<u>OHFA Clark-Fulton, Cleveland:</u>

1. Literature Review

A summary of the literature available shows that although mixed income approaches can create positive outcomes, they are not a catch all solution for the challenges that come with using mixed income housing to alleviate poverty. Although mixed income housing can create many positive changes in a neighborhood they tend to lead to the displacement and resentment of middle and upper middle-class citizens.

One definite benefit from mixed income housing initiatives is that residents see aesthetic improvements made in their buildings and community as a whole. Low income families often see benefits from their location, but not social interactions (Smith, 2002). For example, lower income residents see higher quality in the buildings themselves, the maintenance and management, and access to services and amenities within their neighborhood (Buron and Khadduri 2005; Smith 2002.)

Communities which seek to provide their lower income residents with a stake in their community have seen benefits. This is a way to allow all residents to come together and develop a plan for the community, providing a way for residents of all backgrounds to mix. Additionally the way the developments are built can influence the way that tenants of all incomes interact with one another, for example common areas within the residences (Briggs 1997, 2005).

It has also been seen that transit oriented development benefits for low-income residents (MZ Strategies, 2015). In these areas there is a higher chance that there is a growing market. Being near a bus station or rail line provides residents with accessible transportation, while also showing that the city has made an investment in that area by providing the transportation.

One well-known assumption with mixed income housing is the idea that living together will provide opportunities for tenants of all socio-economic classes to interact—thus helping the poor to increase their network, perhaps learn new skills and knowledge and ascend out of poverty. Research on whether or not this is true is mixed. Research suggests that living in the same space is not enough, and there must be "healthy" interactions (Smith, 2002). When tenants are provided with the opportunities to connect and interact positives have been seen, but if not, the intended purpose of alleviating poverty will not happen.

Additionally development with strict screening can make it hard to tell if positive behavior changes are due to the mixed income housing, or if the individuals who made it to residents were predisposed to change their behavior (Smith, 2002).

Heterogeneity in population requires differing goals when developing mixed income housing. There are different levels of poverty, different family structures which require different physical structures, supports, and

Des Moines, Iowa, United States:

There is a typical route that gentrification takes, and the case study of River Bend Neighborhood in Des Moines, Iowa breaks it down into six different steps: housing renovation, economic development, less demand for public services, increased tax revenue, neighborhood stability, and decreased crime. (Humason, Robert Neal, "Neighborhood revitalization and affordable housing: a case study of the River Bend neighborhood, Des Moines, Iowa" (1993). Retrospective Theses and Dissertations. 16770.) This process displays the unintended negative consequences that a policy can have. This is still positive for the neighborhood as people renovating homes adds to the "aesthetic" of the neighborhood, but it doesn't allow low income residents the ability to compete and stay in their neighborhood. What planners and developers have decided to do is combine efforts to make plans that are cohesive and inclusive. In some cases, this works and in others it still isn't strong enough to stop the gentrification process of a neighborhood. The idea that bringing people together to make plans has had success in many communities one example would be the neighborhood of St. Lawrence in Toronto, Canada.

Saint Lawrence Neighborhood, Toronto, Canada:

The Saint Lawrence Neighborhood underwent a mixed income re-development in the 1970's. Although now we experience more issues which we didn't in that era, we can still learn lessons from this project. One reason the project was successful was that renters were given an ownership stake. Renters were voting members of the co-op that owned the building. This allowed renters to feel that they had a say in what happened to their neighborhood, without the burden of a mortgage. The neighborhood focused on social and economic diversity, implementing playgrounds that children from all backgrounds would be able to go play at as well as successfully adding in a high rise condo in the middle of public and cooperative housing. (*Phillip Preville, The secrets to a lasting mixed-income neighborhood June, 28,2018*)

Another reason for success was the multiple funding streams the project saw. The project didn't have a single, large housing agency as the single landlord. This was beneficial as one failure wouldn't bring down all the developments. Additionally different public organizations built housing for seniors and low-income residents, diversifying the social mix and income mix.

