

**Occasional Paper 1: Neighbourhoods and the
Impacts of Social Mix: Crime, Tenure
Diversification and Assisted Mobility**

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Background

Many assumptions are made in policy-making relating to the treatment of concentrated disadvantage in the West. In the US the Moving to Opportunity programme continues to select and disperse households to locations away from public housing to give what are perceived to be better opportunities in more socially diverse areas. In the UK area-based policies target places of concentrated deprivation in order to lessen the context effects of that poverty by re-making the built environment (especially in housing mix terms) and dealing with the skills, training, education and health of residents in order to re-connect them to opportunities outside these neighbourhoods. In the Netherlands the process of urban restructuring has been used to disperse concentrations of poverty in order to lessen the effects created by allowing areas of ghettoised poverty to form. In short, much of the diagnosis of the problem as it is related to poverty in the urbanised West has been to focus on such areas and, either inwardly or outwardly, to see greater social diversity as a means of dealing with such problems.

The focus of both policy research agendas and academic work in the UK has been the effects on households/individuals by areas of concentrated and compounded disadvantage. This agenda has become familiar and has broadly lead to a consensus that greater diversity would be useful in addressing such area effects. In particular we might suggest that employment opportunities, concentrations of problematic disorder, pressures on public services (such as education and health) and particularly area reputation might all be improved if the basic neighbourhood building block were more socially diverse. Intuitively many people would probably support the idea that social diversity is an intrinsic social good that brings wider benefits and yet this assumption has been barely tested in academic research. Social diversity has become a factoid in which the assertion that diversity is 'good' has been repeated so often that it has been considered to be a kind of truth (Cummins and Macintyre, 2002). What can we make of this situation?

Social diversity is probably beneficial but empirical research does not directly support this. More research might be needed to address the question of what kinds of diversity might 'work' best, where and in what combinations. Such evidence could also be used to tackle ghettoisation by income and ethnicity in the British context.

This report is part one in a series each of which focuses on different thematic aspects of empirical research on diversity. In this report we focus on: crime and social diversity and studies of tenure diversification and household mobility. We also detail at the start of this report a broader policy analysis literature which has looked at aspects of social diversity. Subsequent reports will look at health outcomes, area effects, education, participation and other

impacts of social mix. However, we open with a description of the methodology of the review.

- The focus of the study
- Theoretical issues associated with mixed neighbourhoods
- Methodological issues relating to social mix in neighbourhoods
- Criteria for assembling relevant literature

Review methodology

The purpose of the review study was to look at the existing research literature on social mix at the neighbourhood scale and to identify the impacts that have been attributed under such conditions. A systematic review methodology implies a significant undertaking but was seen as necessary in order to differentiate this work from numerous other reviews that have not had an explicit methodology underpinning them. Our strategy was based on a recognition that it would not be possible to review all relevant documentation and that, indeed, much of this will be repetitious or of low quality. In addition to setting limits to the review in terms of inclusion and exclusion criteria (see below) we also eliminated any studies that were felt not to be methodologically robust. The review was therefore focused in two key ways:

1. **Topic of research** – focusing on material directly relevant to the question of social mix in neighbourhoods.
2. **Adequacy of methodological approach** – identifying literature based on a robust methodological approach.

In the event we found very few studies that actually measure the impacts of social mix. A much wider literature on areas effects (the net effect on life-chances from living in a particular neighbourhood) is extensive but almost never comments on or covers neighbourhoods of relative affluence or social diversity. Our starting point was the observation that while commentators commonly assert that socially diverse areas have a range of positive outcomes, often this has been related to political aspirations toward social diversity. Little research evidence has been brought to bear on the question of in what ways social diversity might have positive outcomes. In the UK planning guidance and urban policy more generally stress the need for social diversity, often interpreted as being mixed use, sometimes high density and almost certainly mixed tenure. Part of the rationale for this review is that the evidence-base for this position has not been sufficiently considered.

In addition to the use of the above search strategy we also sifted our personal and departmental collections of research reports and journal articles as well as approaching experts in the field to identify any key gaps. However, although our approach was ‘systematic’ we are aware that there will be gaps in our coverage and that evidence and empirical work on neighbourhood diversity

may have been missed. It is difficult to estimate the comprehensiveness of reviews such as this and while we are confident that we have included all of the key studies we would be more circumspect in assessing the overall inclusivity of material presented.

Aims of the review

Over the course of this and following review reports we examined the following questions:

1. How has social mix been defined in the research literature? Is it tenure, diversity of age/background/ status/political affiliation or household type.
2. What empirically backed claims have been made about the benefits of social diversity? For example, what evidence is there that mixed communities enjoy better public and private services than more homogenous communities? To what extent can better services be attributed to mix itself?
3. What kinds of diversity are claimed to be most important?
4. To what extent have the impacts of social diversity been adequately measured in empirical research (quantitative or qualitative) and what are these?
5. What gaps in the current evidence-base can be identified and how might policy and academic empirical research respond to these gaps?

Search strategy

The scope of the review was as follows:

Geography: Global

Language: English language, Dutch and other European literature identified by experts

Methodology: Quantitative, qualitative or combination

Materials: Books, articles and grey research literature where this could be located

The following databases were used to conduct the search:

Inside Web (1995-2004)	SIGLE (1980-2004)
ASSIA (1980-2004)	Ingenta (1980-2004)
IBSS (1980-2004)	Econlit (1980-2004)
Acompline (1980-2004)	PAIS (1980-2004)
Sociological Abstracts (1980-2004)	

The following search terms were used:

Mix*	Area*
Tenur*/commun*	Hous*
Social mix*/blend*/	Dwell*
divers*/vari*/range/heterogen*	Divers*
Neighbo[u]r*	Localit*

1. Introduction: Current concerns with diversity and urban policy

In this opening section a more general literature on social diversity is introduced as a precursor to the subsequent analysis of thematic areas of impacts from social mix. Setting out clearly the influences and expectations held within policy and academic enquiry on social mix is important to an understanding of why such ideas are currently so influential. In fact the role of social mix at the neighbourhood scale has been viewed with importance since city planning and urban problems were first observed towards the late nineteenth century (Sarkissian, 1976). Sarkissian observes that the perceived benefits of social mix were extensive:

1. To raise standards of 'lower classes' via a 'spirit of emulation'
2. To encourage aesthetic diversity and raise aesthetic standards
3. To encourage cultural cross-fertilisation
4. To increase equality of opportunity
5. To promote social harmony by reducing social and racial tensions
6. To promote social conflict in order to foster individual and social maturity
7. To improve the physical functioning of the city and its inhabitants
8. To help maintain stable residential areas
9. To reflect the diversity of the urbanised world

Much of the basis to these claims was from a theoretical perspectives on the urban and town planning literature generally with little empirical foundation. The ideas of Howard and his Garden Cities were about ensuring a representation of all classes but, as Sarkissian observes, was clearly segregated by class and income at the micro scale. On the other hand the later ideas of Mumford, taken as something of a bible by British planners, were strongly against social segregation and so planned for diversity. This was as much an espousal of political ideals as much as it was based on a measured assessment of what he saw as the harm produced by slum conditions.

