

Diversity, Inequality, and Microsegregation: Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion in a Racially and Economically Diverse Community

Laura M. Tach
Cornell University

Abstract

Racial and economic diversity are popular policy and planning goals because they can promote inclusion, offering residents of different races and economic positions access to similar resources and opportunities to interact. Diverse communities may also be sites for deliberate and inadvertent exclusion, however, through interpersonal and organizational conflict, discrimination, and relative deprivation. This article examines the dimensions of inclusion and exclusion in a stable racially and economically diverse urban neighborhood—the South End in Boston, Massachusetts—that includes a mix of races and cultures and million-dollar homes alongside subsidized housing. Drawing on secondary data and indepth interviews with 30 residents and key stakeholders, I describe residents' perceptions of diversity, daily routines, and use of public neighborhood spaces and show how race- and class-based patterns of inclusion and exclusion emerge from these routines. Despite its diverse array of resources and opportunities, the neighborhood remains socially and organizationally differentiated through patterns of microsegregation—homogenous pockets of interaction and organization within the larger neighborhood.

Introduction

Diverse urban communities are exceptions to widespread and longstanding patterns of racial and economic segregation in the United States (Jargowsky, 1996; Massey and Denton, 1993). Despite the historical persistence of segregation and its resulting spatial inequalities, racially and economically diverse communities do exist and some are even stable fixtures of the urban landscape (Ellen, 2000; Maly, 2008; Nyden et al., 1998). Although many academics, policy-makers, and planners espouse diversity as a desirable alternative to segregation, diversity poses its own unique challenges when residents have different preferences and unequal power to realize those preferences. This article examines what we can learn from stably diverse urban communities about promoting inclusion and reducing exclusion.

Background

The desire to promote racial and economic integration stems in part from the adverse consequences of the alternative—segregation. Segregation by race and income reduces access to high-quality housing, institutions, and services for poor and minority residents, which reproduces and exacerbates racial and economic inequalities (Acevedo-Garcia and Osypuk, 2008; Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, and Aber, 1993; Massey and Denton, 1993; Oliver and Shapiro, 1997; Pattillo-McCoy, 1999). Integration has the potential to reduce such inequalities by providing residents access to similar resources and amenities and by offering opportunities to interact (Joseph, Chaskin, and Webber, 2007). These potential benefits may not be realized in all integrated communities, however, and integration may even present new challenges that can undermine personal well-being and long-term community sustainability and desirability (Chaskin, Khare, and Joseph, 2012; McCormick, Joseph, and Chaskin, 2012; Pattillo, 2007; Putnam, 2007). The extent to which integration brings about desired benefits hinges on whether it results in *social seams* (public neighborhood spaces as settings for interaction), high-quality amenities and resources that serve diverse groups, strong social organization to realize community goals, and diverse social networks that bridge differences (Chaskin and Joseph, 2011, 2010; Tach, Pendall, and Derian, 2014).

Social Seams

Public neighborhood spaces—such as parks, street fronts, retail and service establishments, schools, community recreation centers, and libraries—can serve as social seams, or places where different social groups can come together through the shared use of institutions and resources (Jacobs, 1961; Nyden et al., 1998). These settings are desirable features of a community because they provide settings in which cross-group interaction, and even engagement, can occur. They give residents reasons to come together during the routine activities of daily living and provide venues to realize shared needs and interests.

Social seams in diverse communities must accommodate the needs and interests of different social groups, however, so conflict and contention may arise concerning the types of goods and services provided at social seams or about divergent behavioral expectations (Chaskin and Joseph, 2013). In addition, the mere presence of such amenities and institutions does not necessarily translate into equal use if less advantaged residents are deliberately or inadvertently excluded from them (Chapple and Jacobus, 2009). Freeman (2006) found evidence for these dynamics in his analysis of low-income residents' views of their gentrifying neighborhoods in New York City. Many of the residents Freeman interviewed appreciated the new retail investment, particularly new supermarkets and drug stores, that accompanied the influx of affluent residents to their neighborhood. Residents were also quick to point out, however, that not all businesses catered to their tastes or price points, and some residents even reported resentment and feeling priced out of new businesses. The types of goods and services attracted by more advantaged residents may offer positive externalities, but certain types of businesses signal subtle (and even not so subtle) forms of exclusion as well. The challenge for diverse communities, then, is to create and sustain social seams that meet the needs of diverse resident populations; a secondary challenge is to craft social seams so that they serve as sites for meaningful positive interactions.

Social Networks and Interaction

Diverse communities often are touted for their potential to facilitate diverse social networks among residents, which can offer instrumental benefits, such as access to information and resources, and expressive benefits, such as increased tolerance or social trust. Inspired in part by William Julius Wilson's (1987) canonical account of social isolation in segregated, concentrated-poverty communities, researchers have hypothesized that increasing diversity may benefit less advantaged residents by providing access to the resources contained within the information networks of more advantaged residents (Ellen and Turner, 1997; Jencks and Mayer, 1990; Joseph, Chaskin, and Webber, 2007). Residents of segregated, high-poverty neighborhoods report lacking access to social networks that promote social mobility (Briggs, 1998; Campbell and Lee, 1992; Elliott et al., 1996; Rankin and Quane, 2000), and exposure to the weak ties of more advantaged residents could promote social mobility by increasing awareness of, and access to, employment and educational opportunities (Granovetter, 1973).

These benefits are contingent on the development of cross-race and cross-class social ties, however, and it is unclear whether propinquity alone leads to diverse networks. Empirical studies of mixed-race neighborhoods and mixed-income developments suggest that, although residents share the same physical neighborhood space, the amount of social mixing and interpersonal interaction among income and racial groups is often quite modest (Breitbart and Pader, 1995; Brophy and Smith, 1997; Buron et al., 2002; Chaskin and Joseph, 2010; Chaskin, Khare, and Joseph, 2012; Hogan, 1996; Joseph, 2008; Kleit, 2005; Pader and Breitbart, 1993; Rosenbaum et al., 1998, 1991; Tach, 2009). Residents interact more with others who are similar in terms of race, language, family composition, housing type, and

social standing (Briggs, 1997; Brophy and Smith, 1997; Kleit, 2005, 2001a, 2001b; Lee, Campbell, and Miller, 1991; Tach, 2009). This differentiation of neighborhood life has been a fixture of neighborhood case studies dating back to the 1920s. Gerald Suttles (1968) termed this differentiation “ordered segmentation”—the orderly, territorial differentiation of social groups—when he observed it in a Chicago slum neighborhood that outsiders viewed as internally homogenous. This ordered segmentation helped to produce social order and shared expectations within an area, but it also resulted in conflict when such physical and symbolic boundaries were crossed.

Even if residents of different social groups do not form social ties, their coexistence in the same neighborhood can make a difference by exposing residents to different lifestyles and behaviors. This exposure might provide material benefits for less advantaged residents from so-called positive role models among more advantaged groups (Brower, 2009; Joseph et al., 2007; Wilson, 1987). Proximity to more advantaged groups may not be universally positive, however. It may also undermine well-being for less advantaged residents through relative deprivation; having a lower income than one’s reference group may increase stress and depression and undermine physical health (Long et al., 1982; Luttmer, 2005; Pardo, 1995).

Diversity may also provide expressive benefits for residents by influencing tolerance and social trust, although the direction of this effect is ambiguous. Group threat theory posits that close contact with other groups may lead to increased competition and reduced trust (Blalock, 1967; Blumer, 1958), whereas group contact theory argues that close proximity may yield greater understanding, tolerance, and trust (Allport, 1954; Gaertner et al., 1993; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000). Evidence has been found to support both of these theories in the context of racial outgroups (Bobo, 1999; Quillian, 1995, 1996; Taylor, 1998), and experimental settings have offered a possible reconciliation: greater tolerance and trust may result when outgroup contact is meaningful—such as by working together toward a shared goal—rather than superficial (Aronson, Bridgman, and Geffner, 1978; Cook, 1990; Slavin and Cooper, 1999).

