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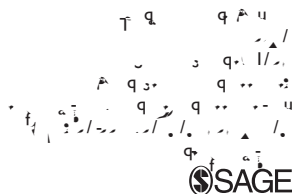
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What is This?

The Enduring Significance of Race in Mixed-Income Developments



Amy T. Khare¹, Mark L. Joseph², and Robert J. Chaskin¹

Abstract

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(Polikoff 2006; Turner, Popkin, and Rawlings 2009). By contrast, the extent to which current reforms are an attempt to promote racial equity and to address racial as well as income segregation remains largely unexamined. Scholars have argued that this lack of explicit policy design toward addressing the legacy of racial segregation may limit the impact of public housing reforms on those African-American households that have been most disadvantaged by failed public housing policy (Goetz 2011; Smith 1999; Turner, Popkin, and Rawlings 2009). As Turner, Popkin, and Rawlings (2009) contended, given ongoing discrimination and “structural inequities” (p. 248) based on race, the vital public and private resources necessary to create stable neighborhoods are extremely difficult to attract in predominantly African-American neighborhoods, even those that include higher-income black households. Furthermore, after decades of racial segregation and marginalization, public housing residents face extreme educational, employment, and health disadvantages, as well as ongoing discrimination in the private housing market when trying to relocate using subsidized vouchers.

Beyond the question of racial segregation per se and the extent to which mobility programs can adequately address it is the question of how race and attitudes toward race inform the kinds of interactions and the nature of communities being built to replace public housing complexes through mixed-income development. Is race still salient, or is the focus on income integration sufficient to inform these efforts? In this article, we examine whether and how race remains relevant to the everyday life and experiences of residents in mixed-income developments and surrounding neighborhoods. Drawing on a

By the early 1990s, the public debate and political focus had shifted significantly from race-explicit to economic-explicit approaches, resulting in a deconcentration policy framework that is silent on issues of race. Dispersal policies, such as the federal Housing Choice Voucher program (formerly “Section 8”) and the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) demonstration project, aim to relocate public housing residents from areas of concentrated poverty through subsidies allowing tenants to use vouchers to obtain private rental housing in lower-poverty neighborhoods (Briggs, Popkin, and Goering 2010; Goetz 2003; Hartman and Squires 2010). While MTO included poverty threshold criteria for eligible relocation neighborhoods, there were no criteria established that attempted to promote racial integration of African-Americans who were being relocated. Federal mixed-income policy as implemented through the HOPE VI and Choice Neighborhood Initiative programs has maintained the focus on income rather than race. Thus, race is now notably absent in the federal and local poverty deconcentration policy. This lack of explicit attention to race may constrain the effectiveness of these reforms in terms of addressing inequity among low-income African-Americans.

Theoretical Perspectives

Two theoretical perspectives, critical race theory and secondary marginalization, guide our exploration of the relevance of race in mixed-income public housing transformation. Critical race theory helps illuminate the norms, collective attitudes, and institutional structures that maintain racial inequity in the United States. Secondary marginalization helps us understand the choices, constraints, and conflicts faced by African-Americans within economically diverse contexts. (For more on the relevance of these two theoretical perspectives to the mixed-income policy context, see Smith and Stovall 2008.)

Critical Race Theory

Critical race scholars argue that liberal ideals of meritocracy and equal opportunity serve to mask the realities of institutional racism. According to Bonilla-Silva (2010), a “new powerful ideology has emerged to defend the contemporary racial order: the ideology of color-blind racism” (p. 25). It is, he argued, an ideology that has promoted the idea that the significance of race is declining, that “blames minorities for their own status,” and that results in an inability to acknowledge racial inequality (Bonilla-Silva 2010, p. 48). One result of “color-blind racism” is the retrenchment of affirmative action and school desegregation civil rights laws (Bell 1980; Bonilla-Silva 2010). Thus, while there have been important civil rights gains in many aspects of society and progress for many individuals, structural racism is argued to still exist within many institutions in the United States, resulting in persistent racial disparities in education, housing, health, income, and engagement with the criminal justice system. Furthermore, scholars argue that the inherent structures of these institutions operate in ways that perpetuate racism, as they do little to reverse latent discriminatory practices. For example, fair housing policies have made race-based discrimination illegal in the marketing, renting, and selling of property. However, these policies are not consistently enforced in ways that promote racial equity and inclusion (M. Alexander 2010; Carr and Kutty 2008; Cashin 2004; Frazier, Margai, and Tettey-Fio 2003; powell 2003; Smith 1999; Smith and Stovall 2008).