Ultimately, it's important to understand each neighborhood for its unique challenges which resulted in its dilapidated state through the demographics it effects. Planning for mixed income neighborhoods isn't a copy and paste method. Many cities in the United States have tried to just use the same structures, but you need to be thorough when planning and give the neighborhoods their own unique sense of place. This is how you create a place that will be a destination not only for low-income but upper middle class and middle class citizens who are looking for well-designed and thought out neighborhoods, which will keep these wealthier people coming to the neighborhood adding to its growth and development.

2. Most Important Goals:

        One of the most important goals, after much research and composing the literature review, is a high level of community involvement throughout the design process as well as tenant and community satisfaction during and after the implementation process. One of the successful case studies we reviewed involving the Village of Techwood, Georgia incorporated a *Community Services Plan* and performed a needs assessment prior to development proposals which helped the community members and potential residents feel confident in the new development within their neighborhood. It is important for us to ensure that the community and the tenants living in the affordable housing units are satisfied with and thriving in the final product.

        Our second goal will be avoiding the displacement of current residents. Gentrification is a fear that a lot of low income areas have. New development often times sparks this conversation and residents often time get defensive and angry. We want to assure residents that the affordable housing development will not affect their homes in their place in the community.

3. Metrics:

        One way we will measure the success of our project is through surveys. To track community involvement, we will have surveys at the end of community meetings that ask questions about how helpful citizens felt the meeting was and how heard they feel their opinions are. After construction is completed we will set up social media pages or websites as well as go door to door, asking community members to comment about how satisfied they are with the design process involvement levels and the final product of the affordable housing units. The census tract closest to the affordable housing development should be used as the area to first receive the surveys. For example census tract 104900 has a population of 2,493 people. With a sample proportion of 30% the sample size would be 286 people. We could then print 286 surveys and mail or go door to door to receive responses. We will deliver surveys to tenants in our affordable housing units every 6 months asking about their current job, health, and social satisfaction levels. This will include questions about their current employment and compensation, any medical condition changes, and how well they feel they are connecting with other tenants and community members. We will compare their answers and seek trends over time. In order to get hard numbers for quantitative data we will track employment rates and income levels of the tenants to see if they are changing over time. If tenant employment levels are rising and so are their compensation levels, we will be able to make an educated guess that the environment the affordable housing units are providing is making somewhat of a positive impact. We will use incentives such as a raffle to win gift cards to encourage completion of the surveys. This will help us to better understand what effects living in the affordable housing units maybe having on them and trends in satisfaction in the long term.

        To track the displacement of people we will use median household income and average rent/mortgage rate. We look at past trends to get a baseline before the affordable housing development. We will then track these metrics to find trends overtime. If the average

rent/mortgage rate increases over time we will know that landlords are driving up rental prices, attracting a different income level population. If mortgage rates are going up we will be able to infer it could be because the value of the land is going up becoming increasingly more unaffordable to those that current inhabit the land and houses. Looking at trends in average household income will tell us whether current residents are being paid more or if a higher income population us moving into the area. We will be able to tell this by how big the increase or decrease is of median household income levels.

5. Defining a Neighborhood

Defining a neighborhood has never been an easy task, and there is no clear consensus on a singular definition of neighborhood boundaries. It is also important to note that different neighborhoods can have varying types of boundaries, and while some can have clear-cut physical boundaries, others can have much more porous and nebulous borders. Traditional techniques have often relied on administrative definitions such as census tracts and blocks due to their neatness and ease of use. While these definitions can still be attractive because of their simplicity, other methods have seen recent rises in popularity in an effort to explore other definitions of neighborhood boundaries in an attempt to provide more accurate definitions of a neighborhood.