Social Organization

Neighborhood diversity can also influence *social organization*, defined as “the ability of a community to realize the common values of its residents and maintain effective social controls” (Sampson and Groves, 1989: 777). Social organization has been operationalized as the prevalence and strength of social networks, organizational participation, and the collective supervision and social control of local problems (Sampson and Groves, 1989). Although social ties are often a necessary precondition for neighborhood social control, they are not a sufficient condition because, even if social ties are strong, they may be only weakly related to action (Pattillo-McCoy, 1999; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999; Wilson and Taub, 2006). Proponents argue that increasing the diversity of less advantaged neighborhoods might boost

social organization (Joseph et al., 2007; Wilson, 1987), but it is also possible that diversity might undermine neighborhood social control and organization by eroding social ties because of resident turnover, heterogeneity, and mistrust (Sampson and Groves, 1989; Shaw and McKay, 1942). In addition, although social control is typically considered a positive community attribute that enhances safety and quality of life, it may also result in the increased surveillance, alienation, and harassment of less advantaged residents.

Formal social organizations—such as neighborhood associations, community nonprofit organizations, and other neighborhood-based institutions—are important venues for enacting social control and improving neighborhood quality of life. Case studies have identified two different models of formal social organization in stably diverse communities (Maly, 2008; Nyden et al., 1998). Many racially diverse neighborhoods that emerged during the post-Civil Rights era were biracial, were economically homogenous, and self-consciously attempted to foster diversity through broad neighborhood coalitions and organizations dedicated to explicit diversity goals. By contrast with these older diverse-by-design communities, more recently neighborhoods have become diverse by circumstance, the result of broad demographic and economic forces rather than explicit planning (Nyden et al., 1998). These neighborhoods take a multiethnic form, and economic diversity accompanies racial diversity. In these contexts, neighborhood organizations are segmented and differentiated, resulting in fewer social seams for cross-group interaction and few formal organizations working toward explicit diversity goals. Janowitz (1952) labeled these neighborhoods communities of limited liability, or places where resident involvement in community is voluntary, partial, and differentiated.

These compounding forms of difference, combined with the fact that neighborhood diversity was not an explicit planning goal, make unifying diverse neighborhood interests challenging. In a case study of the diverse-by-circumstance Venice community in Los Angeles, California, ethnographer Andrew Deener (2012: 1) found that diversity and exclusivity existed in “constant tension” as “competing groups struggle to control distinct collective representations through architectural styles, commercial trends, use of public spaces, symbolic commemorations, and the formation of political, religious, social service, and other types of organizations.”

Nyden et al. (1998) identified common features of communities that have remained stably racially diverse despite the challenge of fostering sustainable, inclusive social dynamics in diverse communities: they had (1) well-functioning community organizations and institutional structures (some actively promoted diversity, and others were not diverse but worked to improve general quality of life); (2) substantial political and financial resources; and (3) skilled and dedicated leadership that was sensitive to group difference and willing to work across those boundaries.

The Present Study

The present study builds on prior research on neighborhood social seams, social networks, and social organization in several ways. First, it examines the dimensions of inclusion and exclusion that have emerged in the context of *stable* diversity. Although many communities remain diverse for relatively brief periods of time, the South End in Boston, Massachusetts, has remained economically diverse for several decades and racially diverse for even longer. This study also takes a multilevel approach to community social dynamics, analyzing how both individual residents and neighborhood organizations produce patterns of inclusion and exclusion in the context of diversity. Finally, this study compares what residents *say* about diversity with their actions within the community and finds that values for diversity do not always translate into inclusive use of neighborhood space. Taken together, this analysis aims to add contextual and analytical nuance to the existing literature on neighborhood diversity.

Data and Method

Racial and ethnic diversity in the South End dates back to the early 20th century, and the neighborhood has been economically diverse since the mid-20th century. I first provide a historical overview of the forces that fostered stable racial and economic diversity in the South End and then describe the data-collection procedures and characteristics of study participants.

Case Description: The South End

Close to downtown Boston and the central business district (exhibit 1), the South End was built in the 19th century to attract upper class families, with large English-style townhomes surrounding oval parks.¹ After the depression of 1873 and development of the nearby posh Back Bay neighborhood, the South End lost its appeal to the wealthy. Property values dropped, and speculators bought up the homes, turning many of them into rooming houses. The South End became a destination for new immigrants to the city. It was an economically poor but culturally vibrant community. For more than a century, it was the most diverse neighborhood in the city; in the 1940s, 36 racial and ethnic groups were represented in the area, and the neighborhood school was nicknamed the “little League of Nations,” and later the “little United Nations” (King, 1981). The area also gained a negative reputation as a skid row because of its dense concentrations of rooming houses, bars, gambling, and crime. The quality of the housing stock gradually declined, driven by absentee slumlords and impoverished tenants.

¹ See Goodman (1994), Green (1975), Kennedy (1992), Keyes (1969), King (1981), Lukas (1985), Mollenkopf (1983), Small (2004), and Whitehill (1968) for additional historical accounts of the South End.

Exhibit 1

Contextual Map of the South End in Boston, Massachusetts



Source: <http://www.bostonredevelopmentauthority.org/getattachment/5ba2b90c-eaca-4c14-b44d-c9fd0ab489e4/>

By the time urban renewal came to Boston in the 1950s, the South End was a prime target. In fact, it became the largest urban renewal project in the country. The renewal program aimed to redevelop the area so that it would attract higher income residents, widening the city's tax base and promoting private investment in the neighboring business districts. When planning for renewal began, social service organizations, low-income residents, and housing advocates mobilized to demand that affordable housing be constructed in the South End. Many of these protests were ultimately successful, resulting in a range of affordable housing options, and some of the nonprofit organizations later became major housing developers in the area.

The struggle for affordable housing laid the foundation for the neighborhood's present economic diversity. After urban renewal, the South End experienced large-scale gentrification and skyrocketing real estate prices. The area did not become solely high income, however, but maintained an economically diverse resident population because of the wide range of affordable housing options in the neighborhood—public housing projects, affordable developments, and mixed-income buildings. As exhibit 2 shows, the income distribution of the South End has remained quite diverse since 1990, with a stable and substantial presence of very low-income households despite a growing share of affluent households. In 2010, 15 percent of households had incomes of less than \$10,000, 33 percent had incomes of \$10,000 to \$50,000, and 20 percent of households had incomes of more than \$150,000.

Exhibit 2**Selected Characteristics of South End Residents, 1990–2010**

Characteristic	Percent ^a		
	1990	2000	2010
Racial-ethnic composition			
Non-Hispanic White	43.0	47.3	54.9
Non-Hispanic Black or African-American	26.3	20.4	13.7
Asian/Pacific Islander	14.5	13.5	13.4
Some other race	0.8	2.9	3.2
Hispanic or Latino	15.4	15.6	14.9
Households			
Family	34.6	31.3	34.5
Nonfamily	65.4	68.7	65.5
Foreign born	19.1	20.3	28.5
Language			
Only English	68.7	68.8	62.2
Spanish	12.8	13.8	12.9
Asian or Pacific Island language	13.4	8.9	12.8
Other language	5.1	8.5	12.2
Educational attainment			
Less than 12th grade, no diploma	24.5	20.1	15.0
High school graduate	14.0	15.4	12.3
Some college	18.7	15.0	14.0
Bachelor's degree	24.9	27.0	28.4
Graduate or professional degree	17.9	22.5	30.3
Household income			
Less than \$10,000	8.8	12.9	14.0
\$10,000–49,999	39.0	32.8	33.1
\$50,000–99,999	27.6	21.5	21.6
\$100,000–149,999	12.5	14.3	10.8
\$150,000 or more	12.1	18.5	20.5
Poverty rate	21.3	23.0	24.0
Owner-occupied units			
Median value (\$)	568,705	1,080,933	808,791
Renter-occupied units			
Rent of less than \$300	14.8	18.3	15.9
Rent of \$300–999	37.3	32.8	31.9
Rent of \$1,000–1,499	47.3 ^b	17.4	15.8
Rent of \$1,500–1,999	—	14.0	14.0
Rent of \$2,000 or more	—	17.6	21.9
Total population	22,497	22,586	28,781
Population density per square mile	29,119	29,337	38,021

^a Unless otherwise indicated.

