments of interacting residents in Vineyard Estates are presented in Appendix F. The diagram shows the subsidized and market-rate apartments of residents who participated in the surveys and interviews and mentioned their connections with other residents. The red rectangles represent subsidized units, and the grey ones are market-rate apartments. The curves connect apartments of interacting residents. The diagram is descriptive of how physical proximity and, to some extent, socioeconomic status of residents influences their interaction. It demonstrates that interactions mostly happen among residents living close to each other and are mostly between households from subsidized apartments.

From the interviews and observations, the laundry, the playground and the outdoor swimming pool are the communal spaces most frequently publicly used in Vineyard Estates. Most of the interviewed residents mentioned that these places are the

most common where they could communicate with other residents. For example, Emma describes the places within Vineyard Estates where you can meet people:

...If you want to meet people, go to the laundry room. I always talk to people when I am doing laundry. Also, sometimes there are a lot of people in the pool during summer that you may start talking with...

However, interviewed residents expressed their general dissatisfaction with the quality of the communal spaces related to maintenance and the lack of amenities. For example, the playground is small and does not have enough facilities for children of different age; the pool and the green spaces are not always clean. This makes a few residents spend their leisure time outside of Vineyard Estates. For example, Betty chooses to use a little park outside the development, in Villas Esperanza neighborhood, or brings her children to the playground in the public housing project across the street (see Figure 15):

Our playground is bad, and my little one [child] is now at the age when she needs to play and exercise. They have a better playground across the street. It is more spacious and has more amenities for exercising. But we mostly go to the little park within single family houses.



*Figure 15.* Playgrounds in the Foothills Village Apartments and Vineyard Estates (from the left to the right) (March 2013)

Adriana also expressed her displeasure with the quality of public places at the development:

The development does not have decent places for children to play and adults to interact. The pool and the laundry room leave a lot to be desired. We do not go to the pool, because it is unhygienic. They, at least, should cover it and keep it clean. Children do not play outside much, and boys go to play football in another neighborhood.

Among the spaces used by residents for spending spare time and communicating are front yards, stairs and balconies. A few balconies were equipped with chairs, where residents would sit and talk (see Figure 16). For example, Sophia and Brian had a table and some chairs on their balconies, where they spent their leisure time. Sometimes stairways were occupied by teenagers in the evenings and by adults during the day on the weekends.



*Figure 16.* Seating places on balconies in Vineyard Estates (March 2013)

**Social proximity.** While physical proximity affects where and when interactions occur, social proximity can influence the intensity of interaction among residents. As discussed in the literature, people tend to interact more intensely when they have similarities, common goals and needs. People with commonalities are likely to recognize others' needs and offer support and help. Based on the evidence from interviews and surveys, interaction in Vineyard Estates was found mostly among people with similarities in family composition and socioeconomic situations. It also presents evidence that stigma, negative stereotypes, and reliance on external networks can hinder social interaction among residents. This section describes how children, socioeconomic status, residents' existing external ties, and stigma in the community affect interaction among residents in the development.

**Children.** The interviews with residents at Vineyard Estates proved that children are important in bringing people to communicate. Having a child reduces barriers to communication and becomes a reason for interacting. For instance, for four of the interviewed families, children were a starting point for interaction that developed into

more intense communication and closer relationships. Betty described the circumstances of how she began to interact with Emma:

Our boys started to play together first. It was surprising that her son's name is the same as my son's. Just to notice the name is quite rare. We started communicating as well...

Likewise, Emma agreed that children facilitate her interaction with other residents and let people "get to know each other better":

Children are what make me communicate with others. I used to hold a movie night at my place, a lot of kids would come. Then parents would drop in asking whether their children were over here. Yes, if you cannot find your kid, come and check my place...

Adriana also gives an example of how her relationships with other residents were established around their children:

We would barbecue together or organize games for children at somebody's home. We used to set up trips to parks, lakes and even go to a library together. Once we found out that a church was providing children with Christmas gifts and went there to get something for our kids.

Even Jessica, who barely communicates with anybody in the community, described her relationship with a neighboring family living upstairs four years ago as partially connected to children:

It was a family of young immigrants who recently arrived to the country from Mexico. I used to give them a ride and babysit sometimes.

Also, during the interview with Sophia, it was apparent how children can be a focus of interaction among residents. Sophia's neighbor from downstairs dropped by her apartment to introduce her two five year-old nephews to Piter, Sophia's disabled son. They had a short conversation and let him go to play outside with the boys. Sophia asked her husband to go downstairs and look after her son.

*Socioeconomic status.* Most relationships in Vineyard Estates identified by surveys and interviews were established among residents with a similar socioeconomic status. The returned surveys demonstrated that five close and moderate relationships and five casual relationships were developed between people from subsidized apartments. Households receiving housing subsidies had annual incomes lower than 60 percent of the median income. On the other hand, only five casual relationships were established between residents from market-rate and subsidized units.

Interactions among people with similar economic situations can be based on the intersections in needs and ways people can benefit from them. All moderate and close relationships were established among people with similar socioeconomic statuses. While there were still differences in family composition and employment situation, similar problems such as unemployment and need in child care became impetuses to building relationships. For example, Emma, having her husband's support, provides help to Betty, who is a single mother (e.g. gives her a ride and tells her about job openings). Emma is able to emphasize the situation of being unemployed with children based on her own experience. Sophia's relationships with two other families are based on mutual help. As was previously mentioned, Sophia, who receives public assistance, still shares clothes

with her friend and useful information (e.g. about transportation assistance and Food Stamps) with her neighbor.

Another case of instrumental interaction established between residents was described by Helen. She used to interact with an unemployed female in Vineyard Estates and exchange information related to employment opportunities. According to the interviewee, the information that Helen provided to another resident was helpful to get professional skills and a job. Once Helen's acquaintance moved out of the development, they lost contact. This case does not provide enough evidence to attribute lessened interaction to economic changes, as this situation also relates to a loss of proximity between people and other circumstances. However, to some extent, it implies the significance of having similar needs of support in shaping interrelations.

On the other hand, when distinctions in social status and economic situations of people are obvious, interaction can become less intense. Besides reduction of commonalities in interests and needs in mutual support, it can be explained by a loss of comfort of interacting, perceptions of difference from other residents and stereotypes about people that are better (or worse) off. A few examples from the interviews demonstrated how interaction is perceived in relation to differences. For instance, Emma asserted that there are no barriers to communication with families that are better off, but she still concluded that her connections are built with people similar to her family:

You can communicate with more affluent residents. You just need to understand how to talk to different people appropriately. You have to choose the right language and tone and behave properly...

On the other hand, Jessica assumed that her interaction with people of a lower status would be constrained due to people's perception of their inferiority:

People have biased attitude to those who actually can provide support. They are not going to follow your advice, if they think that you are better.

***Race and culture.*** Race, language and cultural differences can significantly affect interactions among residents. Racial and cultural differences can become barriers to interactions, as people may not want to associate themselves with cultural features of others and behavior. Although there is a lack of evidence from the interviews that residents' connections were built on racial similarities, at least two participants demonstrated that racial, cultural and language differences can be a barrier to interaction. For example, Sophia (White) explained her limited interaction by her inability to interact with people speaking Spanish. On the other hand, Gabby (Hispanic) attributed her unwillingness to interact with residents to racial and cultural factors:

We are used to living in racially mixed communities, but in Vineyard Estates the concentration of Black residents is so high... We are not racists, but, you know, it is just a different culture. It is chaotic. There are plenty of unemployed people, and always drama going on...

Limited interactions can be explained by racial and cultural prejudices. Certain racial and cultural characteristics can be associated with unemployment (as mentioned by Gabby) delinquent behavior and poverty. People's avoidance of interaction can be connected to their attempts to isolate themselves from these qualities.



*Family ties and networks.* During the study, it also became obvious that interaction of residents within Vineyard Estates is influenced by the strength and expansion of their family ties and networks. Residents' sense of belonging to the community and intensity of interaction can be attributed to their attachment to the place and people due to connections built within or in close proximity to their current housing.

There are a few examples that proved the significance of existing networks. Even given dissatisfaction with the quality of public space and safety in the community, a few residents confirmed their attachment to the place on account of built connections. In the case of Adriana, despite resentment about crime in the development, living in Vineyard Estates is convenient for her since it is close to her parents' place. Also, Emma described transformations in her family's life and connected these changes to living in the development:

When we moved here, it was half empty, calm and empty. We lived on the second floor, just me and my husband. Now I like our life better: we have children, and they are always around. My children are respected with other residents, and I can feel safe about them. The current apartment is on the ground floor, and I can observe more people passing by. My husband's relatives used to live with us here, now my cousin is staying. Also, I have my friend here, who I have known for a long time...

On the contrary, extended family networks outside the development can make communication with other residents unnecessary and unwanted. Jessica does not interact with people in the community and keeps to herself. Jessica has lived in Vineyard Estates

since the development was placed in service. Now her family lives in close proximity to Vineyard Estates, which makes it easier to maintain close contacts with her children and grandchildren outside of the development.

Helen, in her turn, explained that interaction within her large family makes her, at some points, indifferent to communicating with residents in Vineyard Estates:

I have fourteen brothers, lots of relatives to communicate with and to take care of...

*Perceptions of difference, stigma and other factors.* Interaction within the development is significantly influenced by residents' "perceptions of difference" (Joseph & Chaskin, 2011) from other people living in the development. Residents can have safety concerns, negative perceptions about behavior of others and the quality of public space. Due to these reasons, people may consider their current housing as a temporary home and limit or completely avoid interacting with other residents within mixed-income housing. Negative perceptions about other people's behavior and cultures may lead to people's unwillingness to belong to the community and cause complete isolation.

This section focuses on the main aspects shaping Vineyard Estates residents' negative perceptions about the development and affecting their interaction with other people. First, a few interviewees described Vineyard Estates and the neighborhood as a "ghetto." They asserted that shootings and drug dealing are quite common in their neighborhood, and police are always around due to frequent crime incidents.

In addition to a few other residents (e.g. Jessica, Sophia, Brian) who have concerns about safety and disorder, Adriana saw the safety issue as the most acute problem in Vineyard Estates:

...A few days ago they were shooting again. It scared me and my children to death. Police was here, but they pretended that everything was under control. It was obvious that it was someone from Vineyard Estates, and they must've known it, but did not undertake any actions. I went to the police department to ask...

