
Creating and Sustaining Successful Mixed-Income Communities

Conceptualizing the Role of Schools

Mark Joseph

Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio

Jessica Feldman

University of Chicago, Illinois

This article examines the theory and evidence behind the increased policy and scholarly interest in the role that schools might play in promoting neighborhood revitalization, focuses on the extent to which schools might be a key component in the growing efforts across the country to address urban poverty by creating and sustaining mixed-income neighborhoods, identifies five channels through which investment in high-quality public schools might help facilitate the types of neighborhood- and individual-level outcomes sought through mixed-income development, explores the theoretical arguments behind these pathways, and draws on research to assess the potential value of each. The article concludes that schools can play unique roles as amenities, local resources, and forums for interaction and collective action, but leveraging that potential value for the benefit of everyone, including those in poverty, will require impeding real estate market forces and surmounting differences in parental school expectations and engagement associated with socioeconomic status.

Keywords: *mixed-income; neighborhood revitalization*

It has been 20 years since Wilson (1987) first described the devastating consequences suffered by individuals living in U.S. neighborhoods with

Authors' Note: We acknowledge a broader collaboration with Lisa Rosen to conceptualize the various relationships between mixed-income schools and mixed-income neighborhoods that helped frame the objectives and scope of this article and we thank her for her comments on an earlier draft. We thank Mark Neuffer for his comments and assistance on the figures in the article. The article was strengthened by comments from Mark Chupp, Brian Jacob, Tim Knowles, and Andrew Richman. We also thank Ranada Harrison for her research assistance.

highly concentrated poverty. An extensive body of research followed which confirmed and elaborated on Wilson's arguments (see, e.g., Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, & Aber, 1997; Jargowsky, 1997; Jargowsky & Bane, 1990; Ricketts & Sawhill, 1986; Wilson, 1996). One broadly accepted cause of persistent poverty in the United States is the geographic and social isolation of low-income families from the rest of society (Briggs, 2005; Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swamstrom, 2004; Wilson, 1987). This isolation has led generations of families, disproportionately African Americans and members of other minority groups, to live in neighborhoods with deteriorating physical and institutional resources and disconnected from the economic mainstream. Mixed-income developments—developments that include market-rate homes as well as subsidized units for low-income families—represent one response to concentrated urban poverty increasingly implemented by federal and local governments in partnership with private real estate developers (see Popkin et al., 2004, for an overview of HOPE VI, the \$5 billion federal program that promotes the demolition of public housing developments and their replacement with mixed-income developments; see also Brophy & Smith, 1997; Joseph, Chaskin, & Webber, 2007; and Smith, 2002, for overviews of mixed-income development).¹

Given the range of potential investments that can be made in a neighborhood, what is the particular relevance of schools to mixed-income neighborhoods? Existing research on planned mixed-income development proposes that some of the key factors for success include the strength of the local real estate market, support services for subsidized renters, and, perhaps most critically, the attraction and retention of market-rate residents through quality design, desirable location, strong property management, and high-quality amenities (Brophy & Smith, 1997; Smith, 2002; Turbov & Piper, 2005). High-quality amenities include retail options, recreational facilities, and schools, the focus of this article. Just as the perceived poor quality of urban amenities, in particular schools, is seen as a key factor in having spurred the exodus of middle-income families to the suburbs (Frey, 1979), it is expected that improving the quality of these amenities will be critical to attracting such families back to the central city. We focus on the role of schools in this article due to the increasing scholarly and policy attention to their potential role in addressing poverty and revitalizing neighborhoods. The presence of middle-income families with children is seen by many as critical for reconnecting low-income families to the broader social and economic mainstream (Silverman, Lupton, & Fenton, 2005; Varady, Raffel, Sweeney, & Denson, 2005). Beyond their value in attracting and retaining families, schools also have unique qualities as local

institutions that can bring diverse constituencies into meaningful and sustained contact with each other.

There has been increased recent attention on the potential relationship between school quality and neighborhood redevelopment efforts (Chung, 2002; Grogan & Proscio, 2000; Khadduri, Turnham, Chase, & Schwartz, 2003; Keith, 1996; Orfield, 1999; Stone, Doherty, Jones, & Ross, 1999; Turnham & Khadduri, 2004; Varady & Raffel, 1995; Warren, 2005). Turnham and Khadduri (2004) summarized the argument for the important role of schools:

Good schools make neighborhoods more attractive to both existing residents and potential homebuyers. Good schools also create better life opportunities for children, leading to higher rates of employment and earnings, greater residential and social stability, and a host of other important outcomes. (p. 2)

Warren (2005) stated simply, “The fates of urban schools and communities are linked, yet school reformers and community-builders typically act as if they are not” (p. 135).

However, the emerging literature in this area lacks a formal conceptualization and empirical assessment of the possible channels of influence through which schools might contribute to neighborhood revitalization. Especially in the case of mixed-income neighborhoods, where it appears that schools might play a particularly important function (see Varady et al., 2005), there is little conceptual clarity that can guide policy implementation and ongoing research on the effectiveness of this approach.

Drawing from current literature and prevailing policy discussions, this article elucidates five main channels through which schools might influence the viability of mixed-income neighborhoods, which are as follows:

1. Schools' primary function is to socialize and build the skills of local children and thus could promote prosocial behavior and ongoing school and career success and, when effective, could prevent delinquent and socially costly behavior.
2. Schools could be vital amenities that attract new middle-income families and retain residents, particularly those with school-aged children.
3. Schools could provide a unique forum for interpersonal interaction among children and parents, building relationships that promote stronger social networks beyond the school.
4. Schools could foster a sense of shared membership in their constituents, building collective identity that could potentially lead to collective action on behalf of the school or even the neighborhood.

5. Schools could be an institutional resource for the entire community providing not only education to children but also community access to physical, human, financial, and programmatic resources.

The remainder of this article will discuss these five channels in more detail, exploring the theoretical basis for each and assessing available empirical evidence about their relevance. First, we present a model that describes the desired outcomes of mixed-income development and introduces the channels through which an investment in schools as an input might promote those outcomes. We then examine each of the channels in turn and review relevant literature. We conclude by considering the implications of this review for practice and future research.

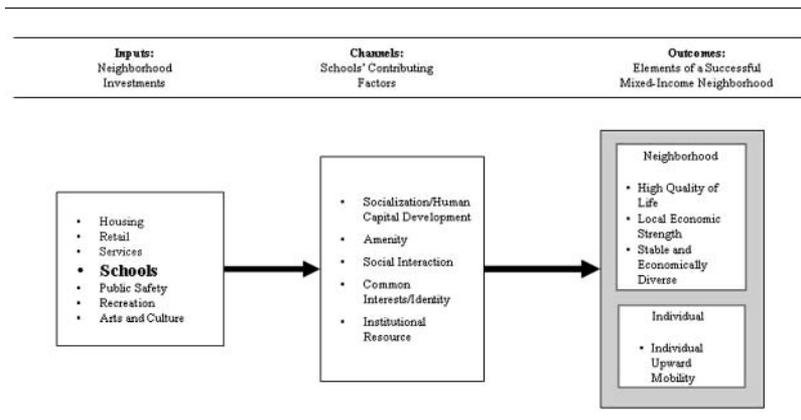
Modeling School Influences on Mixed-Income Communities

In Figure 1, we present a model of how schools might contribute to the success of mixed-income neighborhoods. In determining ways to generate and sustain a successful mixed-income neighborhood, how might those responsible—government officials, real estate developers, community members, and others—evaluate the relative value of prioritizing the development of high-quality local public schools? How exactly might such an investment promote the aims of creating a sustainable mixed-income neighborhood? The model in Figure 1 specifies some key outcomes associated with a successful mixed-income neighborhood, delineates schools as one of several inputs in which investments could be made, and indicates the five channels through which schools might influence neighborhood- and individual-level success. We now consider these model elements briefly in turn and then consider in more detail what can be gleaned about each of the channels from the relevant literature.