This lack of clarity is noted by Campbell et al. in their article *Subjective Constructions of Neighborhood Boundaries: Lessons From a Qualitative Study of Four Neighborhoods*, in which they write that there is a "potential for multiple and intersecting neighborhood boundaries in a given physical space" (Campbell et al., 2009, p.463). Given this level of complexity, it is not altogether surprising that administrative definitions of a neighborhood, such as census data, serve as fallbacks as a common definition. However, these administrative definitions can be seen as "inaccurate for research and policy because they do not consider the dynamics of social interaction and the influence of other institutions, such as real estate practices" (Hwang, 2007, p.3).

Given these limitations, there is a "renewed interest in subjective neighborhood definitions with an emphasis on boundaries" (Hwang, 2007, p.3), using techniques such as mental mapping in an attempt to ascertain residents' perspectives on their own neighborhoods. This is a methodology that allows for researchers "to capture the sense and strength of community and identity" (Catney et al., 2018). This technique is much more flexible and democratic in nature, but does require more time and resources on behalf of the research team.

The advent of Geographic Information System (GIS) technology has also led to advances in subjective neighborhood definitions, as it allows for the streamlining of resident-defined neighborhood maps (Lohmann and McMurran, 2009). GIS is a tool that can be used in conjunction with other techniques, such as mental mapping, and its proliferation promises to continue to revolutionize how neighborhoods are viewed and how that data is collected.

In a sense, the definition of a neighborhood and its boundaries will always be subjective, and different sources will continue to provide varying answers to the questions asked. It should also be noted that the resources of the research team in question will often determine the methods used. However, recent advances in the field of data-collecting, as well as greater sensitivity to the identity of neighborhood residents and their identity, mean that, despite the continued lack of a singular definition of a neighborhood, the definition of individual neighborhoods will only become more accurate over time.

With this in mind, one can define the neighborhood of Clark Fulton by using the neighborhood boundary as defined by the Cleveland City Planning Commission, as well as the five census tracts that are included in that defined boundary. We then analyzed both the employment rates and income rates based on this boundary to track the trends of displacement of current residents in the boundary.
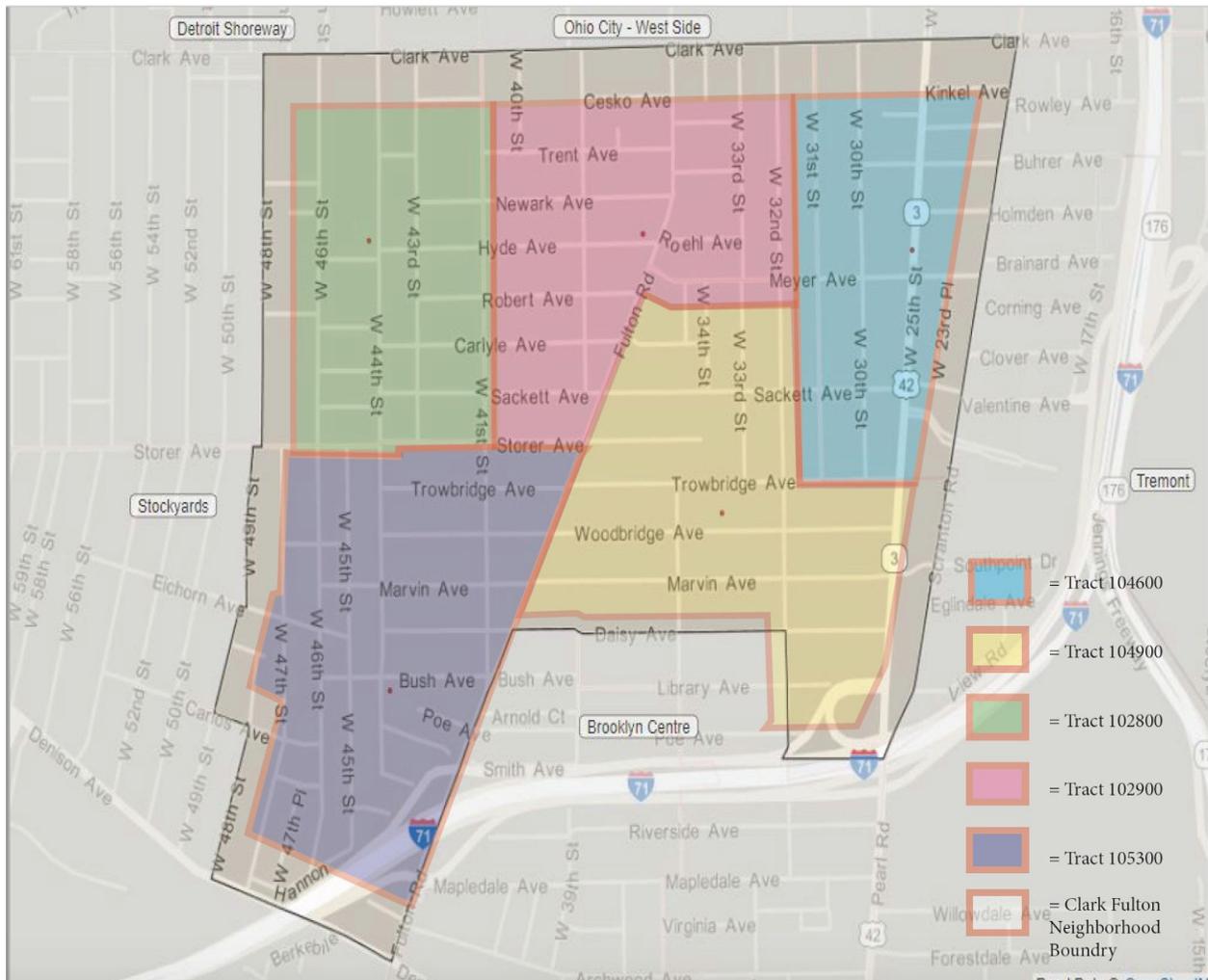

