



**Abstracts**

## **W05- Poverty Neighbourhoods**

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## **Social mix and social interaction: Do residents living in different housing tenures mix?**

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The presentation reports on some of the findings of research conducted in three neighbourhoods in Adelaide that were originally constructed as social housing estates during the post Second World War period. Hence, until recently these neighbourhoods were characterised by large concentrations of social housing, with some pockets consisting of up to 100 per cent concentration. In each neighbourhood estate regeneration activities implemented by the State Housing Authority in partnership with other organisations have attracted home owners into the neighbourhoods with a key aim to create a more balanced social mix. Within this context a balanced social mix refers to the idea of creating neighbourhoods with a blend of residents from across a range of income levels and housing tenures types, including social housing, private rental, and owner-occupied housing. One of the principal rationales for social mix policies is that breaking down concentrations of disadvantage provides a range of benefits for residents. These include aspirational outcomes with heightened expectations through access to middle income role models, especially for youth, less restricted social networks ' and better information about opportunities such as jobs. However, the findings of recent international research question whether owners and renters actually meet, in order to achieve the anticipated benefits of social mix (Atkinson & Kintrea. 2000). The focus of this presentation is whether the patterns of daily living between renters and home owners vary - with renters' social and family activities more likely to take place in the local neighbourhood than the world beyond, compared with owners that are more likely to spend most of their time outside of the local neighbourhood.

## **Migration flows and the 'othering' of deprived urban neighbourhoods**

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Within neighbourhood policy in Britain, the migration flows for deprived neighbourhoods tend to be described in ways which emphasise the difference or distinctiveness of these areas. Deprived neighbourhoods are portrayed as unstable, as disconnected from the wider housing system, and as suffering from a net loss of human capital through migration exchanges ' the idea that 'those who get on, get out' (SEU, 2001; PMSU/ODPM, 2005; SEU, 2006). These descriptions can contribute to the 'othering' of the people who live in these areas (Lister, 2004). This paper is based on an analysis of 2001 Census data on migration for England and Scotland. It examines stability (gross turnover or residential mobility), connection (the geography of flows) and area change (the social composition of net migrations flows). The findings challenge several common perceptions. First, deprived areas are not markedly less stable than non-deprived. Residential mobility for all neighbourhoods is driven by social composition, rather than contextual effects ' by demographics, not deprivation. Second, deprived areas do not appear disconnected from their wider housing markets; they are not isolated in this sense. Third, deprived areas suffer only modest losses of human capital through net migration flows. In- and out-flows for deprived areas are very similar in composition. While they do act to increase the concentration of less qualified individuals into more deprived neighbourhoods, the scale of these effects is modest. In conclusion, the paper challenges the 'othering' of deprived neighbourhoods but, at the same time, it provides support for some current policy prescriptions including the use of area-based initiatives.

## **Labour market outcomes and the impacts of local contexts in Australian metropolitan regions**

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There has been a significant level of interest on the impacts of neighbourhood effects on a range of outcomes including employment and unemployment, deviant/anti-social behaviour and quality of life. What this type of research has attempted to investigate is the extent to which individual level outcomes are nested in higher order influences (neighbourhoods). The objective of this paper is to begin considering the ways in which employment outcomes measured at the individual level are a function of both individual level characteristics as well as characteristics of the local labour market. The paper uses the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey combined with aggregate local labour market data to model employment outcomes. In doing so it provides some insight into the interactions between individual level outcomes and broader neighbourhood or regional outcomes.