Inputs

Although our focus in this article is on schools as a neighborhood asset, our model lists a variety of other types of investments that could arguably contribute to the success of a mixed-income neighborhood. This list is found on the left-hand side of the model. Those seeking to promote neighborhood revitalization need to make investment choices, with limited resources to invest, from a range of possible options. We also want to acknowledge that schools alone could not

Figure 1
A Model of School Influence on Mixed-Income
Neighborhoods: Overview



be expected to influence the successful creation and sustenance of a mixed-income neighborhood.² A future task for researchers is to consider the comparative benefit of various investments depending on the neighborhood and regional context in which socioeconomic integration is to be generated and to consider the relationship among these various inputs. We place housing at the top of the list of inputs because the creation of broad residential opportunities is a critical starting point for establishing a neighborhood of economically diverse households.

In this model when we refer to *schools* we focus on elementary schools (kindergarten–eighth grade) due to the greater engagement of parents in the daily routines and school activities of younger children and the stronger link between elementary schools and specific neighborhood attendance areas (Silverman et al., 2005). Our conceptual model could certainly be applied to high schools. To fully serve the variety of functions that we will discuss in this article, it is necessary that the school be a public good—accessible without exclusion to all residents of the neighborhood. Although private schools can certainly be an important asset in a healthy neighborhood, institutions that fully advance the goals of a mixed-income neighborhood are inclusive of the breadth of the population. By extension, if the school effectively recruits students from the full neighborhood population and the school is in a mixed-income neighborhood, then the school must cater to students from families with a range of incomes. The simplicity of this concept belies the complexity of operating

an educational institution that must be prepared to teach students with a wide variety of levels of preparation, aptitude, and familial support.

To make a compelling argument for the connection between school-level investments and neighborhood-level impacts, the school must have an attendance boundary within which all school-age residents are eligible to enroll in the school.³ Local school catchments imply that the parent constituency of the school will also be a neighborhood constituency; relationships formed in the context of school activities could have currency in the broader neighborhood as well.

Outcomes

To build the conceptual model, an important task is to define what is meant by a successful mixed-income neighborhood.⁴ On the right-hand side of the model, we have listed several outcomes that would be characteristic of a successful mixed-income neighborhood. On one level, a successful mixed-income neighborhood would be defined by the same indicators as in any neighborhood: a high quality of life for its residents and other community members and a strong local demand for real estate, goods, and services that contribute to a vibrant local economy. However, promoting a mixed-income neighborhood also implies additional requirements. First, the neighborhood must sustain or create an economically diverse population and achieve some level of stability and balance in that economic diversity. Recent analyses by Galster, Metzger, and Cutsinger (2005; Booza, Cutsinger, & Galster, 2006) and Turner and Fenderson (2006) suggested that although neighborhoods in the largest 100 metropolitan areas of the United States are generally more economically diverse than conventional wisdom might suggest, that economic diversity is declining and high- and low-income families are increasingly being sorted into neighborhoods predominated by others in their income range. By definition, to be successful, a mixed-income neighborhood must somehow break this trend and attract and retain families of low-, moderate-, and high-income levels (Varady et al., 2005).⁵

Given that a central policy rationale for promoting mixed-income neighborhoods is to counter the negative effects of concentrated poverty on low-income families, a successful mixed-income neighborhood must also generate some upward mobility among the lower-income households in the neighborhood. Thus, a further important outcome of successful mixed-income neighborhoods occurs at the individual level. It is true that if individuals' gains in socioeconomic status cause them to move out of the neighborhood, then there is no lasting benefit retained by that neighborhood

from the ongoing presence of those individuals. However, it can be argued that a healthy neighborhood functions as a stepping stone, broadening residents' subsequent residential choices (Briggs, 2004).

The positive outcomes indicated in Figure 1 are not the only possible outcomes from an investment in local schools. As we will discuss in detail later in the article, there are alternative, and less desirable, outcomes that might result. For example, increased demand for housing by affluent families with school-age children could lead to increased rents, which could lead to the displacement of low-income households. A well-intentioned policy of investing in local schools might have adverse consequences for the local low-income population.

Channels

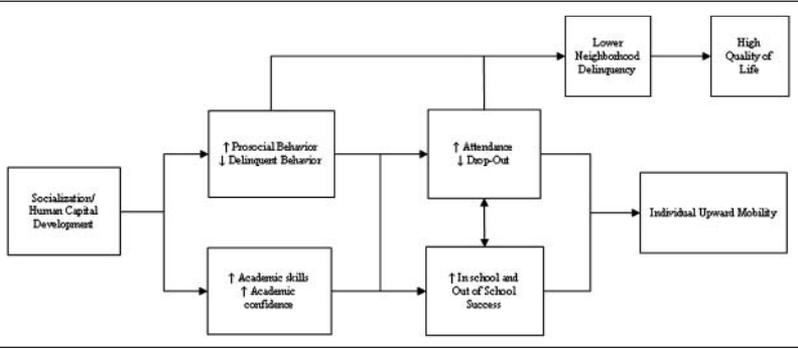
Five channels connect schools as an input on the left-hand side of the model to the community- and individual-level outcomes on the right-hand side. We contend that there are a variety of ways in which investment in a high-quality school might serve to promote the goals of a mixed-income neighborhood. As we will discuss, each channel can be hypothesized to be linked to particular outcomes pertinent to a mixed-income neighborhood. No single channel is directly linked to all four major outcomes, but together the channels address the full set of outcomes. Intended as a starting point for discussion and further research about a complex topic, the models try to highlight the most important elements of the process as we currently understand it. We now turn to a detailed consideration of the theoretical and empirical basis for each channel.

Channel 1: Schools as Institutions for the Socialization and Human Capital Development of Local Youth

Rationale and Theory

The first channel addresses two basic functions that schools have—skill building and socialization—whether or not they are located in a mixed-income neighborhood. These basic functions are worth considering briefly here because they are an important component of an argument for investing in a high-quality school as a component of neighborhood revitalization. Skill building and socialization are commonly understood as the primary function of schools (Akin & Garfinkel, 1977; Griffin & Alexander, 1978; Hanushek, 1986;

Figure 2
Schools as Socialization and Human Capital Development



Jenkins, 1995; Ogbu, 2003; Roeser, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2000; Wilcox & Moriarty, 1976). As Ogbu (2003) stated, “A public school education not only imparts to the individual the specific skills and knowledge necessary to function in modern societies, but it also socializes the individual in values and behaviors necessary to adapt in the workplace” (p. 47). Although other factors, such as parental income and education strongly influence later outcomes, in theory, an investment in elementary education could contribute to upward mobility for local youth, including those from low-income families (Stone et al., 1999; Turnham & Khadduri, 2004).

In Figure 2, we suggest that high-quality education would help increase the skills and academic confidence of local students and would help expose the students to norms and modes of behavior needed to navigate broader society. This could increase the prosocial behavior of the students and decrease their involvement in delinquent activities. Stanton-Salazar (1997) focused in particular on the challenges for minority youth from working-class backgrounds of learning how to decode the broader institutional and social system. Increased skills and more prosocial behavior could lead to greater success in and out of school, and could also be associated with increased attendance and decreased drop-out rates. Lower drop-out rates and less delinquent behavior among a critical mass of youth could contribute to a decrease in neighborhood-level delinquency and have a direct benefit on the quality of life for others in the broader neighborhood. Ultimately, though there are many intervening variables and the theoretical connection is far more tenuous, it can be argued that greater in and out

of school success could be one factor in helping to promote ongoing achievement throughout the educational process and greater upward mobility during adulthood.