The concerns of writers like Engels, Rowntree and Booth, among many other social commentators, were with the overwhelming burden created by concentrated deprivation as well as the material lack among those residents of areas like London's East End then and now adjacent to a powerhouse of financial flows and affluence. However, a general interest in the problems of

life in deprived areas and its solutions has been fine-tuned in recent years with a concern not just with wider social and spatial inequalities but also with the compounded problems of life in such areas. In other words, if areas exert a separable and significant influence on the life-chances of residents, what public policy initiatives and programmes can be used to alleviate such conditions and plan for more diverse communities to diminish these concentration effects.

Gans (1961) was influential in his ideas relating to social diversity, suggesting that four major advantages could be related to social mix at the neighbourhood scale. First, that it added demographic balance to an area that enriched people's lives. Second, that it promotes tolerance of social difference. Third, that social mix produces a broadening of educational influences on children and finally that it provides exposure to alternative ways of life while homogeneity locks people into their present ways of life. In fact all of the last three factors are very similar and suggest a deep social importance to being brought up and living in diversity so that our personal politics could be linked to concerns with people different from ourselves, whether that be richer or poorer.

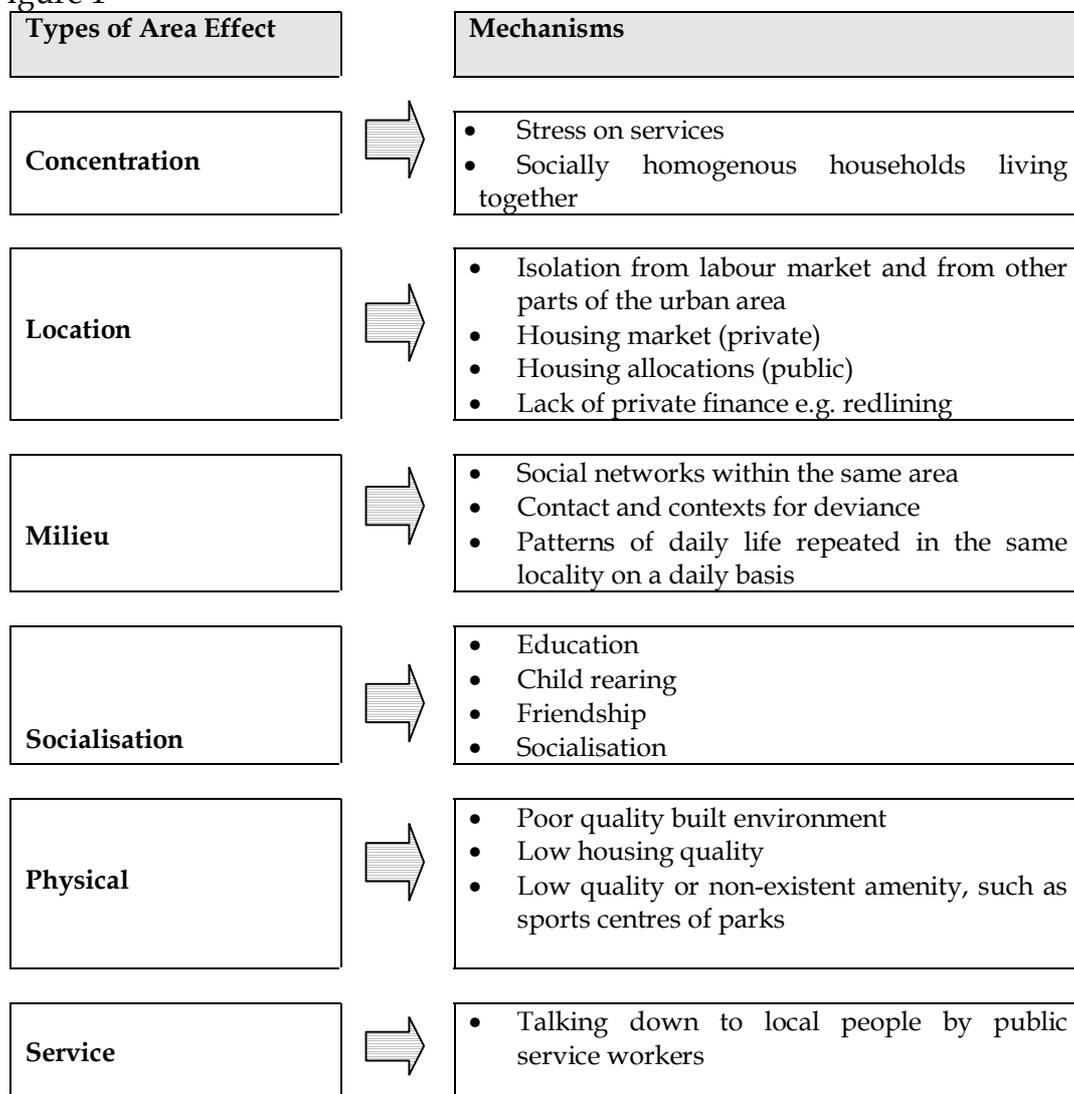
In countries like Canada social diversity is seen as a hallmark of neighbourhood vitality even to the extent that gentrification has been seen as a positive move by some city administrations looking to improve their local tax base and bring higher-income groups to working-class neighbourhoods (Dansereau, 2003). Of course this is also potentially controversial with processes of gentrification having a long history of displacing lower income renters and ultimately pricing out lower income homeowners as well (see the earlier CNR review of the impacts of gentrification, Atkinson, 2002).

In Europe, countries like the Netherlands have employed policies of urban restructuring which predate the use of the recent Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders in the UK (although patterns of demolition and clearance clearly have a longer history in the UK). Ostendorf and others (2001) have suggested that policies of urban restructuring have been intended to diversify the housing stock to change the social composition of neighbourhoods in order to create greater social mix. A key assumption behind such programmes they assert, is that if greater mix can be promoted the context effects of being poor in poor areas may be reduced and upward mobility be promoted. However, another outcome of such policies may also be that poor households are displaced in order to achieve balance. The authors conclude that it may be many years before the effects of such programmes might be calculated and that longitudinal research, to track movers and those that remain, is needed.

It is worth saying at this stage that the debate about causation between neighbourhoods and their residents has been complex and protracted. In the literature presented here the use of particular methodological strategies and

approaches has tended toward quantitative approaches with the result that we may find a certain magnitude of explanation attributed to the role of neighbourhood on key outcomes, such as health, education, employment and so on. However, a remaining problem has been to theorise *why* such connections might exist in the first place. Atkinson and Kintrea (2005) have suggested that a range of such causal connections can be isolated, re-presented in the figure below. This suggests that a reading of the literature on the effects of concentrated poverty can be linked to a series of key domains that may interact in combination or separably on key outcomes that affect residents life-chances. It might be hypothesised that social diversity within neighbourhoods would reduce, remove or prevent some or all of the area effects presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1



The study of diversity is difficult to separate from older themes of concentrated and homogenous poverty, neighbourhood effects and segregation (Friedrichs, Galster and Musterd, 2003). Policy goals to produce 'undivided cities' (Musterd, Priemus and Van Kempen, 1999) inevitably

imply wider objectives linked to social diversity at the neighbourhood scale and are also associated again with area-based programmes seeking to improve local economies and housing conditions.