## **What's place got to do with it: An exploration of poor people's networks in homogeneous and heterogeneous neighborhoods in Rotterdam**

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Urban restructuring in various European countries is aimed at creating mixed neighbourhoods in terms of socio-economic status as well as ethnicity. This policy not only aims at establishing a more 'balanced' population in poverty and ethnic concentration neighbourhoods, but also at stimulating social integration of, especially, deprived and ethnic groups. The idea seems to be that spatial mix will increase socializing between different social groups also, and that this will contribute to individual social capital of underprivileged groups. In this way, it is believed that this mixing policy will contribute to socio-economic integration of deprived groups. There are two ways to approach this: one is to see whether there is causal socializing between groups within neighbourhoods, independent of whether they then built sustainable relationships. Another is to follow the social capital argument that relationships in which people can build durable exchanges of resources, relations that are being maintained due to for example reciprocity expectations, can be more easily formed by residents who live in mixed neighbourhoods than by people who reside in homogeneous areas.

Previous studies have shown, in general, that residents of mixed neighbourhoods hardly built social networks of durable ties with each other. However, it is still unclear whether people in mixed neighbourhoods have relationships with people from different backgrounds more often compared to people who live in rather homogeneous neighbourhoods. This paper examines the composition of the social networks of people living in a mixed neighbourhood, compared to the networks of those who live in a rather homogeneous low-class, ethnic minority neighbourhood, and thus gives some insight in the significance of neighbourhood composition for social networks of people.

## **Old habits die hard? Neighbourhood participation in Slovenia and the Netherlands**

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The old hypothesis that citizens in the former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe participate less than those in the West is tested here in the neighbourhood context. Traditional explanations often focus on the neighbourhood context in which social capital is built, and how this leads to participation. We connect to these existing theories by describing

the democratic and policy context in a former communist country (Slovenia) and a Western European country (The Netherlands). We describe the micro as well as the macro context and evaluate the relative impact of each on neighbourhood participation. We describe the differences in social capital and participation between the residents of post WWII neighbourhoods in Slovenia and The Netherlands. We explain these differences on the basis of the individual characteristics as well as the local and national context using multivariate modeling procedures. The analysis is based on the 2004 RESTATE survey that was held in 4 post-WWII neighbourhoods in both countries. The findings suggest that there is a larger influence of the local policy context, when compared to the national context.

### **Demolitions and reconstructions in a large housing estate: On some social effects of 'renouvellement urbain'**

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With the 'renouvellement urbain', French urban policy in impoverished neighbourhoods marked an important turn ten years ago. This new policy mainly consists in demolishing in housing estates and reconstructing there more private housings. The main declared goal is to bring back the middle class in these areas, with the strong idea that such a 'mixité' would have powerful positive effects for all the inhabitants, solving most of the social problems urban policies have not seem to manage during the last two decades.

As it appears in an ongoing sociological research in a large housing estate in the suburb of Lyon, the 'Minguettes', the social consequences of this policy are quite questionable. One of the effects of the local application of the 'renouvellement urbain' is that the demolition tends to encourage the departure of the young wage-earning households, helping their residential career, while the older and more precarious households are just 'moved' inside the area without sensible improvement of their situations. Thus, the short term result is more an increasing precariousness of the local population than the 'mixité' researched. Then, the medium-term analysis takes into account the new constructions (private or social) which, being more expensive, are meant to accommodate less precarious households. Added to the demolitions, these reconstructions lead to a reorganisation of the local housing structure, towards a dual system, separating new and old buildings, and their dwellers. This situation tends finally to generate frustrations and tensions, and to reinforce oppositions between inhabitants.

### **Poor neighbourhoods and poor services: The rationing of environmental service provision to deprived neighbourhoods**

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There is growing political concern that poor neighbourhoods often get inadequate public services, although there is little research to date which explores how and why this may be the case. This paper builds on earlier research that shows that poor neighbourhoods do not tend to get levels of environmental services which are proportionate to their needs. It explores the consequences of this underprovision of environmental services to poor neighbourhoods ' a process described in the paper as institutional rationing. It shows how institutional rationing sets in train other forms of rationing behaviour: responsive rationing in which service practices and standards are varied between neighbourhoods; and political rationing where service levels and standards are sensitive to variations in the political resources and political pressures of neighbourhoods. The analysis shows how these processes and behaviours combine to undermine the capacity of residents to resolve local environmental problems. The paper contributes fresh insight to a long-standing literature which explores the relationship between poor neighbourhoods and poor service provision.