On the contrary, Emma was the only interviewee who was not resentful about crime in the community. The rest of the residents either expressed safety concerns or did not have anything to say on this question:

This is a good neighborhood; I don't know why people think that it is a bad place down here [South Phoenix]...Each neighborhood has its good and bad days.

There are days when it is calm and safe and friendly, but there are also days with drama and cops around, as everywhere...

Also, negative attitudes towards people in the community, most vividly expressed by a couple of interviewees, are connected to problematic behavior, disorder and unemployment. In particular, older respondents, such as Jessica and Brian who are in their 50s, saw the behavior of younger people in Vineyard Estates as self-destructive. Brian mentioned that younger people lose value of work and family and generalized them as ignorant and unwilling to work. He also associated Section 8 voucher recipients with high unemployment and reliance on public assistance:

It is all about a different mentality, they count on subsidies, which make them even worse. I do not believe that the government can and should take care of everybody. You know, there are Section 8 residents in Vineyard Estates. I associate them with abnormal behavior and unemployment.

Jessica, similarly to Brian, found the community to be in disorder and attributed it to a lack of parenting and positive role modeling. She also pointed to a negative change in Vineyard Estates' population. It can be associated with her perceptions about the community and her isolation, but also with such factors as screening policy of the development and economic downturn:

People were different back ten years ago; it was a community of working people, and there were no police and gangs in Vineyard Estates. Now you can clearly see drug-dealing, crime and disorder... This is all about learned behavior; children learn from their parents, especially when they are not exposed to other positive role models.

There are other factors influencing interaction among residents in Vineyard Estates that can be described and expanded upon in the discussion. They include institutional/organizational factors, such as community events and activities, residents' previous experiences and duration of living in the development. There was no evident correlation established between the length of residency and interaction. From the interviews, while residents can establish strong social ties in the surrounding neighborhood with family and friends, the length of residency does not necessarily affect the intensity of interactions within the development. The development is also

characterized by high turnover rates that can interrupt established social ties in the community.

Most of the interviewed residents attributed limited interaction to the lack of community activities and demonstrated a great appreciation for events organized for children. However, the observation of the Christmas raffle that took place in December 2012 did not provide us with much evidence about the role of community events in facilitating interaction among people outside of their families and thus is inconclusive about the effect of this factor on interaction. Due to the lack of supportive evidence, the current study does not further address other factors beyond those described above.

**Summary.** Less than half of the surveyed and interviewed residents had any interactions with other Vineyard Estates' residents. Casual interactions were the most common and frequently happening within the development. Casual interactions took place mostly between residents with distant relationships, while instrumental and leveraging interactions happened between fewer people with closer relationships. Instrumental interactions incorporated exchanges of help, information and resources among residents in the forms of sharing a ride, food, lending money, babysitting and discussing schooling, employment, training and public assistance. Little evidence was found that interaction as part of distant relationships was supportive or allowed for leveraging.

Several factors related to physical and social proximity affected the types and intensity of interactions among residents. The study demonstrated that interactions happened mostly among residents living close together that had the opportunity to

regularly observe and encounter each other. It also showed that the development's public spaces were not conducive to residents' interactions. Interviewed people expressed their dissatisfaction with the quality of public spaces in Vineyard Estates, which may have affected the intensity of their interaction with others. Spatial proximity also could negatively affect interaction: residents limited their interaction to minimum due to negative perception of others' behavior (e.g. loud music and noise, fights, smoking pot) and the use of public space (e.g. not taking away trash, not taking care of dogs).

The study also showed that homogeneity was vital in shaping people's interactions. More intense rather than casual interactions took place among people with commonalities in their socioeconomic statuses, family composition, and needs. Little evidence was found about interaction happening across income groups: residents who interacted did not differ significantly in their socioeconomic situations. Also, interactions were significantly affected by people's perceptions of the development and other residents. These perceptions were mostly founded on safety and crime, race and behavior, and the quality of public space. The neighborhood was described by a few residents as a "ghetto", and Vineyard Estates was often seen as a place of disorder and crime. This explained residents' limited interaction with the people around them, lack of community engagement and isolation.

### **UPWARD MOBILITY: A RESTRAINED OPPORTUNITY**

In the current study, upward social mobility is defined by improvements in social and economic conditions and is measured by positive changes in income, employment and education among residents. The current section describes the evidence from surveys

and interviews about residents' changes in incomes, employment and education that occurred after moving to Vineyard Estates, factors influencing chances of upward social mobility and barriers to becoming better off.

In the survey, changes in the economic and educational situations of residents were self-defined: they were asked to compare their situations to before moving to Vineyard Estates and define it as "worse," "about the same" or "better." As such, it was not obvious what constituted positive or negative changes in people's employment, incomes, and education. For example, we did not know whether better incomes were associated with well-paid jobs, more hours worked or received public payments. Similarly, the extent of change was not assessed. Finally, we did not know how changes in incomes were connected to changes in their employment situation, education and public benefits received. However, in-depth interviews with residents complemented survey evidence and provided an understanding of when and how changes had occurred, if any, and to what extent they are connected to living in mixed-income housing.

**Residents' changes in income, employment, and education.** Evidence from the interviews and surveys showed that the majority of Vineyard Estates' residents did not experience significant changes in their incomes, employment and education. Out of nine residents from subsidized apartments, one resident had lower income compared to their situation before moving to Vineyard Estates. Among people living in market-rate units, one resident reported gains in income, and one mentioned an income decrease compared to before. In terms of employment, only one resident from a subsidized apartment characterized their situation as better in comparison to before moving to Vineyard

Estates. One resident from a market-rate unit mentioned improved employment, and two people, including a resident with a Section 8 voucher, had worse employment situations than before. The educational attainment among all of the residents remained the same as before moving to the development.

It is worth noting that negative changes in employment and incomes were reported by female respondents in the surveys and during the interviews. The only two male respondents did not experience any changes compared to their situations prior to moving to Vineyard Estates. Out of eight interviewed females, five women had children; three of them had three or more kids, one female had a mentally disabled child, and two women were single mothers. Five of the interviewed women received public assistance. Most interviewed residents had relatively low levels of education; they did not have college or graduate degrees. Out of them, three female respondents mentioned that they did not complete high school.

There was no connection between economic and educational outcomes and duration of living at Vineyard Estates. Among the respondents were people living in the development for less than a week and more than ten years. Most respondents had lived in the development for less than a year. The majority of people defined their situation as similar to before moving to the development. Two households staying at Vineyard Estates for less than a year mentioned decreases in incomes, and one respondent had worse employment. A resident living at Vineyard Estates for eight years described the employment situation as better compared to the previous times.



Most interviewed residents had been experiencing long-term disadvantageous economic situations. They were unemployed or temporarily employed at the moment of the study, and had not experienced changes since moving to Vineyard Estates. Others had recently lost their jobs due to health-, children-, and conflict- related reasons (e.g. accused of financial mistakes, management dislike). For instance, Helen stopped working due to her health problems in 2008. Before that she was employed at State Farm, Dell and Stop&Shop:

My health problems affected my ability to work. I have asthma and migraines, also bad breathing problems and cannot move a lot.

Betty was fired and left unemployed with eight children. She still resents the unfairness of that situation:

I worked there [McDonalds] for 11 years. I had responsibilities and knew my work. It was unfair to fire me because when they wanted me to come to work, I was on vacation, and my son injured his leg...

Adriana left her job in 2008, when she was pregnant with her fourth child. Now all of her children go to school, but she still remains unemployed, despite her attempts to find a job. Sophia has been dependent on public benefits on account of her son's mental disability. Gabby's current unemployment is connected to the fact that she does not have citizenship and permission to work. Findings about employment, income and educational changes of respondents are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

*Residents' changes in employment, income and education since moving to Vineyard**Estates*

Apt. type	Apt. Size	Duration, months	Changes*			Rent	Gender	Source of info.**
			Employment	Income	Education			
Mkt	3x2	12	0	0	0	\$650-749	n/a	s
Mkt	3x2	7	-1	-1	0	\$650-749	f	s
Sbd	3x2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	\$750	f	s
Mkt	3x2	120	0	0	0	\$650-749	f	s/ i
Mkt	3x2	n/a	-1	0	0	< \$350	f	s
Sbd	2x2	5	0	0	0	\$650-749	m	s
Mkt	2x2	< 12	0	0	0	\$350-649	m	s
Sbd	4x2	8	0	0	0	\$750-800	f	s/ i
Mkt	4x2	10	0	1	0	\$750-800	f	s/ i
Mkt	4x2	0.03	1	0	1	\$650-749	f	s
Sbd	2x2	5	0	0	0	\$650-749	m	s/ i
Sbd	2x2	17	0	0	0	\$750-800	f	s/ i
Sbd	2x2	5	0	0	0	\$350-649	f	s/ i
Sbd	2x2	2	0	-1	0	\$350-649	f	s
Mkt	3x2	6	0	0	0	\$650-749	f	s/ i
Sbd	3x3	96	1	n/a	0	n/a	f	i
Sbd	4x2	48	0	0	0	< \$350	f	i

*Note.* \*1 = better, 0 = about the same, -1 = worse,

\*\*s/ i =survey/ interview

**Factors influencing chances of upward social mobility.** In this study, I focus on exploring factors facilitating upward social mobility, as they relate to social interaction, as well as barriers to achieving positive socioeconomic outcomes by low-income residents. Main factors facilitating upward mobility include access to useful information about jobs, education, housing and public services, as well as other resources. Information and resources can be acquired through social networks, facilities and assistance provided within a housing development. Also, role models, the built environment and neighborhood can affect social and economic outcomes of individuals and families. Social networks can include weak and close ties built among residents in a housing development, as well as family, friend and professional ties from outside. The extent to which people benefit from information exchanges depends on the expansion of networks, types of information received and opportunities to use this information. Upward mobility can be facilitated by direct contacts with other residents through exchanges of information and favors, as well as role modeling. Also, being exposed to different behavioral models and complying with norms established in the community can be influential in fostering positive outcomes. Finally, better quality of housing and neighborhoods offering safer environments, more accessible public transportation and services, and more jobs matching skill level can play a role in facilitating people's upward mobility. The current section looks at the aspects of exchanges of information and favors and role modeling in facilitating upward social mobility at Vineyard Estates.