A future review in this series will look at area and context effects in more detail but it is important to note that these debates have been implicitly influential in the current deployment of area and neighbourhood-based urban programmes and social policies. The idea that compounded problems are created in areas of concentrated deprivation are responded to by area-based initiatives (ABIs) which are designed to alleviate the additional problems of poor environmental and housing quality among a range of other factors which are seen to negatively influence the life-chances of residents of such areas.

Concentrated poverty has been seen as problematic because such segregation may also reflect a lack of wider social participation, or integration, at the societal level. Musterd (2003) has suggested that, in fact, such relationships are complex and often not directly co-related. In other words, in cities like Amsterdam, it is not clear that socio-spatial segregation can be directly linked to a lack of wider social integration. Neighbourhoods do not simply contain people away from opportunities and engagement with other groups in ways that are sometimes assumed. Nevertheless, Musterd finds that wider social inequalities are more strongly linked to the existence of segregation itself.

Moving on from the Dutch experience it is certainly possible to find some writers who have argued that segregation is not simply a bad thing (Peach, 1996). In particular there has been a focus on the positive aspects of sanctuary and protection achieved by groups living together. The same author acknowledges that these processes may become negative when underprivileged groups are kept out by dominant groups seeking to protect their own spatial advantages. A particular distinction has been made between ghettoised poverty, seen to mark out spaces of confinement and enforced concentration, and enclaves which reflect areas of concentration derived from social affinity and choice (Johnston et al, 2002).

In both the Urban Task Force and Sustainable Communities documents in recent years there has been a significant embracing of social diversity as a keystone in creating community sustainability, reducing stigma and opening-up choice (Evans, 1999). In particular these ideas have focused on trying to move away from mono-tenure areas to ones of social and tenurial diversification as this review details below.

In housing management, concerns for the promotion of social diversity in social housing stock can be viewed not only as a preferable or balanced neighbourhood unit but also one which requires generally lower levels of intervention and management when contrasted against the high management

costs of dealing with concentrated deprivation and the stress on service providers (and not then just housing providers) (Cole and Goodchild, 2000; Goodchild and Cole, 2001). The ideal of social mix is not then just one of utopian planning or social engineering but can also be seen as having financial and social pay-backs. Where area stigma and service pressure might be reduced there are increasing reasons to believe that the dilution of concentrated pockets of poverty might yield wider social and economic gains given the additional effects of allowing ghettoised poverty to remain unchallenged. All of this is even before we begin to debate the social justice of allowing such compounded disadvantage and disconnection to form part of what the state provides its citizenry through social housing or via arms-length organisations.

As this report suggests later, much urban policy in the US and UK is focused on deconcentration either through out-migration or via importing relative affluence to deprived areas. Such policies reveal a way of thinking that clearly acknowledges the need to address the additional problems associated with concentrated poverty. However, at the same time as policy agendas publicly concern themselves with such efforts there have been changes in the urban landscape which reveal a pressure towards enclave-style residential development, a continuing suburban flow of households fleeing urban problems and a general absence, where possible, of affordable or social housing (Atkinson, 2005). Such trends have been observed by commentators like Minton (2002) who have suggested that the UK looks to the US in terms of residential trends like gated and master-planned communities at the same time as agendas of social diversity are embraced in more deprived areas in the city.

Most recently the government has been concerned with promoting diversity (often measured in terms of housing tenure diversity within neighbourhoods). Via the sustainable communities plan (ODPM, 2003) the government proposes to respond to regional inequalities and differences in supply/demand drivers by building around a million homes in four primary growth areas in the south east of England. Meanwhile, in the North and Midlands, plans for demolition, new-build and environmental improvements have been made. The scale of planned demolition has been controversial and the plans have become increasingly scrutinised by local communities fearing displacement or significant strains on existing service provision. These proposals highlight the perceived value of housing and urban programmes which seek to promote diversification, both tenurial and social, which are central to addressing areas of concentrated deprivation and housing market collapse.

Planning for social mix has a long history. In planning, academic research and various existing and past public policy programmes mix has played an important role as the basis for action. Aspirations toward social diversity have

been a key element of a range of programmes and continue to influence various groups with an interest in, and responsibility for, the development of towns and cities. However, these calls for diversity have generally lacked evidence to support them which forms the backdrop to this review. If the current situation may be characterised as one lacking an evidence-base what verification and detail can be supplied by a systematic interrogation of empirical research relating to social diversity? We now move on to present the first stages in a review of the literature dealing with social mix, reporting here on crime, tenure diversification and a series of mobility studies.

2. Crime and diversity

Several research papers were uncovered examining the links between crime, disorder and the relative diversity of neighbourhoods. Almost all of these studies are largely quantitative and stem from US neighbourhood research. Some of this research has attempted to test or explicate theories of delinquency and crime and link this to social composition and diversity. For example, in a study of 3,729 adolescents in diverse social areas (Gottfredson, McNeil and Gottfredson, 1991); social area influences on their delinquency were measured using multilevel analysis to discriminate between areal influences and individual characteristics in the propensity to be involved in delinquent behaviour. The research was carried out in Charleston and Baltimore and found that the social composition of areas had only a small effect on individual delinquent behaviour (interpersonal aggression, theft and vandalism and drug involvement). However, important differences were observed in the nature of these influences in differing area types. While in what were termed socially disorganised areas the researchers found more negative peer influence and less commitment to school for males, higher rates of property crime were found for males living in more affluent areas, an effect that was present regardless of the age, race or socio-economic status of the respondents. In this sense delinquency was concluded to be partly mediated by the composition of area of residence. This research was partly inspired by a much earlier study by Shaw and McKay from 1942 which had argued that low economic status, ethnic diversity and residential mobility (signatures of neighbourhood disorganisation) were said to be linked to crime. However, the sample of areas in this study was not considered to be nationally representative.

Work by Oetting et al (1998), reviewed local neighbourhood social heterogeneity as well as a range of primary and secondary socialisation sources to examine their relative influence on the use of drugs and deviance in a wide-ranging review of empirical literature. The review found that deviance was linked to a range of personal and community characteristics. However, in relation to the local level of population heterogeneity, diverse communities were seen to have generally low levels of deviance if the various groups in the locality had strong sanctions against deviance. However, these

linkages were interrupted where some groups had reduced opportunities that interfered with socialisation processes and where deviance thereby appeared to be higher. The authors conclude that in areas where both pro and anti-social forces exist, the role of primary socialisation through friends and family provide an important role in determining deviance. Drawing on other theories they suggest that socially heterogeneous communities are less integrated (though this is not explained) and have a weaker normative order but argue that primary socialisation theory would suggest that heterogeneity should not be related to deviance since opportunities for social sanctions exist between all cultural groups. However, this work is largely theoretical and fails to define heterogeneity even though we can infer that ethnic diversity is the main measure.