## **Territorial behaviour among young people in disadvantaged areas**

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This paper focuses on territorial behaviour among young people in disadvantaged residential areas in UK cities. For the purposes of investigation we defined territoriality as:

‘a social system through which control is claimed by one group over a defined geographical area and defended against others.’

The main approach is underlain by an assumption that territoriality is problematic for the life chances of the young people caught up in it and for the neighbourhoods that play host to it. However we also recognised the potentially positive nature of territoriality as an expression of mutual support and positive attachment.

The paper addresses six questions:

1. What is the nature and role of territoriality in deprived neighbourhoods?
2. What are the origins of territoriality?
3. What is the geography of territoriality?
4. Who is affected by territoriality?
5. What are its impacts on young people and on their communities?
6. To what extent are the current policy responses to territoriality appropriate?

The paper is based on research in youth projects in 6 UK cities, where interviews and focus groups were held with project staff and volunteers and with young people.

## **Does social capital affect residents propensity to move from restructured neighbourhoods?**

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In the major Dutch cities, social rented housing in post-war neighbourhoods is demolished and largely replaced with more expensive owner-occupied and rental housing. Through residential mobility, these measures can trigger substantial population changes. In two recently restructured neighbourhoods in the city of Rotterdam, we studied residents' social capital. Herewith, we distinguish between the stayers, movers and newcomers. In a neighbourhood context, social capital refers to the benefit of cursory interactions, shared norms, trust and collective action of residents. Survey data (n=917) show that social capital is not only an asset of long-term stayers, but that in particular newcomers are relatively rich in social capital. The central question is this paper is: to what extent are residents' levels of social capital associated with the propensity leave the restructured neighbourhood? Especially for policymakers, knowledge of the longer-term stability of restructured neighbourhoods is important.

A logistic regression analysis points out the predictors of the propensity to move within five years. After controlling for housing features and satisfaction as well as and neighbourhood satisfaction, social capital was no longer a significant predictor. Surprisingly, newcomers (predominantly homeowners) report a significantly higher propensity to leave the restructured neighbourhood than stayers and movers. This is inconsistent with a large body of literature pointing at the stabilising effect of homeownership. We present explanations for the mentioned findings and suggestions for further research.

### **Little to choose, much to lose. Housing choice and neighbourhood satisfaction in poor urban areas**

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Notwithstanding the declining significance of the neighbourhood for many of its residents, the extent to which individuals in poor urban areas are satisfied with their residential surroundings can still be very much decisive for their quality of life and the way they respond to changes in their environment and the daily challenges they have to deal with there. Many studies explore the factors associated with neighbourhood satisfaction, and often the results of these studies show that access to resources such as income and education, are an important predictor of (dis)satisfaction with housing conditions. However, apart from the objective degree of housing choice resulting from access to individual resources, few studies explore the importance of the subjective dimension of housing choice, namely the feeling of 'having something to choose from'. This paper supplements the literature on residential satisfaction by including the subjective experience of housing choice.

The empirical data presented in this paper suggest that residents who claimed not to have much or any say in their place of residence appear to be significantly less satisfied with their neighbourhood, even when traditional objective factors are taken into account. These results constitute an important finding for policymakers, as residents who experience a lack of housing choice also appear to feel less involved and less responsible for the neighbourhood.

### **Neighbourhoods of compliance? Coping with the cons of a poverty area**

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Parts of the big cities in The Netherlands have become areas where low-income households increasingly concentrate. Residents of these areas often experience a mismatch between their housing aspirations and their particular housing situation. Our survey in four Dutch urban poverty areas shows that almost half of the residents experienced no other choice than to settle in their particular dwelling. Moreover, more than half of them are not satisfied with their housing circumstances. This paper focuses on the way many of the residents in urban poverty areas have come to terms with the fact that they experience(d) little housing choice. Analogous to Hirschmann's famous concepts of voice and exit, we describe how residents who evaluate(d) their neighbourhood unfavourably nevertheless adhere or instead withdraw from a belief in the neighbourhood as a vital arena. Based on in-depth interviews the paper describes how those who have experienced little choice maintain a certain quality of life, despite the fact that many regard social or physical aspects of their living environment as problematic. It relates these strategies to the moment they initially entered the neighbourhood and the degree and kind of changes they witnessed in their neighbourhood since then.

