

**DIFFUSE ASPIRATIONS: MIXED-INCOME HOUSING IN THE
CONTEXT OF FOR-PROFIT URBAN REVITALIZATION**

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I. INTRODUCTION

This paper evaluates the success of mixed-income housing in the context of a for-profit development in New Haven, Connecticut. It takes as its sample the development and the tenants of The Residences at Ninth Square, a mixed-use, mixed-income apartment complex located in the center of the historic city. The early parts of the paper (Parts II-III) tell the story of the neighborhood and contextualize the study in the geography and the history of New Haven, Connecticut. Part IV describes the development in detail. Part V looks to the expectations and commitments undertaken by the developers of The Residences. Part VI recounts the threats of failure voiced by contemporary critics. Part VII evaluates the success of the project in meeting those expectations and avoiding those threatened pitfalls by considering the success of the development, both financially, and as a form of urban revitalization. Part VIII evaluates the success of the project as a mixed-income development. It looks to the purposes of mixed-income housing, articulates the need for social interaction among tenants to achieve those purposes, and empirically examines the content and relation of those social interactions.

This study contributes to the extant literature in several significant ways. First, and most importantly, it constitutes one of very few empirical studies of social interaction in mixed-income contexts. As such, Part VIII, which gathers and analyzes the data of these interactions could well stand alone. Secondly, it is the only such study to describe the social interactions of residents, and the realities of mixed-income, housing against the backdrop of for-profit development. Third, it evaluates the influence that the constraints of for-profit development impose upon the mechanisms by which mixed-income housing

is supposed to work. Ultimately, this paper argues that the social interactions of residents in such a context are insufficient to robustly support any of the mechanisms by which social interaction is theorized to break “a culture of poverty.” By contrast, the constraints imposed by the for-profit nature of the development force the relevant actors to engage in behaviors that engage the non-social mechanisms by which mixed-income housing is premised to improve the lives of the urban poor. That is, the profit motive causes the management to ensure that rules are enforced, and that truly safe, clean, and accessible housing is provided to those who would otherwise be unable to afford it.

II. BACKGROUND: A BRIEF HISTORY OF NEW HAVEN’S NINTH SQUARE

On Saturday, April 24, 1638, a group of nearly 500 Puritan immigrants led by the Reverend John Davenport and the wealthy London merchant Theophilus Eton sailed into New Haven harbor.¹ Over the next year, the wealthy London merchant orchestrated purchases of land from the local Quinnipiack and Mattabeseck Indians and the subsequent division of that land among the settlers.² Tradition has it that shortly thereafter a surveyor by the name of John Brockett laid out what would become the United States’ first planned community³ – “the original model city”⁴ – by dividing the space abutting the harbor between the East and West Creeks into a geometrical grid of

¹ Floyd M. Shumway & Richard Hegel, *New Haven: A Topographical History*, 34 J. NEW HAVEN COLONY HIST. SOC’Y, Spring 1988, at 3, 11 (1988).

² *Id.*

³ JOHN REPS, THE MAKING OF URBAN AMERICA: A HISTORY OF CITY PLANNING IN THE UNITED STATES 124-32; *Id.*; see e.g. Robert A. Solomon, *Building a Segregated City: How We All Worked Together*, 16 ST. LOUIS U. PUB. L. REV. 265, 279 (1997).

⁴ Nick Ravo, *Fiscal Woes Plague an Ailing New Haven*, N.Y. TIMES, May 9, 1991, at B1.

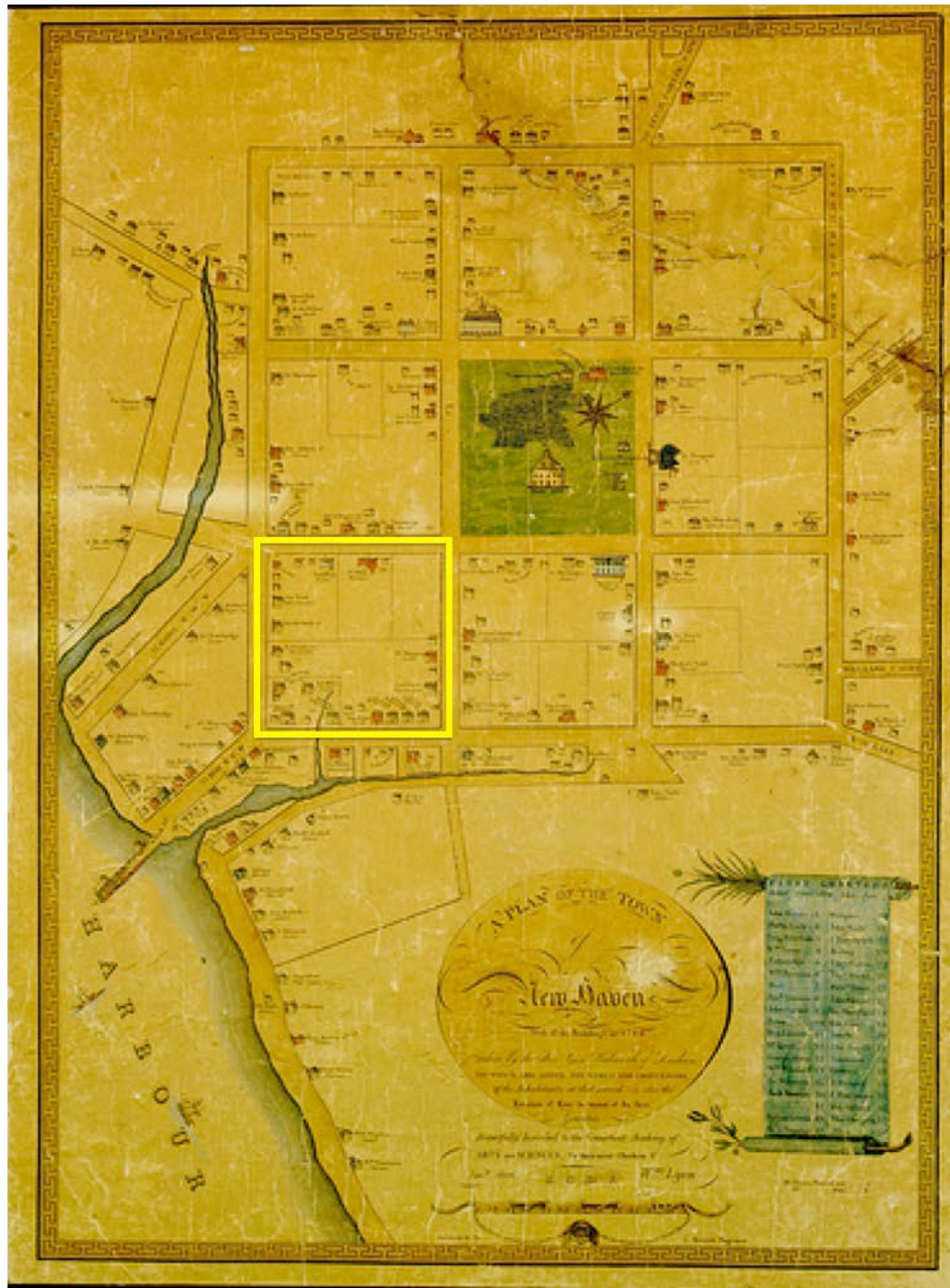
nine roughly equal squares.⁵ A plan of New Haven in 1748 redrawn in 1806 faithfully depicts this original grid of eight blocks surrounding center green.

Over the course of the subsequent years, the original nine squares have garnered the fascination of countless local patriots, urban planners, and urban renewal experts.⁶ As a testament to the early settlers' idealism, three early 19th-century spired churches stoically guard the "Green," the centermost of New Haven Connecticut's original nine squares. Just to the southwest lies the district now known as the Ninth Square.

⁵ REPS, *supra* note 3, at 124-32; Shumway and Hegel *supra* note 1, at 11; *see e.g.* Solomon *supra* note 3, at 279.

⁶ *See, e.g.*, REPS, *supra* note 3, at 124-32; *see also* ANTHONY N.B. GARVAN, ARCHITECTURAL AND TOWN PLANNING IN COLONIAL CONNECTICUT 47-48 (1951).

FIGURE 1. (1748 Map of New Haven, CT with the Ninth Square indicated in yellow).⁷



⁷ JAMES WADSWORTH, A PLAN OF THE TOWN OF NEW HAVEN WITH ALL THE BUILDINGS IN 1748 TAKEN BY THE HON. GEN. WADSWORTH OF DURHAM (New Haven, T. Kensett 1806) (oriented with North toward upper right corner), available at <http://www.flickr.com/photos/uconnlibrariesmagic/3406332581/>.

FIGURE 2. (Satellite photograph of downtown New Haven with the Ninth Square indicated in yellow)⁸



First the commercial hub of “a puritan empire in miniature” stretching all the way to Long Island,⁹ and later the vibrant commercial center of an early American industrial

⁸ Google Earth, image 41 deg. 18'25.64" N, 72 deg. 55'31.20" W (image date Sept. 11, 2010) <http://www.earth.google.com> (last visited Feb. 4, 2011).

⁹ Shumway & Hegel, *supra* note 1, at 13.

powerhouse,¹⁰ by 1941, the quadrant of the city bounded by Church, Chapel, George, and State Streets was home to over 300 big and small businesses that prospered there.¹¹ As one commentator put it decades later:

A look at the New Haven Public Library's city directory for 1941 reveals retailers, wholesalers, dentists and hemstitchers, movie palaces, billiard parlors, bankers and lawyers and industrial suppliers jammed exuberantly into the four city blocks bounded by Church, Chapel, State and George Street.¹²

This district packed barbers, banks, hotels, and clothing stores alongside oyster bars, newspapers, printers, coffee houses, candy shops, and gaslight, water and express trucking companies.¹³

III. THE PROBLEM: NINTH SQUARE IN THE 1980S

By the 1980s, little remained of this vibrant community of diverse sights and sounds. Unable to escape the fate that brought down most American urban cores during the second half of the twentieth century, the Ninth Square had garnered the reputation as a “derelict”¹⁴ district, a “blighted”¹⁵ neighborhood, “the last, leftover remnant of an uncertain urban design.”¹⁶ More respectable shop owners fled “[t]h[is] last old section of th[e] city's downtown district” as adult bookstores and peepshow parlors took over¹⁷

¹⁰ See generally *Id.* at 24-49; for a concise history of the Ninth Square through 1994 see John P. Elwood, *Rethinking Government Participation in Urban Renewal: Neighborhood Revitalization in New Haven*, 12 YALE L. & POL'Y REV. 138, 148-58, (1994).

¹¹ Robert J. Leeney, *Ninth Square Was Once a Place To Be*, NEW HAVEN REG., Sept. 21, 1991, at 10.

¹² *Id.*

¹³ *Id.*

¹⁴ Editorial, *Weicker Switch Helps New Haven*, NEW HAVEN REG., Jul. 17, 1991, at 6; Editorial, *Ninth Square Gets State Funding Nod*, NEW HAVEN REG., Sept. 16, 1991, at 10.

¹⁵ Editorial, *Ninth Square Vote Hurts City's Future*, NEW HAVEN REG., Apr. 1, 1991, at 10.

¹⁶ Leeney, *supra* note 11.

¹⁷ See Nick Ravo, *Fiscal Woes Plague an Ailing New Haven*, N.Y. TIMES, May 9, 1991, at B1. Much of this, however, was attributable to New Haven's use of eminent domain as “empty

New Haven's "skid row."¹⁸ Important examples of late nineteenth-century commercial architecture found themselves deteriorating, encased in cheap 1970s facades, and home no longer to grand movie palaces, oyster bars, and printers, but to Halloween costume outlets, discount uniform shops, and stores that looked all but abandoned from the outside.¹⁹ Most of the upper floors of these buildings had been vacant for nearly half a century, broken windows exposing their cores to the elements that rotted out their century-old floors.²⁰

The "Ninth Square" name itself recalls renewal attempts in this neighborhood. Coined in the mid-1970s to draw attention to the section of New Haven's inner city bounded by Church, Chapel, State, and George Streets,²¹ the term highlighted the district's place as the last of New Haven's original nine squares to receive the city's

buildings waited for developers' bulldozers that [seemed they] may never come." Editorial, *Ninth Square Vote Hurts City's Future*, NEW HAVEN REG., Apr. 1, 1991, at 10. More than 20 businesses were forced out through the threat of eminent domain, leaving the district nearly vacant from 1989 to through the Residences' opening in 1995. Laura Johannes, *Merchants' Plans and Dreams Go Poof!*, NEW HAVEN REG., Mar. 30, 1991, at 1.

¹⁸ Robert C. Ellickson, Unpublished Notes on the Ninth Square Project (May 23, 1997) (on file with author). I do not mean to suggest that urban poverty and urban slums are normatively or economically bad, rather I simply take it as a given that supporters of The Ninth Square project conceived of the state of the Ninth Square as demanding intervention. For an argument that urban slums are valuable, see EDWARD L. GLAESER, TRIUMPH OF THE CITY: HOW OUR GREATEST INVENTION MAKES US RICHER, SMARTER, GREENER, HEALTHIER, AND HAPPIER 69 (2011) (arguing that urban slums improve the lives of the poor and enhance their social mobility by providing resources otherwise inaccessible to them)

¹⁹ See National Register of Historic Places Inventory: Nomination Form for Ninth Square Historic District (May 3, 1984). The images attached to the Nomination Form present a dramatic and comprehensive image of this district of the city in the early 1980s.

²⁰ Interview with Kathleen Etkin, Project Manager for The Ninth Square Project from 1986 to 2001, McCormack Baron & Assoc., in New Haven, Conn. (Feb. 11, 2011); Ann Dunnington, *Like a Phoenix*, HISTORIC PRESERVATION NEWS: THE NEWSPAPER OF THE NATIONAL TRUST FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION, 22, 34 (December 1994/January 1995).

²¹ Etkin, *supra* note 20.

redevelopment attention.²² It also highlighted one last opportunity to get it right: this was the one segment of the original urban core left to “experiment”²³ on, “the one part of downtown that wasn’t sacrificed in the urban-renewal days.”²⁴

In the early 1980s, Americans across the country tired of the suburbs and the promise of a house, a spouse, 2.3 children, a dog, and two cars for every man and woman. They turned their attention back to the urban cores of their cities. New Haveners did the same. This promise of this once-vibrant commercial district spawned interest. Artists began to colonize the district.²⁵ Preservationists became interested in New Haven’s last intact cluster of nineteenth-century commercial architecture, “the only [such buildings] that hadn’t been urban renewed in the 1960s.”²⁶ The district’s long-time property owners and merchants aligned with newcomer development entrepreneurs who were eager to ride the wave of popular interest in preservation.²⁷ Together, the two groups formed the Ninth Square Association.²⁸ Along with the New Haven Preservation Trust, the Association funded research into the buildings’ original appearance and it used that research to support Ninth Square’s successful bid for a place on the National Register of Historic Places.²⁹ The historic designation promised property owners and developers tax credits for restoration.³⁰ The Ninth Square Association and the New Haven

²² *Ninth Square Project Gets Go-Ahead*, YALE WKLY. BULL. & CALENDAR, Sept. 23-30, 1991, at 1.

²³ Dunnington, *supra* note 20, at 23.

²⁴ *Id.* at 22 (quoting mayor John Destefano).

²⁵ Elwood, *supra* note 10, at 150.

²⁶ Dunnington, *supra* note 20, at 31.

²⁷ *Id.* at 22; Elwood, *supra* note 10, at 150.

²⁸ Dunnington, *supra* note 20, at 22; Elwood, *supra* note 10, at 150.

²⁹ Dunnington, *supra* note 20, at 22; Elwood, *supra* note 10, at 150; National Register, *supra* note 19.

³⁰ Elwood, *supra* note 10, at 150

Preservation Trust, joined by a third nonprofit group – the Downtown Council of New Haven – received \$50,000 from the Critical Issues Fund of the National Trust to help prepare plans “to create a safe, attractive, well-managed urban district where a diversity of people live, work, shop, and play.”³¹ The Ninth Square Association secured additional public funding in the area by persuading the city to offer façade renovation subsidies to owners of properties in the district.³² And it signaled to outside investors the community’s commitment to the neighborhood, successfully obtaining a “special services district” designation for the Ninth Square Historic District.³³ Under this designation, area merchants paid, in addition to property taxes, extra funds to increase security, improve garbage collection, and sponsor public improvements and promotions.³⁴

All this activity attracted new investors to the area. Several of them came together with a plan to redevelop several properties in the area into upscale apartments with ground floor retail. Calling themselves the New Haven Historic Limited Partnership, they acquired their first \$500,000 property in 1984. It soon became clear, however, that the Partnership wouldn’t be able to finance the redevelopment itself. Moreover, changes in the tax code – among them, significant decreases in the historic housing tax credit – made the project far less attractive to the Partnership than it originally had been.³⁵ Searching for someone to “take up the torch” from the Partnership, the Ninth Square Association’s then-president drew upon personal connections to attract Saint Louis-based housing developer McCormack, Baron & Associates, Inc.

³¹ Dunnington, *supra* note 20, at 31.

³² Elwood, *supra* note 10, at 151.

³³ *Id.*

³⁴ *Id.*

³⁵ *Id.*; Etkin, *supra* note 20.

McCormack re-envisioned the project and held discussions with Yale University, which was eager to create a buffer zone between its campus and the drugs, violence, and vagrancy of a downtrodden downtown New Haven.

McCormack Baron had experience with affordable housing and it claimed a commitment to rehabilitating devastated urban neighborhoods.³⁶ It also advertised its skill in assembling “creative financing packages” to fund its redevelopment projects.³⁷ Ultimately, McCormack Baron, partnering with New York’s The Related Companies, built something in this part of New Haven: a mixed-income mixed-use development branded with the moniker “the Residences at Ninth Square.”³⁸ It is the success of this development as a mixed-income community that I hope to evaluate.

IV. THE SOLUTION: THE RESIDENCES AT NINTH SQUARE

A. A Walking Tour of The Residences at Ninth Square

The Residences at Ninth Square consists of a group of buildings clustered around the intersection of Orange and Crown Streets in the center of the Ninth Square. Two new buildings of historically “sympathetic” construction complement several “completely rehabilitated” examples of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century commercial architecture.³⁹

FIGURE 3. (The Residences at Ninth Square from Orange Street looking south)

³⁶ The Ninth Square Project, Press Release, The Ninth Square, New Haven, Conn. 2 (July 11, 1995) (on file with author).

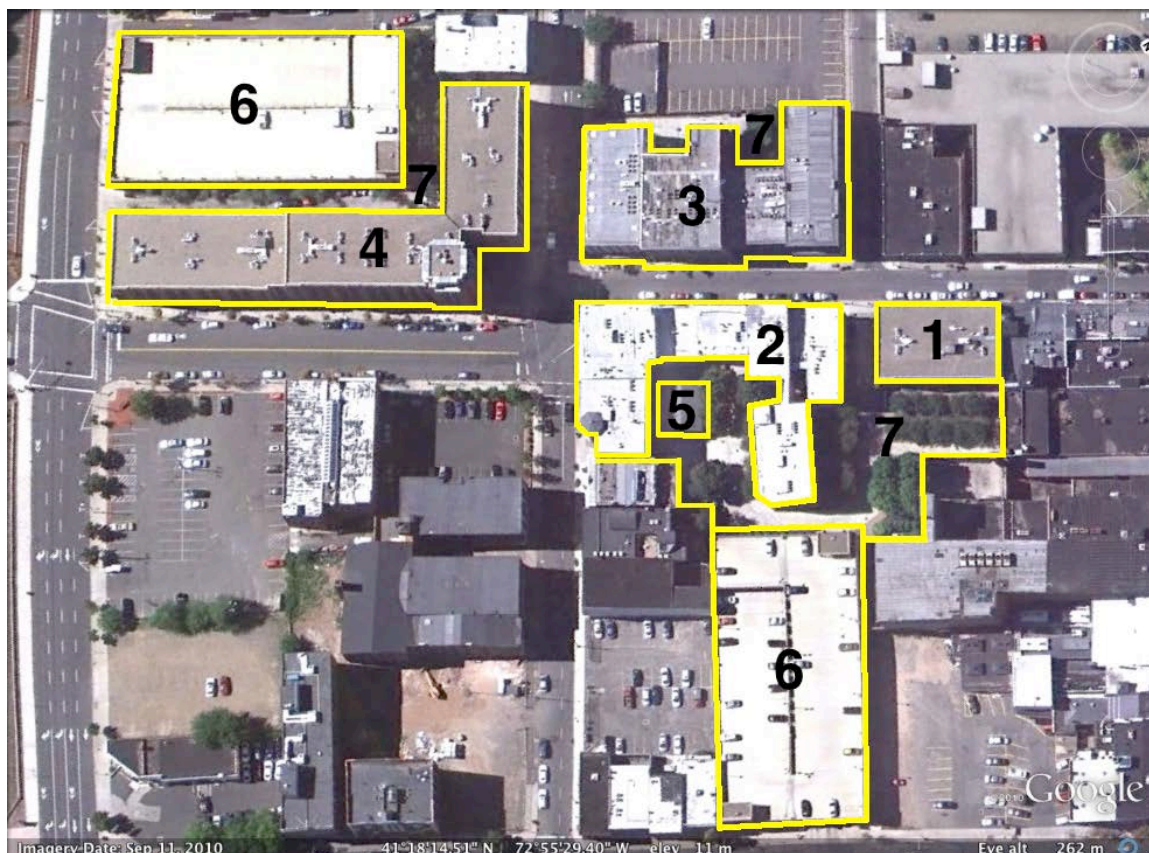
³⁷ *Id.*

³⁸ *Id.*

³⁹ *Id.*



FIGURE 4. (The Residences at Ninth Square from Above)⁴⁰



Notes on Figure 4:

1. Preston Mews
2. Franklin Mews
3. Chamberlain
4. Stonehill House
5. Carriage House
6. Parking Lots
7. Courtyards

On each side of Orange Street north of this intersection, older commercial structures that used to abut each other have been gutted and combined.⁴¹ The result is one “historic”

⁴⁰ Google Earth, image 41 deg. 18'14.51" N, 72 deg. 55'29.40" W (image date Sept. 11, 2010) <http://www.earth.google.com> (last visited May 1, 2011).

structure behind multiple facades on each side of the street.⁴² On the east side of Orange Street, a newer piece of construction stands across a walkway from one of these newly joined buildings boasting historic façades.⁴³ The newer building is called Preston Mews; the historic reconstruction, Franklin Mews. Like all the other residential buildings in the development it houses apartments above retail space below.

FIGURE 5. (Franklin Mews from Orange Street looking south, with Stonehill House in the background right)



These two housing units – Franklin Mews and Preston Mews – are joined by a two-level parking garage to enclose a small courtyard.

⁴¹ The Ninth Square Project, *supra* note 36.

⁴² *Id.*

FIGURE 6. (The Residences' Main Courtyard, behind Franklin Mews and Preston Mews)



In this the courtyard stands an old stable, rehabilitated with the grand name of “The Carriage House.”⁴⁴ On the top floor is a gym boasting perhaps a half-dozen pieces of equipment.⁴⁵ It is infrequently used, though all tenants have access to it.⁴⁶ On the bottom floor is what the development calls “the community room.”⁴⁷ This room is a private space that residents may use to host parties, provided a sponsoring tenant provides

⁴⁴ The Residences at Ninth Square, Resident Handbook (current as of May 1, 2011) (on file with author).

⁴⁵ *Id.*; Interview with Peter Wogman, Leasing Representative, The Residences at Ninth Square, in New Haven, Conn. (Feb. 4, 2011).

⁴⁶ Wogman, *supra* note 45.

⁴⁷ Etkin, *supra* note 20; Wogman, *supra* note 45.

the management advance notice and a refundable \$100 deposit.⁴⁸ When not used for private parties, this room – furnished with small dining chairs and tables, two couches and two armchairs, a TV, a kitchen, and a bathroom – is locked to tenants.⁴⁹ Together, the community room and the gym are The Residences’ only significant indoor community spaces.⁵⁰

FIGURE 7. (The Carriage House)



⁴⁸ Wogman, *supra* note 45; The Residences at Ninth Square, *supra* note 44.

⁴⁹ Wogman, *supra* note 45.

⁵⁰ Etkin, *supra* note 20; Wogman, *supra* note 45.

On the other side of Orange Street, the other historic-looking complex, The Chamberlain Building, houses the only two-bedroom, two-bath units in the development.⁵¹

FIGURE 8. (The Chamberlain)



Behind the Chamberlain lies another courtyard.

FIGURE 9. (The Courtyard behind The Chamberlain)

⁵¹ Wogman, *supra* note 45.



Across Crown Street from these two groups of buildings stands the largest component of the complex: a contemporary construction with the name of “Stonehill House.”

Stonehill House dominates the intersection of Orange and George Streets, its eleven-story tower anchoring a seven-storey wing and a nine-story wing in an “L” shape. This building houses 188 units – the majority of the Residence’s apartments.⁵² It also houses the only lobby in the complex – a small, open, room with a centerpiece table and a few chairs around the walls. Stonehill House also boasts a “concierge” or mailroom.⁵³

FIGURE 10. (Stonehill House)

⁵² Etkin, *supra* note 20; Wogman, *supra* note 45.

⁵³ Wogman, *supra* note 45.



Against this block-long “L”-shaped structure’s back, another multi-layered parking garage encloses a narrow strip of concrete and bushes. This space, like that previously described on the other side of Crown Street, is designated a “courtyard” by the management.

FIGURE 11. (Courtyard behind Stonehill House)



In all, these buildings contain 335 studio, one-bedroom, and two-bedroom apartments on their upper floors and 50,000 square feet of retail on the ground level.⁵⁴ The two parking garages and additional open-air lots provide space for 922 cars.⁵⁵

Of the 335 studio, one-bedroom, and two-bedroom apartments in The Residences at Ninth Square, 142 apartments are reserved for tenants paying market-rate rents⁵⁶ that

⁵⁴ Etkin, *supra* note 20.

⁵⁵ Yale University Press Office, *New Haven Initiative - Annual Report to the City of New Haven 2* (Mar. 1993) (on file with author).

⁵⁶ The Residences at Ninth Square, Buildings (on file with author).

range from \$971 to \$1,900 a month.⁵⁷ The terms of McCormack Baron’s creative financing require that the remaining 193 units – roughly 57 percent of the development – be set aside for tenants who qualify for a lower rental rate by virtue of their income.⁵⁸ For a prospective tenant to fall within this “band of affordability” and qualify for these tax-credit or “affordable” units, he or she must make *no more* than sixty percent of the New Haven area’s median income as determined by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development.⁵⁹ However, McCormack Baron requires that “affordable” tenants be employed and make *at least* forty percent of the median income for the area.⁶⁰ Though the management attests that the apartments the “affordables” receive are indistinguishable from those in which the “market-rates” live, the management nevertheless designates apartments as “affordable” or “market-rate” and classifies them indefinitely for that respective class of tenants.⁶¹

B. The Plan: Financing and Building The Residences at Ninth Square

It cost private investors, U.S. taxpayers, Connecticut residents, and New Haven citizens just under \$87 million to build The Residences at Ninth Square.⁶² The financing

⁵⁷ The Residences at Ninth Square, Schedule of Rents (effective of Jul. 1, 2010 and current as of May 1, 2010) (on file with author).

⁵⁸ Etkin, *supra* note 20. Originally, 56 percent of the units were set aside for “affordable” tenants, *see* The Ninth Square Project, *supra* note 36, and at one time, earlier proposals had envisioned up to 62 percent “affordable” tenants, *see* Catherine Sullivan, *9th Square Back to Square One*, NEW HAVEN REG., Mar. 1, 1991 at 1; *see generally* I.R.C. §42(g) for an explanation of the “40-60 test” of housing projects eligible for HUD’s Low Income Housing Tax Credits.

⁵⁹ Etkin, *supra* note 20; The Residences at Ninth Square, *supra* note 57.

⁶⁰ Etkin, *supra* note 20; The Residences at Ninth Square, *supra* at note 57. *But see infra* Part VIII, D, 2, b, 1 (discussing of the overlay of Section 8 vouchers on the affordable units).

⁶¹ Wogman, *supra* note 45.

⁶² The Ninth Square Project, *supra* note 36; *see also* Etkin, *supra* note 25; Elwood, *supra* note 10; Telephone Interview with Kathleen Etkin, Project Manager for The Ninth Square Project from 1986 to 2001, McCormack Baron & Assoc. (Apr. 29, 2011); Interview with Tom Evan, Property Manager, The Residences at Ninth Square, Related Management, in New Haven, Conn. (Feb. 11, 2011).

for The Residences came from a plethora of public sources, not least among them, the coffers of the Connecticut Housing Finance Authority (“CHFA”) a semi-public agency created to help poorer Connecticut residents secure home mortgages. Ultimately, the financing of the project looked something like this:

Figure 12. (Financing for the Residences at Ninth Square)⁶³

Connecticut Housing Finance Authority (taxable bonds purchased by Yale expiring 2032) ⁶⁴	\$10,000,000
Connecticut Housing Finance Authority (tax-exempt bonds expiring 2052) ⁶⁵	\$31,800,000
City of New Haven (special obligation bonds)	\$9,500,000
City of New Haven: loans and grants	\$4,600,000
Connecticut Departments of Housing and Economic Development	\$7,000,000
Urban Development Action Grant (from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development)	\$8,900,000
Equity (generated through the sale of Federal Low Income Housing Tax Credits and Historic Investment Tax Credits) ⁶⁶	<u>\$14,800,000</u>
Total	\$86,600,000

⁶³ Evan, *supra* note 62; *see* The Ninth Square Project, *supra* note 36 and Elwood, *supra* note 10, for further explanation and analysis of the complex financing. This accounting does not include all the soft costs that went into the project. The costs of the seven years of negotiation, lobbying, and opposition among Yale’s president Benitto Schmidt, its Secretary Sheila Wellington, three successive Connecticut governors, three successive mayors of New Haven, the boards of the various state, federal, and local agencies, and their staffs.

⁶⁴ Connecticut Housing Finance Authority, Supplement to the Official Statement of the Connecticut Housing Finance Authority Relating to Housing Mortgage Finance Program Bonds \$79,075,000 2009 Series B, at Part 2-14 (Sept. 2, 2009), *available at* <http://www.chfa.org/Press%20Room/Investor%20Relations/Bond%20Disclosure/default.aspx>.

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ The first round of tax credits expired in 2008. Since that time, another round of tax credits has been issued and sold to SunAmerica, Inc. Evan, *supra* note 62.

As the above tabulation shows, the state, local, and federal governments essentially paid \$86,600,000 for The Residences at Ninth Square to be built.⁶⁷ That amounts to a government investment \$258,000 per unit, not including retail space and parking.⁶⁸ If only the Connecticut Housing Finance Authority's bonding and the federal government's low income housing tax credits are considered, these two sources paid out close to \$216,600 for each "affordable" unit that was constructed.⁶⁹ And these massive subsidies provide housing to individuals who were not meant to be destitute: to be eligible for the "affordable" units, individuals must, by definition, make at least 40 percent of the median income in the greater New Haven area.⁷⁰ The other 60% of the tenants pay market-rate rents of up to \$1900 per unit.⁷¹

V. THE STRINGS ATTACHED

People don't give away their money for free. Nor, generally, do governments. With each of its funding sources, The Residences found itself burdened with a package of expectations. Understanding the strings attached to the monies the development received and the expectations that the various actors harbored will permit an analysis of the success of The Residences in meeting those expectations as well as an analysis of the

⁶⁷ Paul C. Brophy & Rhonda N. Smith, *Mixed-Income Housing: Factors for Success*, 3 CITYSCAPE: A JOURNAL OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH 3, 6 (1997).

⁶⁸ Assuming that the Low Income Housing Tax Credits and the Connecticut Housing Finance Authority were not involved in the project to subsidize market-rate apartments, retail, and parking, (\$31.8MM in CHFA bonding + \$10MM in LIHTCs)/193 affordable units = \$216,580/affordable unit.

⁶⁹ Assuming that the Low Income Housing Tax Credits and the Connecticut Housing Finance Authority were not involved in the project to subsidize market-rate apartments, retail, and parking, (\$31.8MM in CHFA bonding + \$10MM in LIHTCs)/193 affordable units = \$216,580/affordable unit.

⁷⁰ *But see infra* Part VIII, D, 2, b, 1 (discussing of the overlay of Section 8 vouchers on the affordable units).

⁷¹ The Residences at Ninth Square, *supra* note 57.

success of The Residences in fostering mixed-income housing in the face of those expectations.

A. The Requirements of the Low Income Housing Tax Credit

The Residences at Ninth Square are a 40-60 project.⁷² This means that forty percent of the units in The Residences must be set aside for persons who make no more than 60% of the New Haven area's median income as calculated by HUD.⁷³ And the rent of these units cannot exceed 30% of that income cap.⁷⁴ CHFA administers the LIHTC program in Connecticut and regularly audits the Ninth Square for adherence to these, and other LIHTC requirements.⁷⁵

B. The Requirements of the Historic Investment Tax Credits

McCormack Baron and the Related Companies received federal rehabilitation credits. To be eligible for credits amounting to 20 percent of the “qualified rehabilitation expenditures” for their restoration work, the structures the developers sought to restore had to be located in an historic district.⁷⁶ This requirement had already been met by the Ninth Square Association in 1984. But the structures also had to be “certified by the Secretary of the Interior as being of historic significance to the district.”⁷⁷ Moreover, in order for the “rehabilitations” to qualify, the Secretary of the Interior had to certify

⁷² Etkin, *supra* note 25; Steffie Hanes, *Ninth Square Apartments Are Elegant But Expensive*, YALE DAILY NEWS, Jan. 1, 1997, at 3.

⁷³ Etkin, *supra* note 25; *see generally* I.R.C. §42(g) for an explanation of the “40-60 test” of housing projects eligible for HUD’s Low Income Housing Tax Credits.

⁷⁴ I.R.C. §42(g)(2)(A).

⁷⁵ Evan, *supra* note 62; Telephone interview with Osita Obueqwe, Auditor, Connecticut Housing Finance Authority (Feb. 4, 2011).

⁷⁶ I.R.C. §47(c)(3) (1990).

⁷⁷ *Id.*

McCormack Baron and The Related Company's work "as being consistent with the historic character of such property or the district in which such property is located."⁷⁸

Kathleen Etkin promised back in 1988 that "the materials that will be used, the architectural features of the buildings, the interesting spaces such as alleyways and courtyards that you'll be able to walk through, will make this a wonderful place to live . . . It won't be a cookie-cutter development."⁷⁹

C. The Expectations Behind Yale's Investment

Yale bought \$10 Million of the bonds issued by the CHFA, but required CHFA to guarantee them.⁸⁰ It also loaned the project \$2.5 million on the same terms as an equivalent investment by the State of Connecticut.⁸¹

Sheila Wellington, then-Secretary of Yale University, put the university's expectations quite dramatically: "If Ninth Square isn't built, the downtown area of New Haven is imperiled."⁸² Yale's president at the time, Benito Schmidt, put it more positively: "The project promises to make the Ninth Square . . . a lively, historical, interesting place to live."⁸³ Either way, the administration of the university expected several things from The Residences: it expected that its \$12.5 million investment would go towards meeting the promise it made to the City of New Haven in 1987 of "increased financial assistance to the city" in the amount of \$50 million over ten years.⁸⁴ The goal

⁷⁸ I.R.C. §47(c)(2)(c) (1990).

⁷⁹ Robert A. Hamilton, *A New Look For New Haven*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 11, 1988, at C/W R17.

⁸⁰ Editorial, *There's Money for Ninth Square*, HARTFORD COURANT, Oct. 21, 1991, at C10

⁸¹ Letter from Yale University to the City of New Haven, *New Haven Initiative - Annual Report to the City of New Haven* (March 1993) (on file with author).

⁸² William Hathaway, *New Haven Fights Fears About Downtown Plan*, HARTFORD COURANT, Sept. 2, 1991, at A6.

⁸³ Catherine Sullivan, *9th Square Gets Green Light*, NEW HAVEN REG., Sept. 13, 1991 at 16.