^b The highest rent category in the 1990 census was more than \$1,000.

Note: Values adjusted for inflation to 2012 dollars.

Sources: 1990, 2000, and 2010 decennial censuses; 2008–2012 American Community Survey 5-year data

The economic diversity of the neighborhood is reflected in its educational distribution, housing values, and rent prices. In 2010, one-fourth of the population had a high school degree or less education, one-fourth had a bachelor's degree, and another one-fourth had a graduate or professional degree. In addition, about one-third of the housing units were owner occupied, with a median value of \$808,791; property values were even higher in 2000, before the housing market collapsed. By contrast, 15 percent of renters paid less than \$300 per month for their apartments, and another 30 percent paid less than \$1,000; given the high market-rate rents in this area, it is clear that these low rents are because of the availability of subsidized rental housing.

The South End remains racially and ethnically diverse as well. Since 1990, the population has been about 50 percent non-Hispanic White, about 15 percent Asian, and about 15 percent Hispanic. The share of African-American residents has declined since 1990, from about 25 to about 14 percent, and the share of non-Hispanic White residents has grown slightly, from about 40 to about 50 percent. Despite this shift, all four racial-ethnic groups retain a substantial presence in the community. This diversity is also reflected in the fact that more than one-fourth (28 percent) of residents were foreign born and spoke a range of languages.

Despite the fact that the South End has been stably diverse along racial and economic lines for quite some time, continued gentrification has resulted in an increasingly bifurcated distribution of resident incomes in the neighborhood, with economic inequalities overlapping with racial differences. For example, among the White population, nearly three-fourths had at least a bachelor's degree and more than one-third had a graduate or professional degree in 2010. By contrast, more than one-half of the non-White residents in the neighborhood had a high school degree or less education. These differences are also reflected in the income distribution, with a \$68,000 median household income among White residents compared with median household incomes of only \$20,000 for African-American residents and \$17,000 for Hispanic residents. White residents also constituted the vast majority of homeowners in the neighborhood, whereas non-White residents were nearly all renters.

Data Collection and Analysis

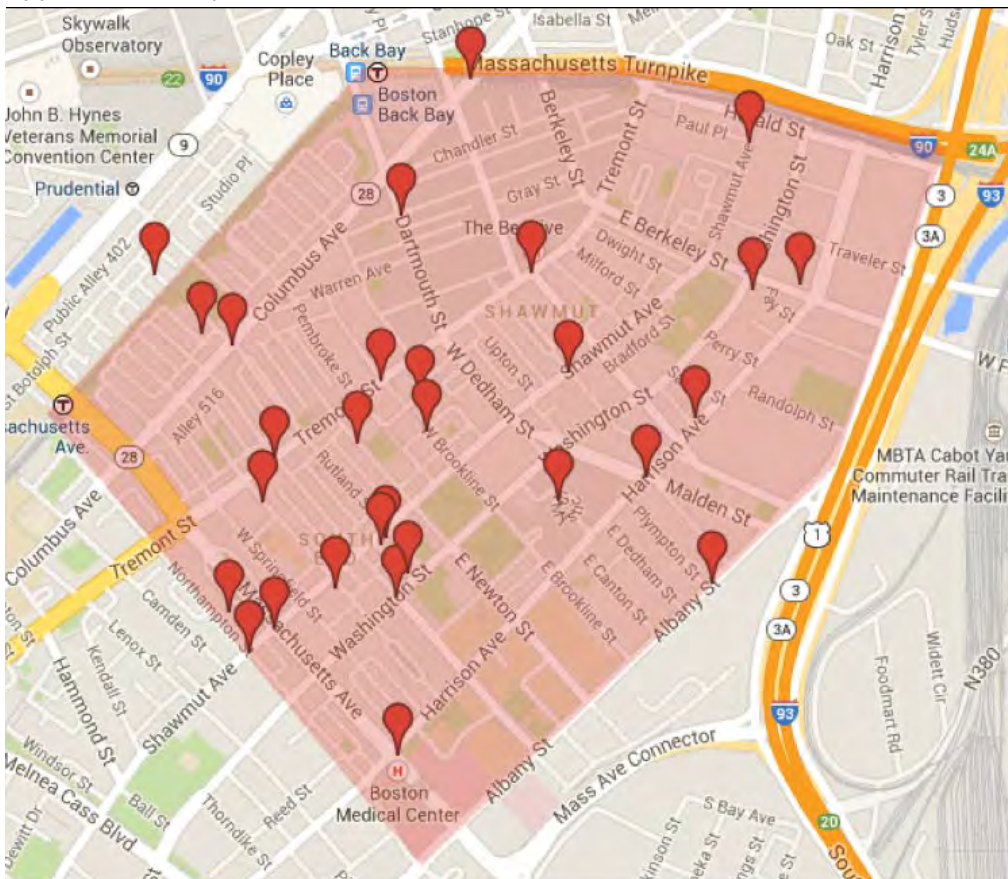
To understand how racial and economic diversity influenced residents' experiences in the community, I conducted indepth qualitative interviews with 30 residents, systematically observed public spaces, and interviewed key informants who held leadership positions in the community. Interview respondents were selected through a random sample of addresses. I used a proprietary marketing database to generate an address roster covering every street in the neighborhood. I randomly sampled 50 addresses from that roster, anticipating a 75-percent response rate. The sample was stratified by street to ensure that I interviewed residents living in every part of the neighborhood.² Respondents were contacted first via a mailed letter that described the study and then, if they did not respond to the letter, by in-person recruitment.

² The final sample of 30 contained residents in every section of the neighborhood that was in the original sampling frame of 50 addresses. Response rates were lower among sampled addresses in subsidized complexes than they were among addresses for nonsubsidized housing. Addresses in subsidized complexes were oversampled by a factor of two to one in the original sampling frame to account for the likely lower response rate among them.

This technique resulted in a sample that reflects the racial, economic, and spatial composition of the neighborhood. As exhibit 3 shows, respondents lived in every part of the neighborhood, including the major subsidized complexes of Castle Square, Cathedral, Methunion Manor, and Villa Victoria. Exhibit 4 shows the descriptive characteristics of the interview sample. About one-half of the respondents were non-Hispanic White, one-fourth were African-American, and one-fourth were Hispanic. The sample was divided roughly evenly among respondents who lived in households with their families and respondents who lived alone; the latter were typically elderly residents, students or young professionals, or those living in single-room occupancy buildings that offered supportive or transitional housing. The sample was also economically diverse, with household incomes spread evenly across the income distribution from very low to very high. Slightly more than one-half of the respondents owned their homes or condominiums, about one-fifth paid market-rate rents, and about one-fourth paid subsidized rents for their units.

Exhibit 3

Approximate Respondent Locations Within the South End



Note: Locations are approximate to protect respondent confidentiality.

Exhibit 4

Characteristics of Respondent Sample

Characteristic	Percent
Racial-ethnic composition	
Non-Hispanic White	50.0
Non-Hispanic Black or African-American	26.7
Some other race	3.3
Hispanic or Latino	20.0
Households	
Family	53.3
Nonfamily	46.7
Household income	
Less than \$10,000	20.0
\$10,000–49,999	23.3
\$50,000–99,999	26.7
\$100,000–149,999	16.7
\$150,000 or more	13.3
Housing status	
Owner	53.3
Market-rate renter	20.0
Subsidized renter	26.7

Note: N = 30.

Respondents participated in semistructured interviews that lasted about 1.5 hours. They were asked a common set of open- and closed-ended questions about the following topics: (1) residential history; (2) perceptions of the neighborhood; (3) experiences with organizations; (4) interactions, trust, informal engagement, and efficacy in the neighborhood; (5) social ties inside and outside the neighborhood; (6) employment and background information; (7) delinquency, risky behavior, and victimization; and (8) comparisons with other communities. I also generated detailed maps of residents' daily routines by having them walk through where they went in a typical week and plotting the locations and routes on a map. I followed these questions with probes asking residents why they went where they did, why they did not go to other areas, and how they chose which route to take to get to a destination. I supplemented the resident interviews with 10 additional interviews with key informants in the community, including leaders of neighborhood-based associations and local nonprofit organizations, business owners, and artists. Respondents were compensated for their participation; all names and potentially identifying details presented in the following sections have been modified to preserve confidentiality.

Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed in full using an audio transcription service. I then coded them using a set of deductively derived thematic codes based on the interview topics, which I subsequently refined inductively based on the open-ended responses provided by the respondents. I created summary matrices of responses to allow for systematic comparison of perspectives across racial and economic groups.

During my fieldwork, I also conducted a systematic observation of public neighborhood spaces, including four parks, two community centers, and a variety of neighborhood business

establishments in different parts of the neighborhood. During these observations, I noted the types of residents using the space, including their approximate age, gender, race-ethnicity, and likely social class based on visual cues such as clothing and accessories. I draw primarily on data from the qualitative resident interviews in this article, but I use data from the interviews with stakeholders and the systematic observations of public space to triangulate, supplement, and qualify the findings that emerged from resident interviews.

Results

Drawing on indepth interviews with 30 residents and key stakeholders and on systematic observation of public neighborhood spaces, I examine what residents say about the diversity of their community. I then contrast what residents say about their neighborhood with what they do—their actions within the neighborhood. Residents say that they appreciate the South End's diversity, but a closer examination of their daily routines and use of neighborhood organizations and public spaces revealed little cross-race or cross-class contact. Instead, residents engaged in *microsegregation*, or homogenous pockets of interaction and organization within the larger neighborhood.

What Residents Say: Perceptions of Diversity

Diversity is a defining feature of the South End's identity. Virtually everyone described the South End as the most diverse neighborhood in Boston or in all of New England when asked to describe the neighborhood. Although this diversity was usually mentioned first in terms of racial-ethnic diversity, residents were quick to point out the economic and lifestyle diversity of the area as well. For many residents, the racial and income diversity of the South End went hand in hand. John, a White, moderate-income city employee, had recently moved himself, his wife, and his daughter into a two-bedroom affordable condominium in a mixed-income building. As he explained it, "The building is occupied by owners: one-third low income, one-third moderate income—that's us—and one-third own it outright. That's the makeup of my building. It's an ethnic bouillabaisse mixture, okay? And we love living there." Angel, a Hispanic low-income resident who had lived in the South End since the 1970s, said, "There is a great interesting mix of people, of income ranges and races and all sorts of things. Because no one ever owned it [the South End]. It wasn't like other neighborhoods in Boston that had been Irish forever, or had been Black, or had been whatever. It was always a mix. So, people just mixed better 'cause no one owned it." Hannah, an African-American resident who grew up in the racially segregated Roxbury section of Boston before moving to the South End as an adult, remarked—

I don't know the statistics, but it has to be one of the most racially and ethnic and economically diverse areas of Boston. I mean, I can't think of anywhere with such a mix of people. Like. . . just looking around the park, it's very diverse, and obviously, I mean, it's an obvious statement, but the luxury condos and housing projects. I can't think of anywhere that has both ends of the spectrum in such a way.

In addition to talking about racial and economic diversity, residents also mentioned a diversity of lifestyles in the neighborhood—gay residents and artists juxtaposed with young professional couples with baby carriages and with addicts and homeless individuals using the neighborhood’s hospital, clinics, homeless shelters, and transitional housing. Gloria, a White professional, said, “You’ve got the very rich and the very poor. And you’ve also got the whole alternative scene. Versus there are some neighborhoods that have more minorities but not as many rich people [and are] not really alternative.”

The only notable lack of diversity residents observed was the absence of a significant middle-class presence. As Harry, a White, middle-aged, moderate-income resident, commented, “A middle? No . . . there’s no middle class here. I mean, I don’t see—they don’t fit in here. I see that you have money that can afford these buildings and the rent, okay. If you don’t have the money for rent, then you maybe get one of those low-income subsidized apartments, stuff like that. But other than—anything in between, no.” The perceived absence of a middle class is starker than the actual income statistics suggest (see exhibit 2), but it is clear that very rich and very poor residents are disproportionately represented in the South End. Subsidized housing constructed during urban renewal ensured that low-income households were able to remain in the face of growing property values, but middle-income residents have fewer housing options. Middle-income residents like Harry either purchased homes in the neighborhood decades ago, when prices were affordable, or they were lucky enough to find one of the few moderate-income subsidized units that exist in the neighborhood, as John did.

Many residents—rich and poor, White and non-White—mentioned that the diversity of the South End was part of what attracted them to the idea of living in the area. They were looking for the diversity of lifestyles and races and the cultural richness that comes with it. Rosa, a Peruvian woman who grew up in a predominantly Hispanic part of Boston said, “I didn’t want to be somewhere where there was only like one race, you know, just Hispanics or just White, just Black. I just wanted something very diverse. . . . It’s really rich in culture, and that’s what I really like and I enjoy.”

Respondents also perceived certain personal benefits to living in a diverse neighborhood, although the type of benefits they perceived varied along race and class lines. Few respondents of any race or income bracket mentioned upward mobility as a potential benefit of living in a diverse community, but many affluent and White respondents reported that living in the South End had made them more tolerant of others from different backgrounds. For example, Marilyn, an affluent White architect, said, “The social aspects are so beneficial and so interesting. . . . You really see the struggles—you know, it’s the kinda neighborhood that you see things and, boy, makes you appreciate what you have. . . . It makes you wanna reach out to some extent also and be more understanding of people in different situations.”

By contrast, the main benefit perceived by many lower income and minority respondents was a greater feeling of safety. Many had either lived or spent considerable time in more disadvantaged, segregated neighborhoods with higher rates of crime and victimization. They felt much safer in the South End, where indeed violent crime rates are lower than in many of Boston’s

poorer neighborhoods. They noted that the presence of groups with more power—namely the more affluent homeowners—demanded a greater presence of and responsiveness from police and city services. For example, Regis, an African-American subsidized tenant in a mixed-income building, recalled that when men from a nearby halfway house were suspected of “shooting up” in the tool shed of the community garden next door, his neighbors “made up little cards so everybody had all the security numbers and could call 911 from their cell. We got rid of them, but it was a lot of work. . . . That never would have happened in Mattapan [the high-poverty neighborhood where he lived before].”

Residents recognized the potential benefits of diversity, but not all were as optimistic as Marilyn and Regis. Sam, a high-income resident and leader of a neighborhood association, said—

This neighborhood, in my opinion, has great opportunities to promote people getting along from different backgrounds. You certainly see people of different colors and different sexualities and backgrounds walking around on the street. . . . So the opportunity, I think, is there. . . . So it's a question of, do they go to the same daycare center, and do their children interact? Do they shop at the same stores?

Although virtually all the respondents stated that diversity was something they valued and many felt that they benefited from that diversity in some way, Sam's questions foreshadow important issues: whether propinquity translated into actual interaction and whether those encounters resulted in experiences of inclusion or exclusion.

What Residents Do: Microsegregation Amid Diversity

Despite residents' appreciation of the South End's diversity, a closer examination of their daily lives and their use of neighborhood organizations and public spaces revealed that proximity and appreciation for diversity did not lead to much cross-race or cross-class contact. Instead, residents developed patterns of microsegregation, or homogenous pockets of interaction and organization within the larger neighborhood. Microsegregation occurred informally—through daily routines, interactions, and use of neighborhood space—and also more formally through neighborhood associations and organizations. In turn, patterns of microsegregation fueled race- and class-based perceptions of inclusion and exclusion that belied the simple, idealized characterizations of diversity residents initially espoused.

Spatial Differentiation

Although the South End covers less than 1 square mile, it has a long history of spatial differentiation, with small groupings of residential blocks containing distinct social groups and identities. Indeed, a city planning document from the 1960s noted that the South End is “a neighborhood more by definition of geography and architecture . . . than because of any inherent unity of interest” (Keyes, 1969: 52). This differentiation is still clearly visible today. For example, exhibit 5 shows the mosaic pattern of household incomes by census block groups within the South End. Block groups with median household incomes of more than \$100,000 are adjacent to block groups with median incomes of less than \$20,000.