### **Attacking poverty? New deal for communities**

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The New Deal for Communities Programme (NDC) in England has claims to be one of the most intensive urban regeneration programmes ever launched. In 39 areas local partnership Boards are planning the ten year 'transformation' of these deprived neighbourhoods. Each of the 39 schemes is funded by £50m. The overall programme is premised on the assumption that 'the community should be at the heart' of the initiative and that NDCs need to work with other delivery agencies to ensure holistic renewal of these neighbourhoods. The author is the director of the 2001-2009 national evaluation of the Programme.

2001-2006 change data indicates modest improvements in these 39 areas. But it would be hard to argue that change had been transformative. Why?

- change will take many years to feed through
- it is easier to change place based indicators (eg fear of crime) than people based indicators ( education, health, jobs)
- the logic chain between interventions and outcomes is weak
- NDCs are dealing with massively changing local populations.
- data is as yet cross-sectional-longitudinal data will be analysed during 2007.

### **Social well-being in mixed tenure areas in Britain: 1991 to 2001**

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The current evidence base for the mixed tenure policy is both fragmented and ambiguous. With few exceptions, previous studies of mixed tenure effects have been small scale investigations of individual communities. These provide only a rudimentary basis for comparative evaluation. Furthermore, these studies have paid little or no attention to such issues as how the level of mixing might impact on outcomes or how the geographic scale of investigation might influence results and conclusions. Nevertheless, government housing policy over the past 20 years has pursued a policy of mixed tenures in the redevelopment and regeneration of social housing stock, as well as through the implementation of right-to-buy policies. Consequently, mixing tenures has become a widely accepted policy through which the problems of social exclusion in disadvantaged neighbourhoods can be tackled.

In this paper we explicitly investigate the efficacy of mixed tenure policies in terms of their ability to improve social well-being with regard to the question of geographic scale and the degree of tenure mix. This is done using aggregate data from the British Censuses for 1991 and 2001 (unemployment, limiting long term illness) and vital registrations (standardised mortality and premature mortality). The principal investigation implements a series of analyses covering all of Great Britain. The influence of scale is then considered using smaller areal units to investigate local effects in unemployment in Scotland.

We will provide conclusions based on the analysis which question the evidence base for the policy and identify elements of a further research agenda.

### **Managing neighbourhood stability and change: Institutional structures and mixed income communities in England and Scotland**

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This paper considers different approaches to the analysis of the management of mixed-income communities. Based on research that considered eleven case study neighbourhoods, in England and Scotland, the paper examines institutional structures and decision-making processes designed to generate sustainable mixed-income communities. The paper considers a number of models of neighbourhood change and examines the ways in which decisions about allocation policies, resident involvement and anti-social behaviour strategies affect neighbourhood management. The first part of the paper considers the justifications for the development of mixed-income communities, critically analysing the policy context. The second section considers some case study examples of different approaches mixed-income neighbourhoods, examining both new and more well-established developments. The central argument is that whilst housing management is constrained by significant path dependencies relating to design, development and allocation policies, there is considerable scope to develop strategies around partnership and participation that can facilitate neighbourhood change within mixed-income communities.

## **Vision and reality: Community involvement in Irish urban regeneration**

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This paper examines the expectations and the reality of community involvement in six Irish urban regeneration programmes based on housing improvements. Three of the case studies were in Dublin, capital of the Irish Republic and three were in Belfast, Northern Ireland's largest city.