⁸⁴ Hathaway, *supra* note 80; Yale University, *supra* note 79.

of this commitment was to help ease Yale’s historically strained relations with city hall and with city residents.⁸⁵ University officials also “hope[d] to halt urban ills such as crime and drug use before they spread to Yale’s stone-arched hallways.”⁸⁶ That is, they hoped to displace poverty and crime, to create a buffer zone protecting them from the poorer areas of around the Hill district and around Union Station. But Yale also has financial expectations. It plainly stated to the city that its “investments . . . to enhance the City of New Haven socially, economically, and aesthetically,” had to fit within “a diversified portfolio . . . which . . . satisfies Yale’s fiduciary obligations concerning investments of the endowment.”⁸⁷

D. The Requirements of the Connecticut Housing Finance Authority (“CHFA”)

The Connecticut Housing Finance Authority was heavily involved in the Ninth Square Project, more so than any other financier. Its self-proclaimed purpose “is to help alleviate the shortage of affordable housing for low- and moderate-income families and persons in Connecticut, and when appropriate, to promote or maintain the economic development of the State through employer-assisted housing efforts.”⁸⁸ The CHFA is certainly interested in getting repaid⁸⁹ – it prides itself on its AAA bond rating.⁹⁰ But by maintaining a good bond rating, by decreasing risk for investors, it is able to sell bonds with lower interest rates, allowing it to efficiently further its mission of creating affordable housing. When in 1992, a San Diego utility company’s purchase of the low

⁸⁵ Hathaway, *supra* note 80.

⁸⁶ *Id.*

⁸⁷ Yale University, *supra* note 55.

⁸⁸ Connecticut Housing Finance Authority, About US, at <http://www.chfa.org/About%20Us/Company%20History.aspx> (retrieved on Feb. 2, 2011).

⁸⁹ Etkin, *supra* note 25.

⁹⁰ Connecticut Housing Finance Authority, *supra* note 86.

income and historic renovation tax credits fell through and the developers were unable to find new buyers for the credits, the CHFA forcefully refused the Related Companies' request to modify its requirements for The Residences' affordable housing component.⁹¹ Related believed that changing the requirements – if only on paper – would ease the worries of potential investors.⁹² The CHFA stood firm. It was willing to let the deal fall apart if affordable units weren't part of the plan.⁹³ It was committed to the creation of affordable housing.⁹⁴ As condition of the \$41.8 million that CHFA invested in the Residences at Ninth Square, CHFA required that 57% of the units in the development had to remain set aside for low income tenants for the life of the bonds used to generate that investment.⁹⁵ The bonds are set to mature in 2032 and 2035.⁹⁶ This requirement demands the provision of nearly 50% more affordable housing than the Low Income Housing Tax Credits themselves require.⁹⁷

E. The Expectations of City Hall

Then-Mayor John C. Daniels touted the Ninth Square Project as “critical to our re-emergence as a thriving center of commerce and urban living.”⁹⁸ New Haven, struggling like other cities with a dwindling tax base as stores and residents flee from downtown, saw Ninth Square as crucial to its survival, a way to keep people living and

⁹¹ Catherine Sullivan, *CHFA to Ninth Square: Restrictions Stay*, NEW HAVEN REG., Oct. 30, 1992, at 29.

⁹² *Id.*

⁹³ *Id.*

⁹⁴ See also CHFA's Declaration of Policy, Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. §8-242 (2011).

⁹⁵ Sullivan, *supra* note 89.

⁹⁶ Connecticut Housing Finance Authority, *supra* note 64.

⁹⁷ See *supra* note 58.

⁹⁸ Stephen Higgins, *Ninth Square Finally Off Square 1*, NEW HAVEN REG., May 14, 1993, at 1.

shopping in the city's core.⁹⁹ “For the city, the project would eliminate a blighted area close to Macy's and the Chapel Square Mall, and create more customers for city business. If the project is not built, New Haven will be deprived of badly need taxes,” said city officials in 1991.¹⁰⁰ The city expected that the project would increase property values in the area and improve New Haven’s image.¹⁰¹ And they saw redevelopment of the Ninth Square as the key to creating a vibrant city, an “after six city,” with “a 24-7 [downtown] population.”¹⁰²

F. The Expectations of Purchasers of the Low Income Housing and Historic Rehabilitation Tax Credits (SunAmerica, Inc.)

The purchasers of the tax credits need the project to stay afloat, as the credits will be “recaptured” if the project fails to adhere to the “Land Use Restriction Agreement” that requires provision of at least 40% of its residential units as low-income housing.¹⁰³ But the investors also want the project to be profitable, as they share in a portion of the profits¹⁰⁴ and guaranteed the mortgage to the CHFA.¹⁰⁵ Accordingly, SunAmerica regularly audits The Residences, vigilant to ensure that the requirements for the Low

⁹⁹ Hathaway, *supra* note 82.

¹⁰⁰ *Id.*

¹⁰¹ Rachele Garbarine, *A New Neighborhood Is Rising in New Haven*, N.Y.TIMES, Aug. 19, 1994, at A24.

¹⁰² Robert A. Hamilton, *A New Look For New Haven*, N.Y.TIMES, Sept. 11, 1988, at C/W R17.

¹⁰³ I.R.C. §42(j); the original fifteen-year Land Use Restriction Agreement expired in 2008, a new fifteen-year Land Use Restriction Agreement was entered into at that time and a new round of tax credits were issued, Evan, *supra* note 62.

¹⁰⁴ Sullivan, *supra* note 91; Catherine Sullivan, *CHFA Clears Path for Ninth Square*, NEW HAVEN REG., Nov. 18, 1992, at 23.

¹⁰⁵ Evan, *supra* note 62; See Conntact.com: Connecticut Business News Journal, *Turning the Corner? Developers See Light at the End of the Tunnel for Ninth Square's Laggard Commercial Component, the end of the tunnel for Ninth Square's laggard commercial component*, at <http://www.conntact.com/real-estate/414-turning-the-corner?.html> (Mar. 8, 1998)

Income Housing and Historic Rehabilitation Tax credits are satisfied, and that the tax credits are safe from the threat of recapture by the CHFA, which administers them.¹⁰⁶

VI. THE CONCERNS: EARLY WORRIES ABOUT THE SUCCESS OF THE NINTH SQUARE PROJECT

During the nine years that the Residences at Ninth Square were on the drawing board, New Haveners and opponents of the project voiced three distinct types of worries: worries that that the Ninth Square Project would fail economically because it would be unable to attract the market-rate tenants willing to pay the rents needed to keep the project afloat; concerns about the wisdom of pouring so much of the state's resources into such a small portion of only one of the state's struggling cities; and concerns that the mixing of incomes in the Residences would either not work or would contribute to the project's ultimate failure. Understanding these contemporaneous concerns will allow us to make sense of any discussion of the developments' success.

A. That the Residences would fail to attract the market-rate rents necessary to pay back the bondholders . . .

John Pappandrea, the Commissioner of the Connecticut Department of Housing prior to the deal's closing, voiced a concern echoed by many on then-Governor Lowell Weiker's staff. Pappandrea worried that the developers would not be able to attract sufficient numbers of market-rate tenants willing to pay the rents necessary for the project to make money and the state, in turn, to repay its bondholders.¹⁰⁷ He worried that, for the development to be profitable, the market-rate rents would have to be set too

¹⁰⁶ Evan, *supra* note 62; Obueque, *supra* note 75.

¹⁰⁷ Hathaway, *supra*, note 82.

high to attract those who would choose to live in them.¹⁰⁸ A longstanding local merchant framed the wariness of potential market-rate tenants in terms of safety: “I’ve been here from the horse-and-wagon days to the jet planes and the man on the moon, and this place has got cold and mean. I don’t think people are going to come back here, they’ve all been robbed or mugged.”¹⁰⁹ Indeed, the Ninth Square area had had its share of bad press.

Another commentator voiced a similar worry that that The Residences wouldn’t be able to fill its apartments at a price that would make sense for the development and the investors. Citing the housing glut that had affected New Haven in the early 1990s, one successful downtown developer, Martin Kenney, observed that “[w]hen [The Residences] was first proposed in 1986, the chance of getting tenants for downtown rentals was good . . . but because too many condominiums were built in the suburbs, the market they were focusing on has somewhat evaporated.” To Kenney, the decreased demand for housing statewide meant that “[i]t would be absolutely impossible for Ninth Square to attract private funding. It’s a speculative real estate project and banks are carrying oodles of projects similar to this.”¹¹⁰ Yet another New Haven developer, Joel Schiavone, asked rhetorically, “Who’s going to move down in the Ninth Square? . . . Nobody.”¹¹¹ And this because “it’s surrounded by dead areas: the Coliseum, State Street, the skeletons of Malley’s and Macy’s department stores.”¹¹² The Residences would not be able revive the area by itself. It would not be able to create the thriving boutique and restaurant district it promised to prospective tenants. Rather, “[t]he city of New Haven will bail [the

¹⁰⁸ *Id.*

¹⁰⁹ *Id.* (quoting Joseph Perfetto, owner of New Haven Typewriter).

¹¹⁰ Catherine Sullivan, *City Won't Abandon Ninth Square*, NEW HAVEN REG., Apr. 7, 1991, at F1.

¹¹¹ Paul Bass, *Evolve or Die!*, NEW HAVEN ADVOCATE, Mar. 7-13, 1996, at 10.

¹¹² *Id.*

Residences] out for the next 12 years, 15 years, 20 years, until such time as the rest of downtown is revived.”¹¹³ Until then, the Residences would not generate the demand for high priced market-rate apartments that would necessary to repay the state and its bondholders.

Chuck Allen, member of the New Haven Board of Alderman when McCormack Baron first proposed the project, and later a State Senator who worked on the final version of the deal, and later Mayor John DeStefano’s lobbyist at the Board of Alderman and in Hartford, said in retrospect in 1997, “I think the private sector has ripped us off.” He sought to voice the concern that, unable to attract the tenants necessary to turn a profit on The Residences, McCormack Baron and The Related Companies could walk away from the project at any time. They had put none of their own money into the project, and they had put up none of their other assets as collateral. If they decided to abandon a failing Ninth Square, they could leave the loss to the city and the state with no loss to bear themselves. In fact, both companies had made money from the project in the form of architectural, development, and construction fees, so they could turn a profit even if Ninth Square utterly failed.¹¹⁴

B. That it was unwise to dedicate so much of the state’s resources to such a small portion of only one of the state’s struggling cities . . .

Francisco Borges, Connecticut State Treasurer during the financing debate in 1991, staunchly opposed The Ninth Square Project, decrying it an unstable, risky deal. He worried about the heavy debt incurred through bond issuance.¹¹⁵ He argued that Yale should increase its contribution and make a direct investment without forcing CHFA to

¹¹³ *Id.*

¹¹⁴ *Id.*

¹¹⁵ Hathaway, *supra* note 82.

guarantee the risk. He would have liked other state departments, namely the Department of Housing, the Department of Economic Development, and the Office of Policy and Management, to support the project with direct grant funding that would not indebt the state in the same way bonds would. Otherwise, he thought it was too risky, too underfunded, and that too much of the risk was placed on the state.¹¹⁶

John Pappandrea, former Commissioner of the Connecticut Department of Housing, expressed concern that the state's scarce resources were being "dumped" into one corner of only one of Connecticut's many struggling cities.¹¹⁷ Pappandrea's successor, Henry S. Scherer, was worried about the size of the apartments and the way they were so densely packed together in one corner of one city. He was concerned that they wouldn't be suitable for families.¹¹⁸ State housing policy at the time focused on family housing because that was where the overwhelming need was,¹¹⁹ and Scherer saw the emphasis in The Residences on studios and one-bedroom apartments jammed into an urban center as terribly inconsistent the state's housing needs.¹²⁰ "Instead of concentrating the apartments over one or two city blocks, Scherer would [have] favor[ed]

¹¹⁶ See Gregory B. Hladcky, *Officials Review Ninth Square Funding*, NEW HAVEN REG., Sept. 12, 1991 at 1; Editorial, *There's Money for Ninth Square*, HARTFORD COURANT, Oct. 21, 1991, at C10; Editorial, *Ninth Square Gets State Funding Nod*, NEW HAVEN REG., Sept. 16, 1991, at 10; Sullivan, *supra* note 58. Ultimately, the Departments of Housing and Economic Development did chip in, but by that time Ninth Square's soft costs had increased to the point that the amount asked of the CHFA remained constant. John Pappandrea, the Commissioner of the Connecticut Department of Housing prior to the deal's closing, also worried about financial failure of the project. Editorial, *Ninth Square Gets State Funding Nod*, NEW HAVEN REG., Sept. 16, 1991, at 10.

¹¹⁷ *Ninth Square Gets State Funding Nod*, *supra* note 116.

¹¹⁸ Catherine Sullivan, *Ninth Square Revived with Weiker's Backing*, NEW HAVEN REG., Jul. 16, 1991, at 1; Editorial, *Ninth Square Vote Hurts City's Future*, NEW HAVEN REG., Apr. 1, 1991.

¹¹⁹ Sullivan, *supra* note 110.

¹²⁰ *Id.*

a project that would disperse apartments in five neighborhoods downtown.” He wanted to avoid concentration of poverty in one development.¹²¹

C. That the Mixed-Income Aspect of The Residences Would Fail.

Editorialists believed that the “Ninth Square, [was] so clearly a linchpin component of a thriving New Haven downtown” that it was “essential to the city’s future.”¹²² And yet Commissioner Pappandrea felt that the project did nothing to address the fundamental problems of poverty, crime and drug abuse. He told the Hartford Courant in 1991 that “[i]t’s like putting a band-aid on cancer, and it’s not a very secure band-aid.”¹²³ Heather Gwinnell of The Yarn Emporium – one of the businesses that departed Ninth Square in the nine-year interlude between the exercise of eminent domain and the project’s opening – worried about the construction of low- and moderate-income housing units. “Why would they want to build a ghetto? That would end up happening.”¹²⁴

Alan Greenberg, president of long-time Ninth Square business Acme Furniture Co., was quoted in 1991 as saying, “There is a need for redevelopment [but] tenants in the lower-income housing won’t be able to support the specialty stores” that would be built.¹²⁵

Joel Schiavone berated the Ninth Square development as subsidized housing: “[I]t is primarily a low-income, subsidized housing project that won’t work in downtown . . . We are once again single-mindedly focusing on those who can’t help themselves and

¹²¹ *Id.*

¹²² Editorial, *Ninth Square Gets State Funding Nod*, *supra* note 116.

¹²³ Hathaway, *supra* note 82.

¹²⁴ Howard Isenstein, *Merchants Psyched for Renewal*, NEW HAVEN REG., Sept. 13, 1991, at 16.

¹²⁵ *Id.*

not doing enough to make downtown inviting for professionals and to provide housing for moderate income people.”¹²⁶

VII. SUCCESS ON THE SURFACE: TURNING A PROFIT, APPEASING YALE, AND PAYING THE BONDHOLDERS

Ultimately, the goal of this paper is to answer the question, “Was the Ninth Square Project a successful mixed-income project?” The answer, unfortunately, is none too obvious. The Residences have been filled to capacity with residential tenants since shortly after opening,¹²⁷ and they maintain between a 97 and 100 percent occupancy rate today.¹²⁸ The area has not degenerated into a ghetto. Nor has the project gone belly-up. The Ninth Square project has not defaulted on any of its financial obligations.¹²⁹ But success can be evaluated in many other ways. The above concerns about the success of the project and the expectations of the financial backers help us define three ways the success of The Residences at Ninth Square can be evaluated: in terms of the project’s revitalization of the neighborhood; in terms of efficient production of housing and retail space; and in terms of its effectiveness in creating a mixed-income community. Ultimately, it is the last of these measures of success on which I hope to focus, so let us dispense with the former two first.

A. Success as Neighborhood Revitalization

Five years elapsed between the city’s first exercise of eminent domain and the day

¹²⁶ Catherine Sullivan, *Mr. Downtown Raps . . .*, NEW HAVEN REG., Sept. 20, 1991, at 41.

¹²⁷ See Susan Bryson, *Smart Growth Policies in Connecticut*, 34 CONN. L. REV. 591, 595 (2002)

¹²⁸ Wogman, *supra* note 45.

¹²⁹ Evan, *supra* note 62.

The Residences opened its doors.¹³⁰ Dozens of local businesses were displaced by the project or moved out during the delay. Many of them were founding members of Ninth Square Association.¹³¹ Some were forced out as early as 1989.¹³² Some, in the face of eminent domain, accepted compensation and moved away voluntarily.¹³³ Altogether, the city moved twenty-five businesses out.¹³⁴ Behind them these men and women left vacant, boarded-up buildings.¹³⁵ Other businesses stayed for a little while longer. Horowitz Bros. clothing and yard goods,¹³⁶ the John E. Bassett hardware store,¹³⁷ Strawberries dress shop,¹³⁸ the New England Typewriter and Stationary Co.,¹³⁹ Connecticut Janitorial Service,¹⁴⁰ New England Leather,¹⁴¹ and Acme Office Furniture Co.¹⁴² all survived the use of eminent domain. These small shops – bare remnants of New Haven’s once-vibrant commercial hub – hung tenuously onto business as their proprietors aged and their customer base avoided the increasingly derelict district.¹⁴³ But watching the years roll by as no one redeveloped their emptied-out neighborhood, they gave up waiting.¹⁴⁴ They too left. Only Acme remains.

¹³⁰ Michelle Leder, *Tenants at Last in a New Haven Square*, N.Y.TIMES, at C/W 1.

¹³¹ *Id.*

¹³² Ravo, *supra* note 4; Sullivan, *supra* note 110.

¹³³ Ravo, *supra* note 4; Sullivan, *supra* note 110.

¹³⁴ Sullivan, *supra* note 110.

¹³⁵ Ravo, *supra* note 4.

¹³⁶ Leeney, *supra* note 11.

¹³⁷ *Id.*

¹³⁸ *Id.*

¹³⁹ Letitia Stein, *After Long Wait, Signs of Life in Ninth Square*, YALE DAILY NEWS, Mar. 5, 1998, at 3.

¹⁴⁰ Isenstein, *supra* note 124.

¹⁴¹ *Id.*

¹⁴² *Id.*

¹⁴³ *See* Hathaway, *supra* note 82; Johannes, *supra* note 17.

¹⁴⁴ Johannes, *supra* note 17.

Using eminent domain to clear out undesirable businesses, to make the neighborhood safe for an upscale, vibrant, downtown utopia, the city rendered the Ninth Square an eyesore of graffiti, soaped windows, and boarded-up storefronts far worse the “blight” they meant to redevelop.¹⁴⁵ Contemporary commentators described it as a “ghost town.”¹⁴⁶ The downtown mall across Chapel Street cited the desolation and decay of Ninth Square during this period as a major cause of its failure and 1993 bankruptcy.¹⁴⁷ The area was unsafe.¹⁴⁸ Ironically, advocates of redevelopment cited the Ninth Square’s blight and abandonment as pressing reason for government funding.¹⁴⁹ These advocates failed to mention, however, that their own pet project had created this abandonment in the first place.¹⁵⁰

Years after the opening of the Residences at Ninth Square, and the “pump[ing of] millions of dollars into the area to attract trendy, up-scale retail business . . . plenty of decaying storefronts” remained.¹⁵¹ Owners of older business continued to find themselves driven out.¹⁵² “There’s no business here, nothing is left,” remarked Joseph Perfetto in 1995.¹⁵³ Perfetto was co-owner of New England Typewriter and Stationary Co., a fixture of Ninth Square from the 1960s through the 1990s.¹⁵⁴ “When [the city]

¹⁴⁵ Ravo, *supra* note 4.

¹⁴⁶ Catherine Sullivan, *Ninth Square Plan Becomes Reality Starting Today*, NEW HAVEN REG., Apr. 6, 1993, at A3.

¹⁴⁷ Dunnington, *supra* note 20.

¹⁴⁸ Sullivan, *supra* note 146.

¹⁴⁹ City of New Haven, Office of Public Information & Media Relations, Press Release: Governor Agrees to Reconsider Support for City’s 9th Square Project, Jul. 15, 1991.

¹⁵⁰ *Id.*

¹⁵¹ Stein, *supra* note 139.

¹⁵² *Id.*

¹⁵³ *Id.*

¹⁵⁴ *Id.*

decided to remodel, the first thing they did was move the people out They emptied the buildings long before anyone got started fixing them.”¹⁵⁵ “The result was a deserted neighborhood – no residents, no workers, and no business.”¹⁵⁶ For more than a decade after its opening, the Residences at Ninth Square continued to look like a movie set after all the extras had long gone home, and all the artificial appurtenances of city life had been long since rolled away into back-lot storage.¹⁵⁷ To this day, the city itself pays the rent on the flagship commercial space on the northeast corner Orange and Crown.¹⁵⁸ It subsidizes the Residences to house an arts exhibit space on its most prominent corner.¹⁵⁹ The city also leases several of The Residences’ storefronts across Orange Street to the west, actually paying artists to occupy the spaces and sell their wares in “Project Storefronts.”¹⁶⁰ The goal of the project is to draw more traffic into the area, to develop both the artists and the Square economically.¹⁶¹ “Project Storefronts,” the city touts, “allows the arts to be a partner in promoting economic development.”¹⁶² The Project fills the space: it is a stopgap to the appearance of abandonment and economic stagnation.¹⁶³

FIGURE 13. (Project Storefronts in Franklin Mews in the interlude between project installations)

¹⁵⁵ Greg Nelson, *Square Worries Old-Time Retailers*, YALE DAILY NEWS, Mar. 24, 1995, at 1, 5.

¹⁵⁶ Stein, *supra* note 139.

¹⁵⁷ Bass, *supra* note 111; *see also* Greg Nelson, *Retail May Doom Square*, YALE DAILY NEWS, Mar. 23, 1995 at 1.

¹⁵⁸ Canto Melage, *Square Deal: New Haven’s Ninth Square Neighborhood Experiencing a Rebirth*, NEW HAVEN REG., Nov. 19, 2000, at B4; Etkin, *supra* note 20.

¹⁵⁹ Melage, *supra* note 158.

¹⁶⁰ Tom Stanley Becker, *Project Rejuvenates Area*, YALE DAILY NEWS, Oct. 13, 2010, at A3.

¹⁶¹ *Id.*

¹⁶² *Id.*

¹⁶³ *See* fig.11.



To this day, more than a quarter century since the New Haven Limited Historic Partnership picked up that first property for redevelopment, the Residences at Ninth Square has still failed to secure sufficient commercial tenants to fill its full 50,000 square feet of retail.¹⁶⁴ The city picks up the slack as the Residences at Ninth Square fail to replace the retail and commerce it long ago displaced. Or so one could argue.

Against this dire assessment, we can see that from the earliest days of the project, The Residences at Ninth Square inspired local property owners to rebuild and renew their investments in the Square. Extant property owners in the path of early plans for The Residences had the choice to conform their own buildings to the standards set by the city for McCormack Baron or to sell out to the developer.¹⁶⁵ At least one property owner opted to conform to the city's standards: Ernesto Delmonico turned two four-story

¹⁶⁴ Becker, *supra* note 160.

¹⁶⁵ Robert A. Hamilton, *A New Look For New Haven*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 11, 1988, at C/W R17.

buildings he owned on Orange Street into 16 town-house units, pricing those units at \$85,000 to \$185,000 in 1988.¹⁶⁶ Elwood himself cites four such examples of private development that took root when word broke that The Residences would be built.¹⁶⁷ The promise of a new historically-attuned development, the establishment of new cohesive aesthetic standards for the neighborhood, both backed by the threat of eviction, signaled to owners like Delmonico that investments in their own properties would not be wasted.¹⁶⁸

Similarly, at least two architectural firms work out of newly restored buildings abutting The Residences. And three upscale restaurants with names like “Miso,” “116 Crown” and “Kitchen Table” have clustered around The Residences at Ninth Square. When asked why he decided to restore and revitalize an old New Haven firehouse, turning it into a gallery, lounge, and jazz club, recent Yale College graduate Mark Potter responded, “I see this whole area as becoming something.”¹⁶⁹ Like the pair of architects who turned the warehouse into their own post-modernist studios, he was part of a “rush of private citizens and investors” who, around the turn of the millennium were “taking chances on historic properties that [had] long sat dormant” immediately around The Residences at Ninth Square.¹⁷⁰ In fact, nearly every edifice in the Ninth Square has been historically renovated in part or in full since announcement of the project back in 1988.¹⁷¹ Downtown as a whole has seen a significant revival. The Chapel Street Mall, once called the “ghetto mall” by Yale Students, has been converted into luxury apartments, office

¹⁶⁶ *Id.*

¹⁶⁷ *Id.*

¹⁶⁸ *Id.*

¹⁶⁹ Melage, *supra* note 158.

¹⁷⁰ *Id.*

¹⁷¹ *Id.*

spaces, and a four-star hotel. It turned itself inside out and swung its stores around to meet its patrons on the street rather than in closed-in mall corridors. A new community college is rising out of the pit that the Macy's and Malley's department stores left behind. The historic buildings on the corner of Chapel and Church Streets – the corner around which New Haven once revolved – have been restored and now house banks, lawyers, professionals, and luxury apartment renters. Finally, this past fall, 360 State, a new LEED-Certified luxury rental complex seated above commercial space and an integrated parking complex, arose out of New Haven's most notorious vacant lot to become the city's new tallest building. Downtown New Haven has seen a revival. And we cannot deny that, anchoring the Ninth Square district, the presence of The Residences at Ninth Square is at least partly responsible.

B. Success as Efficient Development

It took McCormack Baron and the Related Companies nine years to build The Residences at Ninth Square.¹⁷² A full seven of those years were spent by McCormack Baron to secure its famous “creative financing.”¹⁷³ This length of time drove the soft costs of the development – those costs not associated with construction – up to more than \$44 million.¹⁷⁴ The complexity of financing meant it took twenty lawyers three days just to close the deal.¹⁷⁵

In 1994, before The Residences at Ninth Square had even seen her first tenant, Yale law student John Elwood published a paper that sharply criticized the unwieldy, “coarse-grained” scheme of government investment that he saw financing the

¹⁷² Leder, *supra* note 130.

¹⁷³ Leder, *supra* note 130.

¹⁷⁴ Hathaway, *supra* note 82.

¹⁷⁵ Sullivan, *supra* note 146.

development.¹⁷⁶ Elwood argued that smaller, more targeted local government investments, such as modest façade and building renovation subsidies, small sums for local publicity, and city improvements in sidewalks and lighting all encouraged private owners to improve their own residential and commercial spaces.¹⁷⁷ Such a scheme of modest local incentivization of private improvement had been employed in the nearby Upper State Street neighborhood of New Haven.¹⁷⁸ In comparing the two “neighborhood revitalizations,” Elwood argued that the Upper State Street scheme ultimately caused less local economic and social disruption, cost vastly less, was less susceptible to market pressures, and required less approval from the multiple veto points than did McCormack Baron’s “innovative financing.”¹⁷⁹ That is, methods that were diametrically opposed to those employed in the Ninth Square redevelopment improved the city “faster and cheaper.”¹⁸⁰ Ultimately, the reader sets down Elwood’s piece certain that the Residences at Ninth Square were a dismal failure.

Professor Robert C. Ellickson of the Yale Law School independently backed up this dire assessment with math. In notes he prepared in 1997, he estimated that based on the prices that condominiums, comparable parking spaces, and similar non-prime real estate were fetching in New Haven, at the end of the day, the entire Ninth Square project generated assets worth no more than \$30,250,000.¹⁸¹ This is less than half the \$86,600,000 that the government spent to build the place.

¹⁷⁶ Elwood, *supra* note 10.

¹⁷⁷ *Id.*

¹⁷⁸ *Id.*

¹⁷⁹ *Id.*

¹⁸⁰ *Id.* at 183.

¹⁸¹ Ellickson, *supra* note 18.

Finally, Rachel Doud, a Yale Law Student, has revisited Ellwood's critique of The Residences.¹⁸² She compares the Ninth Square Project to the organic growth that characterizes the nearby Crown Street corridor. Going beyond Ellwood to argue that revitalization can occur absent any government investment, she nevertheless concedes that The Ninth Square was an improvement on mid-century urban renewal. Buildings were preserved as the fine grain of the community was supplement rather than demolished, and amenities like affordable housing were secured that independent actors might not otherwise provide.¹⁸³

So was it all a waste? Was the project a total failure? Certainly it could have been built for a lot less.

However, as Doud points out it is not clear that anyone would have built it and the affordable housing it carried. Recall the worry we saw above that The Residences wouldn't be able to fill its apartments. America, and New Haven with it, was in a recession in the late eighties and early nineties. New Haven suffered from a housing glut.¹⁸⁴ "[B]ecause too many condominiums were built in the suburbs, the market [the developers] were focusing on has somewhat evaporated It would [have been] absolutely impossible for Ninth Square to attract private funding. It [was] a speculative real estate project and banks [were] carrying oodles of projects similar to this."¹⁸⁵

McCormack Baron and The Related Companies succeeded appeasing the bulk of their investors' desires: they turned a profit and they arguably revitalized a blighted

¹⁸² Rachel Doud, *The City's Role in Renewal: A Comparative Study of Redevelopment in Two New Haven Districts*, Substantial Analytic Writing Requirement for Robert C. Ellickson, Yale Law School, December 2011.

¹⁸³ *Id.* 59.

¹⁸⁴ Sullivan, *supra* note 110.

¹⁸⁵ *Id.*

corner of New Haven. However, it is not clear that the only goal of the project was profit, efficient construction of housing, or even neighborhood revitalization.

VIII. THE LINGERING QUESTION: WHAT ABOUT THE MIXED-INCOME COMMUNITY?

The developers of The Residences at Ninth Square – McCormack Baron and The Related Companies – prided themselves on their histories as mixed-income developers. They came into the Ninth Square with an agenda. Related touted in its Ninth Square Press Release that it “is one of the country’s leading developers of affordable housing, having developed approximately 17,000 residential units under a variety of government programs.”¹⁸⁶ It came into the project prepared with a “careful approach to community-building,” which involved careful tenant screening – “identifying people at every income who know how to be good tenants” – “thorough maintenance procedures” and high-tech electronic security.¹⁸⁷

McCormack Baron was founded by Richard Baron, a lawyer who himself had long been involved in the areas of affordable housing and development. Baron had served as Commissioner of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, as a housing consultant to the Urban Institute, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Ford Foundation, and the U.S. Agency for International Development Mission to the State of Israel.¹⁸⁸ In interviews, Baron comes off as deeply committed to the ideal of mixed-income: “Demolition [of failed crime-ridden housing projects] is not enough The challenge now is to reclaim these sites, to transform

¹⁸⁶ The Ninth Square Project, *supra* note 36, at 3.

¹⁸⁷ *Id.* at 6.

¹⁸⁸ Neal Peirce, Editorial, *St. Louis Builder Shows the Way to Revive Urban Housing*, ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, May 16, 1996 at 7B.

them so that they beckon people of all races and income levels. And it can be done.”¹⁸⁹ We must “build and sustain strong inner-city neighborhoods. . . . The development . . . must focus on rebuilding the neighborhood, not just constructing a housing project.”¹⁹⁰

In one 1996 interview, Baron outlined his principles for success in developing mixed-income housing. He advocated that the development must “[s]hake the low-income, public-housing stigma.”¹⁹¹ It must “[b]uild communities with stable, middle-class values. . . . [a]ccept[ing] only those [tenants] willing to buy into the new values, committed to a stable neighborhood. If the new housing has a strong mix of race and incomes . . . the twin perils of ghettoization and gentrification can be averted.”¹⁹² To guarantee this strong mix, draw market rate tenants into the communities by “go[ing] for excellence” in design and construction and by “[c]reat[ing] the amenity mix that [these market-rate tenants expect:] washers, dryers, computer cabling, swimming pools, shops, grocery stores, free parking. Provide full security services. And work to get quality schools, magnet schools included, introduced into the neighborhoods.”¹⁹³

In an article published when The Residences were first about to open, one of the commercial real estate agents charged with finding the right retail mix went on the record to say, “We’re looking for retail uses that would service the people who work and live in the area.”¹⁹⁴ Kathleen Etkin, Project Manager of The Residences, added that they wanted

¹⁸⁹ *Id.*

¹⁹⁰ Diane R. Suchman, *Rebuilding America: One Developer Tackles Distressed Urban Neighborhoods*, URBAN LAND, April 1997, at 46.

¹⁹¹ Peirce, *supra* note 188.

¹⁹² *Id.*

¹⁹³ *Id.*

¹⁹⁴ Chris Capot, *Ninth Square About to Open*, NEW HAVEN REG., Aug. 14, 1994, at G1.

for people to be able to shop where they live, to create a “dynamic,” “unified neighborhood.”¹⁹⁵ They too sought to create a form of community in the Ninth Square.

Clearly, at least on paper, McCormack Baron and the Related Companies were committed to creating a viable, coherent community in the Ninth Square. They seemed committed to a stable, integrated diversity and the provision of decent housing for the less fortunate. They seemed committed to the goals of mixed-income. Receiving \$31.8 million in state loans and ten million dollars in federal tax credits contingent on the creation of mixed income-housing in the Ninth Square, McCormack Baron and The Related Companies would be justly critiqued on whether or not that mixed-income housing worked.

A. The Goals of Mixed-Income Development

In order to evaluate the success of the development’s mixed-income aspect, one must understand the goals of mixed income. What did developers and proponents mean by their references to “community-building” and successful mixed-income? One must look to the theory.

Mixed income developments don’t look merely to the creation of cost-effective housing for the urban poor, nor do they focus primarily on neighborhood renewal. Rather, they were first proposed, and have continually been justified on the basis of the impact they have on the lives of their residents. They seek to break a culture of poverty. They seek to create community. They seek to integrate cities. They aspire to offer urban poor residents opportunities that would otherwise be unavailable to them.

¹⁹⁵ *Id.*

In 1987, William Julius Wilson, in *THE TRULY DISADVANTAGED*, documented how the lifting of race-restrictive covenants precipitated ghettoization of the inner city. During the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, lower-class, working-class, and middle-class Black families in American cities all resided in more or less the same ghetto areas. Residing in the higher-income sections of those ghetto areas, professional and working-class Blacks serviced the ghetto community. They provided strong norms and sanctions against aberrant behavior, a sense of community, and positive neighborhood identification.¹⁹⁶ They provided mainstream role models for the Black disadvantaged.¹⁹⁷ Role models that reinforced mainstream pertaining to employment, education, and family structure.¹⁹⁸ With the lifting of racially restrictive covenants in the latter half of the twentieth century, this stabilizing force left the ghettos.¹⁹⁹ The removal of these families deprived the “ghetto underclass” of role models.²⁰⁰ But more importantly, their departure made it far more difficult for the remaining community to sustain its basic institutions (churches, stores, schools, parks) in the face of prolonged joblessness.²⁰¹ And without these institutions, the social structures of the ghetto deteriorated.²⁰² The black urban poor suffered disproportionately.²⁰³

¹⁹⁶ WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON, *THE TRULY DISADVANTAGED* 143-44 (1987)

¹⁹⁷ *Id.*

¹⁹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹⁹ *Id.*

²⁰⁰ *Id.*

²⁰¹ *Id.*

²⁰² *Id.*

²⁰³ *Id.*; for a local example of this trend, see Wayne E. Travers Jr., *The Golden Days of Dixewell: For Half a Century, African-American Business Was Centered in the Neighborhood*, NEW HAVEN REG., Feb 7, 1991, at D1.

The most extreme suffering was to be found public housing. The effects of social isolation there had become magnified as “public housing became a permanent home to generations of families with severe economic and social challenges.”²⁰⁴

Responding to Wilson’s dire assessment of the city, theorists and activists began to argue for the breaking up of a “culture of poverty.”²⁰⁵ They argued for the demolition of public housing blocks that concentrated the urban poor and their replacement with new mixed-income developments.²⁰⁶ “Within [these mixed-income] neighborhoods, a broad range of housing types and price levels can bring people of diverse ages, races, and incomes into daily interaction, strengthening the personal and civic bonds essential to an authentic community.”²⁰⁷

B. The Theoretical Underpinnings of Mixed-Income Development

Drawing upon Wilson’s work, theorists and policy advocates have propounded four ways that the mere social proximity of higher- to lower-income residents would break a culture of poverty:²⁰⁸

- 1. Modeling** – Deconcentrating poverty and fostering income diversity will help reduce social isolation of the poor by providing role models and views of different

²⁰⁴ Mark L. Joseph, *Is Mixed-Income Development an Antidote to Urban Poverty*, 16 HOUSING POL’Y DEBATE, 209 (2006); see also DEVEREAUX BOWLY, *THE POORHOUSE: SUBSIDIZED HOUSING IN CHICAGO, 1895–1976* (1978).

²⁰⁵ See generally Joseph, *supra* note 204.

²⁰⁶ Peirce, *supra* note 188.

²⁰⁷ THE CONGRESS FOR THE NEW URBANISM, *CHARTER OF THE NEW URBANISM* (1996), available at <http://www.cnu.org/charter>.