Exhibit 5

Median Household Incomes of Block Groups Within the South End, 2010



Source: 2006–2010 American Community Survey 5-year data, prepared by Social Explorer (<http://www.socialexplorer.com/ac152ddd94/view>)

The variation in income across these small areas is directly related to the presence and type of subsidized housing. Some areas remain homogeneously low income because of the siting of large subsidized housing developments, and areas that lacked any subsidized housing have become nearly completely affluent. Areas that have maintained an economically diverse resident population have done so primarily through the integration of scattered-site affordable units and smaller nonprofit-owned affordable developments that were constructed during urban renewal alongside market-rate housing (Tach, Pendall, and Derian, 2014). The

affordable units were constructed with funding from the 221(d)(3) program, the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) Program, Community Development Block Grants (CDBG), and the HOME Investment Partnerships Program.³

Income differences in the South End overlap with racial differences; areas with little affordable housing are disproportionately White, and areas with plentiful affordable housing are disproportionately non-White. Exhibit 6 shows a similar mosaic pattern for the non-White

Exhibit 6

Percentage Non-Hispanic White Population Block Groups Within the South End, 2010



Source: 2010 decennial census, prepared by Social Explorer (<http://www.socialexplorer.com/ac152ddd94/view>)

³ Section 221(d)(3) offered below-market interest rates for nonprofit and for-profit developers in exchange for including units affordable to low- and moderate-income families; it was replaced by the Section 236 program in 1968 and by the Section 8 New Construction and Substantial Rehabilitation Program in 1974. The LIHTC Program offers housing developers subsidies, in the form of tax credits, to finance the development of affordable housing. The CDBG program provides formula grants to state and local governments to use for a range of community development needs, including, but not limited to, affordable housing. HOME provides formula grants to states and localities to use, often in partnership with local nonprofit organizations, to fund the construction or rehabilitation of affordable housing.

share of the population, which mirrors that of low- and high-income populations in exhibit 5. Racial differentiation also appears among the affordable housing complexes. Castle Square is disproportionately Asian, owing to its close proximity to Boston's Chinatown. Villa Victoria is disproportionately Hispanic, particularly Puerto Rican, reflecting the presence of ethnic organizations involved in the provision of affordable housing. Villa Victoria was developed by Inquilinos Boricuas en Acción, or IBA, a Puerto Rican community organization that opposed urban renewal in the 1960s and gained the authority to develop and manage the 435-unit affordable housing complex as a result of those struggles. The organization continues to offer education, workforce development, and arts programming for the community. Finally, the Cathedral public housing project (recently renamed the Ruth Lillian Barkley Apartments) retains dense concentrations of African-Americans, which reflects the legacy of racial segregation in the Boston Housing Authority (Vale, 2005).

Most respondents were aware of these pockets of income and racial homogeneity within the South End. Alex, an affluent White architect who lived in the South End for more than a decade, observed that—

If you take the South End as a whole, it's an extremely diverse place. But if you zoom in a little bit closer, it's extremely segregated. . . . If you look at it a little closer, you'll see the Blacks live here, the Puerto Ricans live here, the Asians live here, Whites live here. It's not a tremendously integrated place. I mean it is along the edges, you know, at the intersection of those . . . but by and large, you know, there's a lump of these, there's the lump of those, and there's the lump of those.

Rosa, a low-income young Hispanic resident, observed the same “lumps” in the South End—

You know, it's mixed, but then it's not mixed. You have like certain areas with a lot of Latinos. You have certain areas that are a lot of gay[s]. One street's really quiet and then you walk down the street it's the projects and a lot of stuff go on down there. . . . Where I am, it's really nice; great restaurants, it's awesome. Then when you go on the other side of the project, it's a lot of stuff going on, you can hear shooting of guns, shooting and violence. . . . My street is really White, and you have a lot of gays that live there. And then you have down the street the projects. . . . It's like a culture shock [when] you go to different sections.

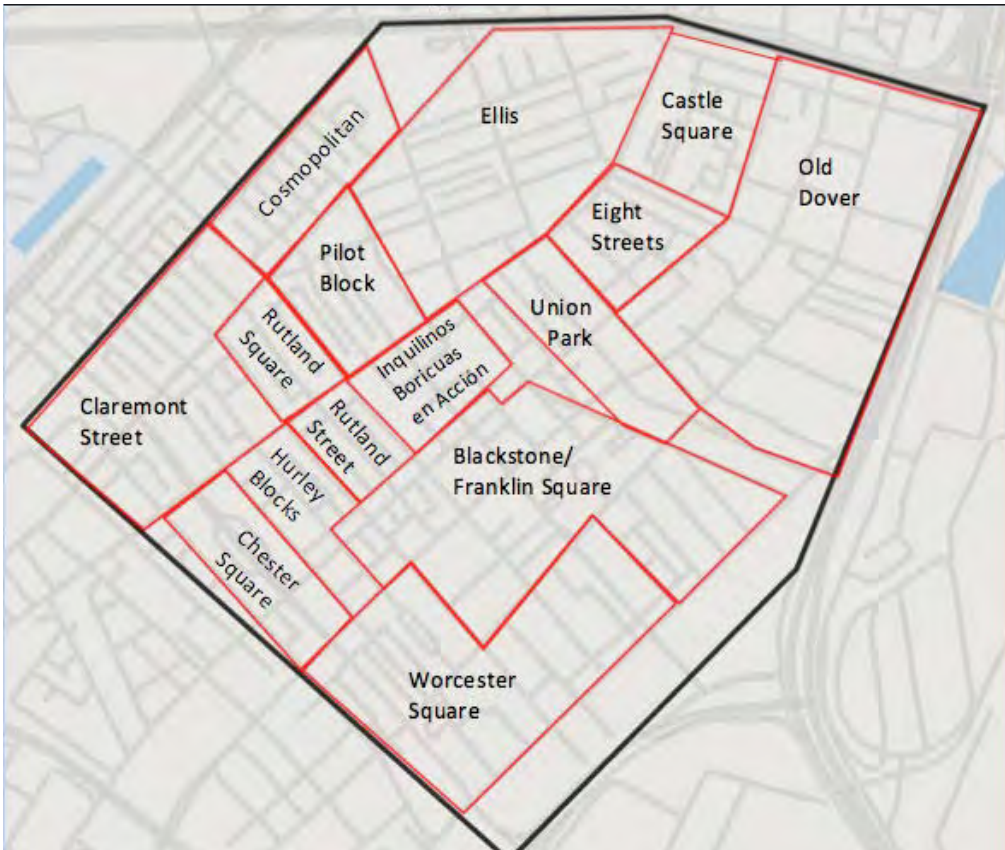
The “culture shock” Rosa described happens on a very small geographic scale, from street to street and block to block. Descriptions like hers show that the demographic and economic differentiation seen in census data reflects socially and culturally meaningful differences for residents.

Neighborhood Organizations

The spatial differentiation of social groups within the South End is accompanied by the differentiation of neighborhood organizations. Each collection of streets or squares has its own neighborhood association, as illustrated in exhibit 7. Some neighborhood associations date back to the late 19th century, and others formed during the mid-20th century when they played a key role in urban renewal planning (Keyes, 1969). The Boston Redevelopment

Exhibit 7

Boundaries of South End Neighborhood Associations



Source: <http://www.sebaboston.com>

Authority (BRA) presented its initial renewal plan to each neighborhood association and later negotiated specific changes to the plan with each association (Keyes, 1969). The associational boundaries have changed little since that time.