As applied to public housing reforms, critical race theory draws attention to the limitations of framing poverty deconcentration and residential integration solely in terms of income, class, and housing status (Smith and Stovall 2008). Explicit attention to informal and systematic racial discrimination and enduring racial disparities provides a nuanced understanding of the dynamics at play in mixed-income developments as well as sharpens insights about actions beyond housing redevelopment and resident relocation that will be necessary to improve the likelihood of successful and sustained economic and racial integration.

Secondary Marginalization

Building on critical race theory, a body of literature focused on intraracial social dynamics helps to explain how persistent structural racism at the societal level affects dynamics *within* African-American neighborhoods that are becoming racially and economically diverse (Anderson and Sternberg 2013; Boyd 2008a, 2008b; Freeman 2006; Hyra 2008; Moore 2009; Pattillo 2007). Research suggests that African-Americans of different income levels living in close proximity share both a desire for a self-consciously black community and a distrust of white newcomers. However, differences along the lines of

class and “culture” can create intraracial tensions about norms, expectations, and behavior (Boyd 2008a; Cohen 2004; Small, Harding, and Lamont 2010).

Cohen (1999) has developed the concept of “secondary marginalization” to

Table 1.

not surprising that the majority population is African-American. For the most part, the early implementation of the mixed-income strategy in these three sites has not produced fully racially mixed environments; rather it has mainly (re)created economically integrated majority black neighborhoods, particularly at Oakwood Shores.

Data and Method

Our analysis is based on in-depth interviews, focus groups, field observations, and documentary data. Interviews were conducted over three waves of data collection between 2007 and 2010, including panels of both resident and professional stakeholder informants.⁴ Interviews were conducted with 85 residents at three sites, including 35 relocated public housing residents, 10 renters of non-CHA subsidized units, 11 renters of units priced at market rate, and 29 owners. Resident interviewees were randomly selected from developer occupancy lists.⁵ Approximately 84% of these interviewees are African-American (see Table 2). Most residents were interviewed twice over the course of two waves of interviews, but due to construction delays at Park Boulevard at the time of the first wave of fieldwork, resident interviews from Park Boulevard are only available for the second wave. In 2011, focus groups were conducted with a new, randomly selected sample of 102 residents who were grouped according to site, income, and tenure. The sample for focus groups includes 50 relocated public housing residents, 21 renters of “affordable” units, 17 “market-rate” renters, and 14 homeowners. Approximately 96% of these participants are African-American.

The racial demographics of residents who live in the developments are difficult to characterize, in part due to the lack of systematic data. According to subjective reports by developers, relocated public housing residents are exclusively African-American and the renters of non-CHA subsidized tax-credit units closely resemble relocated public housing residents demographically—low income, African-American, with low levels of educational attainment. The market-rate renters are mostly African-American, though there is a small minority of renters who are nonblack. The racial demographics of owners are difficult to determine, because the developers are legally prohibited from collecting data about the race of the buyers of for-sale units.

Table 2. *Table with 2 columns and 1 row, content is illegible due to low resolution.*

stakeholders” (such as leaders of nearby social service agencies, community activists, and local public officials), and “macro-level” actors (such as officials with the CHA and public housing advocates).

Interviews and focus groups were guided by a semistructured instrument and were digitally recorded and coded for analysis based on a set of deductively derived thematic codes and refined based on inductive interim analysis. While cognizant of the importance of race in the formation of new mixed-income communities, the broader study on which this analysis is based did not exclusively seek to understand racial dynamics. Rather, the interview protocol included language about differences and similarities among residents based on a variety of attributes, including income, housing tenure, family composition, and race. For interviews with residents, there was one question that made direct reference to race, although interviewers probed about differences between neighbor relationships based on racial diversity.⁶ Interviews with professional stakeholders contained more explicit reference to racial diversity, including one question that asked about the relevance of race to life at the development and in the neighborhood.