The research situated the case studies in their wider policy context in the two jurisdictions and examined the interactions between residents' organisations and other agencies, in particular the state agencies responsible for programme implementation.

A Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS) framework was used to analyse the qualitative data in order to assess the important initial conditions, emergent factors and adaptive processes that occurred as the programmes progressed. The paper concludes that an important initial condition for effective community involvement in urban regeneration is a recognition by implementing agencies of the community's initial vision of how the regeneration will benefit the area (even if it is not shared); that emergent issues and progress are connected with the convergence of the community's vision with that of other actors; and that adaptive processes were influenced by a previous history of community involvement, the availability of resources, the need of implementing agencies for community legitimation, and the impact of key individuals.

## **'Cracking walnuts with a sledgehammer'. De-concentrating the poor by enclosing neighbourhoods: a critique on Rotterdam policy**

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In Western European countries housing diversification has become a popular urban renewal strategy in counteracting the assumed negative effects of the concentration of low-income households in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Another strategy to combat concentration of poor and vulnerable households is formed by social mobility programmes (e.g. MTO) and empowerment strategies, which enable poor (minority) households to move to neighbourhoods with better opportunities.

However, urban renewal policies can also be perceived as strategies aiming to reorganize the city in the interest of (white) middle-income households, home owners and real-estate developers, and might be labelled as 'revanchist' policies. Whether local policies are to be considered as strategies designed to combat existing urban problems, or as revanchist strategies supposed to strengthen the interests of middle-income households, depends, among other things, on the proportion of the implemented policy measures and whether or not they exclude or include certain types of households.

The most outspoken policies in the Netherlands in recent years were developed in Rotterdam. After a long period of urban policy dominated by the socialist-democratic party, a populist-conservative coalition took over the administration from 2002 until 2006. It developed a policy that combined housing diversification/restructuring with regulating the population influx in 'distressed' neighbourhoods by excluding low-income and unemployed renters from the housing market.

In this paper we assess the Rotterdam policy and we conclude that, although there has been an enormous support for the developed policy amongst a large proportion of Rotterdam's residents, professionals and policy makers, in our view Rotterdam is cracking walnuts with a sledgehammer. This does not make it a revanchist policy per se, but in order to tackle the problems that Rotterdam and other cities face, one should apply the proper tools, instead of grabbing the hammer and smashing the nut.

## **Contributing to reduce urban poverty: The role of water**

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Proposals for reducing urban poverty usually imply to increase employment. However, the urban poor, generally coming from the countryside, are able to continue in farming activities if the city arranges housing and water supply for small scale productive activities. This option is not accepted by urban planners, who have a formal industrialized city in their minds. Such a city does not satisfy the poor's needs.

In that dreamed city, the poorest of the poor, women, are forbidden to use their homes for farming small-scale productive activities (e.g. pigs, chicken, and small gardens) and the service providers forbid the use of water for those activities.

It is possible to think in a kind city for the poor where the poor be encouraged to have their development in their own hands. Applying Cleaner Production measures and taken into account the real potentials that the poor have, realistic housing and services can be provided to reduce poverty. This implies a change in urban poverty conceptions to see the poor as people able to change their future.

In this future, access to water and an appropriate house are essential conditions because farming in peri-urban areas requires adequate space and use of water should be efficient. Design and construction of houses and water supply and sanitation services should be seen from the point of view of improving the poor's quality of life. Women's productive activities at household level should be encouraged and protected because they contribute to income generation and family protection as every women's activity is thought for their family benefits. A case study in a peri-urban area of Cali, Colombia will be presented. The case shows the importance of the small-productive activities in the poor people's lives and the threat presented by formal interventions.