²⁰⁸ For discussions of the history of the theory behind mixed-income housing, see, for example, Brophy & Smith, *supra* note 67; Mark L. Joseph, Robert J. Chaskin & Henry S. Webber, *The Theoretical Basis for Addressing Poverty Through Mixed-Income Development*, 42 URBAN AFFAIRS REVIEW 369 (2007), Mark L. Joseph, *Is Mixed-Income Development an Antidote to Urban Poverty*, 16 HOUSING POL’Y DEBATE, 209 (2006); Rachel Garshick Kleit, *HOPE VI New Communities: Neighborhood Relationships in Mixed-Income Housing*, 37 ENVIRONMENT AND PLANNING A 1413 (2005).

ways of life that can shift expectations, modify behaviors, and reshape poorer residents' goals for the future.²⁰⁹ For example, seeing a neighbor don a suit and go to work every day, a chronically unemployed resident may begin to associate value with office employment, may start to see such employment as a possibility for him or herself, may see him or herself as deserving of such employment, and may actually search for office employment.²¹⁰

2. **Social networks as social capital** – Integrating poor people into neighborhoods with higher-income people may provide the poor residents with access to the information and connections that higher-income people have. The poor residents will call upon this network of social capital to improve their situation in concrete ways.²¹¹ Commonly cited examples of this mechanism's operation are those of a lower-status resident benefiting by receipt of information – for example about lucrative employment, childcare, or financial management – he would otherwise not be privy to, by the vouching of higher status neighbors for him, by his preparation for upward mobility by those higher-status neighbors, and by his receipt of formal or informal mentoring by those higher-status neighbors.²¹²
3. **The enforcement of social norms** - The crime rate will fall, and the potential for the self-destruction of the community will be curbed as higher-income households

²⁰⁹ WILSON, *supra* note 196; Joseph, *supra* note 204.

²¹⁰ Modeling has been rightly criticized as paternalistic and as confusing cultural patterns with the external circumstances of poverty itself. *See generally*, Robert J. Chaskin & Mark L. Joseph, *Social Interaction in Mixed-Income Developments: Relational Expectations and Emerging Reality*, 33 J. URB. AFF. 209, 219 (2011). Nevertheless, as will be demonstrated, *supra*, the concept proves useful in understanding residents' perceptions of life in The Residences.

²¹¹ *See generally* ROBERT D. PUTNAM, *BOWLING ALONE: THE COLLAPSE AND REVIVAL OF AMERICAN COMMUNITY* (2001); Xavier de Souza Briggs, "Some of My Best Friends Are . . .": *Interracial Friendships, Class, and Segregation in America*, *City & Community* 6:4, 263 (December 2007).

²¹² Briggs, *supra* note 211.

demand a stricter and better-enforced set of ground rules for the community. They will demand certain behaviors of their lower-status neighbors, thus instilling in those neighbors the culturally dominant set of social norms. Higher-status tenants will also more directly demand the enforcement of social norms, for example calling the police more readily and demanding of management that it curb loitering.

4. **Improved access to services** – because of the market and political power of higher-income tenants, low-income households benefit from better schools, improved access to jobs, and enhanced safety. This is because market-rate tenants will draw businesses who want to profit from their business to the community (e.g. a grocery store), and because market-rate tenants have the market and political power to demand services and resources such as police enforcement, improved schooling.

The first two of these mechanisms – modeling and the use of social networks as social capital – depend essentially on the interaction of residents of different statuses. If no lower-status tenant ever meets or sees a higher-income tenant, that subsidized tenant cannot model his behavior on her. Similarly, in the absence of interaction, a lower-status tenant will not gain access to the experience, knowledge, friendships, or acquaintances that embody the higher-status tenant's social capital.

The third mechanism – the enforcement of social norms – relies partly on social interaction. A higher-status tenant can call the police and directly improve the enforcement of social norms and the appearance of the police may influence future behaviors in the community. In these ways, the enforcement of social norms is

independent of personal interactions between tenants. However, higher-status tenants may also demonstrate by their behaviors around and their comments to lower status tenants in a community that certain behaviors are not acceptable.²¹³ For this pathway to function, social interaction must occur.

Given these theoretical pathways to social integration and the lifting up of the urban poor, the question becomes, “does this stuff happen?” Do these mechanisms operate in The Residences at Ninth Square? Has The Residences fostered their functioning? Do the tenants interact in ways that facilitate the functioning of these means of upward mobilization?²¹⁴

This section focuses on the extent and relevance of social interaction within a particular mixed-income community: The Residences at Ninth Square. It asks whether substantive social interaction exists, and what constraints are imposed on that interaction by the nature of the development itself.

C. Prior Evidence of the Impact of Mixed-Income Housing on Residents

Though the role of social relationships is of fundamental importance in the successful functioning of a mixed-income development and in the operation of the mechanisms that are supposed to “break a culture of poverty,” only three prior groups of scholars have even sought to empirically examine the social interactions of tenants in mixed-income housing.

First, in 1998, James Rosenbaum, Linda Stroh, and Cathy A. Flynn, published a study of a small, early mixed-income site housed in a rehabilitated project on the South

²¹³ James E. Rosenbaum, Linda K. Stroh & Cathy A. Flynn, *Lake Parc Place: A Study of Mixed-Income Housing*, 9 HOUSING POLICY DEBATE 703 (1998).

²¹⁴ Paul Brophy and Rhonda Smith partially attempted to answer this problem in 1997, but their research did not record social interactions among residents. Brophy & Smith, *supra* note 67.

Side of Chicago.²¹⁵ Rosenbaum, Stroh, and Flynn found some evidence of social interaction among residents of different income levels. But the researchers did not probe much further. For example, their entire analysis of instrumental bridging was limited to the following:

According to the 20 interview respondents, some interacted with project neighbors, in casual interaction in hallways and playgrounds, and in volunteer activities. Some even created employment opportunities for other residents as babysitters and beauticians. They also used the daycare services at Lake Parc Place, which employed some project residents as assistants. In a small way, these relationships created a degree of economic development inside Lake Parc Place, as Lane had hoped.²¹⁶

Moreover, evidence of social interaction in Lake Parc Place cannot be generalized to most mixed-income developments, let alone The Residences at Ninth Square. First, the development was mono-racial: the development was almost entirely black. Second, the range of income levels in the development was severely constrained. All residents made between 50% and 80% of the area median income and all tenants received government housing subsidies. Secondly, tenants were actively involved in the management of the development. Third, both lower- and higher-income tenants in the development tended to have grown up in the same housing project community.

The Residences at Ninth Square differs markedly from this situation: residents associated with Yale come from very different economic, regional, and cultural backgrounds than the residents who receive government subsidies, and tenant organization exists.

²¹⁵ Rosenbaum, et al., *supra* note 213.

²¹⁶ *Id.* at 732.

In 2005, Rachel Garshick Kleit conducted a study of the Seattle HOPE VI site New Holly.²¹⁷ There, she found higher levels of social interaction than in many other mixed income sites. Nevertheless, she found more bonding among language, ethnic, and housing tenure groups than between different groups. Kleit's study is also largely inapposite. By design, the site was "ideal": she chose a model New Urbanist community to explore the possibilities of social interaction in an ideal test case. New Holly is a development centered around a neighborhood campus with a library, day care, and homework centers. The development employed a "community builder" to foster interactions among residents. And the population was characterized by enormous linguistic and ethnic diversity and a dizzying mix of national identities.

Ninth Square, by contrast, employs no community builder, houses very little by way of a community center, and its residents perceive its population to be largely divided between two groups: low-income Black Americans and high-income Caucasian Students.

In early 2011, Robert Chaskin and Mark Joseph published the most comprehensive study of social interaction in mixed-income contexts to date. Conducting a broad survey and sixty in-depth interviews, Chaskin and Joseph chronicled the type and extent of interaction that residents in two South Side Chicago mixed-income developments experienced. Prior to this study, Joseph argued that there is very little evidence of social interaction, and suggested that the benefits of mixed-income housing derive from the mechanisms – rules enforcement and improved services – that do not

²¹⁷ Kleit, *supra* note 208.

depend on social interaction.²¹⁸ Analyzing the data from these two projects, however, he and Chaskin noted that as residents stayed longer in the development, more casual relationships developed.²¹⁹ Still, “[o]ne important characteristic the qualitative analysis makes clear is just *how* casual the relationships enumerated above tend to be. For the most part, the interactions described are characterized as conversations in passing—on the way in and out of the house, for example, or while passing on the street. Most are described as exchanges of greetings, or perhaps of information on an issue: ‘I don’t have any relationships with anybody. We speak and that’s it. We don’t talk.’”²²⁰ Joseph and Chaskin discovered that tenants characterized their interactions as casual, “cordial:”

But as far as neighborly, where you come over and you’re in and out of each other’s houses all the time, I just don’t socialize like that with the people—fraternize with them, I should say. So I would say it’s cordial. And it’s neighborly. That’s good enough for me.²²¹

They discovered that management’s rules about loitering hindered social interaction in contexts, where for example, people were not allowed to sit in on front stoops or barbeque or otherwise “hang out.”²²² Instrumental exchanges were largely limited to persons of the same housing tenure, and most often occurred between adults and children.²²³ Suspicion between residents of different housing tenures (subsidized renters, market-rate renters, and owners of units) inhibited social interaction: a “‘fear factor’ (as one market-rate renter in Oakwood Shores puts it) generates particular caution in their interactions with neighbors, and particular concern about the level of social order and

²¹⁸ Joseph, *supra* note 208.

²¹⁹ Chaskin & Joseph, *supra* note 210, at 219.

²²⁰ *Id.* at 220.

²²¹ *Id.* at 221.

²²² *Id.* at 219.

²²³ *Id.* at 226.

control in the immediate neighborhood.”²²⁴ With race serving as a proxy for housing tenure, racial differences were the most salient to tenants.²²⁵

Joseph and Chaskin’s results are by far the most intriguing, and their project serves as a springboard for investigation into social interaction in The Residences. Unlike the developments they studied, The Residences houses all tenants in allegedly identical units dispersed throughout the development. Accordingly the division between renters and owners that Chaskin and Joseph observed will not appear in The Residences. The more significant difference, however, is that The Residences at Ninth Square sits squarely in the center of an urban core and is populated, as least partly, by affluent market-rate tenants of incredible social capital: Yale University faculty and students. Further, it has been open now since 1993. Social relationships have had much more time to develop than in their studied sites.

D. The Realities of Mixed-Income Development in The Residences at Ninth Square

1. Methodology

To address the question of whether The Residences at Ninth Square has succeeded as a mixed-income development – that is, whether it has fostered or enabled any of the theorized means to breaking a culture of poverty – I conducted twenty in-depth anonymous interviews with current and prior residents of The Residences.

For this purpose, a survey instrument²²⁶ was designed. The instrument begins with simple questions about prior residential history, how the resident came to know of

²²⁴ *Id.* at 227.

²²⁵ *Id.* at 228.

²²⁶ *See infra* app. I.

the residences, the process of moving, and general thoughts about The Residences.²²⁷ It then moves to questions about the respondent's use of communal spaces in the development and his or her use of restaurants, stores, and other resources in both the development and the broader downtown area.²²⁸ It then asks respondent to characterize his or her interactions with others in the development: Where do they ordinarily occur? Hallways? While waiting for elevators? While attending community events?²²⁹ Intending to build on the trust and comfort fostered in the interviewee with these early questions, the survey instrument then asks about respondent's housing tenure (i.e. affordable, section 8, or market-rate)²³⁰ and his or her experiences of social interaction with residents of different tenures.²³¹ It probes for respondent's perceptions and biases about residents of different tenures, and it likewise seeks to reach respondent's experiences of others' biases.²³² It asks about what management has done to foster interaction between residents of different tenures and it asks respondent to compare the relationships he or she possesses in The Residences to those he or she possessed prior to moving.²³³ It probes further for responses to questions seeking specific answers, such as how many persons respondent knows well enough to invite into his or her home.²³⁴ Further questions probed for instrumental benefits respondent may have received or

²²⁷ *Id.* at 3, 4.

²²⁸ *Id.* at 4, 5.

²²⁹ *Id.* at 6.

²³⁰ *Id.* at 7, 8.

²³¹ *Id.* at 7, 8.

²³² *Id.* at 8, 10.

²³³ *Id.* at 8.

²³⁴ *Id.* at 9.

conferred on others through these relationships.²³⁵ The instrument then asks of respondent's experiences and perceptions of modeling behaviors in The Residences.²³⁶ It asks of respondents' perceptions surrounding the rules, maintenance, and management of the community and possible differential treatment of tenants by management.²³⁷ It then asks questions designed to draw out the how respondent believes living in The Residences has impacted him or her and how respondent defines his or her community.²³⁸ In closing, the survey probed residents' perceptions about the failings and potential of mixed-income housing.²³⁹ Finally, the instrument asks for personal demographic information.²⁴⁰

Ultimately, the survey instrument was designed to uncover residents' anecdotes about, and over-arching evaluations of, their experiences with the theorized mechanisms by which mixed-income is supposed to work. That is, it sought to discover whether modeling across economic barriers occurs; whether social networks bridge economic divisions and increase poorer residents' social capital; whether living with more affluent neighbors improves poorer residents' access to social services; and whether the presence of more affluent residents impacts the enforcement of a distinct set of social norms. Further, it sought to uncover structural, economic, demographic, social, cultural, and psychological barriers to the functioning of these theorized mechanisms and theoretically idealized results.

²³⁵ *Id.* at 9, 10.

²³⁶ *Id.* at 10

²³⁷ *Id.* at 10, 11

²³⁸ *Id.* at 11, 12

²³⁹ *Id.* at 12, 13

²⁴⁰ *Id.* at 13, 14

Initially, I conducted the survey through telephone interviews of current and past residents. I collected publicly available telephone numbers for tenants in The Residences through online telephone directories.²⁴¹ Over the course of three weeks in late February and early March, 2011, and at various times in the day, I called these numbers and asked those answering the phone of their willingness to answer questions related to a survey of residents in The Residences at Ninth Square. All willing, English-speaking respondents over the age of 18 were interviewed.²⁴² Forty percent of those who answered agreed to be interviewed. I left voice messages when possible to capture tenants screening phone calls. Three respondents returned these calls. While interviewing respondents, I followed the survey instrument loosely, trying to engage the respondent in natural conversation likely to elicit more personal anecdotes, opinions, and perceptions. Accordingly, as respondents opened up on a topic, I often allowed them to talk uninterrupted, occasionally redirecting conversation by asking them “tell me more about that” or “do you have any stories about that?” I transcribed respondents’ answers and comments as completely as possible while we spoke. I thus conducted ten telephone interviews.

Concern about sampling error – particularly sampling error due to the dearth of students and younger tenants likely to own land telephone lines – led me to conduct the remaining ten interviews in person. Knowing that Yale professional students are a significant component of the residential mix in The Residences, I used personal

²⁴¹ Management was unwilling to release tenant lists, *see* Evan, *supra* note 62, so reverse address searches were performed on the commercial online telephone directories [whitepages.com](http://www.whitepages.com), <http://www.whitepages.com> (last visited Apr. 27, 2011), and [addresses.com](http://www.addresses.com), <http://www.addresses.com> (last visited Apr. 27, 2011), for the six residential addresses of The Residences at Ninth Square: 44 Orange Street, 66 Orange Street, 93 Orange Street, 81 Orange Street, and 51 Crown Street, New Haven, CT 06511.

²⁴² Three interviews could not be conducted because respondents spoke only Spanish.

connections to connect me to professional students living in the Residences. Four respondents were thus identified and interviewed. The remaining six respondents are persons who agreed to speak with me as I stood at the entrance to The Residence's main courtyard on Orange Street. These in-person interviews took place throughout April 2011. Following the same general pattern as in the telephone interviews I sought to engage in natural conversation with respondents about their experiences living in The Residences, probing for the same anecdotes, opinions, and perceptions that the instrument seeks to uncover. With respondents' permission, I voice-recorded our conversations. I then transcribed respondents' comments verbatim.

In total, I conducted twenty interviews. Interviews ranged in length from 13 to 98 minutes in length and averaged just under 38 minutes.²⁴³ They generally succeeded in eliciting from respondents information on all topics the survey instrument sought to explore. All twenty transcriptions were collected together and responses thematically sorted based on the topics respondents' comments touched upon.²⁴⁴ Where comments touched on two or more themes, those comments were copied into all applicable thematic groupings. This thematic sorting permits the comparison of comments on the central topics of interest (e.g. level and depth of social interaction within the development, perceptions of management) across individual respondents.²⁴⁵

This survey of tenants was designed neither to be comprehensive nor perfectly representative. Indeed the sample size is far too small to generate any generalizable statistical calculations. Rather, the interviews were designed to probe a significant set of

²⁴³ See *infra* app. II at 55.

²⁴⁴ See *infra* app. II.

²⁴⁵ See e.g., *infra* app. II at 19.

tenants for their perceptions and the character of their lives in mixed income-housing in The Residences at Ninth Square.

2. Results

Figure 14 indicates respondents' demographic characteristics.

FIGURE 14. (Demographic Characteristics of Interviewed Tenants)

respondent	age	m/f	race	affordable / sect. 8/ mkt-rate	employed?	income	mobility	household size	years in residence
1	68	m	blk	subs.	unemp.		car	1	13
2	67	f	blk	sect. 8	retired	\$150,000		1	2
3	40*	f	hisp	subs.	part-time		bus	3	<1
4	56	f	blk	affordable				1	7
5	59	f	blk	mkt-rate	retired	\$70,000	bus	1	10
6	26	f	hisp	subs.	full-time	\$20,000		1	7
7	60*	f	hisp	sect. 8	unemp.		bus	1	7
8	45*	f	blk	subs.	unemp.			1	7
9	75*	m	blk	sect. 8	retired			1	4
10	40*	f	blk	mkt-rate*	full-time	\$30,000	bus	1	11
11	24	m	blk	mkt-rate	student	\$35,000	car	2	2
12	26	m	wht	mkt-rate	student	\$35,000	car	2	1
13	28	f	blk	mkt-rate	full-time	\$60,000	car	1	5.5
14	32	m	wht	mkt-rate	student	\$35,000	car/foot	1	2
15	52	m	wht	mkt-rate	full-time	>\$75,000*	car	2	6
16	32	m	hisp	sect. 8	disabled		wheelchair/car	1	<1
17	46	f	blk	mkt-rate	disabled/part-time	\$20,000	car	2	1.5
18	69	f	blk	sect. 8	retired		car/bus	1	2
19	42	m	hisp	sect. 8	disabled	\$20,000	bus	2	3
20	37	f	blk	mkt-rate	student/full-time	>\$100,000*	car	2	1

Notes: "subs" indicates unknown form of subsidized housing; * indicates interviewer estimate; blank space indicates refused or unknown value.

Twenty residents were interviewed. Of those, eleven received some form of subsidized or discounted housing. Of those eleven, at least six received Section 8 vouchers. The youngest tenant interviewed was aged 24; the oldest, around 75. The average age of respondents is roughly 46 years of age. Twelve respondents were female. Eight were male. The median length of time these tenants had lived in The Residences was five years. Both market-rate and subsidized tenants lived an average of around 4.5 years in The Residences, with the subsidized tenants staying a few months longer on average. The professional students interviewed, however, lived in the residences an average of only 1.5 years.

Interviews were designed to capture trends in residents' perceptions of life in The Residences and social activity in The Residences. Here is what I found:

a. Evidence of Social Interaction in the Residences

i. Shallowness of Social Interactions

Modeling requires that tenants of both low-income and market-rate units interact on at least some level.²⁴⁶ For how can one model the behaviors of a person he or she never sees? The exploitation of social networks as social capital requires even more substantive interaction: how is one to access the economic or social resources of a better-situated neighbor if he or she does not know that neighbor and that neighbor is not willing to foster introductions?²⁴⁷

Initially, several respondents responded to inquiries about their interactions with others in the development along the lines that one 28-year old market-rate woman did:

I'm an outgoing person. I talk to everybody, everybody knows me. Everybody loves me. White, Black, Chinese, I talk to everybody. Lot of money, little bit of money. Everybody.²⁴⁸

Yet in the six years she has lived in The Residences, this respondent has never had any of her neighbors over to her apartment. Another outgoing and friendly tenant – a 46-year

²⁴⁶ Joseph, *supra* note 204.

²⁴⁷ *Id.*

²⁴⁸ This initial overstatement of levels of friendship should be expected. As Briggs has pointed out,

Researchers have found that “friend” is an ambiguous descriptor unless some relational content is specified. . . . [M]easures of interracial friendship . . . which did not define “personal friendship” for respondents, are likely to overstate actual interracial contact and closeness, for example, because of favorable perception bias: the desire to avoid the perception of racial prejudice by reporting “some” friend of the racial out-group or even to associate having a personal friend with being friendly toward that group.

Briggs, *supra* note 211, at 272. Specifying the relational content of the term “friend” by asking how many persons respondent has considered close enough to invite into his or her home should mitigate the bias. *Id.*

old Black single market-rate mother – emphatically told me that she interacts with her neighbors. “I do. I do,” she said in response to initial questions about interaction in the development. She proceeded to recount the people on her floor that she knew:

the girl next door to me, I know her because we went to elementary school together. And the guy next to me. I know him but I met him. I don’t know him that well. To the left of me, there’s my cousin.

Yet in response to the question, “So I imagine that you go over to their places and they come over?” She replied, “No. No, not really. I do actually, the one who is my cousin . . . I do her hair every now and then.” But hairstyling is something she does for money. Casually, her interactions are restricted to saying “hi” and passing conversations. “I just speak with them. Elevator, hallways, in front [of the building] if I am sitting on the bench or walking around.”

In the most extreme example, one resident recalled her “[b]eautiful relationships with people here. They give you hugs and all that stuff. Makes you feel welcome and wonderful.” She nevertheless immediately clarified that “[e]veryone keeps to themselves, their own business.” She described this situation as

Comfortable. People say “hello” and “good morning,” “good evening” and then usually go in their door. They don’t come knock on your door ask anything. Just see each other, you go your way, I go mine. . . . I have my own busy day. . . . [We g]reet each other, we have conversations about different things in the world. I don’t know, don’t ask their business. I don’t want to get friendly with anybody, this is my living quarters. I don’t have time for that. I have a well-filled life. I go to church. Saturday is the only day I spend at home.

Respondents seemed to like it this way. They valued the friendly low-commitment relationships in the hallways that seemed to prevail in the development:

I don’t have any friends here. I don’t go and knock on nobody’s door. No one. You live over there and I live here and keep it like that. But I’m friendly in the elevator. I have conversations.

Another expressed similar sentiments:

Most residents stay quiet, a lot commute;²⁴⁹ community is peaceful, positive; people know each other.

Another, describing the interactions of her two teenaged sons said:

My kids are a little more to themselves. They'll say "hi" if someone says "hi" to them. They go out to school. They are more homebodies [like me]. Sometimes we'll go sit outside. That's basically about it. They don't go hang out outside.

In fact, only one person interviewed had ever had a neighbor over to her apartment. This resident, a thirty-seven year-old Black female professional student paying market-rate rent, is unique. She is a very reflexive individual, volunteering that

Working class African Americans when exposed to middle class African Americans, there is a kind of, what do you call it, "lift as you climb." You know, there is that kind of relationship. There is a kind of networking that goes on if there are people who are willing to open their homes.

Realizing this, she herself opened her home to a neighbor,

there was another woman, I wasn't sure what her financial status was. She was a single parent in her 50's in school at night and working and her kid was at school. She may have had some disability. [later stating, "but she didn't work a lot so I think she was getting some kind of public support"] She had a lot of medications. She invited me over to her place a lot and she gave me like plants and stuff and I had her over every once in a while.

But this tenant sees it as her moral mandate and her career's goal to help fix the black community.²⁵⁰ The gregarious twenty-eight year-old Black female professional who

²⁴⁹ See also Bryson, *supra* note 128 ("Recently, I was told by the developers that about forty percent of the people living in the Ninth Square District reverse commute to jobs in the suburbs, and an increasing number of the market rate tenants commute to New York City. It would be interesting to do a questionnaire to find out whether the reverse commuters live in the Ninth Square because they can't find affordable housing closer to their jobs (many of which have, in fact, moved to the suburbs), or whether they simply prefer living in the city.").

²⁵⁰ As an example of respondent's commitment to the Black community:

The black community needs some serious healing and needs to repair itself within itself for a while. It is just a broken community. . . . my duty to society

claimed to be loved by everybody, was the only other person to have ever been into another resident's home. She recounted how

this one lady, Georgia, has Sunday dinners. And George, that guy with the dog you just saw earlier, we went up there. He lives across the hall from me. But I haven't entertained, yet. We are very friendly.

In her six years in The Residences, this was the only time this respondent had been to Georgia's regular Sunday dinners. Others, even one white male professional student, who liked the mixed-income aspect of the residences because, "[I]t assuaged my liberal guilt. You could put your money where your mouth is," has generally failed to participate in these sorts of social interactions.

ii. Rarity of Instrumental Benefits from Mixing Residents of Different Incomes

Given the absence of significant substantive social interaction among residents, it is not surprising that the use of social networks as a resource for social mobility, though regularly probed for in the interviews, seemed rarely to occur. Only three examples surfaced, and they all came from individuals whose profession or political stance made them uniquely disposed to help those around them. One former teacher volunteered that

I talked to some younger students about networking, and those I could help. I was able to refer some to community college. I am very good friends with [someone there] . . . If someone has an interest, and I can help, that's it. But once I come into my doors that's it.

tells me I have to reckon with social stereotypes [and accept that I am part of this community] . . . I've been working for [a multinational corporation] where I've been doing deals work. And I think, "Well what am I doing?" And I think, "I know what I'm doing, I'm trying to position myself to get these companies some day to give money to these projects." They don't listen to people who don't understand efficiency.

And the thirty-seven year-old professional student – the one who recognized her duty to help uplift the urban poor – helped her neighbor’s son write a resume for his first job. A third resident, a very gregarious forty-six year-old single mother, told me,

Oh yeah, [I have helped out my neighbors] plenty of times. I help people get jobs. I knew people who needed jobs in the [employment] agency I used to work for and I’d get them jobs. And also cosmetologists. Like I said, my brother’s a barber, so if I know somebody that’s looking for work, I’ll follow up.

These examples are encouraging. But they are isolated cases. And they don’t transcend racial boundaries: each example was elicited from a market-rate Black woman. From twenty interviews framed to answer this question specifically, respondents only generated these three examples; and in all three cases, the bridging benefits resulted from a conscious effort by those empowered with the resources to help others. No one could recount “just happening” to hear about a job through a neighbor’s set of friends, or even joining a soccer league because a neighbor was on it. Rather, I agree with the sixty-two year old shop owner who told me, “my impression is that it’s done as a moral responsibility and that’s it.” Instrumental benefits don’t flow naturally from the spare social networks respondents have developed in The Residences, that is unless you count the pleasantness of social fluidity generated by a casual chat as an instrumental benefit. In that case, “to the extent that small talk in an elevator is important for anyone’s social development, that is here plenty.” It is surely these benefits – trust, a sense of security, and a sense that you are known and appreciated – that one older subsidized tenant cited when she described her “Beautiful relationships. [They g]ive you hugs and all that stuff. Makes you feel welcome and wonderful.” Even these benefits can be generated when, as the same respondent said in nearly the same breath, “[e]veryone keeps to themselves, their own business.”

iii. Ambivalence about Modeling

Interviews provided little evidence of modeling, and where evidence did exist, it was simply in the form of hypothetical statements about other people:

Some people who are market rate maybe say that the low-incomes mess up the place, care a little less about their surrounds and where they live and how you should live as well. You look at them and you see, “Wow, you can live that way too, and it depends on how you do it.”

Education is the key. When you see something different than you’ve seen before, might open your eyes and make you want more in life. Might make them want to go to school seeing another in a suit everyday.

Or at least so said an elderly retired woman. Another said simply, “One half motivates the other that has lower income.” She, too, was beyond working age. But another respondent, a twenty-four year-old male Black professional student with middle-class roots asserted, “I don’t buy the ‘I’m going to emulate this person and work harder because I live near them.’” Another professional student, this one white, felt unease with the very idea of modeling: “There’s this tension . . . typically in society we do think that role models are a good idea, but typically for children and not for adults.” An older market-rate tenant who owned a store and restaurant in The Residences

would say almost the contrary. Because I’ve worked with guys who were Hispanic and Black and they say when you try to move up, there are two things going on: some people say that’s great because you’re getting out of a rut, other people feel like your betraying, and so I don’t think someone’s going to say, “well gee everyone around me’s wearing suits I want to be just like them” . . . I think it may polarize people rather than bring ‘em together because you might say, well he’s got that and I can’t get it, I can’t . . . I don’t have a job . . . I don’t think that’s going to inspire that guy to go out and get a suit. What was that movie? THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS with that guy, I mean how often does that happen? So I don’t see that as a real thing that occurs . . .

Others, asked whether they had seen modeling, would claim they “had seen it some,” but never could they cite examples. The optimistic thirty-seven year old Black professional

student asserted, “I know it to be true,” but confessed, “I hadn't seen it.” Perhaps, ultimately, the case is that the tenants go through their lives with blinders on, “they’re set in their ways, as far as like going through the art stores or going through the wine shop or whatever. I think that people who live here tend to keep to themselves as far as not associating with other people.”

b. Possible Reasons for the Absence of Substantive Social Interaction

*i. Demographic Differences Between the Subsidized and Market-Rate Tenants*²⁵¹

One-hundred and forty-two of The Residences’ 335 units are occupied by persons who pay market-rate rents ranging from \$971 to \$1,900 a month.²⁵² The remaining fifty-seven percent of the studio, one-bedroom, and two-bedroom apartments are occupied by persons who qualify for a rent reduction by virtue of their income.²⁵³ Initially, this class of subsidized tenants, designated “affordables” by the management, was to earn no more than sixty and no less than forty percent of the area median income as determined by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development.²⁵⁴ However, from the early days of the development The Residences has been welcoming recipients of “Section 8” portable housing vouchers into these units.²⁵⁵ As of 1997, sixteen percent of the tenants in The

²⁵¹ Citing fair housing concerns, representatives of Related Management, McCormack Baron Salazar, and the Connecticut Housing Finance Authority have all declined to disclose any demographic information concerning residence patterns in The Residences. Evan, *supra* note 62; Telephone Interview with Janelle, Compliance Officer, New Haven Region, Related Management (April 29, 2011); Obueque, *supra* note 76.

²⁵² The Residences at Ninth Square, *supra* note 58.

²⁵³ *Id.*

²⁵⁴ Evan, *supra* note 62.

²⁵⁵ Brophy & Smith, *supra* note 67 (noting that Section 8 certificate holders had been encouraged to apply and that sixteen percent of the current residents use certificates to rent a tax-credit unit). It would make economic sense that the management court Section 8 certificate holders: it is permitted to demand the entire value of certificate-holders’ vouchers, which often exceeds the rent set for “affordable” tenants. Wogman, *supra* note 62. In fact, as Brophy and Smith point

Residences paid at least part of their rent with Section 8 vouchers.²⁵⁶ Currently, a “significant percentage” of tenants in The Residences receive Section 8 vouchers,²⁵⁷ and if the tenants sampled in this study are at all representative, that percentage is quite large. The Residences’ income and employment requirements are waived for those who can pay for their units with Section 8 vouchers, and the credit check receives far less weight than it ordinarily would.²⁵⁸ This influx of Section 8 tenants may mean that the originally envisaged class of clerks and entry-level office workers who earn at least \$18,000 a year is not at all who The Residences really house in its affordable units.²⁵⁹ Indeed, unlike then-president of the Ninth Square Association claimed in 1991, part of this housing is in fact for the homeless as well as the disabled.²⁶⁰ In itself, this fact may be encouraging – indeed, these are the persons who most need assistance in our society. These are the persons who most closely represent the “ghetto underclass” about which Wilson wrote.²⁶¹ However, if bridging and social interaction is a goal, then a widening gap between the

out, “Project-based Section 8 rents in FHA-insured housing are often higher than market-rate rents for comparable units.” Brophy & Smith, *supra* note 67, n2. If this situation holds true in the case of The Residences, HUD may not only be incentivizing the management of the complex to rent to Section 8 tenants rather than non-certificate holders, it may be creating a situation where The Residences is using Section 8 tenants to fill market-rate units. See resident comments below at Part VIII, D, 2, b, 1 (discussing of the overlay of Section 8 vouchers on the affordable units). If this is the case, income groups may not be mixing in the Residences nearly as much as the project may seem to promise. However, contesting Brophy and Smith’s numbers, and repudiating the incentives that The Residences may have to rely on Section 8 vouchers, management of The Residences claims that only an insignificant proportion of the market-rate tenants receive Section 8 vouchers. Evan, *supra* note 62.

²⁵⁶ Brophy & Smith, *supra* note 67.

²⁵⁷ Evan, *supra* note 62.

²⁵⁸ Interview with Tom Evan, Property Manager, The Residences at Ninth Square, Related Management, in New Haven, Conn. (May 1, 2011).

²⁵⁹ Sullivan, *supra* 126..

²⁶⁰ *Id.*

²⁶¹ WILSON, *supra* note 196.

economic backgrounds of the market-rate and subsidized tenants may not be a good thing. It may polarize tenants.²⁶²

Conversely, affordable tenants may be gaming the system. One such tenant told me that her yearly income is \$150,000. This is orders of magnitude larger than the thirty-four thousand dollar cap on the band of affordability. Tenants may strategically hide assets from management's eyes during yearly audits²⁶³ to preserve the benefit of a subsidized unit. Moreover, in order to incentivize tenants to work and to seek superior economic opportunities, the CHFA and The Residences allow affordable tenants, once they have secured a tax-credit unit by demonstrating income within the band of affordability, to earn in subsequent years income forty percent in excess of that band.²⁶⁴ The Residences won't decrease the subsidy on any such tenant.²⁶⁵ If this is generally the case, then the tax-credit units may be going to people who do not need them. If this class of individuals is insufficiently distinct from the market-rate tenants, then bridging may be a futile effort because the groups are already the same. Evidence suggests, however, that far more tenants earn less, rather than more, income than that for which the affordable units were originally set aside.²⁶⁶

²⁶² See George Galster, Roger Andersson, Sako Musterd & Timo M. Kauppinen, *Does Neighborhood Income Mix Affect Earnings of Adults? New Evidence from Sweden*, 63 J. URB. ECON. 858 (2008) (Speculating, based on evidence from Sweden, that because of role modeling and access to networks of information, lower income neighbors are most likely to increase their earnings when living near neighbors whose incomes are only slightly higher than their own); see also Brophy & Smith, *supra* note 67 (discussing the importance of a intermediate income group in mixed income housing for fostering social coherence within the development).

²⁶³ Evan, *supra* note 62.

²⁶⁴ Evan, *supra* note 62; Wogman, *supra* note 45.

²⁶⁵ Evan, *supra* note 258; Wogman, *supra* note 45.

²⁶⁶ Evan, *supra* note 258.

Though some tenants may be unemployed and unable to work, all tenants are carefully screened by the management. This screening includes criminal background checks, credit checks, and, potentially, the phoning of two prior landlords.²⁶⁷ Additionally, the leasing agent subjects prospective “affordables” and Section 8 tenants living within a 50-mile radius to a home visit prior to accepting their lease applications.²⁶⁸ According to the management, the purpose of this home visit is not to discriminate among tenants, but to ascertain whether the prospective tenants care for their living space, maintain minimum standards of cleanliness, and live with someone whose identity the prospective tenant may not have disclosed in the rental application.²⁶⁹ Nevertheless, subjective elements are likely to enter into this evaluation. Richard Baron himself touted the screening interview as a way to “[b]uild communities with stable, middle-class values. . . . [a]ccept[ing] only those [tenants] willing to buy into the new values, committed to a stable neighborhood.”²⁷⁰ There is risk that such subjective discrimination may affect the composition of the tenant pool and its ability to interact within itself, be it positively or adversely.

Although the largest units provide only two bedrooms,²⁷¹ permitting a maximum occupancy of only four persons,²⁷² The Residences does seem to house a significant number of children.²⁷³ In 1997, only one of these children lived in a market-rate unit.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁷ Evan, *supra* note 258. The creditworthiness of tenants able paying rent with portable housing vouchers is not heavily scrutinized. *Id.*

²⁶⁸ Wogman, *supra* note 45; Brophy & Smith, *supra* note 67.

²⁶⁹ Etkin, *supra* note 20; Evan, *supra* note 62; Wogman, *supra* note 45

²⁷⁰ Peirce, *supra* note 188.

²⁷¹ The Residences at Ninth Square, *supra* note 57; Wogman, *supra* note 45.

²⁷² Wogman, *supra* note 45.

²⁷³ Brophy & Smith, *supra* note 67, at 20.