Evidence

Much has been written about the impact of elementary and secondary education on student outcomes and later adult functioning (see, e.g., reviews of the literature by Griffin & Alexander, 1978; Hanushek, 1986; Mincer, 1974; Wilcox & Moriarty, 1976). The famous Coleman Report concluded that family background was a more powerful predictor of school performance than any measurable characteristics of schools themselves, excluding the makeup of the student body (Coleman et al., 1966). Hanushek (1986) indicated that subsequent examination has identified serious flaws in the Coleman analysis and that studies with appropriate corrections for measurement error find unequivocally that schools have important effects on student performance. From their review of the literature, Griffin and Alexander (1978) concluded that although a substantial body of research suggests that between-school differences are modestly consequential on cognitive growth and educational outcomes, the available evidence, including their own research, suggests that there is a substantial impact of schooling on socioeconomic achievement. Though relatively weak compared to a model that included postschooling investments, Mincer (1974) found that years of schooling had a positive and statistically significant association with later earnings. Akin and Garfinkel (1977) found a strong association between expenditures in schools and wage rates of student graduates, particularly among Blacks. On the other hand, Hanushek (1986) pointed out the data and methodological limitations in the analysis of school quality and concluded that the literature is ambiguous about the relationship between school quality and subsequent attainment (see also Rizzuto & Wachtel, 1980). More recent work by Card and Krueger (1992) using the Biennial Survey of Education and the U.S. census suggested that there is a positive relationship between school quality and earnings (see also their literature review, Card & Krueger, 1998). Most recently, Ashenfelter and Rouse (1998) have used data on genetic twins to control for innate differences and found a positive return to schooling (see also twin studies by Ashenfelter & Krueger, 1994; Miller, Mulvey, & Martin, 1995). There is also evidence that higher-quality education promotes more healthy adult social functioning (for a review, see Kahlenberg, 2001). From their analysis of middle-school youth's perceptions and outcomes, Roeser and colleagues (2000, p. 467) concluded, "Schools are a central context affecting adolescent development," both academic and socioemotional.

A key element of our proposed model is that, not only can schooling promote positive behavior and outcomes, but ineffective schooling can promote negative outcomes, which in turn have broader community-level consequences. Several studies have established that school failure is strongly associated with delinquent behavior (see, e.g., Elliott, 1996; Jenkins, 1995; Joseph, 1996; Silberberg & Silberberg, 1971). Based on her review of the literature and her own survey research, Janice Joseph (1996) concluded that, particularly among youth of lower socioeconomic status, failure in school can lead to a sense of alienation from the school, which in turn leads to delinquency.

Furthermore, there is a wealth of evidence that low-income children perform poorly when they attend schools where most other students are also low-income and perform better in schools where there is a mix of incomes (see, e.g., Briggs, 2005; Coleman et al., 1966; Kahlenberg, 2001, 2002; Piton Foundation, 2006; The Century Foundation, 2002; Thrupp, 1995; Varady et al., 2005). Hoxby (2000) provided evidence of such peer effects and suggests these effects are primarily driven by the achievement level of other students, not necessarily their background characteristics.

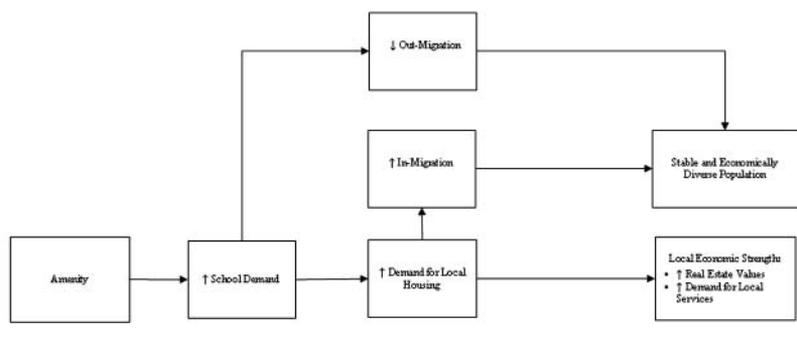
This review of the literature demonstrates what many of us accept as common knowledge, that through skill building and socialization, schools can be an important investment in the well-being and future success of local youth. Whereas this first channel pertains to the value of schools for *any* neighborhood, including those with high socioeconomic diversity, we now turn to four other channels with particular relevance to mixed-income neighborhoods.

Channel 2: Schools as Amenities

Rationale and Theory

The second channel posits that high-quality public schools can serve as attractive amenities for current and potential residents, affecting neighborhoods in several ways (see Figure 3). Increased demand for the school may have two subsequent effects on the neighborhood population (with school-age children). First, it may help decrease out-migration as families choose to remain in the neighborhood in order for their children to attend the school. Second, it may increase the demand for local housing, as families seek to move into the neighborhood so that their children can attend the school. Depending heavily on factors in the neighborhood housing market, this in-migration and out-migration could increase and eventually help stabilize the neighborhood

Figure 3
Schools as Amenities



population, as well as increase and maintain the economic diversity of the neighborhood. The increased demand for local housing would also boost local real estate values and increase the demand for local services and other amenities, thus helping to strengthen the local economy.

Several researchers considering ways to promote community revitalization have concluded that schools can be powerful marketing tools to attract or retain residents (see, e.g., Grogan & Proscio, 2000; Khadduri et al., 2003; Orfield, 1999; Turnham & Khadduri, 2004). Grogan and Proscio (2000) discussed school improvement as a critical target that has eluded community development efforts:

For decades . . . [community development groups] could fix housing, revive shopping areas, raise the level of public services, even help reduce crime. But the schools—probably the biggest factor in families' decision about whether to remain or flee—were simply beyond the reach of the organized community. (p. 220)

The most fully developed theoretical and empirical case in the literature for the value of schools as an investment in neighborhood development pertains to their role as an amenity. The core theory operating here, given its classic articulation by Tiebout (1956), is that individuals “vote with their feet,” making decisions about where to live by selecting among “bundles” of public goods offered by local municipalities. Schools are one such good amongst which households, specifically those with (or anticipating) school-age children, select when deciding where to live.

Varady and his colleagues (2005) emphasized the importance of high-quality schools for attracting middle-income families into mixed-income

communities. As Vale (2006) argued, a more careful investigation is needed of the extent to which schools are a factor in the decisions of higher-income families to move into mixed-income communities.

Evidence

A number of surveys and opinion polls of families with school-aged children have found that public schools are clearly a critical factor in decisions about where to live (Jud & Bennett, 1986). Extensive economic research has demonstrated that housing prices are sensitive to local public-school quality (as measured by standardized test scores; Bayer, Ferreira, & McMillan, 2004; Black, 1999; Bogart & Cromwell, 2000; Brasington, 1999; Haurin & Brasington, 1996; Kane, Staiger, & Reigg, 2005; Walden, 1990). Although a variety of methods—including simple ordinary-least-square regression techniques, difference-in-difference models, and natural experiments designed around exogenous shocks such as court-ordered redistricting—yield differences in the predicted magnitude of school quality’s impact on housing prices, all of the literature we reviewed found positive and significant effects of an increase in test scores on local housing prices. Jud and Bennett (1986) estimated a model of intraurban migration and find that the quality of public school education shapes location decisions.

The real estate industry is keenly aware of the importance of schools as an amenity. Realtors have long recognized and espoused the value of quality public schools in bolstering neighborhood value. Private developers are beginning to invest in schools as a component of their development strategy (Francisco, 2005; Kelley, 2002). A member of a development team working on a major new mixed-income development in Chicago (T. Stokes, personal interview, December 16, 2005) explained his organization’s support for a new charter school within the development site:

The schools are such an important magnet for families and to be able to have that charter school . . . is an incredibly powerful difference [from other developments] where we have had no opportunity to work with the schools in the neighborhood . . . [Our objective is that the school is] such a shining star that everybody would want to live [here] because that’s the best school in town.