In addition to interviews, data from 500 observations of community meetings, programs, events, and interactions over five years allow us to contextualize interview material within the specific dynamics of each site. Coding and analysis were done using NVivo qualitative data-analysis software. Based on an initial review of all material that had been coded as “race,” a systematic review took place with a refined coding scheme that aimed to organize respondents’ perspectives relating to the theoretical perspectives used in this analysis.⁷ Summary matrices of responses were created to allow for systematic comparison of perspectives across interviewee type as defined by respondent’s race, housing tenure, income level, professional stakeholder status, and the development site.⁸ It is important to note that the analysis aimed to understand the social dynamics of both class and race, and how the organization of social inequality is experienced in the everyday life of residents living in mixed-income communities. The focus has been to examine the multidimensional nature and complexity of differences (such as race, class, housing tenure) and how the interconnections between and within socially constructed categories play out in people’s lives. This intersectionality of class, race, housing tenure, and other socially constructed categories presents challenges when attempting to tease out particular aspects of social dynamics which are explicitly centered on race, racial segregation, and racism.

Interracial Dynamics

Our analysis suggests that race remains a central factor in residents’ experiences in mixed-income developments. We found evidence that systematic racial segregation and discrimination inherent in broader society are at play directly and indirectly within these developments; directly in the ways in which power and influence over norm-setting are exercised, and indirectly in the ways in which previous disparities and segregation have positioned African-American public housing residents to be seen as inferior and ultimately problematic “others.” African-American respondents across economic backgrounds view their racial identity as central to how they are treated by others. In particular, relocated public housing residents most often frame their experience as related to their racial identity and consider themselves often targets of stigmatization about perceived values, culture, and behavior associated with their race. Most relocated public housing residents, all of whom are African-American, articulate their frustration about how to respond to growing contention in the social environment between black and nonblack residents. For relocated public housing residents, the experience of being stereotyped and targeted is complicated by the intersection of their various social identities (such as their race, class, subsidized housing status,

and gender), intensifying their sense of marginalization. We also found that interracial social dynamics are more intense at Westhaven Park and Park Boulevard, which have more racial diversity, and residents of different racial backgrounds describe more frequent exposure, interaction, and conflict. Challenging interracial dynamics play out both across lines of class (education, professional status) and income and within the population of middle-class residents as well. In addition, non-African-American respondents described discomfort they felt at being the minority presence in these communities.

“Ghetto Mentality”: Targeting Public Housing Residents Based on Culture and Lifestyle

The overwhelming perception among non-African-Americans interviewed at these sites, most of whom are homeowners or professionals who work at the development, is that relocated public housing residents have a fundamentally different sense of values and norms—at times pejoratively labeled by respondents as a “ghetto mentality.”⁹ This clearly racialized perception is described by respondents as playing out in the daily behaviors of lower-income African-Americans. For example, according to a property manager, homeowners describe their low-income African-American neighbors “sitting on milk crates” and “standing outside cussing, hollering, and screaming,” which are activities owners associate with low-class standards.

The two main arguments made by respondents about why relocated public housing residents display this mentality blame both the conditions of poverty and the values and behaviors of relocated public housing residents on the individual, rather than on the political and economic structures that create and reproduce poverty. In the first argument, some believe that poverty experienced by relocated public housing residents is brought about by their own values, including a lack of motivation, a desire to remain on public assistance, and a lack of respect for dominant, white, middle-class cultural norms. According to these respondents, rehabilitation is necessary to help public housing residents adjust to the mainstream expectations of life in the mixed-income developments. Even with quality supportive services, job opportunities, and affordable housing, however, many of these respondents doubt that antisocial values and outlook will change.

The second argument—more often made by professional stakeholders than higher-income neighbors—references the history of public housing and its legacy of disadvantage when trying to explain why the transition of some public housing residents has been difficult. According to these respondents, it

is not their internal values but rather the lifestyle routines that they have adopted that will need to change if relocated public housing residents are going to adjust to the new mixed-income environment.

In both arguments, public housing residents are expected to change their values and behaviors to meet the demands of the new social environment. Most importantly, given the focus of this analysis, these two arguments are inherently connected to race, reflective of notions of the black “underclass” and pertaining to a population—relocated public housing residents—which is exclusively African-American in these sites. Although both arguments center on the reasons why relocated public housing residents need to change to transcend poverty, the second argument takes into account to some extent the legacy of racial segregation in public housing as a relevant factor in the successful transition to mixed-income housing.