²⁷⁴ *Id.*

Brophy and Smith believed that “the project’s marginal location and the poor reputation of the public schools hold little appeal for prospective market-rate tenants who have children and an income that allows them to be selective.”²⁷⁵ In fact, one respondent pointed out the same: “[y]ou are not going to see higher income families [here]. What you have is single persons and empty nesters. Higher income families go to the suburbs. They buy houses.” Thus, though having a family or children often encourages social bridging,²⁷⁶ that mechanism may not operate here. However, as the neighborhood has changed since the time of Brophy and Smith’s study, so may have household composition: indeed, in the course of this study – a survey of twenty residents – three children living in market rate apartments have been identified.

Additionally, tenants attested to a large number of disabled persons living in the building: “When you get down to the office, they ask you, “Do you have an income,” and “Are you disabled,” and “blah blah blah,” and then when they find are you disabled . . . you’re basically in.” Disability benefits seemed to these respondents to be a large part of the rent The Residences take in. If in fact a large proportion of the tenants are disabled or restricted in their movement, they are unlikely to interact with their neighbors. In fact, one older resident told me she “[d]idn’t go to [social] events [the management sponsored] because of her back. In fact, the manager invited me over himself, but I couldn’t go.”

Clearly age matters in social interactions. No less so in The Residences. The students were among the youngest in the survey sample. And as one student put it, he didn’t think that he was able to break through to other tenants because, “I don’t think

²⁷⁵ *Id.*

²⁷⁶ Xavier de Souza Briggs, Greg Duncan, Katherine Edin, Mark Joseph, Robert D. Mare, John Mollenkopf, et al. 2009. *Research Design for the Study of Mixed-Income Housing*. U.C.L.A.: CAL. CENTER FOR POPULATION RES. (2009).

there are many [my roommate] and I's age in the building, so I think we are a bit of a novelty.” Another, a fifty-nine year-old market-rate retired teacher commented on “if I want to go to a restaurant, there are places to go. But because of the age difference, I don't socialize. . . . my community is elsewhere.”

The diversity of schedules in this particular community likely additionally hindered interaction. One student explained he was unlikely to see other market-rate tenants because he kept odd, student hours. And another tenant, a shop-owner explained that, though he

got to know some of the people really well . . . frankly, we never really had the time [to have them over or to go over to their apartments], you know we'd be [at work] almost to one o'clock in the morning . . . get up late and start the store up . . . even on the day off, we're out shopping, there was never really any time to meet anyone, maybe on a Monday night we'd go out to the movies [my wife and I]. . . . It wasn't like, “hey, come over Tuesday night,” we didn't have a Tuesday night.

ii. Biases About Tenants of Other Tenures

All tenants claimed that the market-rate and subsidized units were mixed together and nothing distinguishes them. All claimed that those units were identical. And though most said that you cannot tell who is market-rate and who is subsidized, all “knew” who the subsidized or market-rate tenants were.

Claiming she “wouldn't know” who is who, one respondent continued to talk about her “experience of market rate renters – I haven't really experienced anything out of the ordinary. *Just because they live on one side and me on the other.*” Another talked about how “I had one tenant talk to me from another building. And she was pretty nice but the building she was living,” the respondent presumed to be market rate. Another commented on how, “[p]eople are integrated. People are the same. . . . [I]t's more age than anything else that brings them together or keeps them apart.” She continued that,

“the majority of low income are women with families. Other than that, you see a retiree coming and going but you don’t know.

One resident, claiming not to know who the market rate tenants were, commented on how

No matter where you live, you are going to have people that think they are better than you, maybe because of the fact that you are low income and they are market rate. You might get that from some people. Not everyone is as courteous or as social or as outgoing or as optimistic as you are. . . . You have your “bougie” [bourgeois] people. People that raise their noses up and look down on you. But you have that everywhere. It’s a little difficult.

But then she backtracked: “I don’t know that [here] there are people that feel that they are better just because they live one side and you live on the other. I haven’t had any experience like that.”

Another tenant, after relating how he doesn’t know who is who, told me that

Some residents have been there for a long time; some come and go because of the rent or because they are students at Yale. Through “gossip” people pretty much know who’s section 8, who’s paying rent, the students are pretty obvious. There are some “gossipers” that people don’t really like: they don’t really do anything, they gather up on the benches across the street in front of the art place and gossip about other residents. They are usually section 8 people. I’ve been in many of their apartments [when he used to be staff of the Residences] and they were often “filthy,” not taken care of.

The subsidized residents interviewed have all had bad experiences with the management.

Overwhelmingly, they believed these negative experiences were the result of biases against them as lower-income tenants. Several believe the maintenance manager is a blatant racist. One Hispanic woman recalls overhearing him comment, “here comes another dirty spic,” upon her move into the complex. Another commented:

The main issue is the manager: residents and staff do not get along with him. Some say they hate his guts. He is racist. I can honestly say that 50% of the residents would say that the manger is a jerk. He wouldn’t

acknowledge certain residents, wouldn't really help them with maintenance problems. He won't say "Hi" to certain [i.e. black] people, will ignore some people.

Another believed, "if you talk to a lot of people around here, say Kurt [the maintenance manager]'s name, they'll have a lot to say. He's made a lot of people mad. They talk a lot of trash about him."

One market-rate tenant and one subsidized tenant even attributed police intransigence to the police's belief that subsidized tenants don't matter. One woman put it very succinctly:

When you call the police, they get irritated. I pay market price, I shouldn't be afraid about leaving my door. I'm not section 8. I'm not no income. I do believe that the police should be doing a better job than they are doing.

Students felt stigmatized, as well. One remarked that, "I don't think there are many [my roommate] and I's age in the building, so I think we are a bit of a novelty."

Another echoed that feeling,

I always thought there was a little distrust, I mean like, "who is this woman with pearls and a book bag?" or whatever. I always felt that [my roommate] and I looked a little different and got a little attention. And I think we saw other people who looked different and we gave them attention, you know. So I think there is a lot of eyeing and spying before you get to your initial hellos, then your comfortable hellos, and your real hellos. I think there is a lot of suspicion.

Perhaps prejudices, then, inhibit social interaction. Perhaps they make various tenants feel unwelcome and cause them to turn inwards socially.²⁷⁷

iii. Diversity

²⁷⁷ See *infra* Part VIII, D, 2, b, iii. (on self-imposed isolation from gym).

And yet, perhaps not just racial prejudice, but racial diversity itself, inhibits the social interaction that mixed income is meant to foster. Maybe the thirty-seven year old professional student was right:

My dream mixed income building is Black. With Black working-class people and Black middle-class people. Or Black and Latino or whatever. Not because there aren't [open-minded white people] in the world . . . The Black community needs some serious healing and needs to repair itself within itself for a while. It is just a broken community.

Robert D. Putnam, the most prominent contemporary theorist of social capital, has analyzed the Social Capital Community Survey, a landmark study of community in contemporary American society, administered in the year 2000 to 30,000 respondents across the United States, and has discovered that not only do people who live in diverse areas tend to trust racial outsiders less, they also tend to trust members of their own race less.²⁷⁸ “Persons living in ethnically diverse settings tend to [socially] hunker down – that is, to pull in like a turtle.”²⁷⁹ At least one respondent echoed this sentiment with regard to leaving his apartment to use the gym:

There is a gymnasium that people go to, but I think that the only people that use it [are those that] feel comfortable using it. I think that, I hate to say it, I think that people on low income, they could probably say, “well, look, I don't think we're welcome here,” more or less, cause like maybe they're just not used to doing that or whatever.

He explained this in terms of how comfortable one can feel when surrounded by a different crowd:

I think that in reality it's like, you know, either you enjoy yourself living here and feel comfortable, which I think a lot of people do, or, you feel like, oh I think I made a mistake, there's a lot of low income people and I feel like, oh they're different from I guess who we are.

²⁷⁸ Robert D. Putnam, *E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century*, 30 SCANDINAVIAN POL. STUD. 137, 141-49 (2007).

²⁷⁹ *Id.* at 149.

If these sentiments are broadly true, then the diversity of the Ninth Square may well be a significant part of why so little social bonding or bridging has been seen among respondents.

iv. Architecture

Another reason for the superficiality of interaction goes to the architecture and layout of the development. Doors automatically close behind residents.²⁸⁰ It is a violation of rules to prop them open.²⁸¹ No chairs or loitering are permitted in hallways or public areas.²⁸² Children are not permitted to play in the halls, lobbies or stairwells and must be accompanied by an adult when in the courtyards.²⁸³ In fact, as I interviewed residents, I observed three children around middle-school age, two Black and one Hispanic, playing in the main courtyard on a sunny afternoon in the end of April. Two adults were watching them while they cared for three smaller children. After about five minutes a manager came over and walked between the parent and her sister to castigate the children in front of them. “No you are not supposed to play out here, you are not allowed to play ball out here!” The group returned inside and the Hispanic child returned to his apartment. Walking past me, he said, “Some people are strict like that, they don’t like you having fun.” One respondent explained:

I don’t see that many kids. No place for them to play. My Grandkids: out to the school bus and into the apartment that’s what they do because there is no place to play. My granddaughter can’t send her kids out to play. There is a little area outside but you got to go out there with them. I wish she would move.

²⁸⁰ The Residences at Ninth Square, *supra* at note 44.

²⁸¹ *Id.*

²⁸² *Id.*

²⁸³ *Id.*

Another resident pointed out that she “say[s] “hi” to people. There are people on the floor that I know them and they know me. But there aren’t no sitting down conversations – nowhere to have them.” And another relayed how

They used to have in the Chamberlain [building] a really nice common area, with a couch, and high backed chairs, and unfortunately there was security that wasn’t too tough. It was homey and comfortable, a place to wait for a ride. But people were living there. And so they removed it. Instead of reinforcing the rules, they just eliminated. Sometimes you want to sit outside but you don’t have that here. I know people that live in other complexes that have areas where you can have a cookout, but there is nothing like that here. . . . Because there is nowhere to sit and talk you [just] see people in passing.

Subsidized residents recognized a connection between common spaces and pernicious social relationships, and did not mind that “[t]he way the place is built there is no room for convocating. I like it that way, I stay out of people’s business, they stay out of mine.” Similarly, subsidized tenants echoed a belief that common spaces breed loitering, which leads to crime: “Ain’t no hanging out around here. Just getting to business. All the shooting and stealing, it’s all [elsewhere] downtown and everywhere.”

One of the things I do see is “birds of a feather flock together.” You take that kid out of the environment and the pressure – here you got no place to hang, that’s one thing they do enforce. When you got the conjugation you got the problem. [Here t]here’s no place to conjugate.

One community space, The Carriage House, would seem to have some potential to serve as a locus of positive interaction. Unfortunately, that potential is never much realized. To use The Carriage House, one must make a \$100 security deposit and reserve the room. Management realizes more people would use it if it were just open, but lack the resources to police the space.²⁸⁴ Only two of the twenty residents interviewed had

²⁸⁴ Wogman, *supra* note 45.

ever used the space, and when they did it was for private events involving no Ninth Square residents. Many did not even know the space existed.

Others use the gym, “but not to socialize”:

Gym? Yeah, I like it. It’s very convenient. Every once in a while others come in. Sometimes I’ll talk to them. Some people you can tell don’t want to say nothing so you don’t say nothing. I don’t try to push myself. Some feel like talking others don’t.

Nor do resources in the broader neighborhood provide much of an opportunity for interaction between market-rate and affordable housing tenants. None of the respondents surveyed frequent any of the shops or restaurants in the Ninth Square other than Marco Polo Pizza and the Ninth Square Market convenience store. Indeed, the more upscale restaurants were designed with the downtown office crowd in mind.²⁸⁵ Moreover, many of those restaurants and shops derive the bulk of their business from patrons who drive in from far outside the local area.²⁸⁶ They are prohibitively expensive for the average subsidized tenants:

I’m on a fixed income – I go to that store, Ninth Square Market. But I don’t have none of that [going to the other, more expensive stores and restaurants]. I might go get a pizza, or some Chinese food. But my budget just doesn’t reach that. The way I go grocery shopping, I have food stamps. I take the bus.

And the arts resources simply did not interest these tenants: “Arts installations: don’t know about that. . . .” Not using these resources, tenants are unlikely to meet each other through them.

One place where neighbors used to meet each other was Old New Haven Bar and Grill, a gastropub that was family-friendly and accessible to both the subsidized and the

²⁸⁵ Etkin, *supra* note 20.

²⁸⁶ Interview with Marc Sincavage, Owner, Scappo Wine Bar & Merkato, in New Haven, Conn. (Apr. 22, 2011)

market-rate tenants.²⁸⁷ And to this day, Ninth Square Market, run by Eddie Jaboor remains the central community space for the development.²⁸⁸ Several respondents, both market-rate and subsidized, referenced Eddie by name when asked about the resources they use and the shops they frequent in the area. One student remarked,

I actively don't want to move. . . . If I were to say what I like about the neighborhood, it would be Eddie and the Ninth Square Market. Everyone knows him. If you want to talk about one person anchoring a community that would be him. I hadn't been in there for a week, and was sick, and he was asking me how I was doing. The presence of one person, all the time, the continuity is a huge part of it. And everyone else is his family. There is a shop between Orange and Church, says "no change without purchase." It feels much less welcoming [than the Ninth Square Market] – probably on purpose trying to keep people out waiting for buses – he's different.

The Ninth Square Market is a small market, slightly larger than a convenience store, on the ground floor of the Chamberlain. It carries many of the same products as a convenience store, but it also carries some fresh produce, and serves breakfast and lunch from a deli counter. A clustering of tables lines the front window. When I asked Eddie about the social interactions he observes in his store, and whether he ever sees persons of different incomes interacting, he responded emphatically,

As a matter of fact they do. I see professional people really hanging out [with] different kind of people, section 8 . . . I've seen them having coffee together, sandwich together, or even walking together. I've seen it happening all the time.²⁸⁹

Eddie recognizes a value to mixing.

I think that's a good mix, and not everybody who takes Section 8 is a bad person. You have people who take section 8 and they're really nice, they come buy a lotto ticket and go home. They're really harmless. . . . I believe in mix, oh definitely, people should interact all the time. Income

²⁸⁷ Wogman, *supra* note 20.

²⁸⁸ Evan, *supra* note 62.

²⁸⁹ Interview with Eddie Jaboor, Owner, Ninth Square Market in New Haven, Conn. (Apr. 22, 2011).

doesn't make people. The way people were raised, you know. I interact with everybody.

And unlike many of the tenants interviewed, Eddie actually has close personal friends who are of a different economic background than he:

I have this gentleman over here, he lives upstairs. He pays some money [in rent] I think. He's closer with my family than anyone else. He drives my wife sometimes. I trust him. He's a good friend of the family. Earn the trust, to earn somebody's trust I think that's the key.

A store can anchor a community. Marc Sincavage of Merkato and Scappo Wine Bar, on the ground floor of Franklin Mews, feels an integral part of the community:

Most of the people we meet are at the restaurant. My wife teaches Italian classes over there, and [the people she teaches] they become friends and they come to the restaurant and become regulars. So it's probably our business that becomes our community the most . . . [T]hat's the stability of the restaurant . . . and that's where, everybody we know, they know us as this family who owns a restaurant, it's more intimate, our relationship with customers. . . . [W]e make an impact and that's what it's all about. . . . There's a responsibility that goes along with that too, so we're pretty much integrated into this community, both socially and economically.²⁹⁰

Unfortunately, unlike Eddie's shop, Marc's caters to a narrow, affluent segment of society, and his clientele is not local.²⁹¹

v. Segregation

If tenants of the various housing tenures are segregated, interaction will be harder to come by. Management claims that there are no affordable floors, no market-rate floors, but that all floors in all buildings are peppered with units of various types.²⁹²

However, studios are limited to the historic restoration buildings: Franklin Mews and the Chamberlain.²⁹³ And The Chamberlain, the nicest complex according to both

²⁹⁰ Sincavage, *supra* note 286.

²⁹¹ *Id.*

²⁹² Etkin, *supra* note 20; Evan, *supra* note 62; Wogman, *supra* note 45.

²⁹³ Etkin, *supra* note 62.

management²⁹⁴ and tenants, possesses a vastly lesser proportion of units reserved for subsidized tenants than any other building.²⁹⁵ In that unit, only about forty percent of units are set aside as subsidized units. In comparison, seventy-five percent of units in Preston Mews, above the management office, are set aside for subsidized tenants. The mere fact that certain units are perpetually set aside for subsidized tenants could lead residents to learn which units have subsidies attached to them, leading tenants to stigmatize those residents.²⁹⁶

Despite what management claims, segregation may well occur even on the floor level. Most tenants interviewed believed that at least some subsidized tenants lived in their building, but none of the students interviewed believed they shared their floors with any subsidized tenants.

More interestingly, however, was the market power that one tenant demonstrated:

To be honest, that building over there [Stonehill House] is fuckin' horrible, excuse my language. My building is beautiful. When I was moving in I told Peter [the leasing agent] please, please, if I'm put in that building, I'm not taking it. That building is like the projects. No exaggerating about it like the projects. Seriously.

A subsidized tenant may not possess this negotiating power, nor may they be willing to risk losing an apartment by attempting to use it. Moreover, this stigma attached to Stonehill House may be self-perpetuating. One tenant who lived with his subsidized sister in Stonehill House told me how

I think, this building [Stonehill House] was at one time all working class, Yalies or whatever you want to call it[. They] decided at some point "this is not the building I want to live in." Either because what's goin' on

²⁹⁴ Etkin, *supra* note 20.

²⁹⁵ Buildings, *supra* note 56.

²⁹⁶ See Robert C. Ellickson, *The False Promise of the Mixed-Income Housing Project*, 57 UCLA L. Rev. 983, 1010-16 (2010).

around the neighborhood or what they're seeing, so in order for management to make up the gap, they said, "we're gonna accept Section 8 people." . . . [R]egular workers don't want to live here. . . we're standing here [next to the entry gate] and we're seeing people walk in and out. These people don't live here, they're using the parking lot.

vi. Draining Social Ties

The shallowness of social interaction in The Residences may result in part from the fact that many respondents had come from neighborhoods characterized by draining social ties – ties where neighbors made non-reciprocal demands on respondents' time and energy.²⁹⁷ Where, for example, they might regularly find themselves providing childcare to children of absent or drug-abusing parents. In order to even qualify for an affordable unit in The Residences, a tenant must pass a credit check, a reference check, a criminal record search, a public records search, and a home interview.²⁹⁸ It wouldn't be surprising that in their prior neighborhoods, others regularly relied upon these model tenants for support. And it wouldn't be surprising that, in moving to the Ninth Square, these tenants were tired of the low quality of these non-reciprocal draining social ties.

These stories of draining social ties were limited to Black females: two of them market-rate and two of them subsidized. One of the older market-rate tenants put it well, saying how "[b]efore, I lived in terrible areas. Ninth Square is better. It is fantastic. I live in a wonderful building. And everyone keeps to themselves, to their own business. . . . I live alone, thank God for that." Another discussed how, "It's fine living in a mixed area. The building I'm living in it's fine. Everybody decent people. Taking care of themselves. They're good people. Paying their bills." That she should point out that

²⁹⁷ Rachel Garshick Kleit, *Draining Ties: Tie Quality Versus Content In Low-Income Women's Social Networks When Replaced By Redevelopment*, 27 JOURNAL OF SOCIAL AND PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS 573 (2010).

²⁹⁸ Etkin, *supra* note 20; Peirce, *supra* note 188; Wogman, *supra* note 62.

other people take care of themselves, and that this defines being a decent person, make sense if she had prior experiences with draining social ties. Another woman – this one subsidized – gave a specific example of draining relationships,

It's not too great an idea to get too close to people where you live. For one thing, there are people who tend to take advantage of you. I had that over there [in prior residence] and over here. One lady who lived next to my granddaughter, she wants me to do this and do that. Bugging me to get my car back. Just latched onto me. She needs all the time. She needs all the time. Now this one here, she knocked on my door. I didn't answer. I knew who it was. How she knocks. She's my great-grandkids' grandmother, heard I was moving over here she said, "Oh good, someone can give me a ride." I don't mind helping people, but they act like it's my job. That's the one thing about getting close to people – they borrow and borrow and don't pay back.

Another, a very active older Black woman involved in numerous community outreach programs, told me

I'm home for relaxation and peace and enjoyment in my home. That's what home's about – it's not about "hey come over." It's just me. Finally, in my life, I've learnt about friends. I have people in my life that's very loving. But they are working people, on committees. Everything is just fine. I'm making some fried zucchini, just enough for me, no one coming over to eat. Nobody knocking on my door.

Another tenant, a successful market-rate Black woman who sees it as her responsibility to help the disadvantaged in the Black community nevertheless reflected:

But I mean, the very things that made me do things like [help neighbors, chat with maintenance, stop in and say "hello" to the management] were the very reasons I left. Because it was a chore to keep up with my neighbors, and it was something I liked doing. You'll do it. And you realize, it matters. And it is so much better if it is residential like this [two-unit house she lives in now] and not like a building [like The Residences].

This same tenant, telling of her work with a neighbor's son to help him write a resume for his first job, provided the most detailed anecdote of instrumental benefits in the mixed-

income development. She sees her career's goal as helping fix the black community.²⁹⁹ And yet even this person moved out of The Residences because, when you go home, "you don't always want to live public service."

A common theme reiterated by subsidized respondents was that they are not the type to "push themselves" on others. They pride themselves on not being invasive in others' lives. One respondent characterized his lack of social interaction as "belie[f] in the Golden Rule . . . I don't bother people and am fine with other people's choices." This belief may well stem from prior experience with draining social ties.

vii. Failure of Respondents to Feel Invested in The Residences

Both of the above-quoted market-rate women wary of draining social ties nevertheless deeply commit themselves to volunteer work in the community. The community to which they commit their energies is not, however, the community of The Residences at Ninth Square. One of these women describes herself as "about helping people. Finding themselves. Being on the right track with your life." But in The Residences, "I don't want to get friendly with anybody: this is my living quarters. I don't have time for that. I have a well-filled life. I go to church. Saturday is the only day I spend at home." And though she is

on plenty of [volunteer] committees, [those] committees aren't in Ninth Square. This is where I live. They aren't here. Church ain't here. . . . I love helping people that's me. But as far as when I come home, I'm home for relaxation and peace and enjoyment in my home.

The other woman reflected,

[As students, w]e don't think of ourselves as being home. But I also think that we don't think of ourselves as needing to input into [the

²⁹⁹ See *supra* note 250.

neighborhood] by virtue of not feeling at home. I mean, we are not home at . . . school, but we give a lot to it. And so I stopped. The . . . school can get along without [me]. And so I started to put a lot more of time into community projects outside the . . . school that no one knows about.

But those community projects are not in Ninth Square.

Many respondents said that they go to church. But not one of those churches is in downtown.

Family and friends is where I do my socializing . . . Most of my things I do are not in this area. I may go to Rite Aid . . . or downstairs to the deli. Other than that, most of my associates are not in this community. Ninth Square is my community where I put my head down. If I want to go to a restaurant, there are places to go. But . . . I don't socialize. My community is elsewhere.

One might attribute this lack of tenants' identification with The Residences as evidencing a "renter's mentality," "and the anticipation among these residents of a shorter time horizon of residency at the development and thus less reason for making connections with their neighbors."³⁰⁰ One student told me, "I definitely say hi, but I'm not that neighborly, probably because I'm not expecting to stay there that long." However, only the students are markedly transient.³⁰¹ And even including students, the median tenure of respondents is five years – not a particularly short duration. So renters' mentality may not explain it all.

One respondent, a thirty-one year-old professional student, gets to the point: "The last places I've lived I'd always thought of myself as a long-term resident and I still

³⁰⁰ Chaskin & Joseph, *supra* note 210, at 219.

³⁰¹ And, indeed, the other respondents regularly see students as more transient than others, as not part of the community that does exist there. One woman told me "People think you live in ninth square, you must be rich. No I'm just willing to take care as a single woman a decent place to live. And I think that's the thing with the people who are residents versus the people who are transient like students." The Yale students come and go, but they are also more willing to leave before they have to: "I honestly think, when people come to this building they find out . . . like Yale students or whatever, I think when they find out that it is mixed income, they kind of shy away from it and move out more quickly than others. That's what I experienced."

didn't meet people." Another recited how "Ninth square is my community where I live, put my head down. . . . But my community is elsewhere." It may simply be that, given the modern ease of mobility and communication, and the dispersal of families across geographical barriers, respondents tend not to identify with those who share the cluster of buildings in which they live, but rather with the persons they choose to spend time with, be it their church, their family, or their classmates.³⁰² Indeed, numerous respondents identified their community and their social ties as rooted in the place where a significant member of their family lives.

viii. Management's Inability to Foster Interactions

At various times, the management has tried to foster interactions. In the early days of the development, Kathleen Etkin noted, "We realized we needed more events for children."³⁰³ Back then, the management sponsored movie nights, parties, a basketball league, and a supervised homework room.³⁰⁴ Now, with lean staffing, the Residences no longer provide much beyond an annual pizza party.³⁰⁵ There is no longer anyone there to take up the job of fostering community interaction.³⁰⁶

In the one year that she has lived there, one mother of two teens recalls only one such event. It was an opening at Project Storefronts, and she appreciated it:

³⁰² See Xavier de Sousa Briggs, *Traps and Stepping Stones: Neighborhood Dynamics and Family Well-Being*, Faculty Research Working Paper Series, Harvard Kennedy School of Government 1, 25 (March 2004) available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=529082> (we know relatively little about how families link to multiple neighborhoods, for example through kin and nonkin networks or about what determines whether a neighborhood of *residence* will also be one of high social *influence*—i.e., truly an ecology of exposure, not just a location); see generally Ellickson, *supra* note 296 (synthesizing literature suggesting that the high school district, rather than the housing project, "is a plausible social milieu for fostering bridging social capital").

³⁰³ Hanes, *supra* note 72.

³⁰⁴ *Id.*

³⁰⁵ Wogman, *supra* note 45.

³⁰⁶ *Id.*

They did have a small event at one time, when they opened up the front street. They had some pizza and some soda. I think that was pretty cool because it gave people a chance to interact.

Another recalls past events as mixed successes:

We have had functions where they have cookouts or pizza and you just meet your neighbors – they really try to do things that try to incorporate a community-based type of activity. They work for those who want involvement. But not everyone wants to be bothered but that’s fine too.

Though she attended these events, this respondent still claims to have no friends in the complex. Another claimed the sponsored events never led to any more sustained interaction among the residents. A third, however, claims that he would have gone had he known anybody: “I guess I would be more likely to go if I knew someone else who was going. . . . I don’t like going to parties without knowing anybody. So, that’s largely why.” Isolation builds on itself.

At various times, the management has discussed opening up the community room to the resident community, allowing people to hang out in there, getting a pool table, playing sports on the TV.³⁰⁷ But every time the idea is brought up, it gets shot down. They don’t have the resources to police the space.³⁰⁸ They can’t ensure that the place won’t get wrecked.³⁰⁹

The management, itself, may be undercutting these very attempts at creating community. In addition to overt racism by managers, many residents experienced authoritarian hostility: “Some [in management] . . . where did you get them from? Some just because you have a position you don’t know what you are doing . . . I have had a couple of run-ins . . .” Another resident “underst[ood] stuff breaks down, but wouldn’t

³⁰⁷ *Id.*

³⁰⁸ *Id.*

³⁰⁹ *Id.*

you want to receive the place in the same way you got it? [But] I mean they do exceed a lot” the way they impose rules and make demands of the residents. “[M]anagement was a real problem. The maintenance person, he rules, what he says goes. He’s always confrontational. . . The head of maintenance is a pain in the neck.” Moreover, many believed “[t]he old property manager . . . would be drunk during the day, popping pills and the manager would cover up for him.” Others echoed the feeling of arbitrary and capricious enforcement: “A lot of people aren’t feeling Kurt. I don’t want to say he’s bipolar, cause you know one day he talks [and makes demands] and the next day he doesn’t. . . . He’s made a lot of people mad.”

Several market-rate tenants have expressed bemusement by the management’s apparent lack of commitment to the members of the community. It is as if they are waiting for you to fail to kick you out. One student recalls how “I mailed a check during winter break, and they lost it. When I got back, January 22, there was notice to quit. Apparently, on the twentieth of any month, if you haven’t paid, you get a notice to quit.” That wouldn’t happen in a unit where they weren’t so used to kicking tenants out, said the student. Indeed, eager to prevent the ghettoization of the community, management is quick to evict any person who violates the rules. Grounds for immediate eviction include non-payment of rent, housing another person who does not pay rent and who has not passed management’s background check, drug use, noise complaints, and so on.³¹⁰ Management often monitors certain tenants closely, waiting for reason to evict. Knowing from the screening process that certain tenants may cause trouble, but required by Fair

³¹⁰ Evan, *supra* note 62.

Housing laws to admit the tenants regardless, management often predicts from the outset who they will evict.³¹¹ This vigilance, the management believes, is justified

because those people hurt the whole community . . . they know how tough it is to keep the community in good shape. If you allow the bad apples to continue, it's like a cancer in the community. So you've got to get them out. You can't allow that kind of behavior. Nobody wants it. I mean the tenants, most of them are good tenants, want them out.

All of this may be true. Nevertheless, it creates a sense among current tenants that they are unwanted, that they hang precariously on to their apartments. These sentiments may hinder the creation of community.

Finally, many tenants feel that the management has lied to them. They feel they have been duped about the mixed-income aspect, but most importantly to them, they feel they have been lied to about the heat. Management “[s]aid that the heat and hot water is included, but the heat is locked at 65. When I first moved in, you used to be able to change the heat, but then they changed it suddenly and didn't even tell us.” Again, there is a sense of arbitrary control by the management, and a feeling that the management obfuscates:

I complain all the time. It gets cold through the bricks, through the wall boards. Shit their crazy. I walk around in a thousand pieces of clothes and they tell me it's warm. In the winter, one time, the AC was on in the hallway so that when you came in the house it felt nice and warm and toasty. Some psychological bullshit.

Apathy and resignation result when the tenant's complaints go unheeded: “Me and my roommate complained, and they had this whole theory about that, eventually we just tapped out.”

ix. Lack of Tenant Involvement

³¹¹ Wogman, *supra* note 45.

When asked about whether or not the residents had ever gotten together to try to do something about things like the low heat, one respondent expressed anxiety about her position as a subsidized tenant: “Yeah, we talked about it, but most people were nervous about doing that. They might be nervous about getting kicked out or having trouble.” Several tenants expressed their desire for a tenant association. And one tenant actually did organize others to confront the authorities about rules enforcement in the Ninth Square. She was market-rate tenant unconcerned about eviction. Worried about the noise and street violence outside a neighborhood nightclub, she told me how “[a] couple of us tried to get together, and we called the police, and the alderperson and we had a meeting and were able to voice our concerns. This was my community at this point in time.” Ultimately, however, this investment provided no return: “The [police] said . . . you should have known [about the violence] and shouldn’t have moved there . . .” A sense that one has a say in the decision-making processes of a rental development has been shown to positively contribute to investment in that community.³¹² Without such a hook to capture residents’ attention, and moreover, in the face of the feeling that rules are arbitrarily enforced by management,³¹³ tenants are less likely to engage in substantive social interactions with each other.³¹⁴ They are less likely to generate the relationships of mutual trust that develop from addressing common problems.³¹⁵

³¹² Chaskin & Joseph, *supra* note 210, at 219.

³¹³ Chaskin & Joseph, *supra* note 210.

³¹⁴ See Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh, *Social Capital, Civic Engagement, and the Importance of Context* in SOCIAL CAPITAL: CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON COMMUNITY AND “BOWLING ALONE” 203, 211 (Scott L. McLean, David A. Schultz & Manfred B. Steger, eds., 2002) (arguing that living in a concentrated poverty neighborhood could actually “facilitate social capital and civic engagement by spurring citizens to seek political redress for extant inequalities”).

³¹⁵ See PUTNAM, *supra* note 211; see also Lane Crothers, *Building Social Capital on the Street: Leadership in Communities* in SOCIAL CAPITAL: CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON COMMUNITY AND “BOWLING ALONE” 218, 234 (Scott L. McLean, David A. Schultz & Manfred B. Steger, eds.,

x. Ambivalence about the Goals and Potential of Mixed Income

The tenants are not here, however, to be part of a mixed-income experiment. The tenants I spoke with moved to the Ninth Square because The Residences at Ninth Square was new, was downtown, was safe, was clean, or was available.

Numerous residents did not even know the Residences were mixed-income: “I was not aware of mixed income, came to realize that afterwards. Found out about it. You put two and two together.” Only to the market-rate renters was the mixed-income aspect particularly important: “It assuaged my liberal guilt. I could put my money where my mouth is.” These respondents believed that, were The Residences more transparently mixed-income, they would attract more market-rate tenants eager and likely to engage in social interaction with subsidized tenants.

. . . about there being no conscious effort to do mixed income . . . It has to be a conscious effort. Then you are looking around looking for connections to be made. I mean [management could encourage] some person who would have used [the Carriage House] to host events between people and you know give incentives to people coming. I don't know if I were running the place I would say for every ten events you go to you get \$10 dollars of your next month's rent. I don't know. Something incentivizing that, hmm, because you want people to buy in early on when they move into it that they are part of this greater project.

Moreover, this respondent did not believe that the management's apparent worries about scaring away potential market-rate tenants was grounded in fact:

Why was I given no literature on my own building? Well part of is they don't want to scare away possible tenants. The thing is, they don't have to do that because there are enough students who need a place to stay that they were going to get the students anyway.

2002) (“It is not enough to hope, as Putnam seems to, that people will again interact in multiple spheres of life. The contexts and mechanisms of interaction must be constructed and maintained. Leaders are at the heart of this process.”).

In fact, this same respondent saw the management's obfuscation as troubling: "You can't do mixed income without saying [so] . . . knowing that it is a social project and not having the participants knowing they are part of it is a kind of social engineering project."

To one Section 8 tenant, "it didn't make a difference" that the place was mixed-income. Another "knew it was mixed-income. But that was not my main reason for moving." One expressed common sentiments when she said:

I knew about mixed income – had something on the wall. Had no problem with the idea. Once I came in my door, that was it. Didn't worry about what other people were doing in the building. Everyone was friendly enough, though.

When asked about what they thought mixed income generally, and its potential, residents generally did not wax as optimistic as theorists and policy makers, nor did they consider the benefits they themselves might be receiving. Nearly every respondent, from the wealthiest to most disadvantaged framed the question as if it asked, "How do you feel about living around people poorer or less privileged than you?" Neither the subsidized nor the market-rate respondents believed that the mixed-income nature of the community benefitted themselves. To them, the question was whether the costs they incurred – the inconvenience of being around the destitute, the safety implications, the inconvenience of loitering, the foul language – were worth the benefits to those less fortunate than they.

For example, one market-rate tenant responded,

I think it's a good idea . . . it depends on the people. There's some section 8 people who just need a little help in life . . . then you have these crazy-ass people. . . [O]ne man on the top floor, I think he gets high or something. And I said, "we don't do that stuff in here, you got to get your friends under control."

Subsidized tenants, moreover, generally took the questions about the potential for mixed-income to mean, "Is it safe here?" If these tenants' responses can be taken as evidence of

their thoughts, the subsidized tenants were singularly focused on safety³¹⁶ and did not consider the potential positive effects of social integration either on themselves or on others. Belief in the potential for bridging and modeling was scarcely evidenced.³¹⁷

What residents did generally express was an ideal of civic egalitarianism, an ideal that mere exposure would create equality and understanding. This could be related to modeling, but there is little evidence of its functioning as anything more than an ideal.³¹⁸

A variety of respondents offered:

I think its good because people get to live around other people and realize everybody is human regardless of income.

I just hope for the best, that everybody realizes that everybody is human, everybody bleeds, everybody dies. Money has nothing to do with it.

There's definitely potential, from my background, it definitely allows people to see each other in their element more than they normally would. It allows people to grow. . . . Biggest net positive is seeing another person and thinking "I'm normal and he's normal." It reduces stigmas that might exist.

I think sometimes, in a way maybe it might be good because you get to see how everyone else lives and you get a flavor of different perspectives of how people think and live. I think it's a positive compared to if you lived somewhere where its just low income people. . . . I think it's something pretty positive: living together in a diverse community.

One of the reasons that they are getting rid of so many projects is that there is one type of mind, one set of ideas, in projects. Whereas a mixed income community, if someone has questions they talk to each other, can get help.

These comments contradicted the common thread of their stories: that no one interacts on any deep and serious level. It wouldn't seem likely that residents actually learn much from each other when they don't say more than "Hello" in the elevators. Nevertheless, it

³¹⁶ See *infra* Part VIII, D, 2, c, i.

³¹⁷ See *supra* Parts VIII, D, 2, a, ii and iii.