Figure 1: Clark-Fulton Boundary Map

Employment Rate per Household (2018)

Tract Number	Both Parents	Neither Parents Work	Stay at Home Dads	Stay at Home Moms
102800	0.00%	16.00%	4.00%	28.00%
102900	12.98%	0.00%	0.00%	2.90%
104600	7.46%	0.00%	7.46%	28.40%
105300	20.59%	16.67%	0.00%	1.60%
104900	15.45%	5.45%	7.27%	4.50%
Clark Fulton	62.68%	5.14%	7.75%	24.44%

Income Rate (2018)

Tract Number	Median Income	Gini Index (Larger rate means more inequality)	Mean of Top 5%
102800	$18,235	47.20%	$96,733
102900	$23,942	50.53%	$171,281
104600	$17,232	53.71%	$125,354
105300	$22,634	42.2%	$107,828
104900	$25,255	48.29%	$125,612

Area	Median Income	People Below Poverty Level	People Above Poverty Level
Clark Fulton	$22,900	31.54%	66.46%

8. Reflection

The impacts of mixed income housing have direct and indirect consequences to the community and economy. The neighborhood boundary is used to calculate the changes within an area. Therefore, the census tract is the neighborhood limit to determine improvement of employment and income rate made by mixed income housing. The main benefit of this initiative is revitalizing the neighborhood on multiples spectrums of social, economic and safety. In terms of social impact of mixed income housing, the quality of life can be improved with greater livability and better housing quality. This includes greater education equality and better infrastructure, which encourages cohesive social interactions through stable neighborhoods.

In term of economic, mixed income housing influences the economy nearby with the demand from higher income rates. This will allow for more job opportunities and increase income mobility, which offers lower income to be above poverty level and increase employment rate. As the boundaries are set according to census tract, which is an advantage to analyze neighborhood demographic of employment rate and income rate. These can affect those numbers in a positive way and drive the neighborhood away from crime and unemployment through mixed income housing initiatives.

Lastly, the crime rate is a direct impact of mixed income housing and expected to be reduced. Mixed income housing may offer safety and a less distressed neighborhood. This can be measured with a quantitative crime rate. Safety is the priority issue in every neighborhood, and mixed income housing can stimulate that and allow people to live without worries of being in danger.

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