Homeowners and professional stakeholders have class and positional privilege that allow them advantages in determining the norms for appropriate behaviors. The combination of enduring racial stereotypes and the greater institutional power wielded by the more privileged members living and working at the developments allows them greater control over the norms and rules that apply in these contexts, and to how they are enforced—primarily on African-American relocated public housing residents and other low-income renters. Owners, who represent a more racially diverse group, exert this power through informal policing of behaviors or making complaints to property management or the police; development staff establish rules, and lease policies and procedures that institutionally delimit renters’ rights and social freedom. These social dynamics play out on the ground through both the regulation and differential enforcement of rules and sanctions (Chaskin and Joseph 2013).

Regulation of relocated public housing residents. Almost all of the relocated public housing residents and other low-income residents (all of whom are African-American) in our sample express frustration at having been stereotyped and targeted unjustly by rules enforced by property managers and through informal monitoring by their neighbors. At Westhaven Park and Park Boulevard, these residents consider the behavioral expectations and social vigilance to be a direct result of the influx of nonblack owners, and they often frame these new social norms in terms of race, not just income and housing tenure. For example, this African-American relocated public housing resident at Westhaven Park describes how “they” (referencing the nonblack residents) hold different expectations for the use of public space in the neighborhood:

They have a problem with us standing on the corner. We're colored. That's what we do. We gather in groups. We don't have to be no drug activity or nothing like that for us to gather round. That's how we mingle.

In addition, residents describe how property managers have instituted physical barriers to cut down on "hanging out" such as installing fences around private parks in the developments and locking community rooms. A few of these renters described receiving lease violation notices for overly loud noise or too many frequent guests, while others describe how police were called to break up a party or disperse a group of black teenage youth. This African-American relocated public housing resident at Oakwood Shores describes how she views race as an important factor in actions by a white owner:

I think a white lady owned it and they moved out because to them too many black people [were] coming to this park. They bothered them. She would always call the police on them for barbequing in the park. Isn't that where you're supposed to barbeque at? In the park?

Relocated public housing residents describe how living in close proximity to residents from different "cultures" (a label used by both nonblack and black resident respondents that, in these contexts, suggest clear racial undertones) makes the contrast between their values, behaviors, and lifestyles more readily apparent. For example, according to this African-American relocated public housing resident at Oakwood Shores,

I think with not really knowing another culture you really don't pay any attention to it . . . I'm comfortable with my black brothers and sisters [but] . . . now my awareness that there's another culture here, now I need to be paying attention.

In our interviews, relocated public housing and other low-income, African-American renters, particularly at Westhaven Park, complained that certain non-African-American owners often demonstrate the same sort of improper habits for which they are criticized and sanctioned. However, due to their more powerful status in the developments, owners' behaviors are not subject to the same intensity of monitoring or consequences. This quote from an African-American relocated public housing resident at Westhaven Park describes the unequal authority between different residents based on their housing tenure, which in these settings is conflated with race:

When the condo owner down the hall [is] playing music and smoking pot [and is] just as dysfunctional as everybody else; just got a little more money . . . no one complained to them. And so when the condo president admitted to me [this] was going on but they don't threaten them or call up Chicago Housing Authority on them because they don't have the power to do that . . . So I think

contact with one another due to the physical proximity of their units and their common membership of condominium associations. African-American homeowners at all three sites describe how their interactions with nonblack homeowners were a source of conflict for them, especially when nonblack homeowners made statements or took actions that targeted low-income black renters. For example, this African-American homeowner at Oakwood Shores describes an incident where race played a key but subtle role:

[This nonblack neighbor] sent out an email request to be careful, and he's like, "Look out for young males in white t-shirts and blue jeans." That was it. He's like, "Look out for them." I'm thinking I don't know how up he is in urban

to their minority status in these traditionally African-American neighborhoods. As a white homeowner at Westhaven Park put it,

Just being [in this neighborhood], you put 100 black people and me together and of those 100 people, 99 of them are not gonna do anything, but there's that one nutball that because of the situation, wants to go make an example of somebody . . . If racial tensions really flare up, this is an obvious place where someone's gonna want to make a point. Here comes a gentrified neighborhood . . . let's take care of this guy.