³¹⁸ See *supra* Part VIII, D, 2, a, ii.

may be true that tenants, by living in the same neighborhood with others of different backgrounds, are able to expand the community with which they identify.³¹⁹ But given the power of stigmas and prejudices in the development, and the way the development reinforces these prejudices,³²⁰ it is doubtful that this broadening of perspective actually occurs.

And then there was an interesting theme that came out of the interviews: an identification of oneself with where one lives. This, to those who thought well of the Ninth Square, explained the most important benefit they perceived in living in the Residences.

I think a lot of people who live in low income have a little negative vibe thinking that they are looked down on because of where they live. . . . As to when people who live in a community where its just low income apartments they tend to think that where they live is who they are, and it shouldn't be that way.

Another resident talked about

[f]eeling better about where you live. Everybody wants to live in a good place. Even if you are poor, you don't want to live in a poor place, you want to live in a good place. If the system affords it, that ain't nothing wrong.

One resident put it very personally. She had lived in poorer parts of New Haven for ten years prior to moving into the Ninth Square. And during that time,

I was going nowhere. I lost who I was. I lost my path moving to New Haven. Like the Israelites in the wilderness for 38 years instead of three

³¹⁹ Briggs, *supra* note 211, at 266; *see also* Chaskin & Joseph, *supra* note 210 at 219 (“Several of the theoretical arguments for the possible benefits of mixed-income development rely on expectations for some level of influential contact (for example, through “modeling” behavior) or instrumental social interaction (for example, through bridging social relations) among neighbors, and particularly between relocated public housing residents and more affluent, working- and middle-class residents. These assumptions do not necessarily include expectations for intimate ties, and it is quite possible that modest levels of interaction and the forging of casual relationships may be perceived as fruitful or of instrumental benefit to one or both parties.”)

³²⁰ *See supra* at Part VIII, D, 2, b, v.

days. That's how I felt. It was really, really something. But my life just came back together. Living in this place. It's wonderful. It's fantastic.

c. An Optimistic Note: The Power of The Strings Attached

i. The Effect of the Mere Presence of Market-Rate Tenants on Maintenance and Rules Enforcement

Every single subsidized tenant interviewed had moved to the Ninth Square from far worse neighborhoods in New Haven. Many came from Newhallville, The Hill District, Dixwell, or Fairhaven – sections of town notorious for high poverty and crime rates. Many came from public housing projects. For most, the amenities provided by the Residences were better than anything they had experienced before. And many cited the safety of the units as a big draw and something they also had not experienced before. The respondents found, for the most part, their expectations met. They love Ninth Square because of its safety. And they are happy living there because the rules were enforced: there are no street gangs, there are no graffiti, there are no broken windows, teens are not allowed to loiter and cause trouble, and the complex is clean and well maintained.

Unlike the other avenues through which theorists believed that mixed-income residences benefit the poor – modeling, the use of social networks as social capital – two routes seems to be working in the Ninth Square. The subsidized residents interviewed talked at length about their improved access to services, their increased safety, the improved quality of units, and the improved maintenance they experienced in the Ninth Square. And as we may surmise from their interactions with management itself, it was not their presence as subsidized tenants that caused this. Rather, as Richard Baron, founder of developer McCormack Baron, emphasized in a 1996 interview, “to guarantee this strong mix [of tenants], draw market rate tenants into the communities by “go[ing] for excellence” in design and construction and by “[c]reat[ing] the amenity mix that

[these market-rate tenants expect:] washers, dryers, computer cabling, swimming pools, shops, grocery stores, free parking. Provide full security services. And work to get quality schools, magnet schools included, introduced into the neighborhoods.”³²¹ Clearly, the emphasis is on attracting, and not scaring away, market-rate tenants.

When The Residences first opened, the New York Times noted how each morning the on-site manager, with a bucket and paint at the ready, checked to make sure no graffiti had besmirched the walls of the development over the night.³²² Management even secured permission from neighboring landlords to maintain the exteriors of *their* premises.³²³ In 1997, Brophy and Smith cited as a factor in the Ninth Square’s success the management’s close relationship with the police and its insistence on prompt response to calls and complaints.³²⁴ Current management has maintained that close working relationship with law enforcement.³²⁵

From tenant screening³²⁶ to tenant segregation,³²⁷ to vigilant rules enforcement³²⁸ and prompt eviction,³²⁹ and even to the regulation of common spaces,³³⁰ many of the behaviors of The Residence’s management can be attributed to an anxiety to retain and attract market-rate tenants. These market-rate tenants, in fact, are the key to The Residences’ profitability. Insofar as The Residences’ developers and lenders –

³²¹ Peirce, *supra* note 188.

³²² Leder, *supra* note 130.

³²³ Brophy & Smith, *supra* note 67, at 19.

³²⁴ *Id.* at 6.

³²⁵ Wogman, *supra* note 45.

³²⁶ *Id.*

³²⁷ *Id.*

³²⁸ *Id.*

³²⁹ *Id.*

³³⁰ *Id.*

McCormack Baron, The Related Companies, Yale, The City of New Haven, the Connecticut Housing Finance Authority, SunAmerica – wish to preserve and to profit from their investment in the development, those lenders will be anxious that the development attracts market-rate tenants, too.

This anxiety to retain market-rate tenants certainly stifles the interaction of tenants in the development, and hinders the creation of community. But conversely, as shown above, it ensures that subsidized tenants receive the benefits of a safe, clean, and relatively healthy place to live. Whether this could be achieved otherwise, or at less cost is another matter entirely.³³¹

ii. The Effect of Institutional Regulation on Maintenance and Rules Enforcement

One resident commented directly on the heavily regulated nature of the development:

[T]he signage and areas of refuge – all the signage and [the management’s] fear of violating any funding strings seems serious. In the office, there is this whole wall of ADA, mixed-income, etc. things. Having to comply with regulations is generally a good thing from my perspective.

In fact, the management of The Residences has to comply with quite a few regulations. Accepting funding from the Department of Housing and Urban Development through Section 8 portable vouchers, The Residences must comply with the requirements of both the local Public Housing Authority and the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development.³³² As a recipient of Low Income Housing Tax Credits, the Residences endure regular involved audits by the Connecticut Housing Finance Authority, which

³³¹ See Robert C. Ellickson, *The False Promise of the Mixed-Income Housing Project*, 57 UCLA L. Rev. 983, 1010-16 (2010) (comparing the effectiveness of portable housing vouchers against that of project-based subsidies).

³³² Evan, *supra* note 62.

administers the credits for the federal government.³³³ SunAmerica, the purchaser of the credits, is also anxious that The Residences comply with the law surrounding the credits. Unlike the CHFA, its motive is purely financial: because the CHFA can revoke The Residences' credits for failure to comply with the LIHTC's statutory requirements,³³⁴ SunAmerica is extremely vigilant to ensure that The Residences' comply with the guidelines surrounding the provision of affordable housing.³³⁵

SunAmerica also audits the physical condition of The Residences, similarly concerned about the revocation of the Historic Renovation Credits it holds on the property.³³⁶

These regulations – a product of the complex “creative financing” behind the project – ensure the maintenance of units, the provision of affordable housing, handicap accessibility, and the integrity of the superstructure. They further prevent discrimination in housing provision, and arbitrary eviction. These requirements ensure The Residences remain open to a mix of tenants. Thus, the strings attached to the funding of the project ensure a bare potential that residents of different incomes may live together and thereby break a culture of poverty. Nevertheless, the question remains whether this convoluted process of diffuse commitments is the best or most efficient way to achieve that goal.

IX. CONCLUSION

The Residences at Ninth Square was built using McCormack Baron's famous “creative financing,” which pulled together money from sources as diffuse as the Historic

³³³ Evan, *supra* note 62; Obueque, *supra* note 75.

³³⁴ I.R.C. §42(g)(2)(A).

³³⁵ Ektin, *supra* note 20; Evan, *supra* note 62; Wogman, *supra* note 45.

³³⁶ Evan, *supra* note 62; *see supra* Part V.

Rehabilitation Credit and the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit. The deal was enormously complex, and it resulted in the creation of a mixed-use housing complex with a unique anxiety to preserve order and the enforcement of rules. Anxious to attract the market rate rents necessary to remain soluble, both the developers of the complex and its management created a residential environment that prevented social interaction and “hanging out.” Eager to draw sufficient rents and a “critical mass” of downtown workers to their stores, management has rented out its retail to up-scale restaurants and shops that fail to serve the needs of most of their tenants. Anxious to prevent the crime that attends loitering, public spaces have been minimized and behaviors in the remaining spaces rigidly controlled. Further, desire to appease market-rate tenants may be leading to segregation and isolation of lower-income tenants, and a desire to ensure payment of rent has led the management to court Section 8 voucher holders of all economic backgrounds, widening the distance between the market-rate and the subsidized tenants. These measures have significantly stifled social interaction among residents, and the mechanisms of modeling, social bridging, and shifting of social norms cannot function robustly absent substantial social interaction between and among the various tenants. Interestingly, however, the management and the lenders’ anxiety to avoid the ghettoization of the project and a loss on their investments, has created a development that provides residents a safe, clean, and accessible place to live. Whether these resources are worth the cost, however, is question for another day.

APPENDIX I: RESIDENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Hello, my name is Chris Miller and I'm a student at the Yale Law School. I'm working on a research study of residents' experiences of the community in The Residences at Ninth Square. Would you have the time today to answer some questions about your experiences there? Your answers and identity will be kept entirely confidential and no one will try to sell you anything or ask you for a donation.

Thank you. Before we begin, I want to explain to you a little bit more about the study we are conducting. We are interviewing people who live in the Residences at Ninth Square to learn about their reasons for moving to the development, their experiences while there, and their feelings about and interactions with their neighbors there.

Do you live in the Residences at Ninth Square and are you over 18 years old?

Throughout the course of this interview, please feel free to ask me any questions and volunteer any information you feel I should know.

Do you have any questions before we begin? OK, let's get started.

A. Interviewee phone number: _____

B. Interviewer: _____

B. Date: _____ Time Started: _____
Time Finished: _____

I would like to start by getting some background information about you and your household.

A. BACKGROUND

1. When did you move here?

___ ___ (month)/ ___ ___ (year)

2. Where did you live before you moved?
 - a. If in New Haven, could you give us the closest street corner?
 - b. If not in New Haven, what is the town and state you moved from?

One of the things we are particularly interested in is the experience of children and youth in this development. We are not able to talk with children and youth directly, but we are interested in adults' perspectives about their childrens' experiences. As we go through this conversation, if you have any kids, we'd be interested in hearing about what you've observed about their experiences here and about your experiences here as a parent.

B. DECISION TO MOVE AND PROCESS OF MOVING

I would like to know more about your decision to move here and the process you went through to get here.

1. How did you find out about the Residences at Ninth Square?
2. Was it hard to get into the development? Were there any particular hurdles that you remember having to jump in order to get your unit?
3. When you applied to live here, what sort of criteria did you feel that the management was looking for?
4. As part of the application before you moved here, did the management visit you at home to conduct an interview? What did you think of this home visit? What did it seem that the management was looking for by visiting you at home?

5. Please tell me about your decision to move here. What were you looking for in your move?

Probe for multiple responses.

- a. What attracted you to The Residences at Ninth Square?
 - b. Were the amenities/parking/access to the freeway important to you?
 - c. How did you learn about the development?
 - d. What alternatives did you consider and why?
 - e. How important was the price/rent?
 - f. Before you moved here, did you know that the Residences at Ninth Square was a mixed-income development?
 - g. Was the idea of living in a mixed-income development important to you? Why?
 - h. Was the idea of living in downtown New Haven important to you? Why?
6. Did you have any particular concerns about moving into this community and if so what were they?

Probe:

- Any concerns that it is a mixed-income development?
- Any concerns about the broader neighborhood/downtown New Haven?

C. EXPERIENCE

I would now like to get a sense of your experience living here.

Satisfaction

7. How are you finding it here? What do you like? What don't you like?
- a. What do you like or dislike about your unit?
 - b. What do you like or dislike about the physical design of the development?
By physical design, we're thinking about things like the types of buildings, common areas and courtyards, and streets and pathways through the

development.

- c. How do you think the development design impacts how you spend time at The Residences at Ninth Square? Do you think it affects how you interact with your neighbors?
- d. Please describe your sense of the atmosphere at the development. How does it feel to live here?
Probe for: What is your sense of safety and comfort?
- e. What do your kids think about living here? What are some of the good things about living here and what are some things they don't like so much?
Probe for examples.
- f. How do you think other people in the development feel? Are there particular things you think they like or dislike about this place?

Now that we have talked about how you got here and your general impressions, let's talk about how things are working.

Resources- Needs and use

First, let's talk a little about the things you do here. I am interested in the services, activities and resources you use here.

8. Please think about your usual routine – things that you and your members of your household do on a daily or weekly basis. We're thinking of things like places you go on a regular basis and how you spend your time. Are there particular ways that your usual routine has changed since moving here and why?
9. One thing we are interested in is television and internet usage. How many hours a week do you spend at home using the internet or watching TV? How does this compare to how much you used to do these things before moving her? Can you explain the change?
10. I am interested in learning about your use of resources, such as restaurants, stores, services, and parks. I am going to go through a list of resources and ask you a few questions about each of them. Let's start with the resources in the development

itself:

- a. Do you or your household members use the gym here?
Probe for reasons why not.
 - b. The carriage house?
 - c. The courtyards?
 - d. Do you or your household members go to the restaurants in the Ninth Square? Which ones? If not, why not?
 - e. How about the bars in the Ninth Square? Which ones?
 - f. How about the clubs along Crown?
 - g. How about the various shops – the Ninth Square Market or Mercato?
 - h. How about the arts installations – Artspace, Project Storefronts?
 - i. How about barbershops or salons in the Ninth Square?
 - j. How about the shops along lower Chapel Street?
 - k. Do you spend much time in the Green? If so, what do you do there?
 - l. If you go to church, do you go to church in downtown New Haven?
11. Starting with the facilities of the development itself, do you think these shops and restaurants meet the needs of the people who live in the Residences? Do you think that they serve one sort of person over another?
12. Moving to the restaurants and shops on the ground floor of the buildings that make up the Residences at Ninth Square, do you think these shops and restaurants meet the needs of the people who live in the Residences? Do you think that they tend to target one sort of person over another? What do you think about that - is that good or bad?
13. Moving to the shops in the larger area around the Residences – including the rest of the Ninth Square area, Chapel Street, State Street, and this part of downtown generally – do you think these shops and restaurants meet the needs of the people who live in the Residences at Ninth Square? Do you think that they tend to target one sort of person over another? What do you think about that?

14. What resources aren't available at all that you think you would use regularly?
15. We've talked about a range of different types of resources in the area, such as stores, restaurants, parks, businesses, and services. Compared to these resources that you use locally, how do the ones where you used to live match up? Are there any resources you continue to use in the neighborhood where you lived before? What are they?

Interactions and Relationships within the development

I am interested in learning about the interactions and relationships that you and members of your household have with other residents here in the Residences at Ninth Square. Let's move on and talk about these sorts of interactions.

16. How would you describe your interactions with your neighbors in the Residences?
- How much do you interact with other residents?
 - Are there *particular* circumstances where you tend to have interactions with other residents?
 - To what extent have any of your interactions here been influenced by the programs in the development, such as special events, community activities, or resident meetings? Probe for examples of special activities aimed at helping neighbors get to know each other.
 - Are there any particular barriers to interaction in the development – things about the development that make it hard to interact with other residents?
 - How do your interactions with other residents here compare to the relationships you had with your neighbors in the community you lived in before? Do you interact more, less, in different ways?
 - How do the people you interact here with differ from those you interacted with in your old community?

Interactions and Relationships between residents of different tenures.

As you know, because this is a mixed-income development there are people here who receive subsidized “affordable” housing and those who pay market-rate rents. I am particularly interested in those interactions and relationships you have with residents who you sense have a different housing status from you. That is, unlike you, they live in subsidized “affordable” housing, pay market-rate rent, or receive Section 8 housing vouchers. I realize that you might not always know much about other residents’ background – but please answer the following questions as best you can.

17. What is your housing status here: “affordable,” market-rate, or Section 8?
18. Do you know where the other groups tend to live in this development? Are they clustered in a particular group of units?
19. Are you aware of who these tenants are? Are they markedly different from you in any way?
Probe for stereotypes about race, age, education, family composition, behaviors.
20. Do you find that the development tries either to foster or to prevent interactions between market-rate tenants and subsidized tenants?
Probe for specific examples, feelings about this.
21. Could you say a little more specifically about your interactions with these [market-rate/affordable] residents? Probe for anecdotes.
 - a. Can you describe whether these have been positive or negative experiences, or both?
 - b. Has it been harder to get to know these [market-rate/affordable] residents than it was to get to know residents of your own housing status?
 - c. Were there any particular difficulties you can recall?

- d. How do these interactions and relationships with residents from a different status compare to the interactions and relationships that you have had with tenants of your own housing status?
 - e. In your old neighborhood, did you have similar kinds of interactions with people who were from a different economic background than you? How did those relationships compare with the ones you have here with the [market-rate/affordable] residents?
22. Think back to the resources we talked about earlier – everything from the gym and community room in the Residences to the Green and the stores in the larger downtown area – do you think that using any of these resources has helped you get to know residents of different housing statuses than yours? How about people in New Haven in general of different economic backgrounds than yours?
23. Going beyond your personal experience, can you tell me about any stories you've heard about market-rate tenants' interactions with affordable housing or Section 8 tenants?

Now, I'd like to hear some more about the content of the relationships you have with some of the residents in the development

24. First, think about the neighbors who you have gotten to know well enough to have conversations with when you see them. How many people do you know in this group:
- a. How did you come to know them?
Probe for details of each relationship, whether they knew each other before moving.
 - b. How many of them would you say are from a different housing status than you?
 - c. Have these relationships with people of different housing statuses benefitted you at all? Been a drain on you at all? If so, how?

- d. How do your relationships of this depth – where you know each other well enough to have conversations – compare to the number and kind of relationships like this that you had in your old neighborhood?
25. Now, think about the neighbors who you know well enough to invite into your home or to ask for a favor.
- a. How did you come to know them?
Probe for details of each relationship, whether they knew each other before moving.
 - b. How many of them would you say are from a different housing status than you?
 - c. Have these relationships with people of different housing statuses benefitted you at all? Been a drain on you at all? If so, how?
 - d. How do your relationships of this depth – where you know each other well enough to ask favors of each other or invite one another into your homes – compare to the number and kind of relationships like this that you had in your old neighborhood?
26. **IF RESPONDENT HAS CHILDREN:** We've talked a lot about your relationships here, what about your kids? Have they developed any relationships here? How would you describe their interactions with your neighbors? With children of other housing statuses?
Probe for whether they play with other kids in ways that allow them to meet other people.
- a. Are they different from their relationships in the neighborhood you moved from?
27. Have there been any specific ways in which your neighbors here have helped you, such as running errands, providing care for your children, or offering connections to important resources?
Probes for:
- Social support?
- Information about resources?
- Employment leads?

28. Were any of the supports you just mentioned from a resident of a different housing status than you?
29. Turning it around now, have you offered any help to any of your neighbors? To any neighbors of a different housing status than you?
30. Do you try to reach out to people of other the other housing status? Do you wish you had more friends or acquaintances among them? Do you wish you had more opportunities here to meet them?
31. Do you think there is any tension between the market-rate tenants and the subsidized tenants?
32. Do you feel stigmatized as a market-rate/affordable tenant? Examples?
33. Do you think that having market rate renters here and seeing them every day gives the affordable renters ideas about how to go about getting different jobs? Gives them different ideas about how to make money? Gives them ideas about things they can do to be more successful?

Management and Governance

Now, I'd like to know more about the management of the development.

34. First, I'd like to talk about how the development is controlled.
 - a. Are there rules here that are different than where you came from? Please describe.
 - b. Have you had to change your routine or lifestyle in any way to live in this development and abide by the rules?
For subsidized tenants, probe for any challenges with lease compliance
 - c. Is your behavior here being monitored in anyway, and if so by whom?
Probes for: From management? From other residents?

- d. Is there a sense that rules here are different for different residents?
Probe for different rules, processes, and expectations?

35. What has been your relationship to property management?

- a. What do you think they are doing well? What are they not doing so well?
Probe for: What is their influence over residents to ensure lease compliance?

We've talked about rules, I would now like to learn more about how decisions are made at this development - who makes up the rules, who makes decisions about emerging issues at the development?

36. From what you know, who makes decisions about the development? Are there ways for residents to participate in making decisions about life at the development? If so, what are they?

- a. How well do you think these decision-making processes work?
Probe for particular challenges.
- b. How much are residents actually participating in these processes?
- c. Are there ways to make participation easier?
- d. How responsive is management to resident input?
- e. To what extent do you think your personal interests are being served?
Probe for their feelings of influence over the decision-making process.

I want to shift from talking about the development to talking about the neighborhood more broadly.

D. RELATIONSHIP TO BROADER NEIGHBORHOOD

37. Please tell me about the neighborhood where you live now. If someone asked you what is your neighborhood, what would you tell them?

Probe for the name, boundaries (actual streets or landmarks).

a. Why did you describe your neighborhood that way?

38. How important is this neighborhood you've described to you and your household? In what ways and why?

Probe for attachment and connection to the neighborhood.

39. Do you participate in the neighborhood in any way? Probe for membership in organizations, volunteer/political role etc.

40. What do you think would make it easier to participate?

41. Please describe your relationships to people who live in the surrounding neighborhood around the Residences at Ninth Square.

Probe for:

- Do you know people in the surrounding neighborhood?
- How many?
- What is your relationship with them?
- How did you get to know them?

E. ASSESSMENT AND CLOSING

We've covered a lot of different issues. I'd like to close by asking you to reflect on your overall experience of moving to The Residences at Ninth Square.

42. Stepping back now, you've told me a lot about your life here. What difference has your move made for you and your household? Have these changes been for better or for worse?

- a. How has the move here been for your kids? Were there any differences in experiences for your boys and girls?
 - b. How has the move here affected your finances and employment?
 - c. I'm interested in any changes in your health. Since you moved here, have there been any changes in your physical health? **Probe for kids.**
 - i. Since you moved here, have there been any changes in your stress level or overall outlook on your life? **Probe for kids.**
43. After having lived here for a while, do you have any particular thoughts about mixed-income development--What is good about it, what are the drawbacks, and if it matters at all?
44. What are your expectations for what mixed-income development can accomplish over time?
45. What are your expectations for the future of living here? How long do you anticipate living here?
- a. What are your biggest concerns about the future here?
 - b. What would cause you to move?

F. PERSONAL INFORMATION

Finally, I like to ask you a few questions about your personal background so that we can understand a little more about you.

46. Gender **Interviewer makes selection**
47. How do you describe your race:
48. What year were you born?

49. What is your current marital status?
50. What is the highest grade of school you completed?
51. How do you usually get around the city? Probe the mode of transportation used most frequently?
52. I'd like to get a sense of what your household looks like. Without telling me anybody's name, could you tell me who else lives here with you, listing them by how they are related to you.
- If it seems necessary, remind respondent that this information is for our *confidential* research purposes, will not be shared with anyone else, and their name will not be linked to the information.
53. Do you currently work for pay?
54. Do you work full-time or part-time or both?
55. Where do you work?
Probe for neighborhood, city.
56. What do you do there?
Probe for job title, type of industry
57. Do you do anything besides your job to get extra money?
Probe for baby-sit, odd jobs, cut hair, sew, etc.
58. What is the main reason you are not currently working?
59. I'd also like to know about any school or job training that you are involved in right now. Are you in school or a job-training program? Full or part-time?
60. About how many hours in a typical week do you spend in school or job training?
61. Finally, could you please tell me a range of your total household income before taxes, including income from all sources, including jobs, public assistance and social security?

If it seems necessary, remind respondent that this information is for our *confidential* research purposes and individual information will not be shared with anyone. We are trying to understand what resources families have to support themselves.

Thank you very much! I really appreciate your time and everything that you have told me. Before I go, is there any thing else you would like to mention to me? Please feel free to call us if you do think of anything (give them my phone number: 949-291-0311). Finally, is there anyone else in your household, over the age of 18, who might also be interested in speaking with us today?

APPENDIX II: COMPARISON OF INTERVIEW RESPONSES

I. BACKGROUND/OTHER:

Respondent 1. 68 years old male, born 1942. Black. Lives alone. Has a car. Used to work security, currently unemployed. Used to be a drug addict, “chase girls,” live on street and then cleaned up, gave life to God, believes in golden rule and doesn’t bother people and fine with other people’s choices

Respondent 2. 67 y/o F, Black, Divorced, 2 yrs college, lives herself. Retired. about 15000 year. Section 8. Rides the bus or gets rides from her kids.

Respondent 3. Female, 35-45, Hispanic, two teenaged sons. Seemed like some form of subsidized housing. Finished High School. Normally get around city by bus. Just two kids, teenager. Work and student. Both part time. Works in the school system.

Respondent 4. African American. Female. 56. Divorced. Subsidized housing. Lives Alone. here I have rental assistance, I don’t know how long that’s going to last each year things go up in the world. other than that, everything is fine.

Respondent 5. African American. Retired. Teacher. 70k/yr. 59. Single. Masters. market-rate. Used to be a teacher.

Respondent 6. Female, 26 yrs. old, unmarried, no children, works in “marketing” industry, makes about \$10/hr. Doesn’t know if she has a subsidized rent [but she does – home visit].

Respondent 7. Older Section 8 Female. No longer lives there. I spoke to her youngest son (30 yrs. old) b/c she has been ill and doesn’t speak English well: he was also a concierge and porter there for 2 years, worked 7 days a week; after this, interview was some response from his mother (translated to me) and a lot about his own perceptions/experience of the place

Respondent 8. Female, middle aged (40-50), not currently employed

Respondent 9. Male, black, older (75?), lives alone, has helper. Section 8.

Respondent 10. Female. Lives alone. (Market rent? – no home visit/ but also goes to family dollar and Walmart and thrift stores). Works in New Haven, takes the bus.

Respondent 11. 24 year-old. Black student. Market Rate. Lives with Respondent 12. Drives and walks. 35K.

Respondent 12. 26 year-old. White student. Market Rate. Lives with Respondent 11. Drives and walks. 35K.

Respondent 13. 28 y.o. black female market rate. Works at Yale Hospitals. \$60k/year.

Respondent 14. 32 y.o. white male student. Zipcar. 35K.

Respondent 15. 62 y.o. white market rate shop owner (lived there in his fifties).

Respondent 16. 32 y.o. Hispanic male disabled (no legs, in wheelchair), section 8

Respondent 17. 46 year-old black mother, seven year-old son, market rate rent on disability. Stonehill house. Taking care of neice. \$20,000 a year, but earns some more or doing ladies’ hair in the community.

Respondent 18. 69 yo black female, section 8. HS education. Retired. Lives alone. Drives and uses the bus sometimes. 14K through social security.

Respondent 19. 42 year old Puerto Rican male. Veteran on disability. Likely a current or former drug addict, begging for money. Seems to live with his sister – a tenant in the Stonehill - who is 42, disabled, and receives section 8 and disability to pay her rent.

Respondent 20. 37 yo black female market rate student. Employed. ~130K.

This is very interesting. I am going to be thinking about this for several years. Because I am very concerned about the state of cities and I think we can afford to be a little more creative. And efficient. I mean, that is just waste. I kind of have a corporate background, I mean, not a corporate background, but a politics background which I did for, I'd say seven years, but I've since been working for [a large multi-national business] where I've been doing deals work. And I think, well what am I doing? And I think, I know what I'm doing, I'm trying to position myself to get these companies some day to give money to these projects. They don't listen to people who don't understand efficiency.

II. LENGTH OF TENURE:

Respondent 1. 13years

Respondent 2. 2 years (left june 2009)

Respondent 3. 11 months (left april 2010)

Respondent 4. 7 years.

Respondent 5. 10 years

Respondent 6. 7 years.

Respondent 7. 7 years.

Respondent 8. 7 years

Respondent 9. 4 years.

Respondent 10. 11 years.

Respondent 11. 2 years

Respondent 12. 1 year

Respondent 13. 5/6 years

Respondent 14. 2 years.

Respondent 15. 6 years

Respondent 16. 8 months

Respondent 17. 1-2 years.

Respondent 18. 2 years

Respondent 19. 3 years

Respondent 20. 1 year (left July 2010)

III. PRIOR RESIDENCE (NEIGHBORHOOD/TYPE OF HOUSING):

Respondent 1. Used to live on Union, senior citizens building across from train station.

Respondent 2. All over new haven, fair haven, the hill, newhallville [most recently].

Respondent 3. From Silden Ave, prior to that, NYC.

Respondent 4. New Haven. 10 years in bad areas. terrible areas – ninth square is fantantastic is better. Lives in a wonderful building. *Everyone keeps to themselves, their own business.* Maintenance is no problem, comes in and fixes it. Rarely has problems. But I was tired of staying where I was staying at. I was staying at an elderly ladie's house. I was going nowhere. I lost who I was, my path moving to new haven. Like the Israelites in the wilderness for 38 years instead of three days. That's how I felt. It was really really something. But my life just came back together. Graduated highschool, went to part of business school. Live's alone, thank god for that. No small jobs for money.

Respondent 5. Goffe and Winthrop, New Haven.

Respondent 6. West Haven.

Respondent 7. Lived on Barclay in New Haven before moving to residences.

Respondent 8. Used to live in a house with only 4 units on Howard Ave., New Haven

Respondent 9. Chapel, New Haven.

Respondent 10. On Dwight Street, Phoenix.

Respondent 11. DC for summer, Atlanta for 6 years.

Respondent 12. Dwight.

Respondent 13. I grew up on Olive and Green (Wooster area). This is my first apartment. I been out of my mom's house for about 5/6 years, and my mother still lives there.

Respondent 14. Outside New Haven

Respondent 15. Suburbs outside New Haven.

Respondent 16. Nursing home in New Haven. Meriden.

Respondent 17. Came from Georgia, and prior to that, Hamden. I lived in Hamden all my life. She had a home in the suburbs in Georgia with her son's father and her son. He misses the dog and the backyard.

Respondent 18. Fairhaven, Bridgeport, Belavista

Respondent 19. Outside New Haven, apartment complex.

Respondent 20. Outside New Haven, newer construction. Had lived in poorer neighborhoods before.

IV. REASON FOR MOVING AND HOW THEY FOUND OUT ABOUT APARTMENT

Respondent 1. Moved because wanted to upgrade to a better place. Affordable Status.

Respondent 2. newspaper, known about [it] easy to get in. as long as you can pay the rent [you can get in], came in on Section 8. had to move, the prior home foreclosed. Wanted to live in a secure bldg. buzz people.

Respondent 4. looking for places where rent was low but it were it was low, it was bad. I was having a problem where I used to live on chapel and Norton and I had to get me a legal assistance lawyer and I wanted to move and the lawyer mentioned this area. That they was renting, had spaces, had apts, and I came in and filled an application. There was a wait list, long list, shorter than I thought. But I had to wait. No home visit.

Respondent 5. Period in life when I was looking at buying a house. Just happened to be driving by, saw leasing, and decided to see what they had to offer. Heart of downtown, should be more convenient. Safety. I moved here because of the buzzer, but it doesn't work. I have been accosted by people trying to force their way in. Found a dead baby, given birth to in the hallway. Woman jumped off the top of a bldg across. Some strange things, I go directly into my house. You can't expect so much safety in this environment. Not safer than where she used to live.

Respondent 6. Attracted to residences because it was closer to downtown

Respondent 7. Found out about Residences because her oldest son had lived there and she thought the area was great, the property was great.

Respondent 8. Learned about Ninth Square because a friend of hers was living there. Moved there because she liked the apartments

Respondent 9. Found out about the residences through "housing authority," the other place had no electricity (?). How did he find out about it? "The lady who was taking care of me lived there and told me to come on over, and then I got section 8 right out the time." "I had to put down \$50 deposit." "Everything went well"

Respondent 10. why did you move: "it was time to move." Were you attracted to ninth squ. for any particular reason? "I had the application for a while already"

Respondent 11. School. It wasn't the towers. I had a negative view, overpriced shitholes. Close enough to walk to school. Far enough that it's separate. Apt. is nice. Washer/Dryer inside. Spacious. Among the non-towers was the most affordable as far as bang for buck. I didn't do the east rock thing because of the time constraints.

Respondent 12. Moved into his apt when [friend] moved out. Parking situation is good for downtown. Nice well run garages. Close to buildings. Secure. Washer/dry. Two-bed/two bath. I was living alone before that, worried about living with others. That mitigated those concerns. Tried elm campus thing. Emailing individuals on craigslist. That's how I ended up on Dwight. I generally don't like the feeling of apt buildings. But because [my roommate] was there, nice, affordable. That's why I went there. Being downtown walking was fairly important. I wanted to be able to walk.

Respondent 14. School.

Respondent 15. To live closer to work.

Respondent 18. Granddaughter lived there. Was babysitting for her, made it easier. Nice appt. washer and dryer. Elevator next door. Parking in garage. I liked quite a few things about it.

Respondent 19. Because sister lives there.

How did they find out: I think there was a poster that said apartments available. They don't say, they just say "Apartments Available" and then when you get down to the office, they ask you, "Do you have an income" and "Are you disabled" and "blah blah blah" and then when they find are you disabled, do have an income, you're basically in.

Respondent 20. School.

V. EXPERIENCES OF MOVING:

Respondent 2. as long as you can pay the rent [you can get in], came in on Section 8. No home visit. had to move, the prior home foreclosed. Uses TV buzzer.

Respondent 3. Strict as to who they are willing to let in. Which is pretty good, because you don't just want anyone living in a place. Keeping it nice and clean, you don't want people to destroy it. No home visit.

Respondent 5. No difficulty. No home visit.

But the mgmt isn't looking for a certain type of people. They do do a credit check to verify what your income is and whether you paid your rent from where you lived. Other than that, I don't think there are other criteria. And I think that that's because it's a federally funded place, and they cannot discriminate based on different criteria. And I think they try to follow that.

She thinks it's self-selecting for people who come from low income. Especially if you got children – and one thing I do know for children is exposure. Our children are not exposed to a lot of different things compared to suburbs. It puts a lot of children at a disadvantage.

Respondent 6. Said it was not difficult to get into the residences, something about using "Gateway"? Said they visited her apartment and it was a fine experience

Respondent 8. Before moving in, the management visited her home to make sure it was "kept up"; checked out all the "necessary background things" to make sure the "standards were up to par." Was frustrated because the "unit wasn't quite the same." "I had looked at a 2 bedroom, 2 bath unit, but the one they gave me was 2 bedroom, 1 bath." When asked if the raise in rent had been an issue for her she said, "Actually the rent was lowered." According to her, they lowered the rent for new residents to "attract clients," and raised the rent for current residents. She said it wasn't too big of a deal for her.

Respondent 9. To get into the apartment, I just "waited a couple of days"; they interviewed him, showed him the place

How did he find out about it? "The lady who was taking care of me lived there and told me to come on over, and then I got section 8 right out the time." "I had to put down \$50 deposit." "Everything went well"

Respondent 10. no home visit.

Respondent 11. Rent dot com. Here for admit weekend. Running around the city. Not any harder than any process. Filled out an app. Background check. No home visit. Some past references. Credit check. Seemed standard. Thought they were looking for "the kind of person that would pay the bills."

Respondent 12. Through friend. Not any harder than any process. Filled out an app. Background check. No home visit. Some past references. Credit check. Seemed standard.

Respondent 16. Easy to get in. Not a lot of paperwork. I live before like a nursing home, Los Vivare, the nursing home, they find this apartment.

Respondent 17. found out about the place from a friend who lived there.

Respondent 18. Easy to get in. No home visit. Didn't go around to other places.

Respondent 19. Home visits? Yeah, I guess it was good, because they will not accept people here if you have, basically, let's say, a poor way of leaving. They do screen people and they make sure that people are not coming from you, I hate to say this but from, like the ghetto. And they do screen people, like my sister told me that you have to pass a criminal background, credit check

Section 8, how do you have good credit? If you're on Section 8 they don't care about that. They get their monthly share, they do a credit check and they also do a criminal background, and once you pass that, you're in.

Respondent 20.

My roommate actually found the place, who was actually also a law student . . . so my roommate found the place and in some ways I was okay with it for convenience purposes. Obviously as I've lived here I know that there are closer places to the law school. But at that point I thought it was convenient to the law school and I could make that trek. I also thought that I liked that there were restaurants around, it would feel like a city, although it's not a city, it's new haven which has got its little area with its shops and stuff which is cute. I also liked how modern the interior is. I'm not really accustomed to the old house thing, which can be a lot of work. I liked the modern appliances, not just that they had a washer and drier but that they were newish.