We found two studies linking social capital to relative diversity, social disorganisation and insecurity. In a Swedish study in the city of Malmö (Lindström, Merlo & Ostergren, 2003) a cross-sectional postal questionnaire was sent to 5,600 individuals achieving a 71% response rate. Using a multi-level logistic regression model the effect of individual and neighbourhood social capital on sense of insecurity was examined. In the research, social capital was measured as electoral participation. Neighbourhood factors were seen to account for 7.2% of the total variance in individual levels of insecurity. The study did not link social diversity to social capital directly but within-neighbourhood measures of country of origin (not Sweden) were used and ranged from 15.2% to 37.7% but this was used to report sense of security as a dependent variable. Overall the study says very little about the contribution of relative intra-neighbourhood diversity and security even though this formed one of the measures used.

In a second study taking the study of social capital as its departure point, an examination of social disorganisation in British neighbourhoods was examined by McCulloch (2003). This study used data from the BHPS using its seventh and eighth waves consisting of a sample of 2,392 men and 2,807 women. Social disorganisation was measured using questions about a range of community problems including graffiti, vandalism, insults and attacks, homes broken into and so on. These were taken as measures of social disorganisation stemming from a breakdown in local norms, informal and formal social controls. While this remains a contested theory of such linkages these factors were then linked to neighbourhood and individual characteristics. In relation to social diversity the amounts of concentrated disadvantage, affluence, residential instability, ethnic concentration and population density were also measured. The work found, among other things, that ethnic heterogeneity were linked to higher levels of neighbourhood social capital, residential stability and concentrated affluence but that high residential turnover restricted women from developing informal ties. Conversely, feelings of belonging were also stronger the greater the ethnic homogeneity. The research also echoes work by Sampson and Groves in the

UK (1989) which showed that high rates of deviant behaviour were associated with low economic status, ethnic heterogeneity and high population turnover.

Work on diversity in the US, as we have already seen, views racial diversity as the primary method of enquiry and analysis. Further research looking at diversity and the fear of crime and victimization were also found. In a study which linked perceptions of social diversity and fear of crime (Kennedy and Silverman, 1985) such diversity was linked to uncertainty in the environment and thereby increased levels of fear. Fear of crime was not linked to victimization but, rather to perceptions of social difference from oneself. An empirical test of these associations, earlier made in an ethnographic literature on neighbourhoods and crime, were made by the authors. Earlier research cited by the authors also suggests that social mix reduces interaction with neighbours and friends in neighbourhoods and that blue-collar workers moving to higher-status neighbourhoods have more strained family relationships.

This work aside, the research used a random sample taken from the civic census of Edmonton in Canada. 1,973 households were selected and generated a 76% response rate. A dependent variable of fear of crime (safety when walking alone at night) was linked to independent variables of the demographic characteristics of individuals, urban/suburban location, tenure, type of dwelling and perception of physical and social diversity and desirability of this mix. This 'mix' variable was comprised of to what extent respondents felt that people in the neighbourhood were similar to them or different in terms of age, occupation, income and education (a binary measure of same or different was used as the response format). Finally, respondents were then asked whether they favoured or did not favour each such aspect of local diversity.

The results of the study indicated that different age groups should be considered differently in relation to their fear of crime and also perceive desirability of living with people with different incomes in the same neighbourhood. Apart from a range of factors which explained fear of crime (such as renting rather than owning, older groups and inner city households) they found that where there was a perception that people were different in terms of occupation, fear was higher but the regression coefficient for this was very small indeed ($B = .06$) and much weaker than the other independent variables. The authors conclude that social mix has less to do with fear than they had hypothesized, the only significant effects being for occupational *differences* linked to 18 to 34 year olds, *similar* housing for 35 to 44 year olds and *similar* occupation for 45-64 year olds. Since not all of these effects were in the same direction further confusion arises.

Racial composition linked to fear of crime victimisation was examined in a study (Moeller, 1989) in the US in which random digit dialing was used to

sample households and in which 764 respondents were telephone interviewed (non-response was not recorded) yielding a range of independent variables which included neighbourhood racial composition perceived as ranging through all white to all black. The question “Is there any area right around where you live-that is, within a mile-where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?” (not that this does not specify the kind of threat). On this basis the correlation between racial composition and fear of crime was deemed ‘not particularly high’ (.015). Ultimately the research found that neither respondent’s race nor the racial composition of neighbourhoods alone explained much variance in the fear of crime but that when these were combined they were more significant, in particular finding that whites living in mostly black neighbourhoods are most likely to report fear of crime.

Research on the links between neighbourhood social composition and violence between spouses and intimates (Miles-Doan, 1998) found higher rates of such violence in more deprived neighbourhoods on the basis of census tract levels of interpersonal violence regressed onto levels of neighbourhood deprivation and residential mobility, controlling for age. However, the author raises a number of potential limitations with such a study, that such violence is almost certainly likely to occur in more diverse and affluent neighbourhoods but may be subjected to differential forms of reporting behaviour which may underestimate prevalence in affluent areas. Further, domestic disputes might be more easily concealed in low-density neighbourhoods.

Many of these studies run up against a consistent problem associated with research on neighbourhood effects – are the findings linked to concentrations of fearful people or are the observed effects directly linked to the social composition of the neighbourhood? Nevertheless, it appears that there is limited evidence that social diversity on range of indicators may interact with fear of crime but that different studies yield differing insights and conclusions on the causal links between these variables. In studies where links between racial composition and other aspects of diversity have been linked to fear the magnitude of explanatory weight we can attribute to diversity appears moderate at best and the effects appear to be mediated by age group and the ethnicity of respondent.

3. Tenure diversification

Policy responses to social diversity in residential contexts have taken two major strategies. In countries like the UK an attempt at differentiating the social structure of areas of concentrated deprivation has been a defining strategy that has encouraged the movement of those with choice *to* areas often characterised by mono-tenure social renting and which thereby collected those on the lowest incomes and in concentration together. In Scotland the GRO grant programme (Grant for) has been used to introduce low-cost

owner occupation and subsidise the in-migration of those with choice. The rationale for such strategies is that they militate against social residualisation, a lack of diversity in daily social contact and a wider social base from which better and wider provision of social and private services could be provided. There is little doubt that such programmes also aspire to bringing role models to communities perceived to be deficient and lacking in aspirations (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000). This kind of engineered endogenous diversity has been examined by a number of studies. Broadly speaking these have suggested that creating such diversity does little to help the integration of new residents with existing households.

These kinds of policy may be contrasted against approaches from the US which have targeted programmes of deconcentration and mobility by facilitating the movement of households away from areas of ghettoised poverty and social housing. The key assumption of such plans have been to allow the greater sustenance of households by bettering their housing and neighbourhood environments although, as we shall see, the result of experiments measuring the effectiveness of such approaches has produced varying results in a number of key outputs. These programmes also fail to address the increasing social residualisation that inevitably occurs in areas when households with opportunity exit. However, neither do British policies yet see the need to plan for or accommodate diversity in more affluent neighbourhoods.