Although the available evidence suggests that schools play an important role in residential location decisions, several caveats should be made. Although school quality might drive decision making for households with children, in general family life cycle position and lifestyle may be equally or more important factors in explaining the urban–suburban location decision (Varady & Raffel, 1995). There are also important questions about how parents assess school quality. Housing prices are most strongly associated with high proficiency test rates, high per-pupil expenditure, and a low teacher–student ratio, and less associated with graduation rates, value-added measures of student performance, and teacher education levels (Brasington, 1999). Research by Holme (2002) suggested that many parents make locational decisions based on perceptions about school quality, which they draw from more easily accessible information such as racial and socioeconomic makeup of the student population rather than visits to the school or statistics on the school.

Although there is strong theoretical and empirical basis for the link between school quality, school demand, and local housing demand, we found little empirical investigation of other key components of our model of schools as an amenity. According to our model, high-quality public schools should not only attract middle-income homebuyers, they should also help retain current populations. This stemming of out-migration should increase neighborhood residential stability, a factor that has been demonstrated to contribute to higher levels of informal social control and thereby lower levels of local crime and delinquency (Sampson & Groves, 1989; Shaw & McKay, 1942). However, we found little empirical investigation of the impact of school quality on changes in the composition of a neighborhood. The research by Bayer et al. (2004) cited earlier raised an important caveat: Sorting into a high-quality school attendance area may in fact lead to greater residential stratification. As the composition of the neighborhood begins to change in response to increased school quality, further household sorting may result because “households place a high value directly on the characteristics of peers and neighbors” (Bayer et al., 2004, p. 2). Their research suggests that, ultimately, the full sorting effects on neighborhood composition may be substantially larger than the initial direct effect of a change in school quality on demand.

Thus, though the literature suggests that increasing the attractiveness of the local school as an amenity may indeed spur local housing demand and neighborhood revitalization, the school may affect the market such that the retention of an economically diverse population becomes extremely difficult.

Channel 3: Schools as Forums for Interpersonal Interaction

Rationale and Theory

The third channel suggests that schools are unique forums for social interaction.⁶ From school meetings to sporting and cultural events to daily drop-off and pick-up routines, school activities and school facilities provide parents with many opportunities for social interaction. Interaction may occur informally, as parents meet the parents of their children's friends, greet each other on the schoolyard, or volunteer together on class field trips. Schools also supply parents with opportunities to interact in more structured organizational settings, such as parent-teacher associations or schoolwide meetings.

A core objective of mixed-income development is to reduce the social isolation of low-income families. Through proximity to more affluent families, it is hoped that families who have been previously disconnected from mainstream resources and opportunities will be able to establish personal relationships that link them to a broader set of resources and information and in this way they will build valuable social capital (Joseph, 2006; Joseph et al., 2007; Silverman et al., 2005). However, existing evidence in mixed-income developments suggests that, in general, there is very minimal social interaction across income levels (Brophy & Smith, 1997; Joseph, 2006; Joseph et al., 2007; Smith, 2002; Varady et al., 2005). There is even some evidence that even when families of different income levels in the development have children, the presence of children is not an influential source of social connection (Kleit, 2005). This suggests a potentially vital role for schools: If residents with children are not interacting of their own volition across classes in developments, perhaps schools can play a positive socializing role in mixed-income developments (Berube, 2006).

In theory, repeated school-based social interaction among parents in schools in mixed-income neighborhoods could lead to the development of relationships among parents of different income levels. This cross-income mixing could have at least two important outcomes. First, it could facilitate the building of social capital among parents, namely, relationships that can serve as productive assets (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Loury, 1977; Putnam, 2000). Coleman (1988) elucidated his landmark formulation of social capital with examples of the benefits of relationships among parents in a school setting. The expansive literature on social capital has been criticized for promulgating multiple and vague definitions (Portes, 1998). To be specific, in this instance, we are most interested in social capital as

an asset held between individuals that each can use for individual benefit (later, in our discussion of collective action, we will draw on treatments of social capital; e.g., Putnam, 2000—which focus on its collective benefits). Literature on social networks indicates a large degree of homophily among social groups, that is, individuals who tend to connect with others like themselves (Fischer, 1982; Cohen, 1977; see McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001, for a review). In particular, African Americans and low-income families have been shown to rely heavily on localized social networks (Campbell & Lee, 1992; Fischer, 1982; Lee, Campbell, & Miller, 1991; Oliver, 1988). Thus, in considering schools in mixed-income neighborhoods, we are most concerned with the creation of *bridging* social capital or weak ties: the connection of low-income parents into valuable social networks to which they would otherwise not have access (Briggs, 1998; Gittell & Vidal, 1998; Granovetter, 1973, 1985). These new networks could lead to benefits for parents as they obtain information about employment or other resources, perhaps ultimately contributing to upward mobility.

A second important outcome of the cross-income mixing is that these new relationships could lead to social learning, or what is commonly referred to as role modeling, as parents observe and emulate the actions and decisions of others (Bandura, 1977; Wilson, 1987). Wilson (1987) argued that one of the most harmful outcomes of the exodus of middle-income families from inner-city neighborhoods in the 1960s and 1970s was the loss of role models who could demonstrate a daily routine of work and productive behavior. According to Bandura (1977), most human behavior is learned observationally through a process in which individuals identify others whom they regard as successful and attempt to reproduce actions that they observe. Thus, the repeated exposure to parents with differing lifestyles and parenting styles could lead to individual change in aspirations and behaviors, and, along with other factors, could contribute to upward mobility.

Evidence

Two conditions must hold in order for the interpersonal interaction channels specified in our model to even be possible. First some of the middle-income families that move into mixed-income neighborhoods must have children (or intend to remain in mixed-income neighborhoods in the event they have children). Second, those middle-income families with children must use the local public school system. The limited evidence available from the early experience in planned mixed-income developments across the United States suggests that middle-income

families with children thus far have not been attracted to mixed-income housing in substantial numbers. Several studies have found that the middle-income residents of mixed-income developments are largely childless. In Brophy and Smith's (1997) overview of seven national mixed-income developments, the prevalence of market-rate families with children ranged from 6% of residents in the Harbor Point development in Boston to 2% to 3% of residents in the Emery Bay development in California to a single middle-income family with children at a development in New Haven, Connecticut. Varady and his colleagues (2005) examined the efficacy of efforts to attract middle-income families with children in four HOPE VI developments: City West in Cincinnati, Ohio; Park DuValle in Louisville, Kentucky; The Townes at the Terraces in Baltimore, Maryland; and Townhomes on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. They found that attracting middle-income families with children was not an explicit goal at any of the four sites. Accordingly, there was a minimal presence of such families across the sites, and, except in Louisville, the developers had limited collaboration with the local school system. Khadduri and her colleagues (2003), in a study of the Centennial Place development in Atlanta, Georgia, reported that 91% of the families in market-rate units were childless. The demographics at Centennial Place are of particular interest here given that a new school was created as a part of the development. Although the school has turned out to be one of the highest-performing in the Atlanta public school system (Moore, 2006), in its initial 4 years it had not yet attracted significant numbers of children from middle-income families (Khadduri et al., 2003). It is possible that a considerable lag time is needed for the reputation of the school to be well-enough established to serve as an attraction to middle-income families.