***Information and resources exchange.*** In Vineyard Estates, relationships established among residents allow for exchanges of favors and important information.

Noticeably, sharing information occurs predominantly among residents with moderate and close relationships, and, as mentioned in the previous section, among people with similar socioeconomic statuses. Shared information includes notices about job openings and public assistance and services (e.g. food stamps, transportation, and summer food programs for children). Also, residents do not mind helping each other with transportation, baby-sitting, and taking children to school if somebody is in need. These can become helpful exchanges among residents. As was previously mentioned, interaction between Emma and Betty was conducive to information exchange and giving other types of support. This support is founded on awareness of each other's situation and needs. Also, there were other cases uncovered during the interviews in which residents leveraged from their interactions. Sophia provided her neighbor with advice about public assistance; Helen helped somebody with information about a real estate seminar. Helen shared that, although she had never received help from anybody in the community, her advice given to one of the people in the development helped that person to get ahead:

...She [her acquaintance] couldn't sustain herself. I told her about the real estate seminar. She still went through some trouble, but began working...

The study indicated that, although information and resource exchanges take place among residents at Vineyard Estates, they are mostly not instrumental in facilitating upward social mobility of lower-income people. Residents' unemployment, lack of access to educational opportunities, health services and child care facilities limit their chances of using exchanged information. For example, describing her continuous attempts of looking for a job, Betty mentioned that her friend Emma used to notify her

about temporary job openings. However, there would be no chance to consider those offers:

Last time she told me about a temporary job opening. They needed somebody to work from 4am to 4pm. This schedule is not appropriate, while I take care of my children...

There is little information and assistance offered to residents by management within the housing development. In rare cases, residents find job advertisements at the property office and receive job flyers at Vineyard Estates. However, this information has not been helpful to people in their job seeking. Betty mentioned that she couldn't reach anybody by a phone number indicated on a job flyer. Adriana, as well, called to have some additional information about an opening, but did not receive a response back:

They just asked me where I found information about this job opening. I said that I received a flyer at Vineyard Estates. They never called me back.

There are also no public assistance or computer facilities offered at the development. On the other hand, HUD's public housing across the street, the Foothills Village Apartments, provides computer facilities, free internet access and unemployment assistance (see Figure 17), child care and day recreation facilities, as well as a language course for adults. However, there is little awareness among residents at Vineyard Estates about these services, and none of the interviewed residents had ever been there to use them.



*Figure 17.* Computer facilities at the public housing development, Foothills Village Apartment (March 2013)

Overall, despite that interaction occurring among residents of Vineyard Estates is mostly casual, existing networks established among people do offer support, exchanges of information and resources. Exchanges within Vineyard Estates occur mostly among people with similar socioeconomic situations and include information about job openings, public assistance, and schooling. Also, residents can leverage through accepting help with baby-sitting and transportation.

***Role models.*** The evidence from the study showed that there is little or no positive effect from role modeling and imposing norms of higher-income people on residents' behavior and safety in the community. Interaction within Vineyard Estates is limited and occurs mostly among people of a similar socioeconomic status. Problematic behavior mentioned by residents during the interviews and racial prejudice found within the development can explain people's isolation from the community. It may explain why a positive effect of role models through direct contacts among higher- and lower-income residents and also each other's observations is unlikely. Lack of interaction across income groups reduces chances to be positively influenced by others in the community.

Brian's and Jessica's opinions showed that the Vineyard Estates' community lacks role models, and this affects children, who "...learn from what they observe, particularly from their parents, if they are not exposed to other positive role models." Jessica expanded on children's negative behavior and attributed it to the lack of activities and supervision:

They [children] have no place to go and have nothing to do. If they would offer one apartment to arrange space for afterschool activities, we could find some people with teaching experience to supervise children.

It is inconclusive to what extent informally established norms of people with a higher socioeconomic status can be effective. It was not noticed that any rules of better off people were embedded in the community life. There were also no voluntary associations that would bring people to discuss questions related to the community.

Also, people's behavior can be informally regulated by management. As reported by residents, the developer and property staff do not manage to keep the community in order. For example, Gabby claimed that the management's enterprise to "install cameras on each floor" would improve "surveillance" of the development and increase safety and order. Jessica also referred to good management, community events and strictness of entry policy in the public housing as positively influencing the community. On the other hand, she claimed that evicting policies at Vineyard Estates are unreasonably strict toward disadvantaged residents:

Here, at Vineyard Estates, they are quick to evict without giving people a chance, even a warning...

*Other mixed-income housing factors.* The built environment and neighborhood are external factors that indirectly influence residents' economic and educational situations. Considering differences in life situations, there were two common factors that brought people to Vineyard Estates —location and price. Taking into account that most of the interviewed people lived in rental housing in South Phoenix in neighborhoods not far away from Vineyard Estates, we can assume that Vineyard Estates offered similar or relatively better living conditions to its residents. Nevertheless, people still had concerns about the quality of the current housing and crime in the area. This can be explained by residents' expectations of a better and safer environment from the current housing and neighborhood, which could facilitate a transition for them and their children to better life opportunities.

As noticed before, people were guided by different considerations when moving to Vineyard Estates or remaining there for a long period of time. Despite the dissatisfaction with safety and quality of the built environment, proximity of Vineyard Estates to work, families and friends played a significant role in their decision to live there. Jessica had lived in Vineyard Estates for ten years, as she was a teacher in the Roosevelt school district before she retired; also, her family settled not far away from the development. Gabby pointed out that it was convenient to live at Vineyard Estates, as it was “close to [her] child's babysitter.” Also, Adriana did not want to move from Vineyard Estates, as she found living close to her parents to be convenient.

Vineyard Estates was attractive to some people because of the location and to others because of the balance of price and quality. Four residents used to rent single-



family homes or live in public housing before. They admitted that it was not that expensive to rent at Vineyard Estates compared to single-family homes, where utilities costs and HOA fees were high. Eligible residents, who had incomes less than 60 percent of the median income, could rent an apartment for a price not exceeding 30 percent of their monthly income. Survey respondents who lived in subsidized apartments paid no more than \$750-800 monthly for their three- and four-bedroom apartments. Similar market-rate apartments could be rented for 50 percent more. Also, apartments were more spacious for affordable prices. For example, Brian and Gabby left houses and moved to Vineyard Estates, because they found prices more affordable. Helen, in her turn, used to live in public housing and was satisfied with the spaciousness and cost of her current apartment. Adriana, a recipient of a Section 8 voucher, had to cover only utilities and found it supportive in her current unemployment situation. Sophia moved from Mesa to a larger and cheaper apartment. They all acknowledged that Vineyard Estates offered more affordable apartments over other developments.

**Constraints to upward social mobility.** The study found no evidence that factors identified by the literature as facilitating upward social mobility of low-income residents through interaction actually translated into positive socioeconomic individual outcomes. It was noticed that information exchange among people, role models and the built environment were barely instrumental in fostering economic and educational improvements of residents at Vineyard Estates. Changes in economic situation were affected by education opportunities, health and accessibility of public assistance and other resources.

Improvements in employment situation require a certain level of education, professional skills, work experience and stable health. Employment situations of the interviewed residents can be characterized by continuous unemployment, temporary or permanent low-wage jobs maintained over the years. No significant improvements in employment or income gains were tracked in residents' stories. For example, Emma has been employed for years in service industries and experienced little changes in her employment situation, except those connected to her life circumstances. She worked at Taco Bell, Circle K and then Big Lots during a period of five years; currently she seeks temporary jobs through a temporary agency. Sophia and her fiancé, as well as Lauren have been unemployed for years and receive public benefits.

As mentioned, limited chances of getting a better education is a principle barrier to individual economic improvements. From the interviews, it became obvious that acquiring better education or professional skills are at the root of residents' intentions and concerns. Six out of nine interviewees brought up the topic of education and their intention to improve education in the future. Helen shared her plans to attend real estate training courses in order to start her own business. Emma did not finish high school, and she wishes she could go back to school and become a pediatrician. Betty was acquiring her GED, but stopped when she was fired. Gabby plans on going back to school, taking the GMAT and looking for a better job afterwards. Also, Jessica addressed the topic of education as a precursor to economic improvements and alluded to the importance of adequate access to information and resources for those who are in need:

People need help from the very beginning. ... They don't know how to read, but will never tell anybody about it, will never ask for help. This is the starting point of the problem...

Obstacles to acquiring better education can be connected to a chain of factors, such as lack of financial support, health assistance, and limited access to child care and other resources. Emma's intentions to continue education were cut off by her responsibilities for three children and sustaining a family. She thought that "going to school would be a good option" and referred to her husband's encouragement to "find a part time job and go back to school, but... [she didn't know] how to manage all this ...". Betty, a single mother of eight children, couldn't complete her general education because of her responsibility for children. Adriana also has been limited in her educational and work opportunities, while being a single mother of four children and having very limited financial resources to pay for housing and child care.

Health issues are another barrier to becoming permanently employed and maintaining a job. Further, health can be an underlying cause of losing a job and becoming permanently dependent on public assistance. Health can become not only a serious barrier toward improvements, but also a cause of further moving down the social ladder. There are a few cases demonstrating how health problems could alter residents' life situations from bad to even worse. Helen was among those who became unemployed due to her illness. While all of her three children had mental disorders, she also became limited in her mobility and working capacity as a consequence of frequent asthma

attacks. For Sophia, it also has been unrealistic to become employed and get out of public assistance, because she has to take care of her mentally ill son.

As a starting point, the opportunities of low-income people are tightly connected to the accessibility of basic information and resources. Accessible transportation is of significant importance in job seeking and maintaining employment. While the development is served by the two bus routes, residents who do not own vehicles are limited in their mobility. The case of Emma demonstrated residents' appreciation for help with transportation when they are in need. It is also obvious that support with child care is important for residents, when they are looking for employment opportunities.

Lastly, given all of the above mentioned cases and other factors influencing residents' chances of becoming better off, accessibility of supportive services and public assistance is vital to low-income residents. People lack basic computer, language and job seeking skills. Their intentions to attain better employment are also not always supported with enough competence to comply with work requirements. During my conversations with Betty and Adriana, they both shared how difficult it is to find a job without access to computers and the internet. Jessica as well had her vision of the problem:

There are no computers and supportive facilities at Vineyard Estates. Residents don't know even where these facilities can be found and how to get access to basic information...