Today, most associations still take an active role in planning within their borders by facilitating community meetings about policing, safety, sanitation, and commercial and residential permit approvals. They also organize social events. Exhibit 8 showcases the range of activities in which each neighborhood association engaged. Most associational activities reflect the distinct interests and needs of residents in their comparatively small constituencies. For example, block associations in affluent areas had wine tastings or activities focused on gardening, historic preservation, or fundraising. Block associations with dense concentrations of lower income or non-White residents—typically based in affordable housing complexes—often focused more on social services and ethnic cultural celebrations. As one respondent put it,

Exhibit 8

South End Neighborhood Associations and Activities

Neighborhood Organization	Types of Activities
Blackstone/Franklin Square Neighborhood Association	Park rejuvenation, including maintenance; conservation; historic preservation.
Castle Square Tenants Organization	Tai Chi/Kung Fu, Lotus Fair, Chinese New Year, English classes, teen center, adult technology programs, youth after-school and summer programs.
Chester Square Area Neighborhood Association	Child-oriented holiday events (Easter egg hunt, pumpkin decorating, Christmas caroling), summer barbecues, park and neighborhood cleanups, flower planting.
Claremont Neighborhood Association	Street fair; barbecue; holiday party; lobby City Hall on issues of trash, crime, and park maintenance.
Eight Streets Neighborhood Association	Coffee hour, tree lighting, Halloween party, park cleanup, potlucks.
Ellis South End Neighborhood Association	Greening your home, progressive dinner, patio dinner, wine tasting, neighborhood cleanup, speakeasy theater event, craft show, book group.
Inquilinos Boricuas en Acción	Chinese New Year celebration, Black History Month celebration, Puerto Rican art displays, youth education programs, adult education programs, computer training.
Old Dover Neighborhood Association	Neighborhood crime watch, friends of the park, art galleries and art walk, farmers/craft market.
Pilot Block Neighborhood Association	Wreath hanging, maintain private alley surfaces, preservation.
Rutland Square Association	Neighborhood cleanup, smoking ban, Friends of South End Library.
Worcester Square Area Neighborhood Association	Concerts in the park, holiday party, youth baseball, fundraisers, landscaping and gardening.

Note: This list is illustrative, not exhaustive.

“All these different little neighborhood associations, they have their own little issues that they get all uptight about, like keeping their streets clean or parking or whatever. But they all have their little politics and—yeah, their little issues.”

Although association activities reflected their constituents’ distinct racial, economic, and cultural profiles, association leaders across the board also acknowledged that their memberships were not as diverse as their resident populations. Younger residents, renters, and those in subsidized housing were underrepresented in the membership. As one association leader remarked, “People that show up to the meetings tend to own their house or their condo. They tend to be over 40 and more affluent and White.” Another leader commented, “I see younger people in the neighborhood all the time. . . . We see African-Americans, Hispanic people, but we haven’t been able to draw them into the neighborhood association somehow.” An executive board member for an association containing a subsidized housing development commented

that, “We’ve never had any residents from [subsidized] housing come to a meeting, and we’re not really sure why.” This exclusion was not always deliberate, and a few associations had even tried to actively recruit a more diverse membership. One association had created two-tier fees based on income for community garden plots to increase economic diversity; another had a membership drive in which they tried to recruit lower income members by distributing flyers in subsidized housing complexes; a third created a college scholarship for first generation college students.

Consistent with stakeholders’ perceptions, however, only a minority of respondents in the qualitative sample regularly participated in their neighborhood association, and participation was concentrated among higher income homeowners. Respondents across income and racial groups reported similar reasons for nonparticipation—a paucity of time and interest. As one middle-income nonparticipant put it, “If you’ve been at work all day, to go and spend 2 or 3 hours dealing with [neighborhood issues], it’s hard.”

These concerns were more common among lower income and minority renters, which largely explained their lower rates of participation. First, the perceived lack of time to attend meetings was compounded by material concerns. As one African-American mother of two explained, “If you’re a single parent, you know, you’re not gonna pay a babysitter to go to a meeting.” Another subsidized renter noted that people in his building did not attend because “people are worrying about how they gonna pay to put food on the table or come up with rent, or worrying about daycare. I feel like a lot of it is socioeconomic. It’s all about the money.”

Second, few residents were interested in the mundane aspects of permitting and project approval that occurred at the typical community meeting, but they were more likely to attend if they perceived that the issue would have a direct effect on their lives. This finding was particularly salient for homeowners, who reported being more invested because they planned to be in the neighborhood for longer and because the issues affected their property values. For example, one homeowner started to attend when she was building a deck and needed her association’s approval to get the deck built. Another noted that he started to attend “admittedly from a selfish point of view. When we had parking issues, I would go and raise my points and contribute to that conversation.” Another renter-turned-owner reflected that—

If you own, you have a vested interest . . . but if they’re renting, they’re like, well, whatever, it’s not my building. I can move out next month, you know? I think that affects the participation here. The ownership thing is a big deal. . . . I’ve been in the South End as a renter and as an owner, and you definitely feel more connected [as an owner] and stuff like that.

Finally, beyond the lack of time and interest, a broader form of alienation dampened lower income and minority participation. As one African-American renter noted when explaining why he did not participate in his neighborhood association, “I don’t relate to the moneyed gentry here. I really have nothing in common with them.” Sally, a low-income Afro-Caribbean resident of a subsidized rental unit, moved to the South End 5 years ago, and she recalled thinking that—

You know, I'd like to get involved in my neighborhood. I'll go to a meeting and, you know, try to meet my neighbors and get involved. And it was just really hoity-toity and the people who were running it were all homeowners, the people who own property here, their interests and concerns are like all about them and their property and their taxes and stuff, and they're not the same issues of the low-income people here who are, you know, wondering how they gonna pay their bills and if they're gonna get health care, and you know, struggling. It's like two different worlds, you know. It seemed like the neighborhood association was only representing the homeowners. And so I thought, 'they're not really addressing the issues in my life.' And also there were like—there were no Black people there. It was all White people. They didn't welcome me—nobody said anything to me. I left. I had a bad taste in my mouth. They were not speaking to me, they were like speaking to people that were just like them. You know, they weren't addressing the neighborhood as a whole.

Sally's account of her alienating experience reflects what I heard from many of the lower income and minority respondents.

Despite the stark inequities in participation and the seemingly insurmountable “two worlds” described by Sally, when neighborhood associations held events that reflected broad-based interests and had few financial barriers, they tended to draw more diverse participation. For example, in one association, a regular participant estimated that “a typical meeting addressing permitting issues might be, like, 30, 35 people, whereas the Christmas party will be 100, and even more to the block party. The wine tastings on the smaller side, but that's, like, \$30. So that limits the crowd.” Other associations also reported more diverse participation when they held barbecues, movie nights, or musical events. One leader surmised that “educational and social and arts things help bring people together and break down separations of different kinds.”

The organization of the South End into neighborhood associations reveals how the social and organizational differentiation of residents creates order—and segregation—amid diversity. By and large, the neighborhood associations were, as one respondent noted, “little fiefdoms.” This condition exists in part because of the historical origins of the associations during urban renewal, when they each negotiated with BRA individually. As one leader remarked, the neighborhood associations were originally created as “a way to get the neighbors some control or have a say in their neighborhood.” As a result, periodic efforts over the years to form an umbrella organization to represent all the South End to the city as a unified group have failed. Temporary cross-associational alliances have formed periodically, however, when associations' interests become aligned in the face of external threats to the South End. For example, several organizations banded together to protest the construction of a new Columbus Center skyscraper, to fight the closing of the South End public library branch, or to have a say in the reconstruction of “Mass Ave,” a major artery running through several associations.

The associations serve many positive functions: they are repositories of information, maintain development and land use regulations, serve as intermediaries with government officials, facilitate social interaction, and improve quality of life through preservation, beautification, and social activities. Despite these benefits, however, associational differentiation limits

cross-race and cross-class contact, and the associations are not designed to promote diversity or foster intergroup dialogue. As a result, the voices and interests of affluent homeowners were better represented than those of lower income renters, both within associations and with city officials.