Silverman and her colleagues reported a contrasting set of findings based on their case studies of four mixed-income developments in the British cities of Manchester, Glasgow, and London (Silverman et al., 2005). They found that recruiting middle-income families with children was an intentional element at each development and that, by providing units designed for families and investing in local amenities, the sites were successful in recruiting families. Although the proportions of families with children remained much lower than the average in the respective cities, at least 12% of families in market-rate housing had children in each of the four sites, and at one site the proportion was 19%. Most important in the

context of this article, Silverman and her colleagues found that schools were of major importance for the families in the development. Those with previous social ties in the area tended to be comfortable with their children in the local schools. Those without previous social ties to the area were much more hesitant to put their children in the local schools and many expressed an intention to leave the area when their children were of school age. An exception was in one of the developments in London where a new elementary school had been opened as part of the new development, and families from all tenures and income levels were using the school and pleased with it. Although these findings from Britain are promising, further comparative analysis is necessary to identify factors—such as housing markets and racial dynamics—that might make similar achievements more difficult in the United States.

Leaving aside for a moment the question of recruiting middle-income families, what can we learn about the possibilities for parent interactions across incomes from studies that have compared parent involvement in schools by socioeconomic status? Research in this area has framed parental distinctions in terms of class, thus incorporating issues of parental education and profession, as opposed to simply income. Existing research suggests that meaningful parent interaction across income and class will not emerge naturally due to enrollment in the same school or even assignment to the same classrooms. Horvat, Weininger, and Lareau (2003) and Muller and Kerbow (1993) used different methods to provide evidence that intergenerational closure, the existence of networks among parents of children who know each other, is primarily a middle-class phenomenon. Horvat and colleagues suggested that because interpersonal ties appear to form most effectively among parents who frequent children's extracurricular activities, middle-class parents have greater opportunities to form connections: In their data set middle-class students participate in, on average, three more activities than poor students and two more activities than working-class students. Muller and Kerbow analyzed the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 and found that as parents' level of education increased, so did their network connections to other parents.

Thus, it appears that in order for schools to serve as forums for cross-income relationship building, not only must special effort be made to recruit middle-income families into the schools, but also an intentional effort must be made to facilitate relationships within the school. Separation into different academic tracks is a common approach to managing schools with a wide variety of student levels of aptitude and preparation (Wells & Serna, 1996). The task of facilitating relationship building is even more difficult in schools with tracking.

Channel 4: Schools as Source of Common Interests and Identity

Rationale and Theory

The fourth channel suggests that schools are institutions that engender common interest and identity.⁷ Regardless of income level, students and parents, as well as administrators, teachers, and staff, have a common interest in the success and stability of the school and, over time, usually come to identify themselves as members of the school community. Those common interests and identity could theoretically facilitate collective action on behalf of the school, which can then be leveraged into action on behalf of the neighborhood (Keith, 1996). This is particularly important in a neighborhood with families from a variety of backgrounds who may not naturally see themselves as having much in common. Belonging to the same school community might have a galvanizing effect. An obvious example is the uniting effect of a successful school sports team with which all members of the community, across socioeconomic backgrounds, can identify. Part of that common identity might include a common set of norms and values that influence the behavior of students and perhaps even influence action among members of the broader community.

There could be two processes at play here. Above, we discussed the possibility that interpersonal interaction could benefit the individuals in the relationship. Here, interpersonal interaction becomes relevant again as we consider the possibility for the creation of social capital among parents in a school as a communal resource (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). Through repeated interactions, trust and norms could be established that facilitate collective action on behalf of the school. The second possible contributor to collective action is the existence of issues of common interest and a shared sense of identity as members of the school community. Khadduri et al. (2003) and Turnham and Khadduri (2004) described the unifying potential of schools as an important element of schools' value to a neighborhood. This sense of shared identity and interest could lead parents to engage collectively in school affairs and attempt to exert whatever influence they might have over decision making.

Collective action at the school level could be leveraged to support neighborhood-level organizing efforts (Keith, 1996; Stone et al., 1999; Warren, 2005). Voluntary parent associations, formed to address particular objectives, represent potentially durable sets of relationships onto which individuals or groups can successfully transfer other organizational goals. Coleman (1988)

discussed the potential for relationships among parents in schools to become appropriate social organizations that could be used to address other issues. In discussing the value of schools as an organizing platform, a national housing developer described schools as “universal points of access for mixed-income communities” (Moore, 2006). If successful, the neighborhood-level collective action could lead to improvements in local goods and services, increasing the quality of life for local residents.

Evidence

We found only anecdotal evidence of instances in which parents already organized in parent–teacher associations or connected by children’s common membership in a classroom have coalesced around common threats or interests. Horvat et al. (2003) observed just such a phenomenon when a group of parents in a classroom quickly mobilized through a series of phone calls in response to a perceived threat. Warren (2005) provided a detailed case study of parent organizing efforts by the Logan Square Neighborhood Association in Chicago, including ways in which the parent organizing effort expanded to address broader neighborhood issues beyond the school, such as health and affordable housing.

The available evidence suggests that middle-class parents tend to engage very differently in school than working-class or low-income parents. Kahlenberg (2001) reviewed the literature on parental involvement and reported that socioeconomic status is the primary predictor of parent involvement. Furthermore, the engagement of middle-class parents can often be aimed to maintain the privilege of their own children as opposed to promoting the interests of all children. Lareau (1989, 2003), in detailed ethnographic investigations of class differences in parenting styles and school engagement, observed that differential child-rearing practices translate into differential strategies for parental engagement with school personnel. Lareau found that although middle-class parents actively shepherd their children through childhood with strategies of “concerted cultivation,” working-class parents adopt a more *laissez faire* approach. At school, middle-class parents often actively intervene in classroom and schoolwide practices and policies, whereas working-class parents tend to defer to the school’s authority and see no need for intervention. In their comparative case study of three schools, Horvat and colleagues (2002) observed that working-class parents deal with school issues on an individual level rather than collectively. Stone et al. (1999) provided an explanation for the lack of engagement of low-income parents in schools, summarizing studies that describe the often troubled relationships between

schools and neighborhoods in poor urban areas and the sense of alienation that parents have often felt from schools in their neighborhoods.

The Lareau and Horvat and colleagues studies drew conclusions about class differences in parental involvement from school settings that were socioeconomically homogeneous. Studies of socioeconomically integrated schools that sort students into academic tracks provide some evidence about dynamics in schools with a mixed-income population. Examining efforts to detrack classes at 10 racially and socioeconomically integrated public high schools, Wells and Serna (1996) suggested that parents in mixed-income schools and school districts do not act on behalf of the student body as a collectivity. Instead, they observe that middle-class parents act to protect their class-based interests and not in concert with or on behalf of less privileged families in the school or district (see also Brantlinger, 2003; Wells & Crain, 1997).

Furthermore, residents of various income levels, and, more important, various levels of connection to the neighborhood, may not automatically form an affective or emotional connection with the local school. Ethnographic research by Small (2004) at the neighborhood level has shown that residents' perceptions of their neighborhoods, and the role that the neighborhood plays in their lives, help determine their willingness and propensity for neighborhood involvement. These same perceptions may shape individuals' decisions regarding whether and how to be involved in their local schools, particularly in instances where there is significant and perhaps contentious change. New residents and long-time neighborhood residents may feel a very different sense of connection to a new or restructured neighborhood school. For the new residents it could represent revitalization and growth and for the long-time residents it could represent gentrification and displacement.

Thus, the evidence suggests that parents may interact differentially with schools and within schools based on their socioeconomic background, which calls into question the extent to which income mixing within a school will naturally lead to collective action among parents of different class backgrounds. It will likely take more than simply having children in the same school to promote bonding social capital among parents, certainly at a level that could have a broader, neighborhood-wide impact.