The study demonstrated the importance for low-income residents, especially those relocated from public housing, to have access to assistance and public services on-site or in close proximity. Resenting the lack of assistance provided at Vineyard Estates, Jessica

made a comparison with the Foothills Village Apartments public housing, which offers health checks and children lunch programs, as well as computer facilities, training and language courses. She demonstrated her awareness of other places in the area, where residents could have access to computers, English classes for adults, and unemployment assistance.

The findings from the case study suggested that factors identified in the literature as facilitating upward social mobility of low-income people did not lead to positive social and economic outcomes of residents. Other fundamental factors rather than expansion of social networks and the quality of housing shape individual outcomes. Activation of exchanged information and favors is constrained with conditions of perpetuating disadvantage. Such findings can become an impetus to reconsideration of public policy, and mixed-income housing policy in particular.

## Chapter 4

### **CONCLUSION**

The study findings do not show that social interaction is associated with upward social mobility of mixed-income housing residents. As a result, the null hypothesis that living in mixed-income housing does not lead to upward social mobility through mixed-income interaction cannot be rejected. This chapter summarizes the findings about interaction among residents in Vineyard Estates and factors influencing interaction. It also describes whether living in the mixed-income development facilitates positive economic changes of the poor, and constraints to upward social mobility justified by the case study. The chapter also discusses barriers to achieving upward social mobility from a broader perspective. Finally, I conclude with theory and policy implications.

### **SOCIAL INTERACTIONS AND LEVERAGING: OPPORTUNITIES AND BARRIERS**

The study of Vineyard Estates demonstrated that, although residents' interaction within the development exists, instrumental and leveraging interactions are quite limited. The most common interactions among residents are casual. Instrumental interactions take place predominantly between people with similar socioeconomic situations. While interactions of residents incorporate recognition of each other's needs, and support and exchanges of resources, they rarely allow residents to leverage. I assume that limited leverage from interaction can be explained by the lack of interaction across income groups, limited resources that can be exchanged as part of the existing interactions, and

mismatch between exchanged resources and information and actual residents' needs and opportunities.

Limited across-income interaction can be connected to stigma and residents' negative perceptions of the community. Regardless of duration of living in the development, the current housing was perceived by residents as temporary. It can be connected to people's recognition of their differences from others, unwillingness to associate themselves with the community, which resulted in isolation and limited interaction. As noticed, residents had negative perceptions of the development and the neighborhood, expressed safety concerns and dissatisfaction with "disorder" in the community, and were unhappy about others' behavior. A few residents referred to the lack of parenting and supervision over children. Problematic behavior and unemployment was also perceived by residents as part of racial and cultural differences. Overall, by unwillingness to belong to the community and considering their current housing as part of their temporary life situations, residents demonstrated their hopes for positive change.

As mentioned above, interactions in Vineyard Estates occurred predominantly among residents with similar socioeconomic situations. It was also noted that there were no significant differences between residents from market-rate and subsidized apartments. Their situations can be characterized by low-waged employment, temporary jobs or unemployment, dependency on public benefits, single parenting, and lack of financial opportunities to sustain their families.

Although interactions within established relationships can be supportive and incorporate exchanges of information and resources, they rarely offer opportunities for

residents to leverage. While I found that residents interacted mostly with people like themselves, recognized each other's needs, gave each other support and shared information and resources they had, people did not have much to offer. Unstable employment, limited financial and time resources restrained their capability of sharing with others.

While there are single instances when exchanged information between residents with similar socioeconomic situations was helpful, most frequently information offered by people to each other barely could be used. Leveraging from these exchanges was restrained by a mismatch between exchanged information and skills, time, family and health situations. For instance, information regarding employment may not be used, and employment opportunities are limited due to responsibilities for child care. Also, instability of employment and the lack of financial resources to sustain their families can significantly restrict residents in acquiring education or professional skills. I found from the study that shared information and resources available to low-income people in Vineyard Estates can help them “get by”, but are unlikely to be useful for “getting ahead.”

Due to limited interactions and, hence, lack of support and leveraging, external social networks remain important to residents. They rely on their social ties with relatives, friends and associates in acquiring help and information. Strong external ties, in their turn, can play a role in limiting interaction with other people within the development.



## **THE BURDEN OF POVERTY**

The literature suggests that chances of upward social mobility of the poor can be expanded through social interaction with higher-income residents. However, the case of Vineyard Estates questioned the rationales of mixed-income housing policy. The study did not provide evidence that social relations with more affluent neighbors and role models of higher-income residents are instrumental in facilitating low-income people's mobility up the social ladder.

Propositions that mixed-income housing can facilitate upward mobility of the poor through interactions with more affluent residents can be questioned. First, upward social mobility of low-income people through expansion of social networks with more affluent neighbors is constrained by other fundamental factors. Given limited interaction across income groups in Vineyard Estates, it would be possible to connect the lack of positive employment changes of low-income residents to limited access to useful information and resources. However, the constraint to becoming better off is not just in the limited access to information, but is in the disadvantage of life situations of the poor. In other words, socioeconomic conditions of low-income residents block the attempts made by people to get ahead.

The stories of residents of Vineyard Estates demonstrated their awareness of what had to be undertaken towards the better future, and their efforts to do so in order to become better off. Social networks and information cannot be instrumental in generating positive results per se, if they do not complement opportunities and do not fit the existing conditions of change. Unemployed single mothers with no access to child care, residents

who had lost jobs and had been continuously seeking opportunities of temporary employment, immigrant families without residence and permission to work, people burdened by health problems – all those people lacked security and an opportunity to become better off. The expansion of social networks, regardless of their types, and provided information and resources cannot be meaningful unless life situations are favorable towards positive changes.

Second, the proposition that role models and behavioral norms established by more affluent neighbors encourage lower-income people to undertake the right step towards an opportunity can also be questioned. People's chances of upward mobility are not restrained by their behavior, but the lack of conditions conducive to improvements. I cannot deny that interpersonal relations of people with different socioeconomic situations can result in positive outcomes of lower-income people in individual cases. For example, it happens when relationships offer constructive help regarding health, education, child care, and finance-related matters. However, the application of a behavioral model of higher-income people in a different context seems to be artificially imposed. Residents of Vineyard Estates were experiencing hardship of insecure employment and difficulties of sustaining their households. They did not lack consideration and intention of seeking better opportunities that potential role models would supposedly bring about. They were currently unemployed or temporarily employed and searching for better jobs and educational opportunities. They had families and children attending school. They made efforts to make their homes better and organize activities for their children. They feared

crime and disliked drama. The significance of role modeling and informal imposition of rules and norms need to be justified.

Furthermore, the assumption that living in mixed-income housing expands economic life chances through providing better access to resources has to be discussed as well. The case of Vineyard Estates provided no justification that the needs and interests of low-income people would be reflected in advocacy for better resources by more affluent residents. The development is privately managed and receives tax credits from the state, but has no basic facilities, public assistance or connections with public institutions in order to assist low-income people. The poor carry their personal responsibility for economic outcomes and overcoming hardships they encounter. Also, the provision of services can be a temporary fix to the problem, or helping people get by. The resources and assistance available in the neighborhood (e.g. computers, job advertisements, ESL programs, and food programs) do not play a constructive, but rather a sustaining role in the low-income residents' lives.

Finally, I conclude that chances of upward social mobility are shaped by structural political and economic conditions rather than expansion of networks and exposure to role models. In other words, I refer to the statement that the poor do not necessarily lack knowledge of how to get ahead, but rather lack the opportunity to do so. This will be explained in more details further.

## **THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS**

The existing theoretical assumption at the foundation of mixed-income policy is based on the idea that poverty conditions are shaped by social isolation and a loss of mainstream values, norms and resources. Spatial concentrations of poverty perpetuate its negative social and economic outcomes and, hence, limit people's chances of upward mobility. Mixed-income housing policy became a spatial treatment of concentrated poverty founded on the notion that the poor can increase their social capital through interaction with the better off and, hence, expand their chances of upward mobility.

Mixed-income housing became a manifestation of the shift from the state protection of the poor to individual responsibility for well-being. The current housing policy no longer focuses on providing institutional support to lower-income people. While the role of public institutions is diminished, individuals are given a choice of seeking opportunities in the social capital of higher-income people and resources of lower-poverty neighborhoods. The stories of residents of Vineyard Estates revealed individual attempts of coping with the current conditions and the lack of support from outside. As David Harvey would describe, residents' "[p]ersonal failure is generally attributed to personal failings..." (2005, p. 76).

Mixed-income housing can be seen also as a reflection of the shift to the mechanism of informal social control by imbedding the principles of self-responsibility and discipline into people's lives. These principles are found in the idea of income mix and its focus on individual progress facilitated by role models of the more affluent,

recognition of responsibility for well-being, and compliance with informally established norms.

Rethinking mixed-income housing as a strategy to alleviate poverty requires reconsidering the causes of poverty from a broader perspective. While in the literature we can find the cultural explanation of poverty, the case of Vineyard Estates exemplifies another perspective. It depicts structural insecurity of vulnerable population groups that have evolved in the light of current political and economic conditions. Change in wage-labor relationships together with the state's retrenchment of welfare undermined security of those down the social ladder. The disadvantage in a form of prolonged unemployment or unstable temporary jobs was echoed in the situations faced by residents in the development.

The rationales of mixed-income housing are undermined by the proposition that insecurity faced by low-income people restrains their chances to become better off. Ideologically, these rationales are geared to fostering a motion towards a trigger point in low-income people's socioeconomic situations, when a certain level of security can be reached and maintained (refer to Figure 18). Once it is reached, opportunities of moving up the social ladder are likely to be found and activated. In other words, relative security indicated by permanent employment, incomes sufficient to sustain a household, better education and a set of professional skills, and stable health becomes a precursor to further improvements. In reality, this trigger point is unlikely to be reached under the pressure of a structurally shaped disadvantage. This process is held back by long-term unemployment, health disadvantages, inadequate access to child care and education.