We argue that because the design of the mixed-income development policy frames residents' social identities primarily along economic lines or by housing tenure (owners or renters) rather than along racial lines, it has ignored—and may underestimate—the significance of race. Residents' experiences of witnessing and experiencing individual acts of what they consider race-based targeting within these places lead to a broader question about how the mixed-income development strategy, by failing to focus explicitly on race, may reproduce and even exacerbate the dynamics of institutionalized and individual racism.

Intraracial Social Dynamics

An additional complexity exists in racially diverse environments when African-American residents are the majority—both renters and homeowners. Secondary marginalization theory suggests that while shared racial identities may help facilitate connections among black residents across class differences, this solidarity is often compromised when higher-income African-Americans perpetuate prejudice toward lower-income residents. We found that black homeowners and market-rate renters did have positive experiences of common ground with lower-income black neighbors, but they also articulated complaints about these same residents as failing to adhere to acceptable cultural norms. Although, as noted above, some black homeowners and market-rate renters described their own personal experiences with racial affronts from their nonblack neighbors, their comments to us in turn reflected dominant racist and classist stereotypes and condoned marginalizing actions toward relocated public housing residents whose behaviors they condemn as pathological. Indeed, the sentiments about “ghetto mentality” described in the section on interracial dynamics above were not limited to non-African-American residents. While this dynamic was present in Westhaven Park and Park Boulevard, it was particularly pervasive at Oakwood Shores, where more residents, including homeowners, are African-American.

Racial Solidarity Among African-Americans Across Class Differences

Complicated dynamics emerge for African-American homeowners and market-rate renters who find themselves at once aligned not only with higher-income residents of other races but also with a unique opportunity, if they so choose, to engage with lower-income residents on the basis of their shared racial background. It is important to note, however, that there is a range of perspectives among African-American owners and market-rate renters and that only some of them describe the importance of shared racial backgrounds. These black respondents share examples of how they engage in casual connections such as speaking to each other in the hallways, socializing at nearby parks, or talking while waiting at bus stops. Informal interactions among African-American residents of different class backgrounds occur more frequently compared with interactions between black and nonblack neighbors. African-American residents describe the need to know each other as a strategy for preventing criminal activity or in response to violence in the development. An African-American homeowner at Westhaven Park, for example, described his interaction with relocated public housing residents after a shooting in the parking lot, where he was surprised to encounter shared interests with subsidized renters, noting how they

made these comments like, you know, “I’m tired of those people in that [public housing] row house . . . They need to knock that down. We’re trying to live in a nice community” . . . I thought that that was impressive that you had [relocated public housing residents] who [would] chum up and say . . . this is enough.

Racial solidarity across class differences among black homeowners and market-rate renters primarily manifests itself through empathic sentiments of “having been there” due to the shared experience of being black and, for some affluent residents, of having less income earlier in their lives. For example, an African-American homeowner at Oakwood Shores describes the importance of her shared racial identity as one reason she developed a friendship with one of the black low-income renters:

We’re black females . . . It’s like my sister . . . Right away when she was like, “hey what’s up?” I was like, “Hey, what’s up?” We sat on the bus and started running our mouths like we were family.

A few of the black homeowners went as far as criticizing other owners whom they felt lacked understanding about the life circumstances of black

low-income renters with less economic security. According to an African-American homeowner at Westhaven Park,

This is not Lincoln Park . . . I think [some homeowners] expect [the renters] to . . . act like they act . . . behave like they behave. But it's totally different. I mean you've gotta go deeper into their history, why, and their family . . . They don't have the income that most of the people in the neighborhood have . . . They are not as fortunate as others are.

Thus, the experience of shared racial identities may help facilitate connections among black residents across class differences in ways that are more rare for residents of different racial backgrounds.

Secondary Marginalization: Distinction Making and Cultural Differences

At the same time, some black homeowners and market-rate renters, particularly at Oakwood Shores, articulated complaints about their low-income black neighbors whom they suggest lack adherence to mainstream cultural norms. As one African-American homeowner at Park Boulevard puts it,

Renters who come from places who don't have a sense of pride . . . who have no understanding of what homeownership means . . . ghetto . . . I really don't want to see people hanging out on the porch, loud music, people who blow their horn to get people to come out . . . It's a cultural thing.