Channel 5: Schools as Institutional Resources

Rationale and Theory

Schools, according to our fifth and final channel, can also serve as valuable institutional resources within neighborhoods. School grounds and

facilities represent important physical assets to host and support community activities (Stone et al., 1999). Schools attract and manage financial resource flows to support various on- and off-site activities. Schools employ a cohort of individuals who possess human, social, and cultural capital. Chung (2002) argued that community development efforts should take advantage of schools as “a point of entry . . . to address the social, economic and physical needs of a neighborhood” (p. 1; see also Warren, 2005). Myerson (2001) suggested that schools are particularly an important form of neighborhood facility to promote stability. As an institutional resource then, a school represents both a resource stock, with various forms of capital, and resources flows. These institutional resources can be leveraged to generate services and activities for the broader neighborhood, potentially increasing the quality of life for residents.

The community schools movement represents a growing effort to capitalize on schools as potential resources for their surrounding neighborhoods (Dryfoos, 1994, 2005; Dryfoos, Quinn, & Barkin, 2005; Keith, 1996, 1999; Moses & Coltoff, 1999; Quinn, 2005; Warren, 2005). Although community schools vary in their types of programs and levels of engagement with external actors, their common commitment is to be an asset to a community constituency that is much broader than just the children who attend the school. A recent report by Voices for Illinois Children (2001) described community schools as “hubs for school-linked or school-based services that promote lifelong learning and development throughout a community” (p. 2). Dryfoos (2005) suggested that in addition to encouraging parent involvement, providing after-school enrichment and facilitating individual attention for children, community schools may also foster social capital in otherwise disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Evidence

More than 1,000 community schools have been successfully created in neighborhoods across the country, capitalizing on the existing physical and human assets associated with the school to provide an array of programs and activities engaging the broader community (Quinn, 2005). According to Keith (1999), “Although there is considerable variety, most of these schools sponsor family-support initiatives and school-linked services, including programs such as extended-day and Saturday activities, family centers, summer camps, health clinics, adult evening classes, and mental health and other services” (p. 225). Quinn (2005) added early childhood programs and community and economic development efforts to that list.

Much of the assessment of the impact of community schools focuses on the benefits to students of a broader array of neighborhood resources

offered within the school building (see, e.g., Dryfoos, 2005; Quinn, 2005). Beyond the provision of a variety of programs, it is unclear what cumulative effects community school efforts have had on their surrounding neighborhoods. Whalen (2005) cautioned that though community schools may hope to contribute to neighborhood revitalization, in practice their neighborhood impact focused primarily on engaging community members in programs within the school building. The neighborhood-level impact of community schools is still undertheorized and empirically untested (Whalen, personal communication, July 19, 2006).

Conclusion and Implications

Based on our review of the literature, we conclude that schools may indeed be uniquely positioned to play integral roles in the development and maintenance of successful mixed-income neighborhoods. Studies thus far have found very little interaction among residents of different income levels in mixed-income neighborhoods. The presence of families with children is widely held as a key to such interaction. To date, mixed-income developments, particularly in the United States, have failed to attract middle-class families with children. High-quality local public schools could serve not only as an attractive amenity to draw families with children to the neighborhood, but also as a unique forum for interaction and collective action, as well as an academic and institutional resource for local families.

However, despite this theoretical promise, our review suggests that there are considerable barriers to schools playing this role and, furthermore, some potential for efforts on this strategy to produce the unintended effect of creating greater economic stratification in the neighborhood. The barriers include the difficulties of overcoming external perceptions among middle-class families about school quality and the likelihood that parents of differing socioeconomic backgrounds may engage in school activities and with school personnel differently and with differing agendas. Further, if the school is successful in recruiting affluent families to the neighborhood, their market power may increase housing costs, displacing low-income families from the neighborhood.

Our own assessment of the conceptual model we proposed here is that available empirical evidence suggests that schools' most important roles may be as educational resources for local children, as amenities to increase demand for the neighborhood, and as institutional resources for the broader community. Evidence is less promising on the possibility of schools as social forums for

relationship building and agenda setting, especially without the dedication of specific resources to promote this. Major voids in our knowledge base prevent complete assessment of the model at this time, including the association between individual school success or failure and neighborhood-level outcomes, the link between school quality and neighborhood composition and resident mobility, the existence of any natural social interaction across incomes among parents and the import of such interaction, the link between parental involvement at the school and collective action at the neighborhood-level, and the impact on neighborhoods of expanding schools' roles as community assets.

A mixed-income neighborhood strategy, then, should include consideration of the following:

- How to generate investments in the local schools that will make the schools more attractive to families with children of all income levels, including high-quality classroom instruction, strong arts, foreign language, and music programs, supports for students in need of accelerated as well as remedial support, and an array of extracurricular programming?
- How to market schools more effectively to middle-class families, making conventional indicators of quality such as test scores readily available as well as publicizing other indicators of the school's commitment to meeting the needs of students with a diverse range of backgrounds and abilities?
- How to facilitate and nurture interactions among parents of different income levels within schools? Though this may occur naturally in some cases due to repeated interactions over time, in most instances it may require additional attention and activity to surmount natural inclinations to build social networks within one's own social group. It is not clear whether responsibility for this community building within the school belongs to school representatives, participants in the broader neighborhood development effort, or perhaps even parent leaders. Certainly, where schools elect to divide students into different tracks based on academic ability, the enduring racial and socioeconomic achievement gap (Ferguson, 2001; Ogbu, 2003) could create stratification within the school that makes the task of facilitating parent connections even more difficult.
- How neighborhood-level actors can effectively and creatively engage local schools as collaborative partners and institutional resources? Evidence suggests that mixed-income efforts have thus far failed to fully incorporate the local schools and school system in the design and implementation of the neighborhood revitalization effort (Silverman et al., 2005; Varady et al., 2005). Given that the primary inclination of schools will be to focus internally, it may require strong support and facilitation from neighborhood-level actors to encourage school leaders and personnel to also focus on the schools' broader neighborhood roles.

- How to most effectively complement an investment in local schools with other strategies designed to attract middle-class families, by, for example, increasing public safety and enhancing local cultural and recreational activities? Concurrently, to prevent displacement, attention must be given to strategies to retain affordable housing of sufficient size and quality to accommodate families of more modest means.

If current trends continue, an increasing number of neighborhood-based efforts that include local school reform as a means of promoting economic integration will provide opportunities for important further research investigation into the role of schools as amenities and local resources, the nature of social interaction among students and parents in mixed-income schools, and the possibility for individual benefits and spillover effects with neighborhood-level impact.

Notes

1. In this article we use the term *mixed-income neighborhoods* to imply that the conceptual frameworks and analysis here are relevant both to developments built and managed by a single entity as well as larger, more organic neighborhoods.

Closely related to the question of economic diversity is the question of racial diversity, on which there is a substantial literature, particularly on the topic of schools. However, most of the scholarly and policy focus on mixed-income development focuses on integration by income not race and, in the interest of space, we focus on income and class in this article. The role of schools in neighborhood racial integration is an important topic to be pursued and incorporated into this discussion.

2. It is important to keep in mind the likely reciprocal influence of the neighborhood and its residents on the school, as well as the myriad other individual, neighborhood, and macrosocial factors that may work in tandem with schools to promote successful neighborhoods. According to Khadduri et al. (2003), the proponents of schools as a development tool propose that we should expect a synergistic effect between simultaneous school and neighborhood development, with concurrent development efforts creating a larger positive impact than either effort pursued in isolation.

3. By *neighborhood schools* we mean something different from *community schools*, which refers to schools that are used as centers for multipurpose community activities (although a neighborhood school may indeed be a *community school*). We will discuss community schools later in the article.

4. There is no consensus about what level of economic integration constitutes a mixed-income neighborhood. Obviously, all neighborhoods have some level of income diversity. The term is intended here to refer generally to neighborhoods with a broad representation of households across the socioeconomic spectrum, including a substantial proportion with incomes well below the area median income. See Galster (2005) and Turner and Fenderson (2006) for more technical definitions derived for their analyses of economic diversity in the 100 largest U.S. metropolitan areas using census data.