Also, stigma in the community, prejudices and negative attitudes of more affluent residents towards lower-income people can undermine potential chances of improvement of the poor. The divergence of anticipated upward mobility and actual outcomes of the poor is related to the gap created as a result of the devolution of the welfare state and reduction of social provisions, health care, cuts on public education, and insecurity of employment. This gap does not seem to be successfully filled by individual efforts.

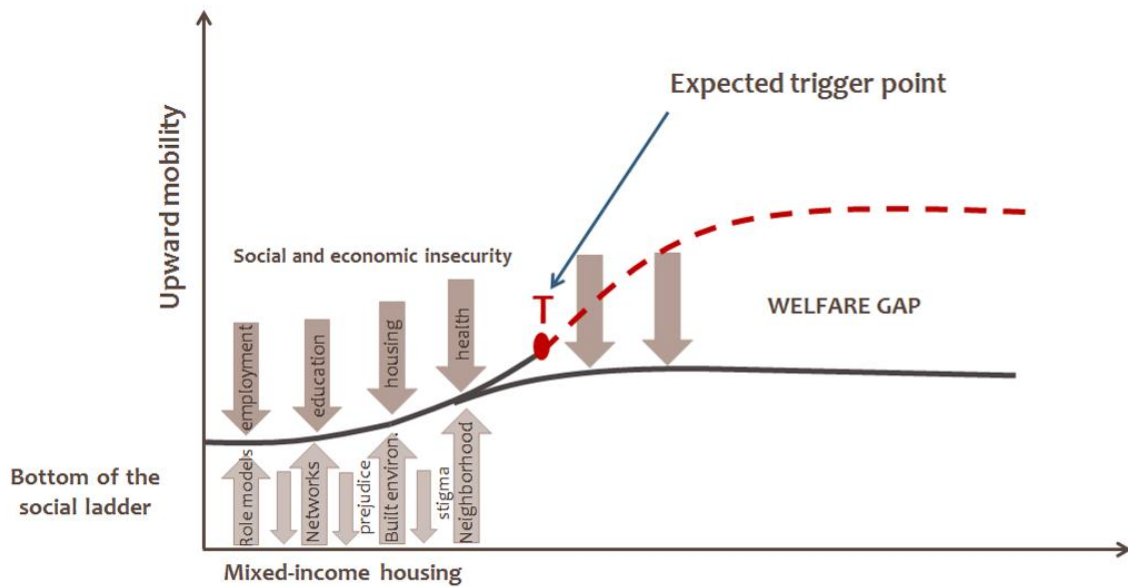


Figure 18. Theoretical implications: mixed-income housing and structural explanation of poverty

### **FURTHER DIRECTIONS: POLICY AND PRACTICE IMPLICATIONS**

The theoretical implications of the case study connect to the explanation of conditions restraining opportunities of upward social mobility. They refer to the role of the state and the shift of political and economic directions. The principle question in our discussion is how strong is the relation of spatial concentration of poverty and social and economic problems. Raising this question contributes to reevaluating the effectiveness of

mixed-income housing policy in addressing poverty and facilitating upward social mobility of low-income people.

As long as the current housing policy focuses on facilitating upward mobility of lower-income people, it also has to address the barriers to improvements of low-income people. The evidence shows that demolition of public housing and relocation of residents to lower-poverty areas does not lead to their upward mobility and, in some cases, even generates worse outcomes. Policy makers need to be aware that relocation to mixed-income housing can lead to interruption of the existing ties that people rely on and a loss of consolidation of the poor and recognition of their hardship. Thus, policy recommendations should focus on ensuring adequate access of low-income people to social services and public institutions, transportation, schools and employment opportunities. Also, it would be reasonable to strengthen regulations over implementation of housing projects in order to ensure an adequate replacement rule and the provision of relocation assistance.

Also, while addressing the needs of the poor, it may be reasonable to return to the question of institutional support in order to assist low-income people. The linkages between different entities (municipalities, housing authorities, developers, service providers and public institutions), and housing, educational, health and employment programs should be made and maintained. The connection of public and private institutions in the provision of housing and ensuring conditions that are conducive to improvements may facilitate positive change.

Mixed-income policy incorporated a non-economic approach to addressing structurally shaped and reinforced poverty conditions. Substitution of access to economic resources by social networks and role models is not likely to be efficient. The social aspect of this approach should not be rejected, but should complement the economic foundation of mobility. In other words, returning to the theoretical implications, low-income people may leverage from income and social mix once a certain security is reached. In terms of long-term policy implications, I would suggest reevaluation of public policy accents: reconsidering the federal policy approach of anchoring the market mechanisms in providing affordable housing, and financial and regulatory aspects of the housing policy.



## REFERENCES

- Rio Montana Area Plan*. (2000, March 9). Retrieved from The City of Phoenix official web site:  
[http://phoenix.gov/webcms/groups/internet/@inter/@dept/@dsd/documents/web\\_content/pdd\\_pz\\_pdf\\_00145.pdf](http://phoenix.gov/webcms/groups/internet/@inter/@dept/@dsd/documents/web_content/pdd_pz_pdf_00145.pdf)
- U.S. Census*. (2010). Retrieved from American FactFinder:  
<http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/searchresults.xhtml?refresh=t>
- Uniform Crime Reporting*. (2011, March 1). Retrieved from City of Phoenix Police Department: <http://phoenix.gov/police/cristal.html>
- Arizona Department of Education*. (2012, March 10). Retrieved from AZ.GOV:  
<http://www.azed.gov/>
- City of Phoenix News*. (2013, March 10). Retrieved from City of Phoenix:  
<http://phoenix.gov/news/052411hudaward.html>
- HUD USER GIS Maps. (2013, March 20). HUD USER. Retrieved 2013, from  
<http://209.48.228.153/qctmap.html#>
- LIHTC Projects 1987-2011*. (2013, March 10). Retrieved from ADOH:  
[http://new.azhousing.gov/azcms/uploads/RENTAL%20APPLICATIONS/LIHTC/Tax\\_Credit\\_Projects\\_1987\\_Current.pdf](http://new.azhousing.gov/azcms/uploads/RENTAL%20APPLICATIONS/LIHTC/Tax_Credit_Projects_1987_Current.pdf)
- Qualified Census Tracts and Difficult Development Areas*. (2013, March 10). Retrieved from HUD.GOV: <http://www.huduser.org/portal/datasets/qct/dda2000.html>
- Atkinson-Palombo, C. (2010). New housing construction in Phoenix: Evidence of “new suburbanism”? *Cities*, 27, pp. 77–86.
- Bolin, B., Grineski, S., & Collins, T. (2005). The Geography of Despair: Environmental Racism and the Making of South Phoenix, Arizona, USA. *Human Ecology Review*, 12(2), pp. 156-168.
- Briggs, X. (1997). Moving Up versus Moving Out: Neighborhood Effects in Housing Mobility Programs. *Housing Policy Debate*, 9(1), pp. 195-234.
- Briggs, X. (1998). Brown Kids in White Suburbs: Housing Mobility and the Many Faces of Social Capital. *Housing Policy Debate*, 9(1), pp. 177-221.
- Chaskin, R., & Joseph, M. (2011). Social Interaction in Mixed-Income Developments: Relational Expectations and Emerging Reality. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 33(2), pp. 209–237.

- Chaskin, R., Joseph, M., & Voelker, S. (2009). *The Nature of Social Interaction in Mixed-Income Developments*. Chicago: The University of Chicago.
- Cheshire, P. (2007). *Segregated neighborhoods and mixed communities*. London: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Clampet-Lundquist, S. (2004). HOPE VI Relocation: Moving to New Neighborhoods and Building New Ties. *Housing Policy Debate*, 5(2), pp. 415-447.
- Curley, A. (2005). Theories of Urban Poverty and Implications for Public Housing Policy. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, XXXII(2), pp. 97-118.
- Curley, A. (2009). Draining or gaining? The social networks of public housing movers in Boston. *Journal of Personal and Social Relationships*, 26(2-3), pp.227-247.
- Curley, A. (2010a). HOPE VI—a viable strategy for improving neighborhood conditions and resident self-sufficiency? The case of Maverick Gardens in Boston. *Housing Policy Debate*, 20(2), pp. 237–294.
- Curley, A. (2010b). Neighborhood Institutions, Facilities, and Public Space: A Missing Link for HOPE VI Residents’ Development of Social Capital? *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research*, 12(1), pp. 33-63.
- Florida, R., & Feldman, M. (1986). Housing in US Fordism. *Annual Meetings of the Regional Science Association*, pp. 188-210. Columbus.
- Goetz, E. (2003). Housing Dispersal Programs. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 18(3), pp. 4-16.
- Goetz, E. (2010). Better Neighborhoods, Better Outcomes? Explaining Relocation Outcomes in HOPE VI. *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research*, 12(1), pp. 5-31.
- Granovetter, M. (1983). The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited. *Sociological Theory*, 1, pp. 201-233.
- Greenbaum, S. (2008). Poverty and the Willful Destruction of Social Capital: Displacement and Dispossession in African American Communities. *Rethinking Marxism: A Journal of Economics, Culture & Society*, 20(1), pp. 42-54.
- Hackworth, J. (2003). Public housing and the rescaling of regulation in the USA. *Environment and Planning*, 35, pp. 531-549.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Joseph, M. L. (2008). Early Resident Experiences at a New Mixed-Income Development in Chicago. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 30(3), pp. 229–257.
- Joseph, M. L., Chaskin, R., & Webber, H. S. (2007). The Theoretical Basis for Addressing Poverty through Mixed-Income Development. *Urban Affairs Review*, 42, pp. 369-409.
- Kleit, R. G. (2005). HOPE VI new communities: neighborhood relationships in mixed-income housing. *Environment and Planning*, 37, pp. 1413 - 1441.
- Kleit, R., & Carnegie, N. (2011). Integrated or isolated? The impact of public housing redevelopment. *Social Networks*, 33(2), pp. 152–165.
- Levy, D., & Woolley, M. (2007, June). *Relocation Is Not Enough. Employment Barriers among HOPE VI Families*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- Marcuse, P. (2007). Putting space in its place, City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action. *City*, 11(3), pp. 378-383.
- Marcuse, P., & Keating, W. (2006). The Permanent Housing Crisis: The Failures of Conservatism and the Limitations of Liberalism. In M. E. Rachel G. Bratt, *A Right to Housing: Foundation for a New Social Agenda*, pp. 139-162. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Oreopoulos, P. (2003, November). The Long-Term Consequences of Living in a Poor Neighborhood. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, pp. 1533-1575.
- Popkin, S., Levy, D. K., Harris, L. E., Comey, J., & Cunningham, M. K. (2004). The HOPE VI Program: What about Residents? *Housing Policy Debate*, 15(2), pp. 385-414.
- Rosenbaum, J. E. (1995). Changing the Geography of Opportunity by Expanding Residential Choice: Lessons from Gautreaux Program. *Housing Policy Debate*, 6(1), pp. 231-269.
- Rosenbaum, J. E., Stroh, L. K., & Flynn, C. A. (1998). Lake Parc Place: A Study of Mixed-Income Housing. *Housing Policy Debate*, 8(4), 703-740.
- Ross, A. (2011). *Bird on Fire. Lessons from the World's Least Sustainable City*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc.
- Smith, A. (2002). *Mixed-Income Housing Developments: Promise and Reality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Joint Center on Housing Studies.
- Wacquant, L. (2010). Crafting the Neoliberal State: Workfare, Prisonfare, and Social Insecurity. *Sociological Forum*, 25(2), 197-219.