Just as their white homeowner counterparts did, these respondents critique the "ghetto mentality" and behaviors of those they assume to be subsidized renters. Beyond annoyance at particular behaviors, their concern also lies with how the behaviors of their lower-income black neighbors reflect on them personally and more generally on all African-Americans. According to one African-American homeowner at Westhaven Park,

It bothers me because they're African-American . . . Why are they acting like that? Why do they always stand out and drink 40 ounces and smoke weed? That's a reflection on me. So it bothers me a lot and it frustrates me. It makes me angry.

The increasing economic and racial diversity in these neighborhoods may intensify the social pressure asserted by middle-class black residents and professionals on low-income African-American residents to adhere to middle-class norms. The response by some black homeowners and market-rate

renters is to further distance themselves from stereotypical images and behaviors associated with the so-called “ghetto mentality.” As an illustration of these dynamics, an African-American market-rate renter in Oakwood Shores comments,

I’m an African-American black female. I have a master’s degree. I mean I don’t stunt my growth because of the environment that I’m in . . . I can see that there’s some jealousy and envy . . . because I’m not going to revert to some of their negative ways which is, you know, the talk, the walk, the clothes. I’m not gonna do that. I’m gonna be me. And my car’s been scratched up. My mirror’s been broken off. I can’t put my name on the mailbox. They keep taking it off . . . It’s very frustrating and very discouraging because it’s my own people, you know.

Almost all of the African-American homeowners and about half of the African-American market-rate renters in our sample describe desires, habits, and strategies that distance themselves from the “ghetto mentality” stereotypes and from black, low-income renters whom they negatively associate with this stereotype. According to one African-American market-rate renter at Westhaven Park,

I’m a serious product of black community, but not *that* aspect of it . . . I’m not above anybody, but certain types of behaviors and certain types of ways, if you’re gonna live around civilized people, I just expect that.

While these higher-income black residents identify as members of the “black community,” they also distinguish themselves from lower-income residents whose behaviors are assumed to reflect the prejudicial stereotypes

associations (Chaskin, Khare, and Joseph 2012). In our fieldwork observing neighborhood associations and other participatory forums, we witnessed numerous examples of affluent black homeowners critiquing the behaviors of low-income black families. The economic privilege of black homeowners, in addition to their formal positions of power in neighborhood associations, provides them power to reinforce race-based norms and to informally “police” the behaviors of the more vulnerable black renters. Secondary marginalization perpetuated by affluent blacks is more apparent in these mixed-income settings where the class interests of black and nonblack homeowners align more readily. For example, after describing an incident in a meeting where a homeowner was particularly vocal in distinguishing between rights that should pertain to homeowners alone, a Westhaven Park African-American stakeholder stated,

Incidentally, she was a black professional, not that race is the total story, because it's not, it's race, class, economics, and she did something that I know somebody white sitting in that room would be thinking, but never say . . . [Neighborhood associations] put black folks in leadership positions . . . so that they become the official attack dogs for the organization, and they'll do and say things that the white members are feeling, but the white members would never publicly do.

While these tensions around identity, values, and normative expectations for behavior are clear among the higher-income black residents we spoke with, it is more difficult to assess the experience and perceptions of relocated public housing residents, as the majority of the references that they make about “owners” do not make reference to the differences between homeowners by race. On one hand, relocated public housing residents often use the lens of race and racism in describing their marginalization by homeowners and development professionals. On the other, given the demographics of these neighborhoods, there is good reason to believe that they feel pressure from all homeowners, including African-Americans. A white professional stakeholder at Westhaven Park observed that public housing residents feel “looked down upon, not because they're looked down upon by white people, but they're looked down upon by the black people that live there too.”

Taken as a whole, these findings show how the increasing economic diversity and widening cleavages within the black community of residents living within close physical proximity generate complex intraracial social dynamics where black relocated public housing residents and other low-income renters experience marginalization from both nonblack and black neighbors.