Social Seams and Daily Routines

Social seams are shared spaces in neighborhoods—such as parks, grocery stores, retail establishments, neighborhood-based organizations, and schools—where residents of different social groups come together and have the opportunity to interact. Certain social seams in the South End, particularly public parks, appear to serve this function. Residents from different racial, income, and cultural groups reported using the community parks, and many commented on the diverse walks of life brought together in these public spaces. For example, Linnea, an affluent African-American mother, reflected—

Oh, and the park is just fantastic, 'cause it's—I think it's, like, the one place in Boston where I've really seen, like, every ethnicity, every age, like, all playing together, whether it's, like, the kids playing on the playground, the Little League, basketball, tennis, the dog park—like, it's just—I think for Boston it's one of the few places where you can see just everybody together in one place, . . . when you get to the summer and you see that, and it's like, 'Oh, yeah. It's pretty diverse here after all.'

Not all green spaces served this function—some parents avoided certain playgrounds they deemed “too rough” or unsafe; others commented that some parks were gated and not accessible to them. More than any other neighborhood space, however, parks attracted diverse groups of residents who coexisted, if not interacted, in a relatively harmonious manner. Systematic observation of public parks revealed that multiple racial groups often had a significant presence, and the comingling of social classes occurred as well, although anything beyond superficial interpersonal interaction rarely occurred.

Beyond parks, however, many spaces in the South End that could serve as social seams—commercial establishments, neighborhood organizations, and schools—did not bring together diverse groups of residents. Systematic observations within a range of businesses throughout the neighborhood revealed that, with the exception of convenience stores, few businesses appeared to attract racially or socioeconomically diverse clientele. The specialized nature of different organizations and establishments, combined with residents' daily routines and decisions about how to use space, minimized cross-race and cross-class contact at these social seams. Residents of different racial and income groups used different shops in the neighborhood, with affluent residents frequenting posh designer boutiques and high-end grocery stores, attending cultural events sponsored by artists, and eating at chic restaurants and bars. In carrying out these activities, many actively avoided areas with a significant presence of subsidized housing.

For example, Gloria, a White professional, had contact only with other neighborhood residents on her street, which was lined with exclusively million-dollar brownstones, and with those residents with whom she shared particular lifestyles and tastes. Gloria said, “I love the people on my street. We all have dogs. If you have a dog, it's the place to be. Everyone

is immediately a friend if you have a dog.” She also said that her “building has a garden in front of it. People will stop and look at my garden, and you stop and talk to them. So I get along with everyone.” Gloria’s description of the amenities and conveniences she uses in her daily routines also has a distinctly upper class tint: “There’s hair salons, places for facials and massages, there’s restaurants, there’s gyms, there’s the grocer. But then there are these small little places, too, like where you can go in and just buy some fresh cheese for the day.” Because of these experiences, Gloria believes the South End “just has everything you need. You never feel like you don’t fit in. There’s something here for everybody, it’s just so open and inviting.” Gloria believes the South End is very welcoming, is open, and contains everything she needs, but her account ignores large swaths of the neighborhood—racially, economically, and geographically—because the places she frequents are within a small, affluent section of the neighborhood.

Low-income residents used a different and much smaller set of neighborhood commercial establishments and complained of few affordable shopping and dining options in the neighborhood. Many lower income residents felt priced out of their own neighborhood and turned to more affordable options in other neighborhoods. As Jorge, a long-term Hispanic resident, put it, “The retail that is around here, they don’t attract diversity because it’s pretty much just upscale things—I mean, upscale home furnishing stores, boutiques, specialty gift shops. I mean, they’re geared to the influx of new money that’s come into the South End.” As a result, low-income residents of the South End did not perceive that the South End was welcoming and had everything they needed, as more affluent residents like Gloria did.

Beyond the neighborhood associations described previously, the South End has a dense concentration of nonprofit organizations offering a range of resources and services: food pantries, libraries, computer or language classes, arts and sports programs for youth, and a range of drug rehabilitation and transitional housing services. The neighborhood also has several activist nonprofit organizations with roots dating to the time of urban renewal that focus on affordable housing and has several garden, historic preservation, and ethnic cultural organizations. With a few exceptions, however, these organizations served the needs of particular interest and social groups within the neighborhood; their goal was not to promote diversity or to form coalitions across different social groups. As a result, these organizations rarely served as social seams that wove together different groups; rather, they tended to reinforce the social and geographic segmentation of interests within the neighborhood.

Even schools were segregated within the neighborhood. Few moderate- or high-income residents sent their children to the neighborhood public schools, opting instead for private, parochial, magnet, or charter schools or moving out of the neighborhood when their children reached school age. Sal, a moderate-income White father, commented—

I’m already thinking about a new job to be able to afford to send my girls to private school. . . . From playing in that playground and living in the community, I’m not racist, but two things. A lot of those kids are rough, and I don’t want my little sweet girls to be subjected to trouble every day. Two, just the fact that my girls would be of the 5 percent who are White in the school. . . . So it’s not acceptable. I mean, it’s a different cultural experience.

Sal combined considerations about culture, school quality, and race in his decision to opt out of the neighborhood school when his girls reached school age, and he showed how the lack of diversity in the schools was perpetuated over time despite a diverse resident population. Other residents described neighbors they knew who had left when their children reached school age. As Isaac, an affluent African-American father, remarked—

A couple years ago I saw four White boys, and it made me want to talk about it with my wife because it shocked me . . . because most everybody leaves . . . you just don't see any White people that are teenagers. And if they are, they're going to a [magnet school]. You'll never see 'em out on the streets, they're protected. They're not just hanging, . . . in fact, you could just take a walk through the South End on a nice sunny day in the summer, walk through the whole place, and you're probably not gonna see any White teenagers anywhere.

Census data support Isaac's observations: in 2010, many fewer White families in the South End had children (32 percent) than African-American (52 percent) or Hispanic (58 percent) families.

In many ways, the South End is organizationally vibrant, and the range of organizations reflects the diversity of its resident population. Residents can find many of the amenities and resources they need within their neighborhood, although this condition is truer for affluent residents than for poorer residents. At the same time, however, the differentiation of organizational life within the South End also means that meaningful cross-race and cross-class contact is minimal and dialogue and purposeful interaction rarely occur.

Inclusion and Exclusion

The patterns of spatial and organizational differentiation described previously translated into race- and class-based experiences of inclusion and exclusion in the neighborhood. Sarah, a long-time, lower income resident who has observed the waves of gentrification, commented about affluent residents like Gloria: "There are the people who've been here a long time and then the new gentrified, the rich people, who are in their own world. They don't relate to the neighborhood. . . . It's just like two different worlds." This separateness resulted in both material and psychological experiences of exclusion for low-income residents. Rosa, a young Hispanic resident who lived in an affordable unit in a market-rate building, moved to the South End in part because of its diversity, but she observed—

The upper class are very snobby. I'm gonna be honest, [they] are very snobby, and I feel they kinda look down on anybody that they feel doesn't have money. And they just, they're not really friendly. You can tell what certain areas they live in. Like if I go to a nail salon, you can tell all the snobby women sitting, talking. I mean you know you say good morning, but you know you can just tell. It's like they try to separate themselves but they forget the South End is a melting pot and that we're all in this community, we're all like together; they kinda seem to forget that. It's a big mixture, and I think a lot of them move in, and they have a response that, we're gonna take over and we're living here now so all you people need to move out. I hate to use this, but a lot of them want minorities to move out. Sometimes that's how I feel.

When I asked her what the higher income residents did to give her that sense, she said—

Sometimes they're like walking around with their stroller and you know it's just like they feel well, I own this brownstone, it's my property. You know if they see you in a certain area of the neighborhood, I'm like 'why are you looking at me weird like that?' Automatically, if they saw me, they would think that I lived in Villa Victoria because that's a big population of Latinos and that's where they all live. I feel like they do stare you down, like, 'What are you doing in this neck of the woods?'

Keisha, a low-income African-American resident, said that it was not only the high prices that kept her out of the neighborhood retail shops—

Even if I had the money, well, they're not really friendly. You can tell they're kind of snooty. You feel that vibe, that coldness permeating out of the windows, you know, so you look and you keep walking. You keep walking. So yeah, there's definitely a class distinction, and many people are really upset about that, especially those who have less. Who have less, you know, like, all these richy [sic] people moving in, taking over these brownstones, and I was born and raised here and now we can't even afford them. Yeah, so there's a lot of hostility between the two groups.