[Didn't do a home visit]. It didn't seem hard at all. I didn't think they did an extensive background check although they did do a credit check.

VI. KNOWLEDGE OF AND IMPORTANCE OF MIXED INCOME:

Respondent 1. Knew it was mixed-income. Not main reason for moving

Respondent 3. Not aware of mixed income, came to realize that afterwards. Found about. You put two and two together. I don't know if they segregate. When I first came, they showed me an apartment in the big bldg. I thought I would get an apt there. Instead I got an apt right above the office. I've seen a lot of people, I've seen them showing apts to a lot. Wouldn't know.

Respondent 5. Knew about mixed income – had something on the wall. Had no problem with the idea. Once she came in her door, that was it. Didn't worry about what other people were doing in the bldg. Everyone was friendly enough.

Respondent 6. Did not know that it was a mixed-income development; when asked if she was made aware of this at any point, she said "probably"

Respondent 8. When asked if she was aware that the Residences at Ninth Square was a mixed-income development, she said "Yes." However it "didn't make a difference" to her.

Respondent 9. Did he know it was mixed-income place before moving in? "No"

Respondent 12. It assuaged my liberal guilt. I could put my money where my mouth is.

Respondent 13. (about knowing that it was mixed income). It was fine. [Then moved into talking about amenities]. It's nice apts. They have your washer and dryer, fitness room.

Respondent 14. Mixed income signs: I can't really think of anything. I don't feel like it's that different from the other apartment-living that I've done

Respondent 15. Did you know mixed-income: Yeah. (60/40 split) yeah, it's high, they don't require that percentage . . . Oh, they do . . . Oh I didn't know that, I thought it was just like 20 percent . . . and that expires after 15 years right

Moved because he had his shop here, wanted to live near it because he spent all his time here.

Respondent 17. Knew the place was mixed income.

Respondent 19. Do you know it's mixed income? Actually what it is, it's a fixed price but it goes off of your disability, how much you make. So it's like they take section 8 and um whatever else there is, you know.

Only found out when they applied that the unit accepted section 8. "I think there was a poster that said apartments available. They don't say [section 8 accepted], they just say "Apartments Available" and then when you get down to the office, they ask you, "Do you have an income" and "Are you disabled" and "blah blah blah" and then when they find are you disabled, do have an income, you're basically in.

Respondent 20. About mixed-income aspect: I actually did not know that. But I could assume it, which is saying a lot about my own willingness to make judgments based on . . . I think I could assume it even from visiting, just from the people i met when we were visiting the apartment, so i didn't have knowledge, but I suspected, maybe because I had been exposed to lower income communities, there were signs, yeah . . . in the behavior of the people around me. I mean, let's be honest, you can kind of tell . . . I mean people can be smart without being educated, but you can tell when people aren't educated without making assumptions about their aptitude. But, um, you could tell that there were some people who were not as educated. And maybe - I'm going to throw race in their - but maybe being an African American woman who has lived in a working class community before, um, just the women with the young babies, you know I thought, I didn't see young women with liked dads . . . I thought . . . I was seeing single persons and stuff like that. That, to me, was a signal that it was mixed income, which didn't bother me. [As to whether it was positive or negative]. It think it was neutral. I think, I am trying to just be interviewed and not give too many interpretations of my feelings, but I'm a student so I can't help myself, but, uh, I think part of it has to do with my own background . . . I think . . . maybe it just wasn't different because it wasn't new to me to be around working class african americans. I think you are less indifferent when certain things were happening that I didn't like, like young guys kind of hanging around - I mean, I knew that it comes with the territory of a working class community - young guys hanging around, umm, I suspected some drug dealing, certainly people using drugs, certain use of foul language and loud music. Those are the times that you are like . . . um . . . I could use something quieter. And I don't know if that's because I'm a student or because of my own personal taste or whatever.

It goes back to something I didn't know, about there being no conscious effort to do mixed income, that it was a way of subsidizing the project, that's where they went wrong in the first place. It has to be a conscious effort. Then you are looking around looking for connections to be made. I mean some person who would have used that hundred dollar deposit place to host events between people and you know give incentives to people coming. I don't know if I were running the place I would say for every ten events you go

to you get \$10 dollars of your next months rent. I don't know. Something incentivizing that, mmm, because you want people to buy in early on when they move into it that they are part of this greater project. I mean, why else? I mean you can't do mixed income without saying . . . knowing that it is a social project and not having the participants knowing they are part of it is a kind of social engineering project

I didn't know it was mixed income. I guessed. But I didn't have a sense. There was no pamphlet given to me. That was a problem. Why was I given no literature on my own building. Well part of is they don't want to scare away possible tenants. The thing is, they don't have to do that because there are enough students who need a place to stay that they were going to get the students anyway. But maybe because we are Yalies, we would have been just slightly cautious or our parents who put down the deposit are putting down the security deposits are going to be slightly cautious.

VII. COMMENTARY ON QUALITY AND SAFETY OF UNIT AND DEVELOPMENT

Respondent 1. Thinking about moving because heat “sucks.” There are drug addicts in the building, but he’s tolerant.

Respondent 2. In the winter its cold. Cant’ turn up heat. No other problems. Comes right away to fix things. Every six months, exterminater. First time living by self. Senior citizen. Didn’t know anybody there.

Respondent 3. Even those that have section 8, the level of the rent goes up. They still have their criterias as far as how much rent you are going to pay. When your rent goes up it goes up.

Been easier to commute from point a to point b. I don’t drive, so it can be hard to find parking if someone comes to visit. My aunt comes to visit quite often, trying to get parking is hard.

Living in a bldg in NYC, I lived in a pretty nice bldg where I had door security 24/7. Coming to a bldg where you don’t have that, not to mention that you have a club right across from your house where you witness fights break out. You are pretty fearful. If they could patrol it would be nice.

Respondent 4. Comfortable. People say hello and goodmorning, goodevening, and then usually go in their door. Don’t come nock on your door ask anything. Just see each other, you go your way you go mine. Its secure people cant get in unless you buz em in. I have my own busy day. I’ve grown fantastically living in this area.

I’m originally from long island, got married then moved south. I definitely didn’t fit in there, wasn’t used to living there. Could never get adjusted to living there. Totally different, black like me, but it was backwards, ignorant culture. But that’s the way the people thought. They were used to living life like that came back. Got a divorce. Marriage was terrible. But it was a good experience.

Nice area. Downtown.

Sure. It’s fine living in a mixed area. The building im living in its fine. Everybody decent people. Taking care of themselves. They’re good people. Paying their bills. Racialwise, mix is good. That’s how I grew up. That’s why I couldn’t stand the south. My best friends was all mixed.

Respondent 5. I moved here because of the buzzer, but it doesn't work. I have been accosted by people trying to force their way in. Someone once tried to rip my arm off, forcing his way into the building. Found a dead baby, given birth to in the hallway. Woman jumped off the top of a bldg across. Some strange things, I go directly into my house. You can't expect so much safety in this environment. Not safer than where she used to live.

Someone came knocking on my door at 2am, seriously trying to get in my door. I had made sure that after they stopped, I propped the door. And made a complaint. There are incidents that – I look at it that incidents like that can happen anywhere where you put people together. I had a student living above me and her boyfriend. Her boyfriend got high, stole drugs from the pharmacy, hung outside the window thinking the police wouldn't see him, so of course he slipped and fell and died. Eventually she had to move. Like I said, you have a large community, lots of people anything can happen, you can't [Concerns] with downtown nightlife can be very scary. I've heard guns popping off. I'm right above Centerstreet lounge. That can be nerve wrecking. *Children who live on church street having to sleep in the bath tub because bullets fly through the bldg.* If it gets any worse I can't stay. I like the independence but I'm looking out the window and the cops are having more fun than the kids.

I get very nervous about walking from the garage. Can't park on the street cause you get tickets. [she lives across from the garage, and has to walk to near the center street lounge]. Almost like an attitude we are looking for a tax base, looking for the clubs, but its crazy. This has become a greater and greater concern. Anybody could get killed. And I don't want to be laying up here and a bullet come crashing up my window because its so out of control at the end of the night.

Like my unit to a certain extent. The fact that I'm above a night club is miserable. Hasn't tried to move. A couple of us tried to get together, and we called the police, and the alderperson and we had a meeting and were able to voice our concerns. This was my community at this point in time. I have no problem with something breaks they are right here immediately – a lot of the things I'd have to take care of myself, I don't have to do that. Like if my refrigerator breaks down, I don't have to do that.

What they do now, is that the police come out at the time of the club closing, make more racket than the kids on the street. The problem was that they'd block the street. Skid their motorcycles.

Was a teacher, just retired. Had to get up the next day. Racket until 3 am. Cops bolw a horn that is piercing.

Once I get here. Dispatcher said to another tenant, you should have known and shouldn't have moved there then. But I been here before the clubs been here.

Children aren't a problem. You see kids waiting for buses, but you don't see them causing problems

Respondent 7. In terms of children, it is a safe place for them to live (he is the "baby" of the family, but he has observed other families). Everything is great there, really nice apartments, great staff.

Respondent 8. When asked if she found that a mixed-income environment was different than where she lived before or if she noticed anything particular about it she replied: "Well since they usually do home visits, most people are pretty clean and they're okay."

Respondent 9. “Nothing to dislike...for a person like me... it’s not too big, not too small, just right.”

Respondent 10. Community: “nice, on the weekends clubs and stuff around here can get loud, some parts of the weekend, especially on the summertime, when the clubs get out around 2am.” versus “nice and quiet inside.”

Respondent 11. New Haven crime stories, in dtwn proper are completely overblown. Being in that area with bentara, miso, I don’t think there’s a legitimate crime threat at all. The people in the bldg aren’t any more sketchy that would be in any building. You have your share of weirdos, but as far as being endanger, def. not.

In the winter, when we need to use the heat. There seems to be an issue about that. Me and my roommate complained, and they had this whole theory about that, eventually we just tapped out. Other than that, any time I’ve complained they’ve gotten it taken care of quickly.

It seems to me like the sixth floor of our building is non-subsidized on purpose, but there is one unit that is. There is a legend that it is separated by floors, but there are people on our floor that are pretty surely MI. When you get a package and have to go to other building, that’s annoying.

We have to let people in because you have a 203. (can’t use intercom system)

Noise from Gotham. Not a big problem. It might be if we were older. The times we hear louder music, we came from louder music.

Respondent 12. not in beginning. But when I first left law school, walking across the Green at night, I was told to be careful . . .

In Chamberlain. Ninth square market: he’s your prototypical immigrant businessman, lets people sit in there and loiter differently than others might. He treats people nicely than other business. I’m happy to patronize them for that. Dunkin doughnuts not that way, tense.

They say there is indiv control of heat, but it seems to just control the fan. One issue related to mixed-income aspect. I mailed a check during winter break, and they lost it. When I got back, Jan 22, there was notice to quit. Apparently, on the 20th of any month, if you haven’t paid, you get a notice to quit. But they were super apologetic.

If they wanted to attract a higher market person, there are easy changes they could make to layout. **Architecture.**

Place has improved his life. Because my heat was prohibitively expensive last year so I kept my heat at 58. So Yes because I have heat, and it works. Also yes because it’s quite. My window faces Crown Street, so on Thursdays you get the noise from Crown, but otherwise it’s quite. Apts well insulated, you don’t hear neighbors. I actively like my walk everyday now. I walk across the green its pretty. There are more people out on the street. It’s an interesting feel. The people watching at the corner near the bus stop is interesting.

My net feeling about this place is very positive. I like that it seems to function. I like that people are surprised that it is mixed income. 40% is a high number.

Respondent 13. It’s nice apts. They have your washer and dryer, fitness room. They have an apartment that they show people. They used to have that security camera, but they don’t have that anymore. But they have the security guys.

Respondent 14. Safety: I've never had a problem, I feel perfectly safe here. I guess in August there was the shooting in the parking lot across from Crown and Gotham, and that was weird, but my thought is that the safety issues that occur down here, and than Ron (Higgans) sends emails about, are usually a fight between people who know each other and then get into a fight and then something happens, most of the muggings and strangers robbing strangers that we hear about (through the emails) happen in East Rock and Howl street (?), so I always feel perfectly safe. Walking around here at night . . . I usually do it. I don't take the shuttle. (Do you walk across the green?) I do, usually, unless I'm with Phillip Levitts, he won't let me walk across the green at night. No he lives 413 Orange or something up there . . .

Respondent 15. [about creating a mixed-income community] that's why I think this . . . I don't know if approaching it that way is really . . . it's a mix

Safety?: I didn't have an issue with it. I know that some people would call up the restaurant and say, you know, is it safe to walk from the Omni to here? You gotta be kiddin me, we do it all the time we've been living here for 50 to 60 years. Sometimes if I 'm walking home at one o'clock in the morning bringing something into the restaurant, some people come up to me. More *now* than before. So I just have to be careful.

What caused you to move out? My wife got tired of living in a little apartment. It was little, it was two-bedroom. Because we moved from a house that had three-bedrooms, when the kids moved out, we had a lot of stuff, so it was more like a garage, we had a lot of stuff that was from the house in a little apartment, it was getting stifling after a little while, so my wife said, we're gonna get out, so it wasn't because of the neighborhood, it wasn't my neighbors. It wasn't ours, it was an apartment, and we were getting kind of tired. But it wasn't because of the situation here, we just had to move on to other places. My kids have kids themselves now and it's just and apartment . . . so, that was the reason. Not because the services here are really good. I got a leak and they were here in 10 minutes. I've never lived in an apartment like that. So I would say, the management's very responsive, even to the commercial aspect of it, so I wouldn't have any problem telling someone to move into this place. They're very responsive . . . yeah, I think it's a great place to live. It's close to everything right downtown, the movies, dinner.

Respondent 16. this is good place. Safe

Respondent 17. The Chamberlain: I actually like that building more. They have cathedral ceilings. Yeah, they're nicer. They're bigger too.

I think it's nice. It's quiet. I'm not gonna put it down. It's one of the nicer communities around here. For the most part, it's quiet, it's secure. You have to ring to get in. It's very quiet. [Despite the clubs]. It depends on where you are. On Fri and sat nights, I can hear the music cause I'm on the fourth floor, but I just kind of tune it out. Like I said, it's very quite it.

Respondent 18. Didn't like the heat issue. They provide you with heat, but not enough heat. Had to use heaters – 233 dollars in one month. Now, it's \$62.27. They had mice like crazy. I got the electronic thing and got rid of them. When they tore the Coliseum down that's when the mice came. Granddaughter's bldg. didn't have a problem. One lady moved out of my building because the mice. Lived in tall building – Stonehill House. I would have stayed there but I needed another bedroom for my daughter. And they okayed it and then at the last minute the said no. Because section 8 wouldn't pay it and they wouldn't let me make up the 120 dollar difference. But then again, now that I don't have to pay for heat, I'm glad.

Security. I really wasn't concerned about the security because I didn't go out at night. I was more concerned about my car being safe than myself.

It was a pretty neat place to stay. But there is still a mouse problem.

Noise. And the smells from the restaurants downstairs. Greasy dirty smells. They didn't clean their fans plus their fans were noisy – 930 am till 1030 at night. The trucks would come near and run their motors. I couldn't open my windows. Plus they threw food out to the birds.

Respondent 19. when I see people, generally, or my sister sees people that do work and people that don't work, I think it's like, "Oh, what are you doing here. I thought this was a building where there was like [subsidized housing]" where people can come in, like I said, comfortably more or less. And the safety, that's the magic word, safety.

So is this building safe? Oh, very. Very, very much so. But at the same time, I think the management doesn't care as far as where they're getting their income from, paying the rent from. Which makes this building, honestly, a building where you think that people will be more screened in the sense that, like, ok, we're living in this building, but at the same time people are living here like low income at the same time.. And how they got in here, simple, the management feels like they're getting their money. But in reality it's like, this is how it is, I mean this is how it is, really.

unfortunately, you know, you have situations in this part of the building where people feel unsafe because the clubs are around. Like Gotham City, and bad things have happened around this part of the neighborhood, but, I as far as people feeling safe in this building, I think it's very, very secure. You know, and they have camera's throughout the building.

Do you think that's why people move here?: I think people move here cause it's cheap.

If you compare this place to the place that just opened up on chapel street, it's like, this is heaven, and the fact that you are paying less than you would pay for . . . you know, I think the key and the magic word for living here is its very inexpensive. Whether you're on section 8 or on disability or um a person who's working and paying rent, I think it's a good deal, but when it comes down to the fact of how they advertise themselves, this building could be a little more, I don't know, let's say . . . they could check into people's background more. Cause they check people's background but in reality whose to say whose bringing whom in, cause I've experienced certain situations where I've asked myself, How could this have happened?

There was one time, I was looking out my sister's window and this guy was yelling, I said God, what's he yelling for, and he broke the back door with a stick. And I said, wow, maybe I should call management. I called management and I said listen, somebody just broke the back door, the glass is all shattered and everything, they even found a ladder, so the guy must have gotten over with a ladder, so I called management, I said look, What's goin on, I mean my sister lives here. Why is this happening, It's 4 o'clock in the morning . . . and I'm calling management and they said oh, well, we'll look into it. We'll see what happened. I actually called the cops, too. And they have camera's here, so they said why don't you find out what's goin on, cause I think, basically, you have to have security. You have to find out what happened . . . for the management to say, look, we don't know what happened. We don't know what happened blah, blah blah.

Management response, do you think they respond less to people here than to those who pay the rent: I think so, I think so, I think so. All because the fact of the matter is they should have known what happened. That was a security issue . . . they didn't come till like 2 hours later. The police basically looked at the building and said we'll file a report.

It really doesn't matter, because it's a place for her to stay, but if this place were, I hate to use the word, ghetto, I wouldn't want to be a part of it.

Respondent 20. I think being in a unit, you know being in a highrise, a building, I think I decided that wasn't for me and that'll probably never be for me again. It felt, I was getting claustrophobic. Like a bee in a honeycomb.

Wouldn't cite safety as a concern or a benefit of the place. Which is something I agree with.

[Was shocked when I asked her about the story about the child in the bathtub to avoid stray bullets across from Center Street Lounge.]

VIII. COMMUNITY SPACES, COMMUNITY EVENTS:

Respondent 1. There's an event every year run by the development, but doesn't lead to many more sustained interactions; he attends "sometimes" though. When asked whether the development tries to either foster or prevent interactions between those of different housing status, he said "not really".

Respondent 2. Community room, never used it. No organized events.

Gym? Yes. Likes it. Very convenient. Every once in a while others come in. Sometimes she'll talk to them. Some people you can tell don't want to say nothing so you don't say nothing. Doesn't try to push themselves. Some feel like talking others don't.

The courtyards? Sometimes. Conversations, sitting in the courtyards.

Respondent 3. Opportunities to interact: I think so. People have been pretty friendly with me. No one bypasses me because I might look like a minority, Hispanic.

My sons like to use the gym. It's been pretty cool. Educational, that the gym is an access. My sons are a little bit older. I see little kids playing with each other. My sons are teenagers, so they really don't have anyone to associate with in the building per se. But I've seen the smaller children play outside. I believe they are from both [tenures]. One of the ladies, her daughter, she is a little handicapped, and I see her play with the other kids, so I don't think that's been an issue.

Don't use carriage house. Have to pay. Haven't had a chance to rent it out. They did have a small event at one time, when they opened up the front street. They had some pizza and some soda. I think that was pretty cool because it gave people a chance to interact. That's the only event like that that I've experienced. [Project Storefont's opening party].

Elevator, hallways, courtyards. We always bypass each other. The neighbors I have are pretty nice and decent. I haven't had any problems with them. I'm not a problematic person. I'm a homebody. When I'm not going to work, I pass them in the hallway, I say hi. A couple of them in the building that I was able to feel comfortable to say hi to.

Kids – they like it because I said they like going to work out. They like the fact that they have more access to the commute back and forth, being the fact that every bus you take in new haven takes you back to downtown.

Respondent 5. I don't want too many people conjugating. I'm in the Chamberlain bldg. with the deli downstairs. The potential [for interaction] is there, we felt like we were in grenwich village in NY with all the shops, but at nighttime it is a whole different animal. They used to have in the chamberlain a really nice common area, with a couch, and high backed chairs, and unfortunately there was security that wasn't too tough. It was homey and comfortable, a place to wait for a ride. But people were living there. And so they removed it. Instead of reinforcing the rules, they just eliminated. Sometimes you want to sit outside but you don't have that here. I know people that live in other complexes that have areas where you can have a cookout, but there is nothing like that here.

Because there is no where to sit and talk you see people in passing.

We have had functions where they have cookouts or pizza and you just meet your neighbors – they really try to do things that try to incorporate a community based type of activity. They work for those who want involvement. But not everyone want to be bothered but that's fine too.

Respondent 7. People use the gym and the carriage house (didn't really elaborate)

Respondent 8. She knows there's a gym and the coach-house you can rent to have parties and things. She uses the gym, but not to socialize.

Do you know of any events or activities arranged by the management for the residents? "Not recently. They used to have them all the time, you know pizza parties to get to know your neighbor. I think the last ones were in November and December." She did not go because she "was out of town," but a couple of her friends went.

Respondent 11. Gym, no. Carriage house - hadn't heard of it. Courtyards, no. I don't think they do a really great job of upkeep. The dumpster is pretty visible. The weather sucks. I walk through them, but don't hang out.

Respondent 12. Our bldg has less common space than others. Common courtyard area behind mgmt is nice and well maintained. People do hang out there. Smoke. Walk dogs. Picnic areas.

Gym, no. Carriage house – didn't know about it.

Courtyards- Yeah. Sat out there and eaten at the picnic tables. Went out with my dad who was visiting. Didn't talk to anyone else.

The courtyard behind our bldg is not nice bec its also the refuse area for Red, Bentara. But they are emptied with great regularity. No common areas, though.

The structure doesn't promote community in any special ways. I hadn't even heard of the community center. I rarely read the posts they slide under your door, so they may have events I don't know about. For same reasons as before, I don't know if I'd attend any of those things. (i.e. student)

Respondent 13. I know like when it gets nice outside, they have cookouts and things in the back and lot of people go to that. And this new project, they do things. I don't really know about my building.

I've used the carriage house twice. I had a party for my nephew and niece. No there's a lot of girls that have children.

I talk with my neighbor on the first floor, a Spanish lady, we sit down in the courtyard and talk.

Respondent 14. I feel like there's been flyers placed in my door about community events. I've never attended any of them. Why not? I guess I've never had an interest, I guess I would be more likely to go if I knew someone else who was going. Like last year I didn't know anyone in the building, now I know someone who's moving in. a couple of SOM people there, so I would be more likely to go if I knew they were going but . . . I don't like going to parties without knowing anybody. So, that's largely why.

Respondent 15. courtyards: it sort of depends on weather

carriage house: I go sometimes

Respondent 17. Described space behind her as courtyard.

Respondent 18. There is no courtyard really, just like an alley-type thing between the garage and the building and that's where the trucks make their deliveries.

Used the gym sometimes. I had two back operations so I couldn't use it much.

As to others, they don't use the gym that much. One or two people. One time there was a group of four boys in there, they didn't use the nicest language.

I don't see that many kids. No place for them to play. GGrandkids. Out to the school bus and into the apartment that's what they do because there is no place to play. My granddaughter can't send her kids out to play. There is a little area outside but you got to go out there with them. I wish she would move.

Didn't go to events because of her back. In fact, the manager invited me over himself, but I couldn't go.

no body knows who's paying full price or whatever, unless someone tells them. The way the place is built there is no room for convocating. I like it that way, I stay out of people's business, they stay out of mine

Sometimes used the bus. Doesn't like the bus. Got sick last time. [because of how packed they are].

Respondent 19. No, no, no. there is gymnasium that people go to, but I think that the only people that use it feel comfortable using it. I think that, I hate to say it, I think that people on low income, they could probably say, well, look, I don't think we're welcome here, more or less, cause like maybe their just not used to doing that or whatever. But I think that in reality it's like, you know, either you enjoy yourself living here and feel comfortable, which I think a lot of people do, or, you feel like, oh I think I made a mistake, there's a lot of low income people and I feel like, oh they're different from I guess who we are.

Respondent 20. I actually probably would have had more people over, connected with more people - it's the nature of the building, the actual physical - it's the nature of the physical building, corridors - and you had very little time to connect with people in elevators, so there was a lot of friendly hellos to people but I had very little time to actually stop and chat with people.

About Courtyards, Gym: I never knew of any parties, not once, never heard of them. I never met anybody in the gym. I used it. And I never used the courtyards. Never once [used the community center] and didn't know it existed.

Described the courtyard behind the Chamberlain as a "courtyard".

VIII. NEIGHBORHOOD RESOURCES AND RESOURCES IN THE BROADER CITY:

Respondent 2. Restaurants are nice, but expensive. Expensive because downtown. Too expensive for section 8.

Clubs along Crown? Can hear them. Make a lot of noise. But not too much trouble. Just like living everywhere else. Downtown ghetto. Thought she had moved away from the gunfire, moved right into it.

Markets are nice. Really nice. People are friendly.

Been in to artspace. It's nice.

Shops along lower Chapel Street? Uses those.

[Amenities are] Too focused on the market rates.

Not really helping fill the gap – still downtown. Have to pay the price for being downtown.

Would like something like the old Shaws. Nothing around here. You either have to go to westhaven, hill, Hamden. Usually gets a ride with a kid.

Compared to where she used to live [in Newhallville], the resources here are different. [when asked, mentioned that just put a check-cashing place downtown.] Doesn't like that there is no mkt.

Respondent 3. I've never been to the restaurants that are close by. I would have liked to.

Maybe too expensive for li.

Arts installations – don't know about that. . .

No barbershops/salons.

Shops along lower chapel: there is the front street little stores, they are available [Project Storefront]. Upcycle. That's pretty cool. They got some pretty cool stuff in there. They allowed people to go in and take a browse. I don't know about mixing there: I think people having little less income – because their stuff is expensive – that would be difficult for people with low incomes to go in and shop.

Respondent 4. I'm on a fixed income – I go to that store, ninth square market. But I don't have none of that. I might go get a pizza, or some Chinese food. But my budget just doesn't reach that. The way I go grocery shopping, I have food stamps. I take the bus. The buses are very convenient here.

But doesn't mind. She likes the way it is. Hey, it's living quarters. The way they have it set up with the restaurants is nice. If they be anymore you'd have people coming here and you don't want that. We already have the clubs with the youths and stuff. But they done quieted them down. Ninth square is a nice place to live. It would be nice if something came along on chapel, but here, we are good to go.

Respondent 5. Restaurants – doesn't use that. Carriage house – we use that with a couple sorittities. Nice little setup. Not residents here, though. I reserve it in advance.

I have been two at least two of the places – bentara is a pretty good restaurant. Fosters was horrible. And down the street is an Indian. There not there for the tenants. Most of the people you see are from outside the city. There are a few people – it is so transient (yale students), few older professional affrican Americans, those with families. Children aren't a problem. You see kids waiting for buses, but you don't see them causing problems

Respondent 6. Takes public transportation, likes that it's near the bus stop. Uses the shops around ninth square.

Respondent 7. Mother uses many of the stores in the area (Rite Aid, Eddy's, the 9th square deli, the pizza place)

Sometimes mother takes public transportation, but usually her sons drive her around because she has been ill for about the past 15 years

Respondent 8. She said that she "likes to eat out" and thinks the restaurants in the ninth square are "pretty reasonable". When asked if many other residents' find the restaurants/shops to expensive, she said "Yeah, some of them do."

When asked about resources that aren't available that she thinks she would use regularly, she said, "Well there's the library, the law office with community services around the corner at state... pretty much everything is right there."

Respondent 9. The restaurants and shops of 9th square: "Like them all" reasonably priced.

Respondent 10. "some of the restaurants are reasonably priced." What could they use in terms of amenities: "something like a walmart – they could use something like that.. or a department store would be nice to have. They have family dollar, but that's not the same...they used to have some thrift shops when I first moved in, but they're gone.

Respondent 11. Doesn't go to church. As to wanting more: Not really. You are always going to want grocery. The place I lived in DC had a convenient store, and Atlanta was a similar food desert to NH.

Respondent 12. Coffee shop on orange street. Aside from being in my apt. I don't hang out much there.

Bentara. Firehouse sometimes. Marco Polo to grab some slices. 116 on occ.

I do a lot of grocery store shopping and eat because I like how he runs.

Scappo Market. Good. Willoughbys quite often. Chinese Grocery, cheap, produce is good, the lady is amused about me buying boK choy. Bentara if people take me. I have read several good reviews of the new iteration of Fosters, which was horrible.

Cask Republic. Firehouse. The bartenders there are serious.

Clubs - Once or twice.

Artspace did a community event – they put flyers under the doors - that was remarkably well attended. The management itself did a spring concert two months ago. Streamers. Band. Well attended.

Doesn't go to church.

aside from that one deli, and rite aid, everything around there caters to more of an upscale crowd. But you get over to chapel and the ballgame changes, that do cater to that community more.

Project Storefronts is achieving its role of keeping people there. What this is really going to hinge on in the success of 360 State.

360 state is way overpriced. Aren't filled nearly as much. Centerpointe is similarly tremendously more expensive than ours.

I actively don't want to move. But that could be for many reasons. If I were to say what I like about the neighborhood, it would be Eddy and the Ninth Sq mkt. Everyone knows him. If you want to talk about one person anchoring a community that would be him. I hadn't been in there for a wk, and was sick, and he was asking me how I was doing. The presence of one person, all the time, the continuity is a huge part of it. And everyone else is his family. There is a shop between orange and church, says "no change without purchase" feels much less welcoming – probably on purpose trying to keep people out waiting for busses – he's different. To the extent he's trying to keep a business successful, without discriminating. Huge influx of business from construction workers for Comm College.

I bought a membership for the new coop. And they are good about reducing income. They flyer'd our building for that – under the doorstep. I think they'll rightfully receive flack if they are crunchy and granola-y and don't serve the poorer people.

Respondent 14. Retail serving one aspect of residents more than another: It does seem that some of the commercial spaces around here are geared more towards the middle-class people that are paying rent, like Miso is here and Firehouse 12, yeah low-income people are probably not eating or drinking there, um that convenient store isn't especially well-priced, but there's no competition in terms of grocery stores, so that's the market. There's a jeweler too that rights underneath me and that's obviously for the people with the money . . . that's probably not something tha mixed income people would need.

What would you put here instead? I don't know . . . Is it the role of these stores to provide areas for bridging: Obviously, from the stores' point of view it's there goal to make money and they're going to make more if they target people with money. There are places that people from mixed income need . . . yeah, a normal grocery store, a playground . . . there is Café 9, that's a little more divey . . . the places where the mixed income people, and of course this is just my perception, meet are based more around children, playgrounds, school, that would get some of the families meeting . . .of course that wouldn't get me but . . . like a dog park. A lot of people have dogs.

Respondent 15. (Community?): Well, most of the people we meet are at the restaurant. My wife teaches Italian classes over there . . . and they become and friends and they come to the restaurant and become regulars. So it's probably our business that becomes our community the most, rather than, not even Church because of our schedules, I don't even go to the same church as my wife because of the schedule, that's the stability of the restaurant . . . and that's where, everybody we know, they know us as this family who owns a restaurant, it's more intimate, our relationship with customers

Not the store, the store is different, it's more like day people, still we make an impact and that's what it's all about. How can you make an impact? And people know us. My daughter and I, we went to church one day and people from her college were there, and they turned around, the people in front of us and said "You're the Scappo's dude!" and I

thought that was pretty wild. There's a responsibility that goes along with that too, so we're pretty much integrated into this community, both socially and economically.

Respondent 17. Buffalo wild wings, Dunkin' Donuts, Beauty shop on corner to buy products, and then sometimes I go to Marko Polo. Ninth square market. Mercato. He's a really nice guy, Eddie. And then there's another one, on College Street. And Center Street, there's Vito's, they have really good salads.

Doesn't use any of the restaurants, but still thinks the retail is "somewhat" suited to the development.

My son. . . he's doing great out here. He's in a really good school. He's in the first grade and he's at the third grade reading level.

Were going to the Green to play with son and niece and another boy her son's age.

Respondent 18. The drug store was close. No other resources. Didn't go around to other places. Used the dollar store on chapel. That's a long walk for me.

Respondent 20.

IX. INTERACTIONS WITHIN THE DEVELOPMENT:

Respondent 1. Gets along with residents, good friends with "an older lady" who lives on his hall. Not particularly close with any others.

Respondent 2. I don't have any friends here. I don't go and knock on nobody's door. No one. You live over there and I live here and keep it like that. But I'm friendly in the elevator. Have conversations. Felt the same way everywhere she lived.

Most people like her. In her building. No one is hanging out in the hallways – nowhere to sit. Come in door, get in elevator, go to apt

Talks to around 10 people. Met them all there.

How many of them would you say are from a different housing status than you? Doesn't know. Not a clue. People don't talk about it at all. Impolite to inquire about it.

Only have two bedrooms can't fit too many kids. Not many kids in the development.

No petition to raise heat. No tenant association. Probably should be. Some people talk about it, but they don't do anything. I'm not doing that. Been there, done that. Keep going to meetings, talk about the same things, shit still don't get done.

How much are residents actually participating in these processes?

None. Individual complaints. No group.

Respondent 3. Where I live, there are quite a few people who pay market rate and section 8. They make friends. I know quite a few people who work who interact with people on disability, Section 8. I don't think that's an issue. More interaction than that: Not in the bldg I live. My kids are a little more to themselves. They'll say hi if someone says hi to them. They go out to school. They are more homebodies also. Sometimes well go sit outside. That's basically about it. They don't go hang out outside. One of my kids is in JROTC, so most of the time, they come home late from school, they don't socialize a lot. But the guy who lives in front of me [presumably market-rate]. He's nice. We say hi to each other. My neighbors from down the hall.

Being the fact that the gym there, with the carriage house, and the little courtyard, I think it would be a little bit easier [to interact with people] in the summer time – in the winter time you don't hardly see anybody [outside]. But like I was telling you with the front street stores, everyone said hi. Not everyone spoke to you, but they said hi.

See Rules and Mgmt for her ideals v. reality of community organizing.

Respondent 4. I don't know about how people mix. I just pay my rent. I don't know none of that. I just live my life, and whatever someone else is I don't know. I don't go visit no one around here. But I feel safe.

Beautiful relationships. Give you hugs and all that stuff. Makes you feel welcome and wonderful.

Everyone keeps to themselves, their own business. Maintenance is no problem, comes in and fixes it. Rarely has problems.

Comfortable. People say hello and goodmorning goodevening and then usually go in their door. Don't come knock on your door ask anything. Just see each other, you go your way you go mine. Its secure people cant get in unless you buz em in. I have my own busy day. I've grown fantastically living in this area.

Greet each other, we have conversations about different things in the world. I don't know, don't ask their business. All I know is people here pay they rent.

I don't want to get friendly with anybody, this is my living quarters. I don't have time for that. I have a well-filled life. I got to church. Saturday is the only day spend at home.

I don't work, I do volunteer. I don't have time to go sit out in the court yard. It just doesn't fit in my life. I lke to reed. I like to do art. I like the focus. I'm 56 and alone now. I been there done that – having friends and visiting. My life right now is going a different direction. I love helping people that's me. But as far as when I come home, I'm home for relaxation and peace and enjoyment in my home. That's what home's about – it's not about "hey come over." It's just me. Finally, in my life, I've learnt about friends. I have people in my life that's very loving. But they are working people, on committees. Everything is just fine. I'm making some fried zuchinni, just enough for me, no one coming over to eat. Nobody knocking on my door.

Ain't no hanging out around here. Just getting to business. All the shooting and stealing, it's all downtown and everywhere. But if you want to take a walk, go to the green if you want to sit outside. I had every night, when I went out in the summer.

[She's on plenty of committees, but those] committees aren't in Ninth Square. This is where I live. They aren't here. Church aint here. I'm about helping people. Finding themselves. Being on the right track with your life. [she volunteers heavily, but sees it as her home, not her place to get involved].

Respondent 5. Say hi to people. There are people on the floor that I know them and they no me. No sitting down conversations – nowhere to have them. I think that's too bad.

No friends that she'd do more with.

Community activism: The fact that I'm above a night club is miserable. A couple of us tried to get together, and we called the police, and the alderperson and we had a meeting and were able to voice our concerns.

I don't socialize in this neighborhood.

Respondent 6. she has no friends, does not have anyone over for dinner, borrow sugar, etc. Her neighbors have helped her with her electricity before. Sees neighbors in hallway, seem friendly. It's comfortable, everyone's clean.