Conclusion and Implications

The stated aims of current policies focused on public housing reform and poverty deconcentration, like Chicago's Plan for Transformation, are largely silent about addressing institutionalized racial segregation. The focus has been on demolishing public housing projects, building and rehabilitating housing, dispersing the poor from public housing developments, and physically integrating residents of different income and housing tenures. African-American residents' experience of racial prejudice and discrimination within these places leads to a broader question about how the mixed-income development strategy, by failing to focus explicitly on race, may reproduce or even exacerbate the effects of institutionalized and individual racism. We argue that because the design of mixed-income development policy frames residents' social identities primarily along the lines of income and housing tenure rather than race, it ignores what we find to be the enduring, if nuanced and

Race-conscious poverty deconcentration policy would be explicit about the historical and contemporary forms of racial discrimination, stigma, and exclusion that contribute to the ongoing marginalization of low-income African-Americans. As with the Gautreaux program, the design and the evaluation of housing policy would include attention to racial integration. At all levels of policy design and implementation—housing authority, private developers, local community organizations—there would be an expectation of considering race as well as income in setting goals and formulating strategies. We can suggest two specific areas of practice that could be built into future mixed-income development policy, one focused on local governance practice and the other on more general facilitated dialogue and sharing within the new developments.

Our findings demonstrate how tensions around identity, values, and normative expectations for behavior between residents of different economic backgrounds and housing tenures lead to increased experiences of marginalization among relocated public housing residents. The economic privilege of white and black market-rate renters and homeowners, in particular the formal positions of power for condominium and homeowners in associations, provides them authority to regulate the informal behavioral norms of lower-income African-Americans. This positional inequality could be addressed through policy requirements and operational interventions. Public housing authority leaders and other development partners can shape local policy directives and site-based interventions to proactively address strained social dynamics that are compounded by the class and racial differences. Mixed-income sites could be required to institute governance mechanisms, such as a committee comprised of residents who differ in their racial and economic backgrounds, whose role it is to promote and nurture a more integrated and equitable social environment. Issues of common concern, such as safety or local amenities, may serve as a potential bridge across perceived and real differences in residents' background, if inclusive and well-moderated forums are created for discussions and decision making. Opportunities for leadership development and participation in shaping decisions about the rules, management practices, and future design may facilitate more meaningful engagement by relocated public housing residents and lead toward more equity across class and race differences.

Less formally, facilitated dialogue among mixed-income staff and residents that aims to explicitly address structural racism and how it plays out in the class and race dynamics in the mixed-income sites could lead to deeper awareness about race-based prejudicial attitudes, stereotypes, and experiences of perceived discrimination and more effective staff practice and resident interactions. Developers, community-based organization leaders,

property managers, and others could develop safe spaces to converse in mixed-race and mixed-class groups about these topics. There are a multitude of national organizations with information and resources to support more race-conscious work.¹³ These conversations could be useful both among organizational partners and residents at the site level but also at the more macro-level among policy makers and others involved in shaping and implementing these housing reforms.

There are no easy solutions to combating the legacy of racial segregation, in which U.S. public housing policy has been complicit. By focusing only on economic integration, the strategy of mixed-income public housing redevelopment downplays the importance and challenges of racial integration. Economic integration may be a more politically feasible means to address the problem of racial segregation, but questions remain about the extent to which these public housing reforms ameliorate the social and economic positioning of African-Americans. Our hope is that by drawing attention to the pervading silence about race, racial tensions, and perceived discrimination within mixed-income developments, these findings will contribute to discussions about the importance of race-consciousness in the future of national mixed-income public housing redevelopment policies and practices. Economic integration should no longer be a proxy for racial integration. Race remains relevant to the experiences of residents in mixed-income developments and surrounding neighborhoods in ways that require more explicit and sophisticated policy approaches.

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Notes

1. These data are current as of the end of 2010, the last period of time when Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) has reported such relocation data.
2. The Horner Mothers' Guild initiated legal action against the CHA in 1991 on behalf of Horner residents (Wilén 2006). This lawsuit led to a consent decree that established the Horner Residents Council to guarantee that public housing residents have direct representation in decisions about the redevelopment process and the new mixed-income site (L. T. Alexander 2009; Wilén 2006). This Council provides public housing residents with more leverage than is available to residents in many other redeveloping sites to engage with developers, property

12. This quote was from a homeowner at Westhaven Park who identified as white.
13. See, for example, the Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change (2013) work on structural racism, The National Seeking Educational Equity & Diversity Project at Wellesley College (<http://www.nationalseedproject.org>), Dr. Mica Pollock's (2008) antiracism work at Harvard University, and The People's Institute for Survival and Beyond (<http://www.pisab.org/>).

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