Thus, lower income and minority residents were materially excluded from commercial establishments in the neighborhood but also experienced a more subtle form of psychological exclusion, where they did not feel welcome in areas frequented by more advantaged residents.

For higher income residents, exclusion manifested itself in the form of self-segregation from lower income spaces and institutions. Many noted that they deliberately avoided the parks and streets near affordable housing complexes, which were perceived as unsafe (even if residents had no direct experiences that compromised their safety). Not all low-income residents live in these developments, but those places (along with homeless shelters and halfway houses) were particularly stigmatized. One moderate-income homeowner said, "There's a playground there [near the projects], and sometimes teenagers hang out there. . . . So I've been told it's not wise to walk down there at night. It's just safer not to, so I don't go on that street in general." About one-half of the more affluent respondents in the sample said they actively determined their daily walking routes to avoid the streets and parks immediately surrounding the subsidized developments. The residents of the affordable complexes were well aware of the stigmatized status of their developments. One resident joked that, "Their [affluent residents'] biggest concern is when things are loud or groups of Blacks get together. I joke with my guys in the street like, 'Oh, there's no more than two young Black men allowed together on the street at any one time. You can't do that.'"

Although these patterns of microsegregation were quite common, in some exceptions cross-group interaction did occur in meaningful ways. Respondents reported cursory but friendly interactions with those of different races or classes who lived in very close proximity to them—in the same building or on the same street. Such interactions were sometimes deeper and more meaningful—such as exchanges of information or children playing together—when respondents had a social identity in common with the neighbor. For example, one lower

income African-American woman reported speaking regularly with a higher income African-American neighbor, who had shared information about scholarships for summer programs for her son. A White mother reported that her children spent time in integrated playgroups at her building's playground. Such interactions were considerably less common, however, when multiple forms of social difference overlapped, as they often did, given the confluence of race, income, tenure, and family type.

Conclusions

In many ways, the South End is the model of a successful, stably diverse community. It has maintained a diverse population for many decades, in part because of organized efforts during urban renewal to create affordable housing that preserved a mixed-income population in the face of gentrification. The South End benefits from close proximity to the central business district and Boston's many cultural attractions, resulting in a tight real estate market that continues to attract affluent residents. The mixed-use design of the community provides access to plentiful neighborhood resources and amenities within walking distance. These features yield a vibrant and varied street life, rich cultural organizations, and a thriving artistic community. Diversity is a prominent part of the neighborhood's identity, and the neighborhood therefore attracts residents who say they value that diversity.

Lower income residents of the South End experience little of the large-scale social and spatial isolation that characterizes other segregated, concentrated-poverty communities in the city (Harding, 2010), and theories of diversity posit that their proximity to higher income residents may result in upward mobility, enhanced safety, and higher quality goods and services (Joseph et al., 2007). Lower income residents in the South End believed that proximity to higher income residents resulted in greater informal social control and increased institutional responsiveness from city services and police, which made them feel safer. Few believed that living there offered them material benefits in terms of upward economic mobility, however. Many affluent and White respondents also believed that proximity to diversity made them more understanding and tolerant of others.

Despite these perceived benefits, the South End also reveals the challenges involved with creating a truly integrated community. First, like many other racially and economically diverse neighborhoods, the South End is spatially, socially, and organizationally differentiated (Chaskin et al., 2012, 2010; Suttles, 1968; Tach, 2009). The South End as a whole is quite diverse but features a great deal of homogeneity within smaller pockets of the neighborhood. Residents are aware of this spatial differentiation, and they reinforce it in their daily routines via the places they frequent and the places they avoid within the neighborhood. In exceptions to this microsegregation—where mixed-income buildings have been constructed, for example—racial and income integration occurs on a much smaller scale. Thus, the type and location of affordable housing is crucially important for structuring the spatial organization of diversity within the neighborhood.

Residential differentiation has resulted in organizational differentiation as well. The South End has a rich set of neighborhood associations that give residents power and control over their

surroundings and contribute to neighborhood quality of life. Representation in associations, however, skews toward the more advantaged. The fact that these associations have small, relatively homogenous resident constituencies, rather than a broad coalition that represents the interests of the South End as a whole, means that associational and organizational life for most residents remains largely segmented by race and class, similar to diverse-by-circumstance communities but different than diverse-by-design communities (Maly, 2008; Nyden et al., 1998). This organizational segmentation does offer some advantages: it minimizes conflict, gives residents a place to feel comfortable and build social ties, and enacts their needs and preferences. On the other hand, however, it does little to foster cross-group interaction or dialogue. As a result, some of the benefits associated with integration—diverse social networks, role models or exposure to alternative lifestyles, greater understanding of group difference—are likely muted.

Not all benefits of diversity are predicated on cross-group interaction, however. It may be enough for residents to have access to a similar set of amenities and resources (Joseph et al., 2007), which, in many ways, is true in the South End. Residents have access to a broader set of amenities than they might have in a more homogenous neighborhood. Access does not necessarily entail use, however. Lower income and minority residents were priced out of many amenities in the South End and did not feel welcome in places frequented by more advantaged residents. They felt a clear sense of not belonging and relative deprivation, which resulted in resentment of affluent residents in the neighborhood. On the other side, more affluent residents did not feel welcome in places frequented by less advantaged residents, which also led them to avoid those spaces: they did not send their children to local schools, go to certain parks, or walk down particular streets near low-income housing complexes or homeless shelters.

The South End has been economically diverse for nearly 30 years and has been racially diverse for even longer. Despite this stability, the dynamics observed in the South End are similar in many ways to the dynamics observed in gentrifying communities and in newer planned mixed-income developments that have much shorter histories of diversity. Lower income residents of the stably diverse South End perceived benefits in terms of safety but mixed benefits in terms of social control—personally feeling safer yet also feeling greater surveillance—and institutional investment—appreciating the density of retail investment but also feeling priced out (Chapple and Jacobus, 2009; Freeman, 2006; Tach, 2009)—and little benefit in terms of upward mobility (Ludwig et al., 2013). Unlike those studied in previous literature (Putman, 2007), however, higher income residents in the South End also perceived that proximity to diversity made them more tolerant. Despite these perceptions, residents reported little actual integration of institutions and organizations that might promote meaningful cross-group contact. Instead, the key difference between the South End and other newly diverse communities appears to be the extent of organizational differentiation and development, which serves diverse resident interests but also tends to reinforce the segmentation of neighborhood life.

Of course, the data in this study are limited in several ways that preclude strong statements about the consequences of diversity. First, the data are based on a small, albeit geographically and demographically diverse, sample, and it is likely that those who agreed to participate in

the study are more involved in the community than those who did not. The use of interview data and respondent self-reports also means that I may have a biased picture of residents' actual behaviors, although triangulating results with data from stakeholders and from participant observation help to overcome this shortcoming. In addition, the role of organizations and associations emerged as an important finding, but this study was not a formal study of organizations, which would require a different study design. Finally, the South End is somewhat unusual in the coexistence of extreme affluence and extreme poverty and in its density of services and housing for poor residents, owing to its unique location and history. Thus, the dynamics that promoted stable racial and economic diversity in the South End may be difficult to apply to other locations.

In many ways, the South End embodies both the promises and the challenges of maintaining stable diversity. Even when residents appreciate diversity and recognize the organizational and cultural richness that it produces, diverse communities are also microcosms of broader social inequalities. Neighborhood integration may solve some problems associated with large-scale social exclusion while creating new problems associated with microsegregation. Microsegregation was easiest to overcome when neighbors had something in common interpersonally or when organizations designed low-cost events of interest to broad segments of the population. When multiple forms of social difference overlapped, as was often the case, interactions were limited and exclusion was exacerbated. This exclusion makes it particularly challenging to maintain positive social dynamics in neighborhoods with multiple forms of diversity and suggests a key role for community organizations to serve as bridging organizations that facilitate such cross-group interaction.

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Author

Laura M. Tach is an assistant professor in the Department of Policy Analysis and Management at Cornell University.

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