Arthurson (2002) suggests that there is little international evidence that social mix does good and asks whether policy can ever intervene in what are spatially much bigger issues than the neighbourhood scale might suggest. In short, communities operate in much larger social and economic contexts that affect how their residents fare so that policy goals of creating social mix as a precursor to sustainability or integration may struggle to achieve a turnaround in the fortunes in residents. In a series of six case studies in Australia using a questionnaire and subsequent interviews with 33 housing authority staff, Arthurson found that strategies of creating social mix had questionable outcomes. These included the potential break-up of

‘The question arises as to whether it is actually possible for housing authorities to create the envisaged ‘inclusive’, ‘cohesive’ and ‘sustainable’, communities through changing social mix at a neighbourhood level. Indeed, will a community with 20 per cent public housing function any better than one with 90 per cent public housing’ (Arthurson, 2002:12)

The first study of the role of social mix promoted by tenure diversification was carried out by Atkinson and Kintrea (1999; 2000). This research was funded by Scottish Homes (now Communities Scotland) and looked at the impact of introducing owner-occupiers to areas of social renting in order to

create more socially diverse areas. The small study was carried out in three estates in Scotland and used diaries with 49 households to look at the patterns of daily social life of renters and owners in relation to the boundaries of the estates and with regard to potential interaction between renters and owners.

The research found that owners had significantly larger patterns of daily movement, primarily because more of them worked. This also meant that contact between owners and renters was relatively sparse and with owners generally showing little engagement with renters unless they originated from the estates themselves. While these patterns of disengagement appeared to follow fault-lines of tenure, many local residents suggested that the tenurial changes had encouraged outsiders to view what had been seen as highly stigmatised areas in more positive ways. In other words, creating more socially diverse areas had deeper potential for the lives of residents who might feel more pride in their area and less chance of feeling excluded from opportunities outside these neighbourhoods. However, this was a small research project that raised the need for a larger systematic study to try and understand more about whether policies encouraging social mix have real benefits to residents.

Further detailed research was also carried out in one of the case study sites used by Atkinson and Kintrea in their study. In the Niddrie estate at Edinburgh's periphery, work by Pawson et al (2000) was carried out via an analysis of secondary data relating to the housing development, allocation and management of the area. A survey of 505 households in the Craigmillar area, 305 of whom were in the Niddrie sub-area, was also conducted so that comparisons could be made between areas which had received different levels of investment. Finally, focus groups and an unspecified number of in-depth interviews were held.

The Niddrie research found that the creation of tenure diversity had reduced turnover (a source of perceived instability in the area) but not that this had stabilised the community as a whole. Satisfaction with the area was not found to be high but it was much higher than in the control area where crime and neighbourhood dissatisfaction were much higher. It was less clear whether these internal changes had led to the support for a greater range of services. The researchers commented on whether the tenure changes had impacted on local rates of disorder and suggested that these were, to some extent, linked: car crime and housebreaking had declined (even though they remained at a rate much in excess of that for the city). However, in relation to vandalism there was no change. Police views on these matters suggested that changing health board policies on prescribing methadone might be more important in explaining the changes rather than aspects of housing changes and management in the area. The general question of attribution in such studies remains difficult.

Interest in engineering social diversity in areas of social renting continued with research by Jupp (1999) who examined life on ten mixed tenure estates in England. This research, funded by the left-leaning think tank Demos, used a survey in each of the areas and generated response rates of around 60% with a total of 1,000 interviews conducted across the ten areas. Again, a key concern of this research was to establish whether owners mixed with renters and how this might positively affect the prospects of social renters. The research found that the social lives of owners and renters were generally separate and that only very low correlations could be found between a range of explanatory variables and social networks which included households from differing tenures. Two main conclusions stemmed from the research. First, that creating socially diverse neighbourhoods in this way is unlikely to generate significant changes to the relative social inclusivity of these areas. Second, that to generate greater levels of interaction it would be important to mix tenures within streets to facilitate this kind of local engagement since the degree of geographical segregation of tenures on the estate was significant in explaining interaction between tenure groups.

In a further Scottish study funded by Scottish Homes which followed-up the Atkinson and Kintrea study a consultancy was employed (Beekman, Lyons, and Scott, 2001) which undertook ten case studies and thirty structured surveys in each area. The researchers looked at the relative integration of new owners in a range of different types of tenure-diversified neighbourhoods based on whether they had diversified according to open market changes, through targeted sales to new owners or through changes encouraged by the right to buy. They also explicitly considered whether each area was integrated, segregated or partially integrated in its composition of renting and owning. As with the earlier research in this area it was found that local patterns of interaction in these newly mixed areas were strongly affected by the spatial layout of owning and renting. Unlike the Atkinson and Kintrea research it was not found that institutions like schools helped owners and renters to live integrated lives. Nevertheless, the researchers concluded that such moves toward tenurial diversity were largely positive.

Two recent and comprehensive British studies have been carried out looking at the role of social diversity in terms of mixed tenure and mixed income both of which were funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. The Scottish studies have now been complemented by a larger study in England (Allen et al, 2005). This looked at three case study areas with the aim of examining professional, adult and children's experiences of these neighbourhoods that had been created as mixed tenure communities in the 1970s. The main aim of the study was to examine three communities that could be considered to have matured (whereas the study by Atkinson and Kintrea had been carried out in areas of social diversity which were very new by comparison). In each case study area one-to-one interviews with professionals and active residents, focus groups with owners and renters, focus groups with children aged eight

and eleven were carried out. In addition one-to-one interviews with teenagers were used as well as a similar approach to that of Atkinson and Kintrea wherein, diaries were completed by approximately thirty households, with a maximum of two diarists per household. Ten to twelve diarists were then involved in a follow-up interview.

The research found that these areas had escaped the kinds of difficulties associated with neighbourhoods containing large concentrations of social housing, the researchers concluded that these areas had produced 'ordinary' communities and that this may be interpreted as a success in planning terms (as distinct from housing policy strategies described by other studies). A benefit associated with this tenure structure was that it was seen to support extended family networks that aided inter-generational support, since such diversity was contained in the locality. Unlike much of the research on mixed tenure areas these case studies were seen as desirable to live in from the outset. Vetting and selection procedures in two of the areas generated ensured that concentrations of so-called 'problem households' were eliminated. So, for example, those with jobs to go to in the area were likely to get a house that avoided any initial concentration of deprivation or worklessness. This also means that these areas were never comprised of the kind of social groups and social problems characteristic of the areas looked at in other mixed tenure studies where owner occupation has generally been introduced to very deprived mono-tenure neighbourhoods.

In the case study areas it was noted that children mixed regardless of their tenure. A particular positive aspect of mixed tenure was that it was seen to support kinship networks that supported the settlement of children who might want to live in the same areas as their parents. In the estates studied, distinctions between owning and renting were blurred by similar designs which also reinforced a general sense of what the residents saw as the 'ordinariness' of the areas. Like the research by Atkinson and Kintrea and by Jupp, owners and renters were found to occupy distinctive social worlds where opportunities for interaction between them were limited as well as arguing that greater pepper-potting of tenures is important to encourage interaction. Because of this, the researchers concluded that ideas relating to role models were not sustainable. Overall the researchers also found that kinds of claims made in relation to mixed tenure have been exaggerated, particularly in relation to the idea that it might enhance social capital or create local owners act as 'role models'. Neither does it positively or negatively affect area reputations.