5. For the purposes of this article, we assume that the starting point for the creation of a mixed-income community is either a predominantly low-income community that seeks to attract more affluent residents, or a formerly affluent community that is losing affluent residents and gaining lower-income residents. Given the absence of current real-world application, we do not consider the case of a stable affluent community that seeks to attract a critical mass of low-income households, even though conceptually this would be a conceivable route to a mixed-income community.

6. Due to space limitations, figures for Channels 3, 4, and 5 are not reproduced here and are available on request from the authors.

7. We thank Lisa Rosen for bringing this potential channel of influence to our attention.

References

- Akin, J. A., & Garfinkel, I. (1977). School expenditures and the economic returns to schooling. *Journal of Human Resources, 12*, 460-481.
- Ashenfelter, O., & Krueger, A. (1994). Estimates of the economic return to schooling from a new sample of twins. *American Economic Review, 84*, 1157-1173.
- Ashenfelter, O., & Rouse, C. (1998). Income, schooling and ability: Evidence from a new sample of identical twins. *Quarterly Journal of Economics, 113*, 253-284.
- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bayer, P., Ferreira, F., & McMillan, R. (2004). *Tiebout sorting, social multipliers and the demand for school quality* (NBER Working Article 10871). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Berube, A. (2006). Comment on Mark Joseph's "Is mixed-income development an antidote to urban poverty?" *Housing Policy Debate, 17*, 235-247.
- Black, S. E. (1999). Do better schools matter? Parental valuation of elementary education. *Quarterly Journal of Economics, 114*, 577-599.
- Bogart, W., & Cromwell, B. (2000). How much is a neighbourhood school worth? *Journal of Urban Economics, 47*, 280-305.
- Booza, J. C., Cutsinger, J., & Galster, G. (2006). *Where did they go? The decline of middle-income neighborhoods in metropolitan America*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). Forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Brantlinger, E. (2003). *Dividing classes: How the middle class negotiates and justifies school advantage*. Philadelphia, PA: Falmer.
- Brasington, D. (1999). Which measures of school quality does the housing market value? *Journal of Real Estate Research, 18*, 395-413.
- Briggs, X. de S. (1998). Brown kids in White suburbs: Housing mobility and the many faces of social capital. *Housing Policy Debate, 9*, 177-221.
- Briggs, X. de S. (2004). *Traps and stepping stones: Neighborhood dynamics and family well-being* (Working Paper Series, No. RWP04-015). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University John F. Kennedy School of Government Faculty Research.
- Briggs, X. de S. (Ed.). (2005). *The geography of opportunity*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

- Brooks-Gunn, J., Duncan, G. J., & Aber, J. L. (1997). Lessons learned and future directions for research on the neighborhoods in which children live. In J. Brooks-Gunn, G. Duncan, & L. Aber (Eds.), *Neighborhood poverty* (pp. 279-297). Newark, NJ: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Brophy, P. C., & Smith, R. N. (1997). Mixed-income housing: Factors for success. *Cityscape*, 3, 3-31.
- Campbell, K. E., & Lee, R. A. (1992). Sources of personal neighbor networks: Social integration, need, or time? *Social Forces* 70(4), 1077-1100.
- Card, D., & Krueger, A. B. (1992). Does school quality matter? Returns to education and the characteristics of public schools in the United States. *Journal of Political Economy*, 100, 1-40.
- Card, D., & Krueger, A. B. (1998). School resources and student outcomes. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 559, 39-53.
- The Century Foundation. (2002). *Divided we fall: Coming together through public school choice*. Report of the Century Foundation Task Force on the Common School. New York: The Century Foundation Press.
- Chung, C. (2002). *Using public schools as community-development tools: Strategies for community-based developers*. Cambridge, MA: Joint Center for Housing Studies at Harvard University and Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation.
- Cohen, J. (1977). Sources of peer group homogeneity. *Sociology of Education*, 50, 227-241.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, S95-S120.
- Coleman, J. S. (1991). *Parental involvement in education*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.
- Dreier, P., Mollenkopf, J., & Swamstrom, T. (2004). *Place matters: Metropolitics for the twenty-first century*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- Dryfoos, J. G. (1994). *Full-service schools: A revolution in health and social services for children, youth, and families*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Dryfoos, J. G. (2005). Full-service schools: A strategy—not a program. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 107, 7-14.
- Dryfoos, J. G., Quinn, J., & Barkin, C. (2005). *Community schools in action: Lessons from a decade of practice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Elliott, D. (1996). Delinquency, school attendance, and dropout. *Social Problems*, 13, 307-314.
- Ferguson, R. (2001). *A diagnostic analysis of Black-White GPA disparities in Shaker Heights, Ohio*. Brookings Papers on Education Policy. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Fischer, C. S. (1982). *To dwell among friends: Personal networks in town and city*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Francisco, J. (2005, August 22). A charter school of your own is latest in home amenities. *Chicago Tribune*, p. 1.
- Frey, W. (1979). Central city White flight: Racial and nonracial causes. *American Sociological Review*, 44, 425-448.
- Galster, G. (with Booza, J. C.), Metzger, K., & Cutsinger, J. (2005). *An analysis and inventory of mixed-income/mixed-race neighborhoods*. Report to the Ford Foundation. Detroit, MI: Center for Urban Studies, Wayne State University.
- Gittell, R., & Vidal, A. (1998). *Community organizing: Building social capital as a development strategy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Griffin, L. J., & Alexander, K. L. (1978). Schooling and socioeconomic attainments: High school and college influences. *American Journal of Sociology*, 84, 319-347.

- Grogan, P. S., & Proscio, T. (2000). *Comeback cities: A blueprint for urban neighborhood revival*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Hanushek, E. (1986). The economics of schooling: Production and efficiency in public schools. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 24, 1141-1177.
- Haurin, D., & Brasington, R. (1996). The impact of school quality on real house prices: Interjurisdictional effects. *Journal of Housing Economics*, 5, 351-368.
- Holme, J. (2002). Buying homes, buying schools: School choice and the social construction of school quality. *Harvard Educational Review*, 72, 175-205.
- Horvat, E. M., Weininger, E. B., & Lareau, A. (2003). From social ties to social capital: Class differences in the relations between schools and parent networks. *American Educational Research Journal*, 40, 319-351.
- Hoxby, C. (2000). *Peer effects in the classroom: Learning from gender and race variation* (NBER Working Paper 7867). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Jargowsky, P. A. (1997). *Poverty and place: Ghettos, barrios, and the American city*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Jargowsky, P. A., & Bane, M. J. (1997). Ghetto poverty: Basic questions. In L. E. Lynn & M. G. H. McGeary (Eds.), *Inner city poverty in the United States* (pp. 16-67). Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Jenkins, P. H. (1995). School delinquency and school commitment. *Sociology of Education*, 68, 221-239.
- Joseph, J. (1996). School factors and delinquency: A study of African American youths. *Journal of Black Studies*, 26, 340-355.
- Joseph, M. L. (2006). Is mixed-income development an antidote to urban poverty? *Housing Policy Debate*, 17, 209-234.
- Joseph, M. L., Chaskin, R. J., & Webber, H. S. (2007). The theoretical basis for addressing poverty through mixed-income development. *Urban Affairs Review*, 42, 369-409.
- Jud, G. D., & Bennett, D. G. (1986). Public schools and the pattern of intraurban residential mobility. *Land Economics*, 62, 362-370.
- Kahlenberg, R. D. (2001). *All together now: Creating middle-class schools through public school choice*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Kahlenberg, R. D. (2002). *Economic school integration: An update*. Century Foundation Issue Brief. Washington, DC: Century Foundation.
- Kane, T. J., Staiger, D. O., & Reigg, S. K. (2005). *School quality, neighborhoods and housing prices: The impacts of school desegregation* (NBER Working Article No. 11347). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Keith, N. (1999). Whose community schools? New discourses, old patterns. *Theory Into Practice*, 38, 225-234.
- Keith, N. (1996). Can urban school reform and community development be joined? The potential of community schools. *Education and Urban Society*, 28, 237-268.
- Kelley, D. (2002, July 7). Blueprint for public education; Growth: The developers of Oxnard's RiverPark project agree to build new schools themselves [Home edition]. *Los Angeles Times*, p. B1.
- Khadduri, J., Turnham, J., Chase, A., & Schwartz, H. (2003). *Case studies exploring the potential relationship between schools and neighborhood revitalization*. Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates.
- Kleit, R. G. (2005). HOPE VI new communities: Neighborhood relations in mixed-income housing. *Environment and Planning A*, 37, 1413-1441.