- Wilson, W. (1996). *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*.
- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. SAGE Publications.
- Ziersch, A., & Arthurson, K. (2005). Social networks in public and community housing: the impact on employment outcomes. *Urban Policy and Research*, 23(4), pp. 429-445.

APPENDIX A  
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

**To:** Nabil Kamel  
AED

**From:** Mark Roosa, Chair *MR*  
Soc Beh IRB

**Date:** 11/21/2012

**Committee Action:** **Exemption Granted**

**IRB Action Date:** 11/21/2012

**IRB Protocol #:** 1211008550

**Study Title:** How Living in Mixed-Income Housing Affects Upward Social Mobility of Low-Income Residents.  
Case Study: Vineyard Estates, Phoenix, AZ

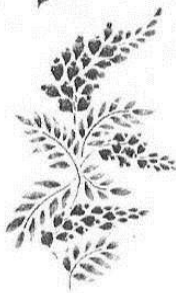
The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.

APPENDIX B

MAP OF VINEYARD ESTATES AND DISTRIBUTION OF UNITS



# VINEYARD ESTATES

915 W Alta Vista Rd  
Phoenix, AZ 85041  
(602) 268-5400  
(602) 268-8934

1037	1038	1041	1042
2038	2041	2044	
3033	3041	3044	
1039	1040		
2039	2040		
3039	3040		
2037	3039	3040	2042

Building 7

1031	1032	1035	1036
2032	2035	2038	
3032	3035	3038	
1033	1034		
2033	2034		
3033	3034		
2031	3033	3034	2036

Building 6

1025	1026	1028	1030
2026	2028	2029	
3026	3028	3029	
1027	1028		
2027	2028		
3027	3028		
2025	3027	3028	2030

Building 5

1019	1020	1023	1024
2020	2023		
3020	3023		
1021	1022		
2021	2022		
3021	3022		
2019	3021	3022	2024

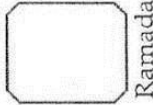
Building 4

1054	1057	1051	1049
2054	2057	2051	
3053	3051	3051	
1053	1050		
2053	2050		
3053	3050		
2049	3053	3050	2049

Building 9

1012	1010	1003	1007
2012	2010	2003	
3011	3003	3003	
1011	1009		
2011	2009		
3011	3009		
2012	3011	3009	2007

Building 2



Ramada

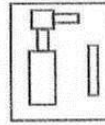


Pool

1048	1046	1042	1043
2048	2046	2045	
3048	3046	3045	
1047	1044		
2047	2044		
3047	3044		
2048	3047	3044	2043

Building 8

Office	Laundry Room
--------	--------------



Playground

1006	1004	1003	1001
2004	2003	2003	
3004	3003	3003	
1005	1002		
2005	2002		
3005	3002		
2006	3005	3002	2001

Building 1

1018	1014	1016	1013
2018	2014	2014	
3016	3015	3015	
1017	1014		
2017	2014		
3017	3014		
2018	3017	3014	2013

Building 3

7th Avenue

Alta Vista Road



Vineyard Estates  
Revised 11/12/2012

**Vineyard Estates**

Bldg #1 AZ-00-00177			Bldg #2 AZ-00-00178			Bldg #3 AZ-00-00179			Bldg #4 AZ-00-00180			Bldg #5 AZ-00-00181		
Unit #	Size	Set Aside	Unit #	Size	Set Aside	Unit #	Size	Set Aside	Unit #	Size	Set Aside	Unit #	Size	Set Aside
1001	3X2	MKT	1007	3X2	MKT	1013	4X2	MKT	1019	4X2	60%	1025	4X2	MKT
1002	3X2	50%	1008	3X2	MKT	1014	2X2	50%	1020	2X2	MKT	1026	2X2	40%
1003	3X2	MKT	1009	3X2	MKT	1015	2X2	MKT	1021	2X2	MKT	1027	2X2	MKT
1004	3X2	MKT	1010	3X2	MKT	1016	2X2	MKT	1022	2X2	50%	1028	2X2	40%
1005	3X2	50% Home	1011	3X2	50%	1017	2X2	40%	1023	2X2	50%	1029	2X2	60%
1006	3X2	50%	1012	3X2	50%	1018	4X2	MKT	1024	4X2	MKT	1030	4X2	MKT
2001	3X2	MKT	2007	3X2	MKT	2013	4X2	MKT	2019	4X2	60%	2025	4X2	50%
2002	3X2	MKT	2008	3X2	50%	2014	2X2	50%	2020	2X2	MKT	2026	2X2	50%
2003	3X2	MKT	2009	3X2	MKT	2015	2X2	50%	2021	2X2	MKT	2027	2X2	MKT
2004	3X2	50%	2010	3X2	MKT	2016	2X2	50%	2022	2X2	50%	2028	2X2	50%
2005	3X2	50%	2011	3X2	MKT	2017	2X2	50%	2023	2X2	MKT	2029	2X2	MKT
2006	3X2	MKT	2012	3X2	50%	2018	4X2	MKT	2024	4X2	MKT	2030	4X2	MKT
3002	3X2	50%	3008	3X2	50%	3014	2X2	MKT	3020	2X2	50%	3026	2X2	MKT
3003	3X2	50%	3009	3X2	40%	3015	2X2	50%	3021	2X2	MKT	3027	2X2	50% Home
3004	3X2	50% Home	3010	3X2	50%	3016	2X2	MKT	3022	2X2	50%	3028	2X2	50%
3005	3X2	MKT	3011	3X2	50%	3017	2X2	50%	3023	2X2	50%	3029	2X2	50% Home

72-MKT  
7- 40%  
58- 50%  
7- 60%  
HOME Required  
3 (2br) 50% Low  
2 (3br) 50% Low

Bldg #6 AZ-00-00182			Bldg #7 AZ-00-00183			Bldg #8 AZ-00-00184			Bldg #9 AZ00-00185		
Unit #	Size	Set Aside	Unit #	Size	Set Aside	Unit #	Size	Set Aside	Unit #	Size	Set Aside
1031	4X2	MKT	1037	4X2	MKT	1043	3X2	MKT	1049	3X2	MKT
1032	2X2	50% Home	1038	2X2	50%	1044	3X2	MKT	1050	3X2	MKT
1033	2X2	MKT	1039	2X2	40%	1045	3X2	50%	1051	3X2	50%
1034	2X2	50%	1040	2X2	MKT	1046	3X2	MKT	1052	3X2	MKT
1035	2X2	40%	1041	2X2	MKT	1047	3X2	MKT	1053	3X2	MKT
1036	4X2	MKT	1042	4X2	MKT	1048	3X2	MKT	1054	3X2	MKT
2031	4X2	MKT	2037	4X2	60%	2043	3X2	MKT	2049	3X2	MKT
2032	2X2	MKT	2038	2X2	50%	2044	3X2	50%	2050	3X2	50%
2033	2X2	50%	2039	2X2	MKT	2045	3X2	50%	2051	3X2	MKT
2034	2X2	50%	2040	2X2	50%	2046	3X2	50%	2052	3X2	50%
2035	2X2	MKT	2041	2X2	50%	2047	3X2	MKT	2053	3X2	MKT
2036	4X2	MKT	2042	4X2	MKT	2048	3X2	50%	2054	3X2	50%
3032	2X2	60%	3038	2X2	MKT	3044	3X2	50%	3050	3X2	50%
3033	2X2	50%	3039	2X2	50%	3045	3X2	60%	3051	3X2	60%
3034	2X2	50%	3040	2X2	40%	3046	3X2	50%	3052	3X2	50%
3035	2X2	MKT	3041	2X2	MKT	3047	3X2	MKT	3053	3X2	MKT

Note: MKT-market-rate units, 40%, 50% and 60% - subsidized units for households earning no more than 40, 50 or 60% of median income

APPENDIX C  
SURVEY INSTRUMENT

**Interviewer's contacts:**

Aleksandra Durova  
[adurova@asu.edu](mailto:adurova@asu.edu)

Planning

Cell phone: (480) 395-1980

**Institution:**

Arizona State University  
School of Geographical Sciences and Urban

(480) 965-7533

**RESIDENT SURVEY  
VINEYARD ESTATES**

Hello,

My name is Aleksandra Durova, and I am working on my master's thesis at Arizona State University. The thesis examines interaction among residents within Vineyard Estates and whether these relationships affect employment. I hope that this information will be used to support community building and employment assistance efforts in developments like Vineyard Estates.

I currently am conducting a survey about Phoenix residents' engagement in their community and employment changes. Your participation in the survey is voluntary, and all information is confidential. I will not be using real names or any identifying information in my reports. You must be at least 18 years old in order to complete the survey. The survey should take no more than 10 minutes to complete. I am providing the survey in English and Spanish. Please select the language and fill it in. Once you are finished, please mail the survey using the stamped envelope provided.

As thanks for your participation, I will have a random drawing of four \$25 prizes for completed surveys. If you would like to participate in the drawing, please provide your contact information at the end of the survey and return it by the 14<sup>th</sup> of December in the envelope provided.