Studies of mixed tenure neighbourhoods can also be linked to their effects on processes of management and anti-social behaviour. In a recent study commissioned by the ODPM, Nixon et al (2003) looked at strategies for tackling anti-social behaviour (ASB) in mixed tenure neighbourhoods. They used stakeholder interviews, postal surveys of all Crime and Disorder

Reduction Partnerships in England and Wales (set up under the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act to deal more effectively with the local management of crime) and eight case studies to consider issues of prevention, enforcement and resettlement in relation to anti-social behaviour. Much of the thrust of public action relating to anti-social behaviour is directed at areas of social rented housing since it can be governed in ways that private homeownership cannot. In areas of mixed tenure these issues may become difficult where the impact of ASB in one or other tenure may impact on another.

Perhaps the importance of studies like this is the indication that areas considered to be almost purely composed of social rented housing were often mixed tenure. Areas with high density, low income, and a range of indicators relating to social exclusion were strongly associated with anti-social behaviour. For example, 92% of social landlords said that ASB was a problem among social housing tenants but this also related to private renters (50%) and owner occupiers (43%) as well. However, this kind of research does not tell us whether more socially diverse areas have an effect on the level of problems like anti-social behaviour. Nevertheless, since the areas studied in the report were of mixed tenure this suggests that certain combinations of such apparent 'diversity' in certain contexts may lead as much to such outcomes as the kind of low stigma and positive messages derived from many other mixed tenure studies.

Taken as a whole the research on social diversity promoted through housing policy interventions that diversify the tenurial base of neighbourhoods has generally come up with consistently similar messages. These messages cut-across differing methodologies, case study locations and even differing national policy contexts which raises the apparent validity of such research. Mixed tenure areas seem to deliver lower management costs, reduced or non-existent area stigma and a broader range of services. However, a regular message has been that the social networks of such areas are no more likely to be integrated between owners and renters than many other communities and this has not been interpreted as a failure of these policies. Of more concern has been the means by which tenure diversity has been delivered. In the Netherlands and existing plans for market renewal in the UK the physical restructuring and tenurial re-setting of neighbourhoods has been associated with a stronger force of privatisation, the displacement of poorer households to ensure policy success and owning as a dominant tenure to open up 'choice' but while strongly challenging local identities and histories.

The research on mixed tenure and area effects tells us much less about what levels of tenurial mix are needed to optimise the effectiveness of these programmes. However, the complexity of local social relationships and neighbourhood contexts is very unlikely to support the production of such reductive or simplistic associations. What is much clearer is that mixed tenure, and the relative social diversity that it may create, has been an

effective antidote to the problems associated with areas of mono-tenure social renting because of the social residualisation of that tenure in the European context. Tenure diversity has therefore often elevated some areas to relatively unremarkable normality, as researchers like Allen et al (2005) have suggested. Nevertheless, such unassuming characteristics of neighbourhood life may itself be seen as a signal of success, in both the terms of these policy programmes but also in terms of the aspirations of many residents to achieve such 'normality'.

4. Mobility studies

In an attempt to deal with problems of ghettoised poverty in the US there has been explicit policy recognition that such areas hinder the life-chances of residents. Policy initiatives reconciled to dealing with the alleviation of such conditions have focused primarily on the promotion of wider homeownership opportunities and some physical upgrading and restructuring of public housing projects. However, another strand of policies dealing with concentrated poverty has been to try and deconcentrate poverty by facilitating the exit of certain groups. Three programmes can be identified which have attempted to move and monitor the impacts on households of moving into more favourable and socially diverse neighbourhoods. These have been the Gautreaux programme, Vouchering Out and, most recently the Moving to Opportunity Programme. All of these programmes have generated a vast amount of academic and policy-related consultancy work which has attempted to wrestle with the question of whether facilitating such moves to diversity measurably enhances the life-chances and general opportunities of moving residents.

The US studies and experiments associated with mobility take as their starting point a growing body of evidence that has measured the role of concentrated poverty in exacerbating the problems of labour-market reconnection, educational achievement, health impacts and public services. These 'area effects' suggest that areas of concentrated poverty have an additional impact on their residents that is in addition to that provided by the condition of individual or household deprivation. This suggests that moving people to areas of greater social diversity may, if not reducing or helping personal circumstances directly, may at least cancel this net additional and negative impact on personal circumstances. For example, growing up in areas of extreme poverty may mean that prevailing attitudes to educational performance are largely negative and tend to over-ride personal ambitions.

With all of the mobility studies reported on here there is a vast range of grey and published literature evaluating the local and national impacts of these programs. It is neither possible nor desirable to assemble all of this evidence since it has been possible to identify reviews and major benchmark studies which have comprehensively reported on program level impacts and which

therefore have much larger sample sizes and case study numbers to support their findings. Only a limited number of the studies associated with these programmes have looked at the apparent impacts of living conditions and opportunities associated with moving to relative social diversity. Overall, the apparently significant amount of evidence generated by these various programmes was assessed by Galster and Zobel (1998) to be 'thin and contradictory'.

4.1 The Gautreaux case and Assisted Housing Program

The Gautreaux Assisted Housing Program was set-up following a court decision in 1969 in which Dorothy Gautreaux, a community activist, challenged the Chicago Housing Authority in its continued construction of public housing in poor neighbourhoods. These were then let almost exclusively to black residents, and it was argued that this effectively enforced the concentration of black households in areas of high poverty. The court ruling supported the dispute from Gautreaux and meant that the city was a) prevented from constructing new public housing in areas that were predominantly African-American unless they built public housing elsewhere and, b) prevented the construction of high-rise public housing and dense concentrations of public housing in any city neighbourhood.

The program operated by giving eligible families Section 8 rent certificates used to pay for private rental apartments in neighbourhoods in which no more than 30 percent of the residents were African-American. In other words, a key aim was the dispersal of poverty and attempts to reverse the way that social housing had concentrated poor, particularly black households. The program was also underpinned with a random design of allocation to 'vouchering out' or to remain in their current situation. Between 1976 and 1998, when the Program ended, the Program moved around 25,000 participants to areas throughout the city, roughly half to suburbs and half to neighbourhoods in the city.

A significant programme of evaluation of the Gautreaux Program has been carried out by the Northwestern University Institute for Policy Research¹. In a study of 332 adults identified randomly in 1988 a follow-up survey was conducted with 59% of the initial sample in order to see how movers from poor black neighbourhoods to white suburban areas fared compared with those who moved yet remained in black and thereby poor areas. What is described as a quasi-experimental approach using control areas and random selection revealed generally favourable outcomes for those black households who moved to the relatively more suburban areas.

¹ For a fuller list of publications from the program please see: <http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/Gautreaux.html>

The social and economic effects of migration in the program indicated that when low-income, black households moved from the inner city into private, subsidized housing in the suburbs, their children's attitudes toward school improved and their grades did not drop, despite some racial discrimination and harassment. They found that black adults got more and better jobs in the suburbs (25% more likely), and in the latest phase of the work, that more children go to college or were employed than among the groups that remained in the city (Rosenbaum, 1995). Suburban movers were also more likely to achieve relative social integration through friendships with white neighbours and other local interaction. Not only does this suggest that the context effects of living in deprived areas negatively affects life-chances but also that contexts in which greater affluence and social diversity are evidence promoted improvements in educational and labour market outcomes.