- Lareau, A. (1989). *Home advantage: Social class and parental intervention in elementary education*. Philadelphia, PA: Falmer.
- Lareau, A. (2003). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race and family life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lee, B. A., Campbell, K. E., & Miller, O. (1991). Racial differences in urban neighboring. *Sociological Forum* 6(3), 525-550.
- Loury, G. (1977). A dynamic theory of racial income differences. In P. Wallace & A. M. La Mond (Eds.), *Women, minorities, and employment discrimination*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath.
- McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. (2001). Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, 415-444.
- Miller, P., Mulvey, C., & Martin, N. (1995). What do twin studies reveal about the economic returns to education? A comparison of Australian and U.S. findings. *American Economic Review*, 85, 586-599.
- Mincer, J. (1974). *Schooling, experience and earnings*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Moore, S. (2006, August 18). Building successful mixed-income communities. Presentation at the Metropolitan Planning Council, Chicago, IL.
- Moses, C. W., & Coltoff, P. (1999). Organizational change to promote psychosocial and academic development. In R. W. C. Tourse & J. F. Mooney (Eds.), *Collaborative practice: School and human service partnerships*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Muller, C., & Kerbow, D. (1993). Parent involvement in the home, school and community. In B. Schneider & J. Coleman (Eds.), *Parents, their children, and schools*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Myerson, D. (2001). *Sustaining urban mixed-income communities: The role of community facilities*. Land Use Policy Forum Report. Washington, DC: Urban Land Institute.
- Ogbu, J. U. (2003). *Black American students in an affluent suburb: A study in academic disengagement*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Oliver, M. L. (1988). The urban Black community as network: Toward a social network perspective. *Sociological Quarterly* 29(4), 623-645.
- Orfield, G. (1999). Comment on Stone et al.'s "Schools and disadvantaged neighborhoods: The community development challenge." In R. F. Ferguson & W. T. Dickens (Eds.), *Urban problems and community development*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Piton Foundation. (2006). *Economically segregated schools hurt poor kids, study shows*. Retrieved October 23, 2006, from http://www.piton.org/default.asp?nav_id=3&subnav=11&article_id=197
- Popkin, S. J., Katz, B., Cunningham, M., Brown, K. D., Gustafson, J., & Turner, M. (2004). *A decade of HOPE VI: Research findings and policy challenges*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute and Brookings Institution.
- Portes, A. (1998). Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 1-24.
- Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: The revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Quinn, J. (2005). The Children's Aid Society community schools: A full-service partnership model. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 107, 15-26.
- Ricketts, E. R., & Sawhill, I. V. (1986). *Defining and measuring the underclass*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.
- Rizzuto, R., & Wachtel, P. (1980). Further evidence on the returns to school quality. *Journal of Human Resources*, 15, 240-254.

- Roeser, R. W., Eccles, J. S., & Sameroff, A. J. (2000). School as a context of early adolescents' academic and social-emotional development: A summary of research findings. *Elementary School Journal, 100*, 443-471.
- Sampson, R. J., & Groves, B. W. (1989). Community structure and crime: Testing social disorganization theory. *American Journal of Sociology, 94*, 774-802.
- Shaw, C. R., & McKay, H. D. (1942). *Juvenile delinquency and urban areas*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Silberberg, N. E., & Silberberg, M. C. (1971). School achievement and delinquency. *Review of Educational Research, 41*, 17-33.
- Silverman, E., Lupton, R., & Fenton, A. (2005). *A good place for children? Attracting and retaining families in inner urban mixed income communities*. London: Chartered Institute of Housing/Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Small, M. L. (2004). *Villa Victoria: The transformation of social capital in a Boston barrio*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, A. (2002). *Mixed-income housing developments: Promise and reality*. Cambridge, MA: Joint Center for Housing Studies, Harvard University.
- Stanton-Salazar, R. D. (1997). A social capital framework for understanding the socialization of racial minority children and youths. *Harvard Educational Review, 67*, 1-40.
- Stone, C., Doherty, K., Jones, C., & Ross, T. (1999). Schools and disadvantaged neighborhoods: The community development challenge. In R. F. Ferguson & W. T. Dickens (Eds.), *Urban problems and community development*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Thrupp, M. (1995). The school mix effect: The history of an enduring problem in educational research, policy and practice. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 16*, 183-203.
- Tiebout, C. M. (1956). A pure theory of local expenditures. *Journal of Political Economy, 64*, 416-424.
- Turbov, M., & Piper, V. (2005). *HOPE VI and mixed-finance redevelopment: A catalyst for neighborhood renewal*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Turner, M. A., & Fenderson, J. (2006). *Understanding diverse neighborhoods in an era of demographic change*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.
- Turnham, J., & Khadduri, J. (2004). *Integrating school reform and neighborhood revitalization: Opportunities and challenges*. Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates.
- Vale, L. J. (2006). Comment on Mark Joseph's "Is mixed-income development an antidote to urban poverty?" *Housing Policy Debate, 17*, 259-269.
- Varady, D. P., & Raffel, J. A. (1995). *Selling homebuyers through schools and housing programs*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Varady, D. P., Raffel, J. A., Sweeney, S., & Denson, L. (2005). Attracting middle income families in the HOPE VI public housing revitalization program. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 27*, 149-164.
- Voices for Illinois Children. (2001). *Community schools in Illinois: Partnerships promoting academic excellence and lifelong development*. Chicago, IL: Community Collaboration Project. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED457976)
- Walden, M. (1990). Magnet schools and the differential impact of school quality on residential property values. *Journal of Real Estate Research, 5*, 221-230.
- Warren, M. R. (2005). Communities and schools: A new view of urban education reform. *Harvard Educational Review, 75*, 133-173.
- Wells, A. S., & Crain, R. (1997). *Stepping over the color line: African American students in White suburban schools*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Wells, A. S., & Serna, I. (1996). The politics of culture: Understanding local political resistance to detracking in racially mixed schools. *Harvard Educational Review*, 66, 93-118.
- Whalen, S. (2005, April 13). *Distributed leadership and community schooling: Early lessons from the Chicago community schools initiative*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Montréal, Quebec, Canada.
- Wilcox, K., & Moriarty, P. (1976). Schooling and work: Social constraints on equal educational opportunity. *Social Problems*, 24, 204-213.
- Wilson, W. J. (1987). *The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public policy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Wilson, W. J. (1996). *When work disappears: The world of the new urban poor*. New York: Knopf.

Mark Joseph is an assistant professor at the Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences at Case Western Reserve University. His research interests are urban poverty, community development, and mixed-income development. His work has appeared in the *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *Urban Affairs Review*, *Housing Policy Debate*, *Social Work*, and the *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*.

Jessica Feldman is a doctoral student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. She received her master's degree in public policy from the Harris School of Public Policy Studies. She is currently studying organizational density in urban neighborhoods.

For reprints and permissions queries, please visit SAGE's Web site at <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>.