I am also looking to talk to people in person about their experiences living in Vineyard Estates. Please check the box at the end of the survey, if you would be willing to speak with me.

If you have any questions and concerns in the future, please feel free to contact me.

If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this survey, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

Thank you in advance for your participation

Sincerely,

Aleksandra Durova

**Información de contacto:**

Aleksandra Durova  
[adurova@asu.edu](mailto:adurova@asu.edu)  
Urbana

Teléfono celular: (480) 395-1980

**Institución:**

Universidad Estatal de Arizona  
Escuela de Ciencias Geográficas y Planificación

(480) 965-7533

**ENCUESTA DE RESIDENTES****VINEYARD ESTATES**

Hola,

Mi nombre es Aleksandra Durova, y estoy trabajando en mi tesis de maestría en la Universidad Estatal de Arizona (ASU). La tesis estudia la interacción entre los residentes de Vineyard Estates y el efecto que estas relaciones tienen en el empleo. Espero que esta información sea utilizada para fomentar los lazos en la comunidad y en esfuerzos para apoyar el empleo en desarrollos habitacionales como Vineyard Estates.

Actualmente estoy llevando a cabo una encuesta sobre el compromiso de los residentes de Phoenix en su comunidad y los cambios en el empleo. Su participación en la encuesta es voluntaria, y toda información de contacto será confidencial. En los informes no se usarán nombres reales o ningún tipo de información que pueda identificar al participante. Usted debe tener al menos 18 años para participar en la encuesta. La encuesta no debería tomar más de 10 minutos. Hago entrega de la encuesta en inglés y español. Por favor seleccione el idioma que le sea más fácil y complete el cuestionario. Una vez que haya terminado, favor envíe por correo la encuesta utilizando el sobre y la estampilla postal que le han sido proporcionados.

Como agradecimiento por su participación, para todas las encuestas que hayan sido completadas, llevaré a cabo un sorteo de cuatro premios de \$25 cada uno. Si desea participar en este sorteo, favor de proporcionar su información de contacto al final de la encuesta y enviarla antes del 14 de Diciembre.

Adicionalmente, me gustaría hablar en persona con algunos de los encuestados sobre sus experiencias viviendo en Vineyard Estates. Por favor marque la casilla al final de la encuesta si usted desea ser parte de los entrevistados. Si tiene alguna pregunta o comentario, por favor no dude en contactarme con toda confianza.

Si tiene alguna pregunta acerca de sus derechos como participante en esta encuesta, o si usted siente que ha sido puesto en riesgo, puede comunicarse con el Presidente de la Junta de Revisión Institucional para Sujetos Humanos, a través de la Oficina de Integridad y Seguridad de la Investigación de ASU, al número (480) 965-6788.

Gracias de antemano por su participación.

Atentamente, Aleksandra Durova

To start, I would like to get some information about the types of interaction among residents within Vineyard Estates.

1. The following is a list of activities that you may engage in with other residents in Vineyard Estates. Please indicate how frequently you participate in these activities.

- Having a short conversation,  Never  Sometimes  Often  
Walking pets  Never  Sometimes  Often  
Lending things, sharing a ride,  Never  Sometimes  Often  
Visiting each other  Never  Sometimes  Often  
Sharing a meal, baby-sitting,  Never  Sometimes  Often  
Apartment-sitting  Never  Sometimes  Often

2. Now I would like you to think about the specific people in Vineyard Estates: the ones who are the closest to you, with whom you interact moderately and casually.

For each of the groups below, please indicate the apartment numbers of the people that you are acquainted with. This information helps us understand how people build connections and where interactions are occurring within the community.

- **Closest** (you may go out with these people, watch each other's children, discuss important things and share secrets, help each other out and so on)

List apt. # here: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- **Moderate** (you may visit each other sometimes, lend things, have conversations and so on)

List apt. # here: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- **Casual** (you may say "Hello" and have short random conversations with each other)

List apt. # here: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3. Now I would like to talk about changes pertaining to your employment situation since moving to Vineyard Estates. I am particularly interested in whether you are better off, worse off or about the same as compared to before you moved to Vineyard Estates.

The following are the things that may have changed in your life since moving to Vineyard Estates. For each case, please check the box that applies.

- Employment  Worse  About the same  Better
- Income  Worse  About the same  Better
- Education/  
Professional skills  Worse  About the same  Better

We are just about done with the survey. Before we conclude, I would like to get some general information about your residency in Vineyard Estates.

4. How long have you lived in Vineyard Estates?  
Please write the year you moved in \_\_\_\_\_

5. Please indicate how many bedrooms are in your apartment  
 Two-bedroom,  Three-bedroom,  Four-bedroom

6. Please check the box with the rent range that applies to your monthly payment for the apartment

- less than \$650  \$650 - \$700  \$700 - \$750
- \$750 - \$800  \$800 - \$900  more than \$900

Para empezar, me gustaría obtener información sobre el tipo de interacciones que existen entre los residentes de Vineyard Estates.

1. Por favor seleccione los tipos de interacciones en las cuales participa con otros residentes de Vineyard Estates y la frecuencia con la que éstas ocurren.

Conversaciones cortas, pasear a sus mascotas

Nunca  Ocasionalmente  Con frecuencia

Prestarse cosas, compartir viajes en automóvil, visitar a sus vecinos

Nunca  Ocasionalmente  Con frecuencia

Comer juntos, cuidar de los hijos de sus vecinos, cuidar del apartamento de sus vecinos

Nunca  Ocasionalmente  Con frecuencia

2. Ahora me gustaría que pensara en personas específicas en Vineyard Estates: las personas más cercanas a usted, las personas con las que interactúa con frecuencia moderada y las personas que conoce casualmente.

Para cada uno de estos grupos, favor de indicar el número de apartamento de las personas con las cuales se relaciona. Esta información nos ayuda a entender como las personas crean conexiones personales y donde se llevan a cabo las interacciones en la comunidad.

▪ **Más Cercanas** (personas con las que sale, que llega a cuidar de sus hijos o viceversa, con las cuales discute cosas importantes y comparte secretos, personas a las que ayuda o que le ayudan a usted)

Escriba los números de apartamentos aquí: \_\_\_\_\_

▪ **Cercanía Moderada** (personas a las que visita ocasionalmente, que se prestan cosas, o que tienen conversaciones ocasionales)

Escriba los números de apartamentos aquí: \_\_\_\_\_

▪ **Cercanía Causal** (se saludan cuando se ven, y tienen conversaciones cortas esporádicamente)

Escriba los números de apartamentos aquí: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Ahora quisiera hablar sobre cambios en su situación de empleo desde que vive en Vineyard Estates. En particular, me interesa saber si su situación ha mejorado, empeorado o si es la misma comparado a antes de mudarse a Vineyard Estates.

Las siguientes son situaciones que pueden haber cambiado en su vida desde que vive en Vineyard Estates. Para cada caso, seleccione la casilla en todos los casos que aplique.

-Empleo  Peor  Igual  Mejor

-Ingresos (\$)  Peor  Igual  Mejor

-Educación/  
Habilidades profesionales  Peor  Igual  Mejor

Antes de concluir, me gustaría saber información general sobre su residencia en Vineyard Estates.

4. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha vivido en Vineyard Estates?  
Favor de llenar el año en que se mudó \_\_\_\_\_

5. ¿Con cuántas habitaciones cuenta su apartamento?  
 2 Habitaciones  3 Habitaciones  4 Habitaciones

6. Favor de indicar el rango que aplica al pago mensual de su apartamento en Vineyard Estates

menos de \$650  \$650 - \$700  \$700 - \$750

\$750 - \$800  \$800-900  más de \$900

I am looking to talk more in-depth with residents about their engagement with other people within the community. The interview would last about thirty to forty-five minutes and could be conducted in person at a time and place convenient for you.

Are you interested in speaking with me in person?  YES  NO

MAY BE

Would you like to be included in the drawing?  YES  NO

If you answered YES to either of the questions above please tell me the best way to get in touch with you

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Phone number: \_\_\_\_\_

Email address: \_\_\_\_\_ Apt. #: \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you for your participation in the survey and your contribution to the study. The information you provide will remain confidential. If you have any questions about the research, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Adicionalmente, me gustaría platicar a fondo con residentes sobre sus relaciones con otras personas en la comunidad. La entrevista durará entre 30 y 45 minutos y podrá llevarse a cabo a la hora y en el lugar más conveniente para usted.

¿Está usted interesado en llevar a cabo la entrevista?  SI  NO  TAL VEZ

¿Quiere participar en la rifa?  SI  NO

En caso de que una o ambas de las respuestas sean afirmativas, favor de proporcionar su información de contacto:

Nombre: \_\_\_\_\_ Número de Teléfono \_\_\_\_\_

Correo electrónico \_\_\_\_\_ Número de apartamento \_\_\_\_\_

Gracias por su participación en la encuesta y por su contribución al estudio. La información que proporcionó será tratada de manera confidencial. Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre la investigación, no dude en ponerse en contacto conmigo

APPENDIX D  
INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT



## INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

### ○ A

1. Just to start, I would like to know what brought you to Vineyard Estates. Please think back to the time before you moved to Vineyard Estates. Where did you live before? What made you want to leave that place and move here?

2. I would like to know about what your experience of living in Vineyard Estates has been like. What are the things that you like or don't like about living here?

2. Now I want to talk about your engagement with other residents in Vineyard Estates, about how you meet people within the community, get along and interact.

If you remember from the survey, I asked you about the apartment numbers of the people you interact with. You mentioned that the closest people to you (you moderately interact with/ you casually interact with) are the following residents (mention apt. #). What I would like to do is to get more information about how you met these people.

I want you to think about what made you communicate. What was that brought you together?

Probe: Please think about this person and yourself. What do you have in common with that person? Now I would like you to think about it again and tell me what is different about this person.

3. Let's say that I just moved to Vineyard Estates, and I am looking to meet people and socialize. What do you think is the best way to do that?

Probe: Have you ever attended community events in Vineyard Estates? What was your experience like? Have you stayed in touch with the people that you met?

4. Now I would like you to think about the residents with whom you talk most often.

Please tell me who those people are.

Follow up: What topics usually come up in your conversations?