## **Urban restructuring and upward social mobility in Hoogvliet, Rotterdam**

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Traditionally, Dutch urban restructuring policy has aimed at regenerating the physical and social quality of the post-war neighbourhoods. Recently, a different perspective gained prominence in the policy debates. The VROM-council, an advisory body of the government, published an advisory document, entitled 'City and Upward Social Mobility' (Stad en stijging). The VROM-council emphasises the importance of creating social opportunities for individual residents, through improving access to education, work, housing opportunities and leisure, within the context of urban restructuring programmes. The VROM-council proposes to make upward social mobility the guiding principle for urban restructuring projects, instead of general neighbourhood improvement.

Hoogvliet, a borough of the city of Rotterdam, has put this idea into action since 1999. The local authorities and housing associations started one of the largest restructuring programs in The Netherlands. Besides demolition and new construction, they implemented a broad set of measures targeting liveability, education, work, healthcare and social welfare. One of the main ambitions is that every individual resident remaining in Hoogvliet should profit from the urban restructuring.

To test this ambition and upward social mobility in general, we conducted a large-scale cross-sectional survey held among 6,874 residents in Hoogvliet. Upward social mobility is defined as progress in one or more dimensions of the social-economic position of an individual and his or her household. These dimensions are work, income, education and housing conditions.

Preliminary results show hardly any upward social mobility among the residents who have lived in Hoogvliet since 1999. The main exception are housing conditions, which have improved steadily. Apart from explanations for these findings, we sketch directions for the follow-up of the survey, which includes in-depth interviews with residents.

### **Neighbourhood governance and disadvantaged places in England 1997-2007**

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Since 1997 New Labour administrations in the United Kingdom have put great stress on the importance of neighbourhood governance to tackle a range of social issues ranging from area-based disadvantage to democratic engagement. This paper will consider the ways in which neighbourhood governance has influenced the elaboration and implementation of neighbourhood renewal interventions between 1997 and 2006 based on work completed by the Cities Research Centre on policy evaluation research (such as New Deal for Communities, Neighbourhood Management Pathfinders and Local Strategic Partnerships). The paper will argue that working through the tensions inherent in the process of governing is a necessary but not sufficient component of the long term sustainability of urban places. Neighbourhood governance is not a silver bullet for dealing with disadvantaged places.

Following the conceptual framework proposed by Smith et al (2007) the experience of neighbourhood governance in disadvantaged areas in England has been either as a site of governance, as a governance space or as a sphere of governance. The basic argument is that neighbourhoods have been an important site of intervention and that new governance spaces have been opened up albeit that these spaces are not always public. This is because institutional forms such as neighbourhood boards allow the introduction of new constituencies (such as neighbourhood residents or the local officers of mainstream service providers) into the process of co-formulating what is to be done. However, the promise of neighbourhood governance as a sphere of governance remains illusive because the ways in which neighbourhood service providers and resident communities interact is severely limited by the power of the existing public sector and the poor multi-level and multi-sector articulation of interventions.

### **The U.S. Low-Income Housing Tax Credit Program as a poverty deconcentration device: A realistic perspective**

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The U.S. Department of Treasury's Low-Income Housing Tax Credit program is now the major U.S. housing production program. LIHTC is now 20 years old and as the program has matured the level of LIHTC production has increased. According to a recent article by Kirk McClure in the journal, *Housing Policy Debate*, the LIHTC program is becoming an increasingly important means to deconcentrate impoverished renters by providing access to low-poverty neighborhoods. I argue that while the news that the LIHTC program has gone mainstream and has moved to the suburbs is to be welcomed we should not have unrealistically high expectations for these developments. Not only is the LIHTC program likely to lead to only a limited amount of income mixing in the area around these developments but in addition these developments actually work against social mixing since so many of the residents have low incomes. In addition, it would be a mistake to view the LIHTC program as a substitute for Housing Choice Vouchers (HCV) because the former outperforms the latter as a poverty deconcentration device for the country as a whole. In places like Alameda County, California voucher recipients have been suburbanizing in large numbers and these best practice models need to be replicated. Finally, suburban LIHTC developments will only achieve their full

potential if community groups are involved early in the application process, and if tenants are carefully screened and tenant rules strictly enforced.