Studies such as this raise a wide range of methodological issues. As Rosenbaum states, is it that suburban areas attract particular groups within the wider intervention and who are more likely to do well or move to suburban areas. Perhaps more difficult to unpick from such work is how contexts described as crudely as black or white, suburban or city affect their residents and how such causation positively affects movers to these rather vague neighbourhood attributes. On a more intuitive level such research connects with what seems like commonsense, that living in more socially diverse areas creates a context in which people are more likely to thrive. A key caveat in the research is that selection of those given vouchers was carried out on the basis of whether households were already seen to be good tenants so that the program itself can be seen as the dispersal of those that were already likely to do better than the wider group of residents in pre-existing areas of black and poor neighbourhoods.

Further issues are raised by many of the premises of such programs. As Rosenbaum has said himself, what might happen to a city if its potential black leaders are suburbanised? If suburban areas are seen to produce greater social diversity and more positive impacts for black households does this mean, in policy terms, that the suburbs should be seen as a desirable neighbourhood model to which more groups should be allowed access? How would such areas function if significant numbers of poorer households were moved to them? Details about the points, or thresholds, at which positive effects might be diminished would be difficult to establish. At heart the Gautreaux program says many things about the extremity and peculiarities of US cities when compared to their European counterparts that do not share the same histories of white flight, a more extreme suburbanisation of economic opportunity and a wider context in which welfare programs operate more at the margins.

4.2 The use of Section 8 Housing Vouchers

Although Section 8 housing vouchers were used as the basis to encourage tenant mobility in the Gautreaux studies their use more widely across the US has been examined in a series of studies concerned to understand the effects of poverty deconcentration. A key research question has therefore been to understand what impacts potentially more favourable neighbourhood circumstances might have on migrating households who originated in high poverty areas. Concerns had initially been raised that households with vouchers tended to cluster together, though research had often showed that this was not the case. As Turner et al note (1999), since the early 1990s, goals of poverty deconcentration were pursued using Section 8 Vouchers to promote mobility to dispersed areas and to better conditions. In addition, where housing developments were demolished, vouchers were offered to enable residents to move to better neighbourhoods.

In 1998 around 1.4 million households were issued with vouchers. It is important to remember that entitlement is based on conditions but is also restricted to a fixed quota on a first come, first served basis. In a study of four neighbourhoods to which section 8 voucher holders had moved, telephone interviews with a total of 200 movers suggested that dispersal led to greater residential satisfaction, safety but also a sense of loss for original public housing area (Varady, 1998). A wider review of the impacts of Section 8 (Turner, Popkin and Cunningham, 1999) concluded that the program had important benefits and that many problems associated with its operation were often founded on prejudice about the impacts of poorer households on recipient neighbourhoods. Interestingly, the report by Rosenbaum (1995) prefaced his comments on *Moving to Opportunity* with the suggestion that an experimental approach to the dispersal of poverty might lead to concentration in certain neighbourhoods which might itself prejudice the possibility of the program having an impact. This tension between planned policy actions and dispersal and the use of experimental approaches suggests that there are different ways of generating knowledge about the impacts of living among diversity. However, it also suggests that prior knowledge can be used to maximise the benefits that might be associated with dispersal and mix.

In a study similar to that by Varady, Kleit (2001) surveyed 253 women aged between 18 and 55 living in 'scattered-site' public housing in an affluent suburb of Washington. Entrants to this housing were required to have a median household income of \$7,000 dollars (median incomes for families in the area were only \$5,500 suggesting again that higher thresholds and insurance policies are effectively operated by creaming off 'better' tenants to ensure policy success). The housing itself was provided through what in the UK would be termed planning gain with 12-15% of the housing provided by developers in developments of more than 50 houses. Of the sample around

half lived in this kind of social housing scattered through private housing developments while the other half lived in social housing clustered together. The author described the research design as quasi-experimental, post-test with the danger being that group differences might be wrongly interpreted as linked to the design of the program itself rather than the selection of particular neighbourhoods by respondents themselves.

A major concern of the research was with the social networks of residents in socially diverse areas and whether these contained resources which enabled poorer residents to achieve more in the labour market and so on. The research found that public housing residents in the scattered-site housing had a more socially diverse content to their social networks but that residents in clustered housing felt closer to their neighbours while length of residence positively affected duration and frequency of contact with relationships in the neighbourhood network. In the areas of clustered housing interviews more often used their networks to find jobs - dispersed housing residents were less likely to talk to their neighbours about jobs. This kind of research suggests that policy responses to create dispersed housing, in part to improve the social networks of poorer households, may not necessarily be effective in promoting the kinds of social ties that generate wider opportunities.

The results from Kleit are also in line with that of another study known as the Yonkers study. In research reported by Briggs (1998) the creation of small public housing developments in non-poor areas resulted in no contact with non-poor neighbours, social support remained within poorer social networks and no 'social leverage' was gained in terms of employment opportunity. When contrasted with the the Gautreaux evidence this suggests that particular contexts might play a key role in determining the success of dispersal policies.

The aims of Section 8 mobility programs has been questioned by Galster and Zobel (1998) who suggest that, on theoretical grounds, there would be no net gain to society from moving those who are poor to other neighbourhoods in which they then might reproduce the neighbourhood problems and conditions from which they have come. However, empirical research has also suggested that 'stronger' or more cohesive neighbourhoods can control behaviours which might diminish these theoretically anticipated effects.

4.3 HOPE VI

HOPE VI (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere) was launched in 1992 and has spent around \$5bn. The aim of the program has been to replace public housing projects, occupied exclusively by poor families, with redesigned mixed-income housing while providing housing vouchers to enable some of the original residents to rent apartments in the private market. It seems impossible to understand the aims of this program without

consideration of two key factors. First, the influence of the Gautreaux and the Section 8 quasi-experiments. Second, continuing academic and policy concerns with the impacts and measurement of area effects produced in neighbourhoods of concentrated poverty. It is also important to stress that much of this debate has been focused on deviant behaviours (sometimes called 'ghetto behaviors' in the literature), drug trafficking, social distress and morally reprehensible behaviours such as births out of wedlock and criminal activity. In this sense the debate has been underpinned by a moral view of an underclass which requires re-connection with communities that might produce role models that would help to re-integrate poorer households and make them more successful.

It is important to recognize that programs like this have received significant amounts of academic and policy-maker attention and yet are at the margins (as with Section 8 vouchers) of federal government expenditure on welfare and housing. The National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing set up in 1989 identified around 86,000 units as severely distressed out of a wider stock of 1.3 million public housing units across the USA. As a comparator we might also note that the city of Glasgow has almost as many units alone compared the number identified by the Commission. The program's stated objectives were as follows:

- to improve the living environment for residents of severely distressed public housing through the demolition, rehabilitation, reconfiguration, or replacement of obsolete projects;
- to revitalize public housing projects and contribute to the improvement of the surrounding neighborhood;
- to provide housing that will avoid or decrease the concentration of very low-income families; and
- to build sustainable communities.

A major review of the program, published in 2004 (Popkin et al, 1994), showed that since 1992 HUD had awarded 446 HOPE VI grants in 166 cities, 63,100 distressed units had been demolished and another 20,300 slated for redevelopment. The concern here is to look at that small section of this literature which has assessed the impact on public-housing residents who have found themselves living in more socially diverse areas. Given the scale of the research effort only a summary of key impacts is reported here on the program as a whole.