Respondent 7. most residents stay quiet, a lot commute; community is peaceful, positive; people know each other

Some residents have been there for a long time; some come and go because of the rent or because they are students at Yale

He thinks all different types of residents hang out together, apartment parties, etc. (not clear if he was talking about students hanging out together or students hanging out with other types of residents)

There are some "gossipers" that people don't really like: they don't really do anything, they gather up on the benches across the street in front of the art place and gossip about other residents; he says they are usually section 8 people; he's been in many of their apartments (when he used to be staff) and says they were often "filthy" not taken care of

Respondent 8. She "keeps to herself." Most of the residents in the building "pretty much keep to themselves." She knows there's a gym and the coach-house you can rent to have parties and things. She uses the gym, but not to socialize. Has a daughter who is currently a sophomore in college. She has "a couple friends in the building."

About her neighbors: "You know, we speak and everything..."

When asked about whether or not the residents had ever gotten together to try to do something about things like the fixed heat, etc. she said, "Yeah, we talked about it, but most people were nervous about doing that." She thought that they might be nervous about getting kicked out, etc.

Respondent 9. Do you interact?: "They go their way, I go mine." "I try to keep a very low profile ... to many people live here ... I do know quite a few people, though." Have any of your neighbors ever helped you in any way? "No, not really."

Do section 8 and other residents interact? "Oh yes." Where, in the hallways? "Yeah"

Respondent 10. Interactions with other residents: "I'm not a visitor, maybe one or two people I know, I usually don't run from place to place." "There's some nice people and then there's some people you don't want to deal with."

Respondent 11. I definitely say hi, but I'm not that neighborly, probably because I'm not expecting to stay there that long.

Identify by stereotypes – depending on how they are dressed, their dialect. More African American. I think our building, of the lower income folks are mostly African American. I don't see that many. The only people I see who are likely MI are those with disabilities.

I have no clue about what types of people live where. 44 (Stonehill House) doesn't seem any different. I walk through there to get mail, car, but doesn't seem diffn't than mine.

"As to barriers to interaction": Aside from identifying people as sketchy, it's just that I'm not there long term.

Respondent 12. A lot of kids there. But a lot of kids that don't have access to the bldg for whatever reason – grandparents, kids after school or something. I'm holding the door open for these kids. One guy on my floor mentioned – finally get to escape the kids. That apartment is likely MI.

I've met her several times. Elevator rides. All very nice people. The kids are exceptionally polite, always saying thank you.

The walls are thick. I can't hear them. They play, but it wouldn't be something to complain about.

Another guy is a nurse. They make a lot of money. I can hear a dog sometimes.

No stereotypes I've heard about kids. More units without than with.

It's a city apt bldg, so we don't invite people over for picnics and shit. But compared to other places like that,

It is diffn't when I get in an elevator with another white person. On multiple occasions, this guy want's to be my buddy, - which way is your window facing, have you had a bullet come through. That's odd. There are professionals of all races, too, which is good.

certainly apts with lots of kids. Some for people with severe disabilities.

[Interactions mostly happen] in elevator – small talk. I know the one woman by name. But I can't remember it. I'm bad at names generally. The kids on the third floor are really really nice. The kids on the 6th floor nice but the 3d floor ones are actively friendly. I also come and go at odd times.

In Ninth Square Market, cause people hang out there. There are a couple tables there.

I like the bldg bec. people are more cordial than in other apt bldgs, but probably not enough to support any of the theories. But to the extent that small talk in an elevator is imp't for anyone's social development, that

As to why: I don't think there are many [my roommate] and I's age in the bldg., so I think we are a bit of a novelty.

I have introduced myself to everyone on my floor. If I see someone I haven't met on my floor I'll introduce myself. They are all very different: gay man and friend who are both nurses, then the family, then an older couple. My sense is that they aren't best friends because they are all at very different stages in their lives. The courtyard behind our bldg is not nice bec its also the refuse area for Red, Bentara. But they are emptied with great regularity. No common areas, though.

don't know if kids on 3 and 6 know each other.

I actively don't want to move. But that could be for many reason. If I were to say what I like about the neighborhood, it would be Eddy and the Ninth Sq mkt. Everyone knows him. If you want to talk about one person anchoring a community that would be him. I hadn't been in there for a wk, and was sick, and he was asking me how I was doing. The presence of one person, all the time, the continuity is a huge part of it. And everyone else is his family. There is a shop between orange and church, says "no change without purchase" feels much less welcoming – probably on purpose trying to keep people out waiting for busses – he's different. To the extent he's trying to keep a business successful, without discriminating. Huge influx of business from construction workers for Comm College.

Respondent 13. No. Well I'm an outgoing person. I talk to everybody, everybody knows me. Everybody loves me. White, black, Chinese, I talk to everybody. Lot of money Little bit of money. Everybody.

I know everyone on my floor with the exception of one lady who just moved in.

I don't entertain, but there's this one lady, Georgia, has Sunday dinners. And George, that guy with the dog you just saw earlier, we went up there. He lives across the hall from me. But I haven't entertained, yet. We are very friendly.

I've used the carriage house twice. I had a party for my nephew and niece. No there's a lot of girls that have children.

I talk with my neighbor on the first floor, a Spanish lady, we sit down in the courtyard and talk.

Respondent 14. Your floor?: Not really, I feel like I'm more likely to encounter the rent-subsidized tenants because they probably don't keep working hours. You know, I don't either because I'm a student, so I feel like when I leave at 10 o'clock in the morning, the people I run into generally aren't working. There's some people I run into on my floor.

I feel like there's been flyers placed in my door about community events. I've never attended any of them. Why not? I guess I've never had an interest, I guess I would be more likely to go if I knew someone else who was going. Like last year I didn't know anyone in the building, now I know someone who's moving in. a couple of SOM people there, so I would be more likely to go if I knew they were going but . . . I don't like going to parties without knowing anybody. So, that's largely why.

Kids: do you see kids playing with kids seemingly from other "groups": typically I only see kids when they're with their parents. Even if they're waiting for the school bus, usually there's a parent there with them.

Loitering: I've never really noticed that.

I mean I don't interact with the neighbors unless we happen to be in the hall a lot together.

If long-term resident?: I really don't know, the last places I've lived I'd always thought of myself as a long-term resident and I still didn't meet people.

Respondent 15. Did you know people on your floor: Yeah

Did you ever invite anyone over for dinner: Sure. It was that kind of atmosphere. I don't feel like, uh, I was up here and people were up here. It wasn't stratified, I know a guy who didn't have a job, I knew he was getting assisted housing, but we were friends. If I were taking on an assisted project apartment and expecting to find a job from somebody else who lives there, I would be retired by now.

Level of interaction: I've never been to anyone else's apartment, they've never been to me. Outside . . . nothing really . . . we got to know some of the people really well, they got sick . . . frankly, we never really had the time, you know we'd be there almost to one o'clock in the morning at the restaurant, get up late and start the store up . . . even on the day off, we're out shopping, there was never really any time to meet anyone, maybe on a Monday night we'd go out to the movies (you and your wife), so I think it's more of the business . . . maybe if I worked at an office and I came home after work I'd have more time, because that's it, I'd have the evening to myself. It's not workin out like that especially with the resident.

Neighbors do that, interact?: Yeah, at least in the smaller one's it's like that . . . we knew them pretty well but it wasn't like, "hey, come over Tuesday night," we didn't have a Tuesday night.

So I think that's part of it, you know, they have their things to do and I have mine and they don't mesh very easily. As far as social interaction, I saw pretty well here in this part

of the complex. I wonder if it's the same in the other building where there's a lot of tenants.

(And this happened across the divide?)Like I said here, a couple people were disabled, and there was a couple, like a low-income couple, their kids came down to the store . . . it's a pretty compatible group of people . . . and everyone's been there for a long time. I lived there 6 years, the other guys . . . I mean that kid who just walked by, they come into the store, I mean, it's a pretty comfy neighborhood, and I just think it gets a little more anonymous when you have a bigger building because everyone doesn't know each other and there's just not the same ownership when you just have 25 apartments. That's the impression I get, it's better in these apartments, in these places over here . . . you know, you see a lot of the people, like there's another guy who's disabled, you see all the time, come into my store or . . . but that's okay, he's my friend too, so I like it around here, it's a good mix of people

(Community?): Well, most of the people we meet are at the restaurant. My wife teaches Italian classes over there . . . and they become and friends and they come to the restaurant and become regulars. So it's probably our business that becomes our community the most, rather than, not even Church because of our schedules, I don't even go to the same church as my wife because of the schedule, that's the stability of the restaurant . . . and that's where, everybody we know, they know us as this family who owns a restaurant, it's more intimate, our relationship with customers

Not the store, the store is different, it's more like day people, still we make an impact and that's what it's all about. How can you make an impact? And people know us. My daughter and I, we went to church one day and people from her college were there, and they turned around, the people in front of us and said "You're the Scappo's dude!" and I thought that was pretty wild. There's a responsibility that goes along with that too, so we're pretty much integrated into this community, both socially and economically.

Respondent 16. I got some friends, yeah, I got one neighbor, I say "hi, how was your day?" (Interaction?) I call sometime, but really really I don't have any friends . . . (Meridan). I got more friends over there.

Respondent 17. In response to question about seeing mixing, interaction, friendships: "I do. I do."

On her floor: "the girl next door to me, I know her because we went to elementary school together. And the guy next to me. I know him but I met him. I don't know him that well. To the left of me, there's my cousin."

In response to: "So I imagine that you go over to their places and they come over" – "No. No, not really. I do actually, the one who is my cousin . . . I do her hair every now and then."

Saying hi in the hallway. "I just speak with them." Elevator, hallways, in front if she is sitting on the bench or walking around. But she did know everyone around superficially.

Said hello to 5 persons as we stood in front of the Stonehill house over the course of 24 minutes.

Respondent 18. Relationships – knew one guy on her floor, can't remember her name. As you pass by you say hi or something, that one guy I said two or three more words. But a lady on the fifth floor, we were friends, because she was bringing her niece

downstairs to take the bus and I was bringing my great-grandkids to the bus and we would talk during this.

There was a girl there that was a pain in the butt, they finally got her out. She talked to much, always in people's business. She would pass other people's business around. But I never got that close to her. People made complaints about her. They finally did get her out – they couldn't raise her rent because she was section 8 – but they got her out. She had a handicap – mentally. She was functional though.

On her own she raises that she liked the diversity. There are a lot of people - Black, white, Puerto Rican, Oriental – it stays cleaner, nicer. Except for those college kids. They are lazy. They drop cups in the elevator. Leave their garbage anywhere they feel like it.

The way the place is built there is no room for convocating. I like it that way, I stay out of people's business, they stay out of mine. It's not to great an idea to get to close to people where you live. For one thing, there are people who tend to take advantage of you. I had that over there and over here. One lady who lived next to my gdaughter, she wants me to do this and do that. Bugging me to get my car back. Just latched onto me. She needs all the time. She needs all the time. Now this one here, she knocked on my door. I didn't answer. She's my ggkids granddaughter, heard I was moving over here she said "o good, someone can give me aride. I don't mind helping people, but they act like its my job. That's the one thing about getting close to people – they borroow and borrow and don't pay back.

quiet place, people just come and go and take care of their own business. I don't see a problem Like I said, there isn't a lot of room for convocating there . . .

Respondent 19. Any friends: Yeah, I honestly think, when people come to this building they find out, the professionals, like Yale students or whatever, I think when they find out that it is mixed income, they kind of shy away from it and move out more quickly than others. That's what I experienced.

Friends? Not really, not yet. I do, I do, I'm very friendly.

I think a lot of times people who live in this building, they're set in there ways, as far as like going through the art stores or going through the wine shop or whatever. I think that people who live here tend to keep to themselves as far as not associating with other people. The fact that you see a woman strolling with her three kids, and you know that the fact that she's not working or whatever, I think that people who live here basically tolerate that.

Hanging out: No, no, no. there is gymnasium that people go to, but I think that the only people that use it feel comfortable using it. I think that, I hate to say it, I think that people on low income, they could probably say, well, look, I don't think we're welcome here, more or less, cause like maybe their just not used to doing that or whatever. But I think that in reality it's like, you know, either you enjoy yourself living here and feel comfortable, which I think a lot of people do, or, you feel like, oh I think I made a mistake, there's a lot of low income people and I feel like, oh they're different from I guess who we are. Their tolerant, but I think they eventually move out.

Respondent 20. About her interactions with others, inviting others in: I remember when I first moved in, one of the guys who I suspected sold drugs helped me move my things

into my house and I paid him, but not since after that. But I did talk to him is and his family after that. And there was another woman, I wasn't sure what her financial status was. She was a single parent in her 50s in school at night and working and her kid was at school. She may have had some disability. [later she says, "but she didn't work a lot so I think she was getting some kind of public support"] She had a lot of medications. She invited me over to her place a lot and she gave me like plants and stuff and I had her over every once in a while. I actually probably would have had more people over, connected with more people - it's the nature of the building, the actual physical - it's the nature of the physical building, corridors - and you had very little time to connect with people in elevators, so there was a lot of friendly hellos to people but I had very little time to actually stop and chat with people.

About others' interactions, interactions in common spaces: Not much. There was very little connecting. And if there was commotion it was families, sets of families making noise, or like I said, this guy who was in his twenties and his friends who was kind of hanging out in front and not in the courtyard. I was going to say, the people I did get along with that I talked to a lot were the janitorial staff. I did talk . . . I mean I saw them all the time, so I did develop a rapport with them. And I don't know what their background is, they are sort of not a part of the building but are maintenance, I guess. Yeah.

But I mean, the very things that made do things like that were the very reasons I left. Because it was a chore to keep up with my neighbors, and it was something I liked doing. You'll do it. And you realize, it matters. And it is so much better if it is residential like this and not like a building.

We just really don't connect. I mean they might feel safer and have cleaner buildings because of people like me who might complain [volunteers this]. But that is not the same as connecting, and not feeling maybe treated differently by management.

[as a black female:] They white residents wouldn't really talk to me. And the Black working class men would make inappropriate comments to me, not realizing that when I open my mouth, there's no chance in hell that that would happen. And I think there is a lot to that. I don't think you can solve class problems without race or race without class.

X. IDENTIFICATION OF DIFFERENT TENURES/PREJUDICES/TENSIONS:

Respondent 1. A doctor (market-rate) used to live across the hall from him.

Respondent 2. You don't know how much neighbor pays. Everyone is mixed up together. All different kinds of people live in each place. Not marked by race. Doesn't know. Not a clue. People don't talk about it at all. Impolite to inquire about it.

Respondent 3. I've seen a lot of people, I've seen them showing apts to a lot. Wouldn't know.

[Sounded like the market-rate tenants received units above storefronts facing the street, subsidized tenants in the back, over the courtyard].

With my experience of market rate renters – I haven't really experienced anything out of the ordinary. *Just because they live on one side and me on the other.* I wouldn't know how to answer that question. If you called me in a year, I might be able to answer that better. But I haven't been able to tell yet.

I haven't heard about any stigma. No matter where you live, you are going to have people that think they are better than you, maybe because of the fact that you are low income and they are market rate. You might get that from some people. Not everyone is as courteous or as social or as outgoing or as optimistic as you are. You might see things that it doesn't matter that you are market rate or low income, my point of view is that . . .

You have your "bourgee" [bourgeois] people. People that raise their noses up and look down on you. But you have that everywhere. It's a little difficult. Like I said I haven't been here that long. I don't know how everyone exactly is. I don't know that there are people that feel that they are better just because they live one side and you live on the other. I haven't had any experience like that.

I had one tenant talk to me from another bldg. [seemed to presume was a market rate building and surprised that the tenant spoke with her]. And she was pretty nice but the bldg she was living I thought it was mkt rate. But when I saw working class [i.e. not market rate] people in my bldg paying the market rate. There would be people . . .

Definitely a bias about minorities. Some people don't like white people; some people don't like blacks; some people don't like Hispanics . I have had an experience that I don't really want to get into so far as the bldg itself. *One of the maintenance workers. I got the feedback like another "spic."* But I mean, I'm a person that I just brush it off and keep going. Life isn't over just because someone doesn't like you. I personally get along with everyone.

Respondent 5. All mixed in. Even apts for handicapped people. On our initial tour you could see apartments with lower shelves, counters and so on.

Can't tell who'se who. Everything is all mushed in. Some of the apartments here are efficiencies where you have great big rooms and single men or women and older people but you. Apts don't look different.

Does'nt know tenure of her neighbors, friends. And that's the way it should be. Being that people who are on fixed incomes – that's a personal issue, I should not know what their finances are, as long as they are decent people we are in the same mind set want a decent place to live. There are people here who have had dubious behaviors and they are no longer here.

Your intelligence shouldn't have anything to do with your income. As an adult, you should treat others as you want to be treated. Being on fixed income should not affect how you treat your neighbor.

I was a professional woman. And I came from the projects. As a kid. Basically, there was mixed income there. I lived there twice, and my father made too much money and we had to move out. My mother got divorced, and we moved back in. You didn't have any rich people. But you had working class taking care of families. Those who bought homes moved out. That shouldn't make a difference, If you are not climbing the walls and driving people crazy I have no problems with you.

Tensions – very little interaction. Doesn't see any beefs going on, any argument. Only time I ever spoke to people as a group was with the club.

No racial tension. People are integrated. People are the same. I had a Hispanic lady – she was an older woman – its more age than anything else that brings them together or keeps them apart.

The majority of low income are women with families. Other than that, you see a retiree coming and going but you don't know.

Section 8 [people] . . . You don't know. At least she's trying to better herself. I got no problem with that. One of the things I do see is "birds of a feather flock together." You take that kid out of the environment and the pressure – here you got no place to hang, that's one thing they do enforce. When you got the conjugation you got the problem. There's no place to conjugate.

Respondent 7. Some residents have been there for a long time; some come and go because of the rent or because they are students at Yale. Through "gossip" people pretty much know who's section 8, who's paying rent, the students are pretty obvious.

There are some "gossipers" that people don't really like: they don't really do anything, they gather up on the benches across the street in front of the art place and gossip about other residents; he says they are usually section 8 people; he's been in many of their apartments (when he used to be staff) and says they were often "filthy" not taken care of

Respondent 8. She said that people can't tell who is paying different rents. It's anonymous.

Respondent 9. Students on "the 6th floor, I'm on the fifth"?

Respondent 10. Different incomes: "all I know is what I pay." "There's some nice people and then there's some people you don't want to deal with." Prejudices? "they might have it (prejudices) but they don't say it"

Respondent 11. [As to barriers to interaction]: Aside from identifying people as sketchy, it's just that I'm not there long term.

[as to difference in interactions] No difference.

Respondent 12. Clothing. There are a lot of professionals in the building are diverse. If someone is walking in in a suit and tie . . . There are two people I've met who are full time aids, so I don't know how severe disability fits in.

It is diffn't when I get in an elevator with another white person. On multiple occasions, this guy want's to be my buddy, - which way is your window facing, have you had a bullet come through? That's odd.

Aside from two isolated instances of white people thinking that we were white people buddies. [My roommate] was in the elevator, talking about weed thinking he'd be okay with it.

Tensions between segments: No people are really warm.

Respondent 13. I don't know (who's subsidized who's not)

In response to if one lives in certain building: (friend: I heard that, I don't know, but I heard that.) No that's not true, but to be honest, that building over there is fuckin' horrible, excuse my language. My building is beautiful. When I was moving in I told Peter please please, if I'm put in that building, I'm not taking it. That building is like the projects. No exaggerating about it like the projects. Seriously. I know two girls who live in my building and they have section 8, and there's a doctor who lives on my floor, you know and stuff like that, we're mixed in.

We know you're not poor, you're going to Yale.

There's some section 8 people who just need a little help in life . . . then you have these crazy ass people. Except for one man on the top floor, I think he gets high or something. And I said, we don't do that stuff in here, you got to get your friends under control.

Respondent 14. Disparities between management treatment: I've not noticed anything . . . um . . . yeah, I can't think of anything.

Where each "type" lives: I don't, and I do remember Elickson saying something about how the subsidized renters were living on the bottom floor and the full-paying tenants were on the upper floors, but I live on the second floor, so that's not the case. I don't know if there is segregation, specific units that are set aside for that. I know that when I moved in there was a different Yale grad student who had been living there.

Your floor?: Not really, I feel like I'm more likely to encounter the rent-subsidized tenants because they probably don't keep working hours. You know, I don't either because I'm a student, so I feel like when I leave at 10 o'clock in the morning, the people I run into generally aren't working. There's some people I run into on my floor.

Stigmas?: I've never really gotten that.

Sense of what I typical subsidized tenant looks like?: The stereotype I would have would be a young, black woman with children.

Children: I don't know if there's a lot. I know that there are children in the building. I'll see them waiting for the bus in the morning. Either waiting by the corner or in the lobby. There's a school bus. Sometimes if I'm getting home around 6 or 7, there'll be parents who've picked up their kids or there'll be kids in the building with McDonald's or something.

Tensions?: I don't think so. I can't recall ever hearing it like that.

Respondent 15. that's why I think this . . . I don't know if approaching it that way is really . . . it's a mix

(prejudices) I don't think so at all, I think everyone got along really well and that's my point, is that we didn't (?) I mean you can tell, (?) but a lot of the people were handicapped, too, in my building, one of these around here, we get a lot of people together, there's a lot less (ownership? leadership?) . . . I mean that's what I hear . . . in these buildings you have 25/30 apartments . . . they don't trash the place

Respondent 16. I don't know because, the apartment you saw across the street, maybe they cost more . . . I don't know . . . but I know people that pay like \$1400, I pay \$168 because that's the only way to pay the rent, it depends your income.

Respondent 17. A lot of children? I would say half and half, yeah half-and-half. They have two bedrooms and then one bedrooms, so you have students and then families . . . and then some single people, too.

The Chamberlain: I actually like that building more. They have cathedral ceilings. Yeah, they're nicer. They're bigger too.

Tensions: I've never noticed it. You can't really assume, you know what I mean. Yeah, you can't really assume. Cause you know who, you know what I mean . . . like . . . you can't really tell, who's paying what, if they have section 8 or if they working. Some people work and they still have help with the rent. You can get a discount also. A gentleman who works with my brother, he lives over there [in the Chamberlain] he gets a discount. It goes by his income.

Among people she knows other than friend and sister whether they receive subsidies, section 8 or pay market rent: "I know a couple people who pay section 8 market rent and I know a doctor, she moved back to Africa. I know a couple doctors too."

But then you have are a lot of people who are elderly, on social security, disability. And there's problems when they move younger people in there. Some of them use drugs, you know, drink and whatever and that makes it bad 'cause I've worked in bouldings where the let some fo the younger people in and I've seen when they let some of the younger people in, they borrow from the elderly people who let them in, cause they're afraid, so you know they let em in. And they get stole from.

You have some of the college people, like from yale, can be nice or they can be snooty, and some of the doctors that work here, they can be nice or they can be snooty. But I pretty much get along with everybody. Even if you don't speak to me, I'm thet type that ll, you know, speak

Yale and Hospitals people don't have kids much.

Re: if the people who receive subsidies are more African-American or minority: And like I said again, that's kind of hard to tell. I would probably say yes, because, I think, there's more [minorities/subsidized tenants here [in the Stonehill House]. But like I said I met a couple people here who have it, who you know, who have it, you know who are caucasian. But you know, you can never tell. You'd be surprised who has it and who doesn't. And then everybody's going to tell you. And I do know a couple people who have it. And like I said, you work and you can still have it. I know people here [in the Stonehill house], who have one bedroom – you can get it with a one bedroom - who work, have nice cars who receive subsidies. Like I said, you can never tell.

Racism: No. I mean, some of the doctors can be kind of snooty sometimes, you know. Pretty much, I speak to everybody. You can be snooty if you want to be. It don't cost anything to speak. You don't have to speak. If you speak back fine if you don't maybe next time I won't speak. For the most part, yes and no, I would say half and half.

Management is pretty good. Good. A lot of people don't like Kurt. He's the property manager. A lot of people aren't feeling Kurt. I don't want to say he's bipolar, cause you know one day he talks and the next day he doesn't. But you know, he's rude. He's rude. If you talk to a lot of people around her, say Kurt's name, they'll have a lot to say. He's made a lot of people mad. They talk a lot of trash about him. But in the office, my favorite is peter. I love peter. He's great. Except the fact that he's a boston redsocks fan.

Respondent 18. Her son got an apartment there – market rate – he paid 800 dollars. I also had a one bedroom, but it was 925, but section 8 paid that.

There was a girl there that was a pain in the butt . . . People made complaints about her. They finally did get her out – they couldn't raise her rent because she was section 8 – but they got her out. She had a handicap – mentally. She was functional though.

On her own she raises that she liked the diversity. There are a lot of people - Black, white, Puerto Rican, Oriental – it stays cleaner, nicer. Except for those college kids. They are lazy. They drop cups in the elevator. Leave their garbage anywhere they feel like it.

no body knows who's paying full price or whatever, unless someone tells them

Some people may just assume because you are black you are getting help. But that's not true. There are a lot of black people who like those places. Like the lady who moved out – she said she was paying full rent but the mice weren't paying anything.

It's not fair that the kid was paying 800 dollars but I was being charged 925 because the government was paying most of it. They are ripping off the government. Why should they charge the government more for section 8 apartments. That doesn't make sense.

Some people you can tell they couldn't possibly be paying full rent – like the girl who they wanted out of there. Like I said, there isn't a lot of room for convocating there, so you cant tell.

Respondent 19. Yeah, I honestly think, when people come to this building they find out, the professionals, like Yale students or whatever, I think when they find out that it is mixed income, they kind of shy away from it and move out more quickly than others. That's what I experienced.

Most people in the building subsidized? I think so, yeah.

Friends? Not really, not yet. I honestly think that people who live here, cause this building I think used to be for Yale students, but I think once they students found out that downtown is not a safe neighborhood as it should be, I think they kinda shy away from living here.

I do, I do, I'm very friendly. There's lot of people that are like handicapped with like oxygen or something like that, medical thing, you know and um it's like yeah, this building, honestly, I think it tends to be like a disability building with like uh, her building has people like Yalees or whoever else wants to live here.

Or, you know a cop or whoever wants to live here.

The management, as far as I'm concerned, is like non-existent, all they care about is the rental fee. So, as far as that's concerned, I mean its clean and everything, but I think they could do a better job, as in making this building not as low income.

Cause I know there's professional people in this building, and there's people who basically are on disability, and then there's people with a lot of kids. I think basically the management looks for people, like section 8. They look for people that like, they know they're gonna get there money at the end of the month, basically. That's what I'm lookin at, because frankly there's a better market, especially in this building, where they can have someone who can get into the building, get an apartment, and have their monthly bills paid. Because the fact of the matter is once people have paid regular rent and find out what the situation is in this building, they're not gonna want to stay that long. And I've seen it. Because I think the management looks more for rent being paid. Whether it's by the government or themselves, so . . . I honestly think that this building will eventually be a building that will be low income.

Tension? Not really, not really, not really, I really don't see that, but when I see people, generally, or my sister sees people that do work and people that don't work, I think it's like, "Oh, what are you doing here. I thought this was a building where there was like [subsidized housing]" where people can come in, like I said, comfortably more or less. And the safety, that's the magic word, safety.

So is this building safe? Oh, very. Very, very much so. But at the same time, I think the management doesn't care as far as where they're getting their income from, paying the rent from. Which makes this building, honestly, a building where you think that people will be more screened in the sense that, like, ok, we're living in this building, but at the

same time people are living here like low income at the same time.. And how they got in here, simple, the management feels like they're getting their money. But in reality it's like, this is how it is, I mean this is how it is, really.

when it comes down to the fact of how they advertise themselves, this building could be a little more, I don't know, let's say . . . they could check into people's background more. Cause they check people's background but in reality whose to say whose bringing whom in, cause I've experienced certain situations where I've asked myself, How could this have happened? [tells break-in story, see management section]

Management response, do you think they respond less to people here than to those who pay the rent: I think so, I think so, I think so. All because the fact of the matter is they should have known what happened. That was a security issue . . . they didn't come till like 2 hours later. The police basically looked at the building and said we'll file a report.

Racism?: Kind of normal for that. I think people that live here that pay normal rent that see people who live on section 8 or whatever, I think they put up with the fact that, yeah, this is the building we chose and this is what we're living with. Um, as far as that's concerned, I don't think that's a big problem.

The fact that you see a woman strolling with her three kids, and you know that the fact that she's not working or whatever, I think that people who live here basically tolerate that. Hey, that's life. So as far as them judging other people, everybody judges everybody. As far as where it's going to hurt somebody, no I don't think so. I think they're very tolerant about that.

Hanging out: No, no, no. there is gymnasium that people go to, but I think that the only people that use it feel comfortable using it. I think that, I hate to say it, I think that people on low income, they could probably say, well, look, I don't think we're welcome here, more or less, cause like maybe their just not used to doing that or whatever. But I think that in reality it's like, you know, either you enjoy yourself living here and feel comfortable, which I think a lot of people do, or, you feel like, oh I think I made a mistake, there's a lot of low income people and I feel like, oh they're different from I guess who we are. Their tolerant, but I think they eventually move out. There's this one couple that moved in, and I think they stayed for like 6 months, and I think they felt uncomfortable because, like, they were like, this is the place they wanted to be in, because what they saw were low-income people, and basically, you see, low-income people is like people who don't work, and they decided, you know what, this is not the building for me. I think a lot of people who move here, it's for the convenience. It's not expensive, it's down in the middle of downtown. But I think when they found out that it's not what I thought as far as management keeping track of low-income people who move in and their company. I think the operative word is company. You have a low-income family living here, who's to say who they're bringing in. So I think when people do see certain things, as far as what they think they see, in terms of, I don't know, a loud kid yelling, whatever it is, I think more or less they decide this is not the building I need to live at, so they just move out. As far as management's concerned, I think they could care less. I think where the management is making their money is this building here, it's too low income. I think that's guaranteed money to them, but they do screen people, but I think it comes to a time where you say something's not right . . . the people that do work want to live in this building find out later on, no, this is not where I want to live.

Well I don't call it wealthier people, I call it misinformed . . . it's inexpensive, but it's a place it's downtown.

Idea of mixed income: As far as I'm concerned it's a good plan, but I don't think management cares. They can care less, they only care for income coming in. When you're on section 8, it's guaranteed money to them. You're not gonna have someone here for 6 months and then move out because they find out they can't afford the rent. If they don't want to live here, it's because they don't like what they see.

Potential for mixed income would be, like, less filled, you have like 150 tenants in this building, I think the best thing for that, for management to come out straight and say look, this is a mixed income apartment, we have low-income people living here, and there's more low income people living here than you guys paying rent, I think if the management says that, I think a lot of people who pay regular rent will move out. So I think the management hides the fact that, we're not going to tell people who are interested in moving in that there are low-income people, more, living in this building. Sure there's a lot of people in this building. They won't talk about it.

I think it is, but at the same time, probably not in a building like this because there's so much apartments available. What I've heard is this building was for people who worked, you see people coming through these doors, they don't live here, they use the parking lot. I think, this building was at one time all working class, Yaloes or whatever you want to call it, decided at some point this is not the building I want to live in. Either because what's goin on around the neighborhood or what they're seeing, so in order for management to make up the gap, they said, we're gonna accept Section 8 people. I think basically, they're taking the better half of the bargain and saying let's just take lots of section 8 because it's guaranteed and regular workers don't want to live here . . . we're standing here and we're seeing people walk in and out. These people don't live here, they're using the parking lot.

Like I said, I've seen things I wasn't happy for, but I think the management does the best it can . . . more or less, it's the fact, it's like, honestly, they don't tell the truth when people come here, looking for a place to live. They don't tell the people that, you know half the people are disabled, blah, blah, blah.

Respondent 20. About mixed-income aspect: I actually did not know that. But I could assume it, which is saying a lot about my own willingness to make judgments based on . . . I think I could assume it even from visiting, just from the people i met when we were visiting the apartment, so i didn't have knowledge, but I suspected, maybe because I had been exposed to lower income communities, there were signs, yeah . . . in the behavior of the people around me. I mean, let's be honest, you can kind of tell . . . I mean people can be smart without being educated, but you can tell when people aren't educated without making assumptions about their aptitude. But, um, you could tell that there were some people who were not as educated. And maybe - I'm going to throw race in their - but maybe being an African American woman who has lived in a working class community before, um, just the women with the young babies, you know I thought, I didn't see young women with liked dads . . . I thought . . . I was seeing single persons and stuff like that. That, to me, was a signal that it was mixed income, which didn't bother me. [As to whether it was positive or negative]. It think it was neutral. I think, I am trying to just be interviewed and not give too many interpretations of my feelings, but I'm a student so I can't help myself, but, uh, I think part of it has to do with my own background . . . I think . . . maybe it just wasn't different because it wasn't new to me to be around working class

african americans. I think you are less indifferent when certain things were happening that I didn't like, like young guys kind of hanging around - I mean, I knew that it comes with the territory of a working class community - young guys hanging around, umm, I suspected some drug dealing, certainly people using drugs, certain use of foul language and loud music. Those are the times that you are like . . . um . . . I could use something quieter. And I don't know if that's because I'm a student or because of my own personal taste or whatever.

I remember when I first moved in, one of the guys who I suspected sold drugs helped me move my things into my house and I paid him And there was another woman, I wasn't sure what her financial status was. She was a single parent in her 50s in school at night and working and her kid was at school. She may have had some disability. [later she says, "but she didn't work a lot so I think she was getting some kind of public support"] She had a lot of medications.

Distrust: I always thought there was a little distrust, I mean like, "who is this woman with pearls and a bookbag or whatever." I always felt that [my roommate] and I looked a little different and got a little attention. And I think we saw other people who looked different and we gave them attention, you know. So I think there is a lot of eyeing and spying before you get to your initial hellos, then your comfortable hellos, and your real hellos. I think there is a lot of suspicion.

My floor was uniquely quite and clean, and I don't think anybody on my floor was mixed income. . . there was a grandmother who lived there with her grandson, she never talked to me.

On Demographics and Suspicions: I don't think I ran into many people I would identify as hispanic. It felt white, black working class, and me and [my roommate]. I think we were the only black middle class people there and that made it different. I mean, even the other students in the building were white American Yalies and I'd be fascinated, interested, in their perspective. Because I mean like [my roommate] and I, we'd been around people who were poor, so it's different. So even for the African american working class, I imagine, I don't know, that they had greater suspicion of us because there were expectations of us that were not there for the white students.

not feeling maybe treated differently by management. [But when I asked about the disparity] I couldn't tell.

[Said that management was not as responsive as it would have been were she not in a mixed-income building] My expectations weren't that high. I felt that I was getting faster service because they knew I was paying more than some other people.

Racism: The main manager had a bad reputation for being racist or something by the staff. Nothing in my experience with him, made me think that they were wrong. I couldn't affirmatively call him a racist, but he couldn't salvage himself in my conversations with him. And that was too bad. But they were really . . . really didn't like him much. I don't know what his deal was, but he definitely had a bad reputation. But the junior staff, the people in the front, you know Peter, I actually like Peter. I don't know what other people say about him, but I always thought he was a straight-up guy, very cordial, with a family even if he couldn't solve things I thought he should be able to solve immediately, but he was nice, so he made it okay.

I would be interested in the racial dynamics about how white and black middle class people see the experience. Cause I don't think, just because we all go to Yale law school race doesn't make a difference. And I think it doesn't. [Discussion of roommate and friend and their elevator stories about being in the white people v. black people club]. Yeah, that never happened to [my roommate] and I [people assuming they'd be fine with complaints about mixed income in elevators].

They white residents wouldn't really talk to me. And the Black working class men would make inappropriate comments to me, not realizing that when I open my mouth, there's no chance in hell that that would happen. And I think there is a lot to that. I don't think you can solve class problems without race or race without class.

XI. BRIDGING/INSTRUMENTAL SOCIAL BENEFITS:

Respondent 2. I don't know. Not really.

Respondent 5. I talked to some younger students about networking, and those I could help. And that I could help – summer students I was able to refer to community college (gateway). I am very good friends with [someone there]. I would tutor some of the kids. Don't even have to be students. This way gives me a way to get information. They don't even have to be students. If someone has an interest, and I can help, that's it. But once I come into my doors that's it.

Respondent 14. Idea of networking: I can't think of anything that would be related to that.

Any stories, tutors to underprivileged children in the building?: No.

Respondent 15. If I were taking on an assisted project apartment and expecting to find a job from somebody else who lives there, I would be retired by now. My impression is that it's done as a moral responsibility and that's it.