Probe: Do you discuss issues related to your family or other personal matters together?

Probe: Do you talk about education or jobs?

Follow up: Have you ever helped anybody in the community with advice or information about employment? If so, how?

Follow up: Have you ever received advice or information about employment from anybody in the community? If so, how?

5. So far, we have been talking about people you get along and interact with well. Is there anyone in Vineyard Estates that you have difficulties interacting with? Why do you think that is the case?

○ **B**

Now I would like to talk with you about your current employment situation and recent changes that you may have experienced.

Some people feel uncomfortable talking about their employment. I would like to remind you that all information will remain confidential, and I will not be using your name and other identifying information in my reports. If you don't want to answer some questions, please feel free to stop me at any point.

6. First, let's talk about your current situation.

Are you currently employed? Is that a part- or a full-time position?

Follow up: What type of job is that?

Follow up: How long have you had this job? / How long have you been unemployed?

7. Now I want you to think back to the time right before you moved to Vineyard Estates.

Were you working at this job then?

If NOT, were you employed before you moved to Vineyard Estates? If YES, was it a part- or a full-time job? What type of job was it? How long did you have this job? If NO, how long did you stay unemployed?

8. Now I would like you to think about how your current employment situation compares to the situation right before you moved to Vineyard Estates. Would you say that you are currently better off, worse off or about the same?

Follow up: What makes you feel this way?

9. Now please think about the time before you got your current job. (*if currently employed*)/ Think about the last job that you had (*if currently unemployed*)

How did you find out about this job? What sources of information did you use?

Probe: Did your relatives or friends help you when you were looking for a job?

Probe: Did anyone else help you by providing information or giving advice? Could you tell me who those people are and what their relationship to you?

10. Have you ever participated in any job training or received professional assistance while living in Vineyard Estates? Was it helpful?

11. I would like you to think about the last time you actively looked for a job. Did you experience any difficulties? Could you tell me about them?

12. Let's say you are looking for a job right now. I would like to talk about the process you would take in your search. What sources of information would you use?

Follow up: Who would you seek out for help or advice?

○ C

13. We have talked about a lot today. Is there anything else related to your experience of living in the community that you feel would be important for me to know about?

14. We are just about done with the interview. Before we conclude, I would like to know if there is anything that you think would improve your experience of living in Vineyard Estates and interacting with other people in the community. Is there anything that would help your ability to meet your employment goals?

15. Finally, I am looking to talk with other people in Vineyard Estates about their experiences living here. Do you know anybody who would be interested in speaking with me? What would be the best way to get in touch with them?

Follow up: Would you be willing to introduce me to them?

Thanks for your time and sharing information with me. If you ever have questions about the research, do not hesitate to contact me.

APPENDIX E

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS: CENSUS TRACT 1166.02 AND THE CITY

OF PHOENIX (U.S.CENSUS, 2010)

Table 6

*Demographic characteristics of the Census Tract 1166.02 and the city of Phoenix, 2010**(U.S. Census 2010)*

Characteristics	Census Tract 1166.02, 2010		The city of Phoenix, 2010	
		Percentage		Percentage
<u>Total population:</u>	7,325	100.0%	1,445,632	100.0%
White alone	715	9.8%	672,573	50.9%
African American alone	1,175	16.0%	86,788	5.1%
Other Race alone	259	3.5%	71,518	4.9%
Hispanic	5,048	68.9%	589,877	34.1%
<u>Age groups:</u>				
Under 5 years old	833	11.4%	119,911	8.3%
Under 18 years old	2,765	37.7%	408,341	28.2%
18 to 64 years old	4,248	58.0%	915,348	63.3%
65 years old and over	312	4.3%	121,943	8.4%
<u>Enrollment in college or graduate school:</u>				
<u>Males:</u>	2,673	100.0%	552,211	100.0%
Males enrolled:	37	1.4%	35,606	6.4%
15 to 24 years old	0	0.0%	17,935	3.2%
25 years old and over	37	1.4%	17,671	3.2%
Males not enrolled:	2,636	98.6%	516,605	93.6%
15 to 24 years old	574	21.5%	94,306	17.1%
25 years old and over	2,062	77.1%	422,299	76.5%
<u>Females:</u>	2,785	100.0%	548,896	100.0%
Females enrolled:	218	7.8%	45,965	8.4%
15 to 24 years old	146	5.2%	21,463	3.9%
25 years old and over	72	2.6%	24,502	4.5%
Females not enrolled:	2,567	92.2%	502,931	91.6%
15 to 24 years old	502	18.0%	82,534	15.0%
25 years old and over	2,065	74.1%	420,397	76.6%
<u>Education attainment:</u>				
<u>Males:</u>	2,099	100.0%	439,970	
No schooling completed	38	1.8%	6,219	1.4%

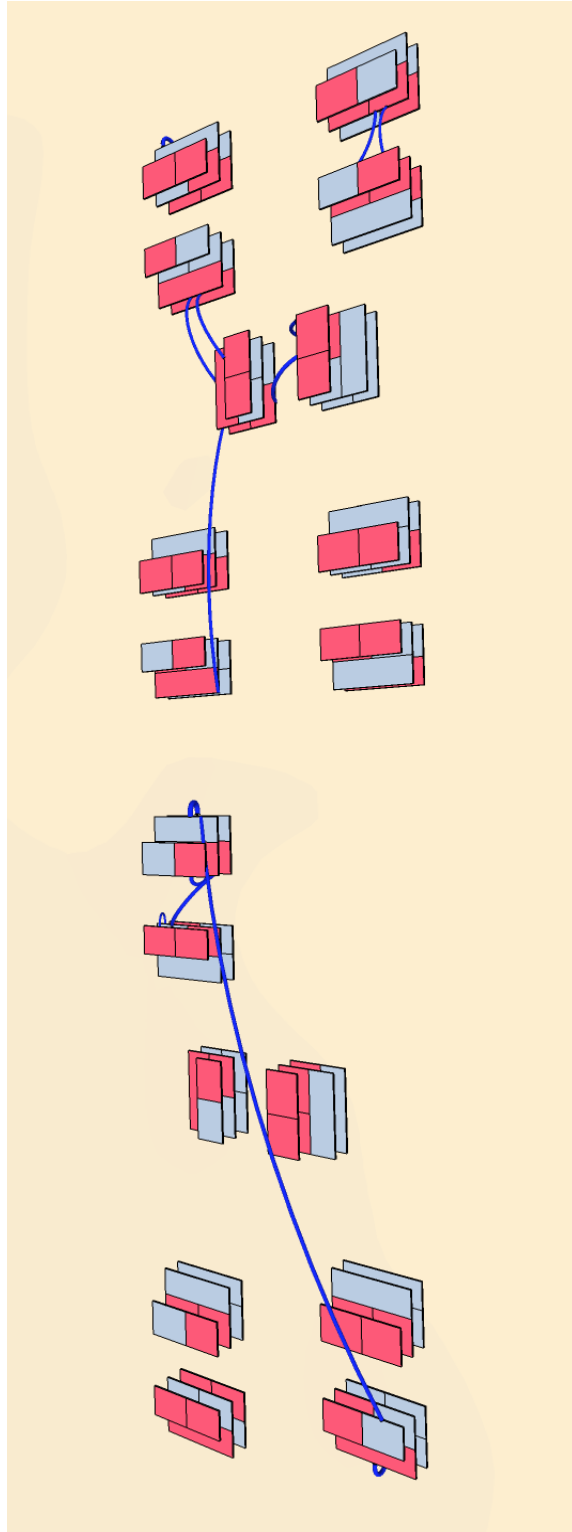
Up to 12th grade, no diploma	837	39.9%	85128	19.3%
High school graduate, GED, or alternative	544	25.9%	108,056	24.6%
Some college no degree	303	14.4%	96921	22.0%
Associate's degree	119	5.7%	30,257	6.9%
Bachelor's degree	192	9.1%	73,466	16.7%
Master's degree	39	1.9%	25,839	5.9%
Professional school degree	27	1.3%	9,819	2.2%
Doctorate degree	0	0.0%	4,265	1.0%
<u>Females:</u>	2,137	100.0%	444,899	
No schooling completed	37	1.7%	6,861	1.5%
Up to 12th grade, no diploma	605	28.3%	80301	18.0%
High school graduate, GED, or alternative	721	33.7%	109,530	24.6%
Some college no degree	395	18.5%	102320	23.0%
Associate's degree	104	4.9%	33,946	7.6%
Bachelor's degree	234	10.9%	71,621	16.1%
Master's degree	19	0.9%	30,081	6.8%
Professional school degree	22	1.0%	7,163	1.6%
Doctorate degree	0	0.0%	3,076	0.7%
Median household income, \$	41,656		48,823	
<u>Population with earnings or receiving public benefits in the past 12 months</u>				
With earnings	1,952	88.1%	438,469	85.0%
With Social Security	354	16.0%	99,602	19.3%
With retirement income	241	10.9%	59,404	11.5%
With Supplemental Security Income	29	1.3%	16,078	3.1%
With cash public assistance income	173	7.8%	11,451	2.2%
With Food Stamp/SNAP benefits	512	23.1%	54,789	10.6%
<u>Employment status of population 16 years old and over:</u>				

Total population 16 years old and over	5,355	100.0%	1,078,061	100.0%
In labor force:	3,353	62.6%	730,814	67.8%
Employed	3,024	56.5%	675,532	62.7%
Unemployed	329	6.1%	54,254	5.0%
Not in labor force	2,002	37.4%	347,247	32.2%
<hr/>				
Total households with incomes/ median income:	2,216		515,701	
<hr/>				
30 % or less	477	21.5%	96,582	18.7%
50 % or less	803	36.2%	174,116	33.8%
30-50 %	326	14.7%	77,534	15.0%
80 % or less	1,355	61.2%	276,429	53.6%
50-80 %	552	24.9%	102,313	19.8%
100 % or less	1,594	71.9%	326,363	63.3%
80-100 %	238	10.7%	49,934	9.7%
more than 100%	622	28.1%	189,338	36.7%



APPENDIX F

DIAGRAM: UNITS OF INTERACTING RESIDENTS



*Note.* Red rectangles are subsidized units, grey are market-rate apartments; curves connect the units of interacting residents. Information is collected from surveys and interviews.