A study of neighborhood impacts in 15 HOPE VI sites (areas which had been changed from public housing to mixed income neighbourhoods) (Holin et al. 2003) analysed comparative trends for neighborhoods and cities using census data. In most HOPE VI neighborhoods they found that key indicators of well-being, particularly reductions in rates of poverty and unemployment, had

improved faster than in their cities as a whole. Crime rates declined at all six projects that had been completed, and in three cases crime rates declined substantially faster by comparison with other parts of the city. This suggests that creating internal mix may improve social conditions and reduce certain risk factors.

An apparent downside to the poverty dispersal employed by HOPE VI relates to the loss of social ties and support by those residents who were moved to non-poor areas. This was perceived to potentially lessen residents' ability to cope with material hardship. In areas of public housing residents often had coping strategies that helped them to deal with the stresses of living in such areas. HOPE VI relocation disrupted these social ties, leaving many feeling less secure, uncertain where to turn when they encountered problems, and often simply lonely and isolated (Barrett et al. 2003; Clampet-Lundquist, 2004). In another study of relocation in Chicago (Popkin and Cunningham, 2002) improvements in respondents' mental health, likely a result of living in a safer neighborhood were reported. Around 50,000 residents have been relocated from HOPE VI properties across the United States (Popkin et al, 2004). As these authors argue, there has been relatively limited information on how moving residents have fared, making it difficult for policymakers to reach clear decisions about the impacts of the program.

Clampet-Lundquist, S. (2004) HOPE VI Relocation: Moving to New Neighborhoods and Building New Ties

Popkin, S., Levy et al (2004) The HOPE VI Program: What about the residents?

Promoting mixed income development, rather than project-based assistance

4.4 Moving to Opportunity

In 1994, inspired by the success of the Gautreaux Assisted Housing Program, the U.S. Congress created the Moving to Opportunities (MTO) demonstration program, in five U.S. cities (Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles and New York). Funded by HUD, MTO was set up to provide a robust demonstration project which offered special-purpose vouchers along with mobility counseling to help public housing residents move to low-poverty areas to measure the impacts of this assistance on the well-being of families and children. As with previous mobility programmes the associated research and evaluation literature is vast, here we select landmark evaluation reports as the basis for an assessment of how moving to socially diverse areas impacted the recipients of these vouchers.

A key feature of the MTO program is that it employed an experimental approach which randomly allocated eligible families to one of three groups:

1. Experimental group: allocated housing vouchers which could only be used in low-poverty neighbourhoods with assistance to find suitable accommodation provided.
2. Section 8 group: vouchers allocated without restrictions on where to move.
3. Control group: Not offered vouchers, continued to live in public housing

The study was also carried out longitudinally with a 90% rate of contact kept with the original sample of 4,600 families. The key areas of research interest focused on outcomes of the program in relation to employment, income, education, health and social well-being of family members. The current stage of evaluation lies at a mid-point (Orr et al, 2003), they summarise the fundamental objective of the programme as an attempt to understand: 'To what extent are the adverse outcomes associated with living in very poor neighbourhoods the products of the neighbourhoods rather than of the characteristics of those living there?' (p. vii). In other words, if resident outcomes improve by virtue of living in more socially diverse areas then programs of dispersal should be given further support. Nevertheless, can we accept forms of concentrated deprivation regardless of the evidence on measured impacts?

The experimental group in this research improved their neighbourhood conditions and housing – though this was probably to be expected given that they had to move to non-poor neighbourhoods. However, residents reported that they found less difficulty in getting the police to respond to their calls and generally felt safer than in their originating areas.

Movers in the study reported general improvements in health, particularly a lowering of obesity rates and mental health levels with no such improvements in the Section 8 or control groups. This is also surprising since the transmission of such impacts often takes some time to occur.

In relation to delinquency among children there were mixed impacts which appeared to split around gender. There were no changes in the experimental groups in relation to a range of reported problem behaviours by parents, however there was a significant reduction in delinquency among girls of the same 15-19 age range suggesting that girls and boys responded differently to their new environments

Education, employment and economic self-sufficiency are considered to be longer-term impacts that will take until the final evaluation to establish themselves yet there were small impacts on children's education but this was largely interpreted in terms of the social diversity of these schools rather than the negligible increases in academic performance. No effects were recorded on employment or earnings.

The US studies barely consider the impacts of these policy vehicles on the neighbourhoods that recipients exit. In other words, if those with relatively greater existing opportunities and advantageous personal characteristics move out, is there a reinforcing or further residualising effect on the neighbourhoods that they leave behind with even greater concentrations of disadvantage? Nevertheless research on MTO has continued to find significant gains in feelings of safety for movers, neighbourhood quality and no negative effects on social ties (Feins and Shroder, 2005).

Discussion: Dimensions relevant to position the neighbourhood effect studies

The links between neighbourhood contexts and individual outcomes present enormous methodological and policy challenges. Defining the problem, producing unambiguous results and interpreting and applying such outputs remain difficult. Part of the role of reviews such as this in the contemporary climate of trying to reduce data to what works, when and where has to be that research and neighbourhood contexts are not reducible to sound-bite answers which might easily be implemented. A clear problem for those who have consistently asked for more socially diverse communities as the basis for sustainability and social equity is that this position has relied on an intuitive rather than explicit evidence-base. This first report suggests that the evidence on a range of outcomes and in relation to particular aspects of social diversity and other social problems and issues is complex. We have also seen that research points directly at complex causative processes capable of generating *negative* as well as positive outcomes. This will remain a challenge to policy-makers who might see socially mixed communities as some kind of answer to urban problems.

A major issue in the evaluation of programmes like MTO is the importance of considering the wider role of cultural context, policy instruments and settings that influence and mediate the links between neighbourhood context and household or individual outcomes. The US clearly has very different social, economic and political structures that affect daily life in neighbourhoods. While the results of such programmes may provide important lessons for the UK it may also be the case that similar experiments would have very different results if they were applied to the UK and even that were such experiments to be repeated in the US different economic cycles and neighbourhood contexts and the complexity of these interactions might produce different outcomes. A key problem for policy-makers then is how to understand the relative applicability of such programmes to urban policy practice in the UK. What can they tell us about what we might do to materially improve the lives of residents in deprived areas?

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Appendix A: The Impacts of Socially Mixed Neighbourhoods

Research question: What impacts do mixed communities have on residents?

Bibliographic details	Author name/s: Date: Title:
Location of study:	
Policy examined:	
Scale of analysis:	
Objectives of social mix policy (if applicable): e.g. encouraging ethnic mix	
Working or empirical definition of social mix (attach photocopy if necessary)	
Methodological approach	Quantitative Qualitative Mixed methods Case study Survey Interviews Secondary data analysis Other (define):

<p>Brief details:</p>	<p>Relationship between mixed areas and other outcomes cannot be detected</p>
<p>Quality</p>	<p>A Robust/replicable/intensive and extensive B Significant contribution based on limited evidence C Poor quality - not worth including in evidence base</p> <p>Other comments:</p>