Respondent 17. Instrumental benefits: “Oh yeah, [I have helped out my neighbors] plenty of times. I help people get jobs. I knew people who needed jobs in the agency I used to work for and I'd get them jobs. And also cosmetologists. Like I said, my brother's a barber, so if I know somebody that's looking for work, I'll follow up”

Respondent 19. Benefits of modeling/association: Not really because I think a lot of times people who live in this building, they're set in there ways, as far as like going through the art stores or going through the wine shop or whatever. I think that people who live here tend to keep to themselves as far as not associating with other people. The fact that you see a woman strolling with her three kids, and you know that the fact that she's not working or whatever, I think that people who live here basically tolerate that. Hey, that's life. So as far as them judging other people, everybody judges everybody. As far as where it's going to hurt somebody, no I don't think so. I think they're very tolerant about that.

Respondent 20. Examples of instrumental benefits: For me, i don't know. But the woman who was coming to my house, I helped her son build a resume. [her son was] 15, 16. So I can see that. That was benefit. For myself, not so much. I think when I was growing up, and when I lived in a working class community, it was certainly being exposed to people who were not working class that was useful to me. My family is a little different in terms of education . . . you have all those factors, you might not have a lot of money but you have education . . . so you have all that kind of stuff. But they did

not live in the neighborhoods. You know, I do think there is something to this, going back to the issue of not just white flight but black middle class flight and the isolation of the working class community. [discussion of William Julius Wilson]. His work is very interesting. Especially, his book the declining significance of race I thought is moving us towards a conversation that we need to have. I just don't know whether his work, which I have read in detail, and have been fortunate enough to have him as a friend of the family actually, so I've like actually sat around the table with him . . . he teaches at Harvard and my godmother teaches at Harvard in the African American studies dept. and the hist. dept. and offices are their actually right next to each other. So sometimes after school I would just like walk in there and say, "hey, I just read your book and I got three questions." And he was like, "little kid, are you here?" "No I'm in high school but I have three questions." But I don't know if he, I think these kind of questions and what you are doing now is the next generation. We were still trying to get the country talking about race, getting

So you get people like me and [my roommate] to live there and to actually communicate with people we are living around and you are passing down fresh information about how to navigate society as an African American who is interested in being upwardly mobile. I mean, that's what I think, but I don't run a city . . . not yet.

About others engaging in bridging: Not in my building. Not even my roommate. And it's not because my roommate doesn't care. He has his access point to people who need help and he has mentees as well. And that's another story as well, about how the average african american middle class person has a lot of pressure to do public service, but you know, I hate to see that.

XII. RULES AND MANAGEMENT:

Respondent 2. Good job. Helpful. Responsive. Just the heat. Complains all the time. It gets cold through the bricks, through the wall boards. Shit their crazy. I walk around in a thousand pieces of clothes and they tell me its warm. In the winter, one time, the AC was on in the hallway so that when you came in the house it felt nice and warm and toasty. Some psychological bullshit. You know exactly how cold it is outside [because it's that cold inside]. [when asked:]Same rules for everybody.

Respondent 3. Rules: it's a pretty nice bldg. Me personally, if I owned a bldg, I would want to receive it in the same way I gave it to you. I understand stuff breaks down, but wouldn't you want to receive the place in the same way you got it. I mean they do exceed a lot. But it's only fair. They give you the apt intact, everything nice and clean and in order.

I would like to know about a grassroots organization. That would be nice, where the tenants could give an opinion and tell them that something could be worked on. But if you go to the office with a complaint, they are pretty okay with your feedback. I was having a little problem with the apt where I am living now, and they were pretty good with what I had to say as far as addressing.

Would you want to be involved: that's kind of hard, you have some people who want to get involved and some who don't. But it would be nice if you could do something like that and have a committee and bring attention to a group. Not a bad idea. I mean because they require a lot from you. And if you require so much from me, I feel that if I need something or somethings not right, I'm also a tenant regardless of whether I'm

market rate or not. Although the market rate do get more privilege. [complex beliefs about what market rate tenants should be entitled to.]

I've heard quite a few things from the other tenants, being a little unsatisfactory and they've voiced their opinion to me as far as things are run how things have changed. Some of them are unsatisfactory [dissatisfied]. You are asking a person who's only been here a year. If you were able to ask someone else the comments may be different. I've had a little bit of

Respondent 4. Wonderful bldg. Maintenance is no problem, comes in and fixes it. Rarely has problems. The rules aren't harsh. They aren't harsh on me. I do what I do. Each day. I don't have any problems or beefs.

Respondent 5. Management – unfortunately, they have had so many people over there. Some that were good, some, where did you get them from? Some just because you have a position you don't know what you are doing. There are so many engineers and maintenance and there are so many going through. I have had a couple of run ins but not serious.

Respondent 6. they seem pretty good, sometimes they complain about loud music or animals and this has bothered her before (I think that they asked her to turn down music, animals?)

Respondent 7. Main issue is the manager: residents and staff do not get along with him (Palmer?), some say they "hate his guts", he is racist, the old property manager also was horrible; he would be drunk during the day, popping pills and the manager would cover up for him

Now there is a new property manager who is "great"; manager is still there

Said he could honestly say that 50% of the residents would say that the manger is a jerk; wouldn't acknowledge certain residents, wouldn't really help them with maintenance problems; he "won't say 'hi' to certain people," will "ignore some people"

Respondent 8. Said that the heat and hot water is included, but the heat is "locked at 65." "When I first moved in, you used to be able to change the heat, but then they changed it suddenly and didn't even tell us."

When asked if she found that a mixed-income environment was different than where she lived before or if she noticed anything particular about it she replied: "Well since they usually do home visits, most people are pretty clean and they're okay."

She said you can see people over the TV when they ring your doorbell, but they are also "security-taped." It doesn't bother her, it's nice.

When asked about the management, she said "there's new management, they've been there for 3 or 4 months"

"The other management was a real problem." About the "maintenance person": "He rules, what he says goes." He's "always confrontational."

When asked if this has significantly affected her experience living there, she said "No, but you know when they talk to you like you're an idiot..."

When asked for any final comments, she said "The head of maintenance is a pain in the neck."

When asked about whether or not the residents had ever gotten together to try to do something about things like the fixed heat, etc. she said, "Yeah, we talked about it, but

most people were nervous about doing that.” She thought that they might be nervous about getting kicked out, etc.

Respondent 9. “No complaints.” “It’s okay.” Management’s great, it’s clean

Respondent 10. “the majority of the time they (management) usually come to help me if I have any issues.”

Respondent 11. Noise from Gotham. Not a big problem. It might be if we were older. The times we hear louder music, we came from louder music.

No bigotry, no transparency problems. Getting in touch with them isn’t convenient. Hard to find their phone no. Aside from that, I can just walk. Kind when I come in. They recognize me, know which apt I live in. Good in that regard.

Respondent 12. I’ve had very limited interaction with the mgmt other than the time I was itching for a fight and they were very acquiescent. As an example: He was very patient with explaining to someone who didn’t speak English very patiently that he had to pay with a cashiers check. (But this could be because I was there. Noticably, the manager came out, from his office, to pick up my rent check because Peter was busy).

I don’t think, though, that another bldg would put up a notice to quit after ten days without a phone call. If that had happened to you a couple of times. Bu they prob. Deal with that a lot.

Not much goes on at all. You see who you see in the evevator.

I haven’t called mtnce so I haven’t had a negative experience bec I haven’t had any experiences.

I don’t want it to sound overly glowy, but they wet wash the carpet in the elevators once a week because of the foot traffic.

My heat was prohibitively expensive last year so I kept my heat at 58. So Yes because I have heat, and it works. Also yes because it’s quite. My window faces Crown Street, so on Thursdays you get the noise from Crown, but otherwise it’s quite. Apts well insulated, you don’t hear neighbors.

I was working under the impression that our presence there as market paying people forces the management to do things they wouldn’t do otherwise. And the signage and areas of refuge – all the signage and their fear of violating any funding strings seem. In the office, there is this whole wall of ADA mixed income, etc. things. Having to comply with regs is gen’lly a good thing from my perspective.

the common areas of where I have lived are among the best maintained I’ve ever seen. There is someone who comes everyday and vacuums and cleans windows. They have made these buildings smoke free. But that leads to smokers outside, but instantly cleaned up. – the reason why. Particularly inside our apartment. People [visitors I bring] are surprised [and I like that] and I’m surprised.

Evens something like a parking garage. Even these are well maintained.

Respondent 13. In terms of how they treat people . . . I can only speak for myself. And they all like me. Whenever I’ve called cause I needed something, they’re always there

Respondent 14. Management: I don’t interact with them much. When I first looked at the place, turned in the application signed the lease.

Sometimes there's some water that seeps up in the laundry room, I call the maintenance and whenever I call it gets fixed for a while.

Last year when the lease was up and they tried to raise the rent, I told them I wasn't going to pay anymore and they said that was fine. I plan on doing that again this year. Staying there again at the same rent. I guess the fact that I know it's mixed income plays into that. I know I'm paying more than half the people there. "I'm going to keep paying this amount, but no more." I didn't say that but I had that thought.

How much did they try to raise it? Like 40, I think.

And, um, this past December, before I left for the winter break, I gave them my rent check so I wouldn't have to mail it from Florida, it was December 18th or so, and I said "here's my check for January" and dated it January 1st, and they tried to cash it early but of course it bounced so I had to move the money . . . when I saw that it had bounced I called them and said . . . "you guys screwed up," and I said that I would be taking off the fee for the bounced check when I paid the January rent. And the guy was not too happy at first, but that's what I did.

Disparities between management treatment: I've not noticed anything . . . um . . . yeah, I can't think of anything.

Rules pamphlet: Yeah, I guess I didn't read that either . . . my last place had something like that, in New York, I remember when I moved in they had something like that.

Respondent 15. [about creating mixed-income community] that's why I think this . . . I don't know if approaching it that way is really . . . it's a mix.

Management treating equally?: I didn't see it, I don't know maybe. I didn't see it. I tend to doubt it. I don't think that's a problem. There's such a high percentage of people here, they seem to treat everyone well. But that's just conjecture, not facts.

But I think it's important that the management screen people because if not that's gonna ruin it for everyone, whether low-income or not, because these are all pretty decent people, I've never seen anything trashed . . . because at least what I understand, if you don't follow the rules your out, there's like a one shot, you don't get a second chance. Which I think is okay, if you're getting it free, why not? Why would you want to blow that opportunity, it would be stupid . . . So we're pretty happy here.

Respondent 16. Management: yeah they're nice for everybody . . . but this is good place. Safe

Respondent 17. Reticent about management. "They are alright. They are pretty good. Like him. [Chatting with passing maintenance man.] He's great. One thing about living here is if you got a problem, with any of your appliances, they'll fix it within twenty-four hours. And the building is secure. Very secure [with emphasis]. That's what I like about it. You can look [through your television] and see who's coming at the front door. You can look down, and you also have Nelson. We have a couple different [security] guys here [and a doorman].

Management is pretty good. Good. A lot of people don't like Kurt. He's the property manager. A lot of people aren't feeling Kurt. I don't want to say he's bipolar, cause you know one day he talks and the next day he doesn't. But you know, he's rude. He's rude. If you talk to a lot of people around her, say Kurt's name, they'll have a lot to say. He's made a lot of people mad. They talk a lot of trash about him. But in the office, my favorite is peter. I love peter. He's great. Except the fact that he's a boston redsocks fan.

Respondent 18. Didn't like the heat issue. They provide you with heat, but not enough heat. Had to use heaters – 233 dollars in one month. Now, it's \$62.27. They had mice like crazy. I got the electronic thing and got rid of them. When they tore the Coliseum down that's when the mice came. Granddaughter's bldg. didn't have a problem. One lady moved out of my building because the mice. Lived in tall building – Stonehill House. I would have stayed there but I needed another bedroom for my daughter. And they okayed it and then at the last minute they said no. Because section 8 wouldn't pay it and they wouldn't let me make up the 120 dollar difference. But then again, now that I don't have to pay for heat, I'm glad.

Management – the couple of problems that I had, they came right away. I heard other people complain.

Some people moving out because the rent was too high. There was a girl there that was a pain in the butt, they finally got her out. She talked too much, always in people's business. She would pass other people's business around. But I never got that close to her. People made complaints about her. They finally did get her out – they couldn't raise her rent because she was section 8 – but they got her out. She had a handicap – mentally. She was functional though.

On her own she raises that she liked the diversity. There are a lot of people - Black, white, Puerto Rican, Oriental – it stays cleaner, nicer. Except for those college kids. They are lazy. They drop cups in the elevator. Leave their garbage anywhere they feel like it.

Didn't go to events because of her back. In fact, the manager invited me over himself, but I couldn't go.

Respondent 19. The management, as far as I'm concerned, is like non-existent, all they care about is the rental fee. So, as far as that's concerned, I mean it's clean and everything, but I think they could do a better job, as in making this building not as low income (though he is low income)

I think basically the management looks for people, like section 8. They look for people that like, they know they're gonna get their money at the end of the month, basically. That's what I'm looking at, because frankly there's a better market, especially in this building, where they can have someone who can get into the building, get an apartment, and have their monthly bills paid. . . . I think the management looks more for rent being paid. Whether it's by the government or themselves, so . . . I honestly think that this building will eventually be a building that will be low income.

So is this building safe? Oh, very. Very, very much so. But at the same time, I think the management doesn't care as far as where they're getting their income from, paying the rent from. Which makes this building, honestly, a building where you think that people will be more screened in the sense that, like, ok, we're living in this building, but at the same time people are living here like low income at the same time.. And how they got in here, simple, the management feels like they're getting their money. But in reality it's like, this is how it is, I mean this is how it is, really.

Subsidized renters: Well that part, I don't know. That part I don't understand. All I know is that the rent keeps going up and when it comes to people that are section 8, that are low

income, basically they're safe, there set because basically there's only so much that they'll pay anyway.

(So the rent doesn't go up for them?) Well the rent goes up, but it's just not the cost as for those people that pay out of their pocket. So let's say the rent right now is 850/895 a month. Someone whose low income, their rent will only go up let's say 30 dollars. Someone who pays full rent, will go up whatever it is.

If you compare this place to the place that just opened up on chapel street, it's like, this is heaven, and the fact that you are paying less than you would pay for . . . you know, I think the key and the magic word for living here is its very inexpensive. Whether you're on section 8 or on disability or um a person who's working and paying rent, I think it's a good deal, but when it comes down to the fact of how they advertise themselves, this building could be a little more, I don't know, let's say . . . they could check into people's background more. Cause they check people's background but in reality whose to say whose bringing whom in, cause I've experienced certain situations where I've asked myself, How could this have happened?

There was one time, I was looking out my sister's window and this guy was yelling, I said God, what's he yelling for, and he broke the back door with a stick. And I said, wow, maybe I should call management. I called management and I said listen, somebody just broke the back door, the glass is all shattered and everything, they even found a ladder, so the guy must have gotten over with a ladder, so I called management, I said look, What's goin on, I mean my sister lives here. Why is this happening, It's 4 o'clock in the morning . . . and I'm calling management and they said oh, well, we'll look into it. We'll see what happened. I actually called the cops, too. And they have camera's here, so they said why don't you find out what's goin on, cause I think, basically, you have to have security. You have to find out what happened . . . for the management to say, look, we don't know what happened. We don't know what happened blah, blah blah.

Management response, do you think they respond less to people here than to those who pay the rent: I think so, I think so, I think so. All because the fact of the matter is they should have known what happened. That was a security issue . . . they didn't come till like 2 hours later. The police basically looked at the building and said we'll file a report.

[at end of story about market-rate couple moving out:] But I think when they found out that it's not what I thought as far as management keeping track of low-income people who move in and their company. I think the operative word is company. You have a low-income family living here, who's to say who they're bringing in. So I think when people do see certain things, as far as what they think they see, in terms of, I don't know, a loud kid yelling, whatever it is, I think more or less they decide this is not the building I need to live at, so they just move out. As far as management's concerned, I think they could care less. I think where the management is making their money is this building here, it's too low income. I think that's guaranteed money to them, but they do screen people, but I think it comes to a time where you say something's not right . . . the people that do work want to live in this building find out later on, no, this is not where I want to live.

Idea of mixed income: As far as I'm concerned it's a good plan, but I don't think management cares. They can care less, they only care for income coming in. When you're on section 8, it's guaranteed money to them. You're not gonna have someone here for 6 months and then move out because they find out they can't afford the rent. If they don't want to live here, it's because they don't like what they see.

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Potential for mixed income would be, like, less filled, you have like 150 tenants in this building, I think the best thing for that, for management to come out straight and say look, this is a mixed income apartment, we have low-income people living here, and there's more low income people living here than you guys paying rent, I think if the management says that, I think a lot of people who pay regular rent will move out. So I think the management hides the fact that, we're not going to tell people who are interested in moving in that there are low-income people, more, living in this building. Sure there's a lot of people in this building. They won't talk about it.

I think it is, but at the same time, probably not in a building like this because there's so much apartments available. What I've heard is this building was for people who worked, you see people coming through these doors, they don't live here, they use the parking lot. I think, this building was at one time all working class, Yalees or whatever you want to call it, decided at some point this is not the building I want to live in. Either because what's goin on around the neighborhood or what they're seeing, so in order for management to make up the gap, they said, we're gonna accept Section 8 people. I think basically, they're taking the better half of the bargain and saying let's just take lots of section 8 because it's guaranteed and regular workers don't want to live here . . . we're standing here and we're seeing people walk in and out. These people don't live here, they're using the parking lot.

Like I said, I've seen things I wasn't happy for, but I think the management does the best it can . . . more or less, it's the fact, it's like, honestly, they don't tell the truth when people come here, looking for a place to live. They don't tell the people that, you know half the people are disabled, blah, blah, blah.

Respondent 20. I was going to say, the people I did get along with that I talked to a lot were the janitorial staff. I did talk . . . I mean I saw them all the time, so I did develop a rapport with them. And I don't know what their background is, they are sort of not a part of the building but are maintenance, I guess. Yeah.

Management: I was one of their favorites, I think. I would go by, say hello, whenever I walked by just talked to them.

[Said that management was not as responsive as it would have been were she not in a mixed-income building] My expectations weren't that high. I felt that I was getting faster service because they knew I was paying more than some other people.

Racism: The main manager had a bad reputation for being racist or something by the staff. Nothing in my experience with him, made me think that they were wrong. I couldn't affirmatively call him a racist, but he couldn't salvage himself in my conversations with him. And that was too bad. But they were really . . . really didn't like him much. I don't know what his deal was, but he definitely had a bad reputation. But the junior staff, the people in the front, you know Peter, I actually like Peter. I don't know what other people say about him, but I always thought he was a straight-up guy, very cordial, with a family even if he couldn't solve things I thought he should be able to solve immediately, but he was nice, so he made it okay.

Rules/Segregation: Nothing. I don't think so. There is nothing that suggested that there were issues with that. My floor was uniquely quite and clean, and I don't think anybody on my floor was mixed income. . . there was a grandmother who lived there with her grandson, she never talked to me. I would be interested in the racial dynamics about how white and black middle class people see the experience. Cause I don't think, just because we all go to Yale law school race doesn't make a difference. And I think it doesn't. [Discussion of roommate and friend and their elevator stories about being in the white people v. black people club]. Yeah, that never happened to [my roommate] and I [people assuming they'd be fine with complaints about mixed income in elevators].

It goes back to something I didn't know, about there being no conscious effort to do mixed income, that it was a way of subsidizing the project, that's where they went wrong in the first place. It has to be a conscious effort. Then you are looking around looking for connections to be made. I mean some person who would have used that hundred dollar deposit place to host events between people and you know give incentives to people coming. I don't know if I were running the place I would say for every ten events you go to you get \$10 dollars of your next months rent. I don't know. Something incentivizing that, mmm, because you want people to buy in early on when they move into it that they are part of this greater project. I mean, why else? I mean you can't do mixed income without saying . . . knowing that it is a social project and not having the participants knowing they are part of it is a kind of social engineering project.

XIII. CONNECTION TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD:

Respondent 2. Would say this is her neighborhood - Downtown, Ninth Square. [But] Not attached. Less than Newhallville. Her church is in Dixwell.

Respondent 3. Life has improved moving here. Has helped me a lot to get a little more. Maybe it's because of the area, you feel like you owe it to get a little more involved. [but she doesn't get "involved"]. Church on grand close to downtown.

Respondent 5. Family and friends is where my do socializing. Even during Halloween time, I offered candy and no one would knock on my door. But now what they are doing, you have a little decal representing that you do have candy for the kids. I don't know how they got into the bldg to building because I don't buzz in people I don't know.

Drives – most of my things I do are not in this area. I may go to rite aid . . . downstairs in the deli. Other than that, most of my associates are not in this community. If I'm going somewhere else. Ninth square is my community where I live, put my head down, if I want to go to restaurant, there are places to go. But because of the age difference, I don't socialize. Uses banks. But her community is elsewhere.

Respondent 11. Grad students, professors, insulated from the yale bubble, regardless of where you live. The one local friend of any sort I've made outside of Yale, I just happened to hit it off with my cable guy, and even then we don't keep in good touch, sports debate here and there.

Respondent 12. Ninth Square – the block from state, to chapel, george, church. I think that people have a general sense of what that place is called, if people don't know, I'll use a different place locator, like Bentara.

I actively don't want to move. But that could be for many reason. If I were to say what I like about the neighborhood, it would be Eddy and the Ninth Sq mkt. Everyone knows

him. If you want to talk about one person anchoring a community that would be him. I hadn't been in there for a wk, and was sick, and he was asking me how I was doing. The presence of one person, all the time, the continuity is a huge part of it. And everyone else is his family. There is a shop between orange and church, says "no change without purchase" feels much less welcoming – probably on purpose trying to keep people out waiting for busses – he's different. To the extent he's trying to keep a business successful, without discriminating. Huge influx of business from construction workers for Comm College.

Community, grad school.

Respondent 13. I work at the Yale hospital. I love living down here. I was going to try to get into 360, but you know . . . I said I was gonna go but, I like it here . . .

Respondent 16. But it's not incomparable with this (Meridan). I got more friends over there. Community: I don't like Connecticut. I lived in California for 5 years, San Diego. I go Friday, Saturday and Sunday to the beach.

(Community?): Well, most of the people we meet are at the restaurant. My wife teaches Italian classes over there . . . and they become and friends and they come to the restaurant and become regulars. So it's probably our business that becomes our community the most, rather than, not even Church because of our schedules, I don't even go to the same church as my wife because of the schedule, that's the stability of the restaurant . . . and that's where, everybody we know, they know us as this family who owns a restaurant, it's more intimate, our relationship with customers

Not the store, the store is different, it's more like day people, still we make an impact and that's what it's all about. How can you make an impact? And people know us. My daughter and I, we went to church one day and people from her college were there, and they turned around, the people in front of us and said "You're the Scappo's dude!" and I thought that was pretty wild. There's a responsibility that goes along with that too, so we're pretty much integrated into this community, both socially and economically.

Respondent 17. Where is your community? Here. Here and Hamden [where mother lives]. My son spends a lot of time in Hamden, when he's not in sports. You know, because he's active in sports. I keep him active in sports.

Lived with her mom for 30 years. Very quite out there.

Georgia, we lived in a house. My New York friends called it country. We knew our neighbors. My son, actually he wants to go back. You know, he likes the yard, he wants his dog. But he's doing great out here. He's in a really good school. He's in the first grade and he's at the third grade reading level.

Respondent 20. My dream mixed income building is black. With black working class people and black middle class people. Or black and latino or whatever. Not because there aren't [open-minded white friend]s in the world or Chrises [me] in the world. The black community needs some serious healing and needs to repair itself within itself for a while. It is just a broken community. There is something to be said about those debates that ask, is it even a community, because what is it about me that I should feel I'm part of community with the working class people who lived in that. Why should I? There are times when I wonder, "Why should I?" And there are times where I'm like, well there is a legacy of slavery in this country and a legacy of discrimination in this country, and even though my experience in America, how I walk through the world is different in that my mom is biracial, and I didn't call myself a black woman until I was twenty-one years old, I

didn't think that way, I was always perplexed by racial discussion. And one day I woke up and just realized, it doesn't even matter how I experience the world, like the point is, there are enough people who see me that think I'm part of a group whether it be black or white and you have to be conscious of that. You can't just be in the Clarence Thomas way, say "no." And you can say, "I don't feel like that on the inside but let's deal with it." I mean that's like the best way, thinking "hmm, my psyche doesn't tell me that's all that's necessary, but like my duty to society tells me I have to reckon with social stereotypes or whatever." If that doesn't happen, and we don't have people doing the work that you are doing now, and or African American people talking about what you are talking about now, I don't know. I don't know what the state of cities will be. I'm a little concerned. And then you have have great leaders like Obama, Corey Booker, Deval Patrick - all people I've gotten to know and I feel very lucky about that - when they find themselves in the positions that they are in, they are sometimes compromised to be like, real, and not talk about it and the way you and I are talking about it now. And I'm not sure that that will be useful. That is just unacceptable. It's not helpful for what we need to do in the future. I used to say - I grew up speaking all these languages, and into international issues, and not wanting to be bogged down by these issues - you can't have a whole group, whether they want to be a group or not, not advancing. That is not good for our country . . .

Transient Students: We don't think of ourselves as being home. But I also think that we don't think of ourselves as needing to input into it by virtue of not feeling at home. I mean, we are not home at the law school, but we give a lot to it. And so I stopped. The law school can get along without [me]. And so I started to put a lot more of time into community projects outside the law school that no one knows about.

It goes back to something I didn't know, about there being no conscious effort to do mixed income, that it was a way of subsidizing the project, that's where they went wrong in the first place. It has to be a conscious effort. Then you are looking around looking for connections to be made. I mean some person who would have used that hundred dollar deposit place to host events between people and you know give incentives to people coming. I don't know if I were running the place I would say for every ten events you go to you get \$10 dollars of your next months rent. I don't know. Something incentivizing that, mmm, because you want people to buy in early on when they move into it that they are part of this greater project. I mean, why else? I mean you can't do mixed income without saying . . . knowing that it is a social project and not having the participants knowing they are part of it is a kind of social engineering project. .

XIV. MODELING:

Respondent 3. But some people who are market rate maybe say that the low-incomes mess up the place, care a little less about their surrounds and where they live and how you should live as well. You look at them and you see "wow, you can live that way too, and it depends on how you do it."

Respondent 5. One half motivates the other that has lower income.

Respondent 11. I don't buy the "I'm going to emulate this person and work harder because I live near them"

Respondent 13. Nothing that I can tell . . . (in terms of the theory of modeling)

Respondent 14. Opinions: I don't know, that's an interesting idea, I don't know if I had a gut reaction to that. There's this tension . . . typically in society we do think that role models are a good idea, but typically for children and not for adults.

Respondent 15. role modeling?: No. When you were saying that, I would say almost the contrary. Because I've worked with guys who were Hispanic and black and they say when you try to move up, there are two things going on: some people say that's great because you're getting out of a rut, other people feel like your betraying, and so I don't think someone's going to say, well gee everyone around me's wearing suits I want to be just like them . . . I think it may polarize people rather than bring em together because you might say, well he's got that and I can't get it, I can't . . . I don't have a job . . . I don't think that's going to inspire that guy to go out and get a suit. What was that movie, Pursuit of Happiness with that guy, I mean how often does that happen? So I don't see that as a real thing that occurs . . .

Respondent 17. Believed in the idea of modeling. Had seen it "some." No stories.

Respondent 19. Benefits of modeling/association: Not really because I think a lot of times people who live in this building, they're set in there ways, as far as like going through the art stores or going through the wine shop or whatever. I think that people who live here tend to keep to themselves as far as not associating with other people. The fact that you see a woman strolling with her three kids, and you know that the fact that she's not working or whatever, I think that people who live here basically tolerate that. Hey, that's life. So as far as them judging other people, everybody judges everybody. As far as where it's going to hurt somebody, no I don't think so. I think they're very tolerant about that.

Respondent 20. Modeling: I hadn't seen it, but I know it to be true. Working class African Americans when exposed to middle class African Americans, there is a kind of, what do you call it, "lift as you climb." You know, there is that kind of relationship. There is a kind of networking that goes on if there are people who are willing to open their homes, Chicago is a very good example of that in some areas. My bias is that I think it's good. It's how do you get people, how do you get middle class African Americans, or upper middle class African Americans to believe that there's something that they get out of it. Because, I mean, they are still climbing themselves. And you don't always want to live public service. But I think it is very good for the working class community.

XV. GOALS/VIRTUES OF/RESERVATIONS ABOUT MIXED INCOME:

Respondent 2. I think its good because people get to live around other people and realize everybody is human regardless of income. Everybody needs somewhere to live and that's valuable.

Respondent 3. Benefits? I would hope so, same as above. I used to think about things like that, now I just hope for the best, that every body realizes that everybody is human, everybody bleeds everybody dies. Money has nothing to do with it.

Education goes both ways from rich to poor. Education is the key. When you see something different than you've seen before, might open your eyes and make you want more in life. Might make them want to go to school seeing another in a suit everyday.

Respondent 3. Thoughts on Mixed income: I think sometimes, in a way maybe it might be good because you get to see how everyone else lives and you get a flavor of different perspectives of how people think and live. I think it's a positive compared to if you lived somewhere where it's just low income people. I think a lot of people who live in low income have a little negative vibe thinking that they are looked down on because of where they live. Because there are working class people living in low income apts. I think the mixture is good because that's the way it should be. It doesn't matter whether your income is high or low, because all the apartments look the same to me, I don't know if they are or aren't market. I think it's something pretty positive: living together in a diverse community. But some people who are market rate maybe say that the LIs mess up the place, care a little less about their surrounds and where they live and how you should live as well. You look at them and you see "wow, you can live that way too, and it depends on how you do it." To me it's positive. It's an experience that everyone together deserves to be together. I don't think that anyone should be looked down on as any less. We are all pretty much equal as far as we all have needs and tendencies and wants, but in many ways we are somewhat similar also. I don't think anything negative would come of that. I think it's nice just everyone getting along. And I've seen that. As to where people who live in a community where it's just low-income apartments they tend to think that where they live is who they are, and it shouldn't be that way. I have a positive outlook.

Market rate on top, low-income on bottom, Section 8 in the middle.

I'm not saying that mixed income is going to accomplish everything or that everyone is going to feel the same way idea. It's kind of a balance because there's a positive side to it and a negative side to it. It has its good and its downside.

Respondent 5. Goal of mixed income: I keep falling back on that I'm a teacher, and one of the philosophies that they have is not to have homogenous classes, and hope that there is variety, and a support system. One of the reasons that they are getting rid of so many projects is that there is one type of mind, one set of ideas, in projects. Whereas a mixed income community, if someone has questions they talk to each other, can get help.

One half motivates the other that has lower income. You don't see any difference in attitude between.

You are not going to see higher income families. What you have is single persons and empty nesters. In summer time I don't want to see here or smell a child because I see them everyday.

Feeling better about where you live. Everybody wants to live in a good place. Even if you are poor, you don't want to live in a poor place, you want to live in a good place. If the system affords it, that aint nothing wrong.

You live in ninth square, you must be rich. No I'm just willing to take care as a single woman a decent place to live. And I think that's the thing with the people who are residents v. the people who are transient like students.

Hopes about the future. When you call the police, they get irritated. I pay market price, I shouldn't be afraid about leaving my door. I'm not section 8, I'm not no income. I do believe that the police should be doing a better job than they are doing.

Could be racial – but it can't be economic, because you can't look at a person and tell if they are rich or poor, unless you look at their rent. Attitude-wise, people who come into

the community is like who do you think you are. And that's not like that here. The people here are hard-working people, they may be

Could be racial – but it can't be economic, because you can't look at a person and tell if they are rich or poor, unless you look at their rent. Attitude-wise, people who come into the community is like who do you think you are. And that's not like that here. The people here are hard-working people, they may be

But the mgmt isn't looking for a certain type of people. They do do a credit check to verify what your income is and whether you paid your rent from where you lived. Other than that, I don't think there are other criteria. And I think that that's because it's a fetedally funded place, and they cannot discriminate based on diffnt criteria. And I think they try to follow that.

She thinks it's self-selecting for people who come from low income. Especially if you got children – and one thing I do know for children is exposure. Our children are not exposed to a lot of diffnt things compared to suburbs. It puts a lot of children at a disadvantage.

I see a lot of people waiting for the kids from the bus like you see everywhere. The majority of low income are women with families. Other than that, you see a retiree coming and going but you don't know.

Section 8 [people] . . . You don't know. At least she's trying to better herself. I got no problem with that. One of the things I do see is “birds of a feather flock together.” You take that kid out of the environment and the pressure – here you got no place to hang, that's one thing they do enforce. When you got the conjugation you got the problem. There's no place to conjugate.

Respondent 10. Any thoughts about mixed income: “not really since I've been here”

Respondent 11. There's definitely potential, from my background, it definitely allows people to see each other in their element more than they normally would. It allows people to grow, whether it be by . . . Biggest net positive is seeing another person and thinking I'm normal and he's normal. Reduce stigmas that might exist.

I don't buy the “I'm going to emulate this person and work harder because I live near them”

Respondent 12. I think absolutely the key to it is having sufficient or sufficiently support personnel to control common areas because that's always what people are going to see first. If those areas don't feel nice then you are going to feel diffnt'y about the place diff about the people living with you. Because the spaces are by definition shared, if those aren't kept up, you are going to think that others aren't keeping up their share of it. In order to not have negative feelings towards your neighbors that has to be the first thing, because, you know, any interaction you have in those common spaces with your neighbors won't be tinged with your feelings about the space. I think it's prob the reality that it would have to be for a person paying market slightly below mkt or there would have to be some perk to get people in the door. There aren't other places with parking included, washers dry, and that got me in the door. I don't know if it's a good thing or a bad thing that they don't advertise that its mixed income. Probably a good thing.

I heard the mayor talk last year on his state of New Haven. He was talking about poverty in new haven, about when we are going to fix poverty in new haven, and he made this point that the systems are in place in NH to support poor people in a way that they aren't

elsewhere so you are always going to have a concentration of poverty here. You can either accept it or regulate it out, like orange. It seems right to me that, I mean this is an odd city because of its transient population, that the relationships between people who are transient, who live here, and who are poor would be improved. I mean, I've never felt unsafe. Inside the apartment building, I've never even hesitated around someone. Whereas on Dwight, if someone were walking behind me on Dwight, I might be nervous. Similarly, at that place, there would sometimes be a homeless person sleeping in the foyer. I had this trepidation about what's going to happen when I open the door. This place, I never had that.

My net feeling about this place is very positive. I like that it seems to function. I like that people are surprised that it is mixed income. 40% is a high number.

I was working under the impression that our presence there as market paying people forces the management to do things they wouldn't do otherwise. And the signage and areas of refuge – all the signage and their fear of violating any funding strings seem. In the office, there is this whole wall of ADA mixed income, etc. things. Having to comply with regs is gen'ly a good thing from my perspective.

the common areas of where I have lived are among the best maintained I've ever seen. There is someone who comes everyday and vacuums and cleans windows. They have made these buildings smoke free. But that leads to smokers outside, but instantly cleaned up. – the reason why. Particularly inside our apartment. People [visitors I bring] are surprised [and I like that] and I'm surprised.

Evens something like a parking garage. Even these are well maintained.

Respondent 13. I think it's a good idea . . . it depends on the people. There's some section 8 people who just need a little help in life . . . then you have these crazy ass people. Except for one man on the top floor, I think he gets high or something. And I said, we don't do that stuff in here, you got to get your friends under control.

Respondent 14. Mixed income a good thing?: As you went through your 4 reasons for why people do this, the one that sounded the most likely to be happening here is the bringing in people with political clout and everyone benefitting from it, I don't know if I personally have political clout, but I vote and I pay attention to what's going on in the neighborhood, and I feel like some of the people who I know who live there and go to SOM try to be involved in what's going on. So I like that idea. You know, there is the paternalism that we just talked about and I do like the idea also of kids living in mixed-income housing, it's probably not the same thing, you know, kids in schools, all kids rich and poor kids do better in schools where most of the kids are not below the poverty line. So I wonder if there's some effect like that in terms of living situation. I really like where I live, so I guess, I really like living in the mixed-income housing.

Respondent 15. . [about creating mixed-income community] that's why I think this . . . I don't know if approaching it that way is really . . . it's a mix.

we get a lot of people together, there's a lot less (ownership?leadership?) . . . I mean that's what I hear . . . in these buildings you have 25/30 apartments . . . they don't trash the place

If I were taking on an assisted project apartment and expecting to find a job from somebody else who lives there, I would be retired by now. My impression is that it's done as a moral responsibility and that's it.

Prospects?: What I don't understand is that some people that were here 12 or 15 years, it doesn't seem to kicking there butt and saying, gee, why don't I go out and try to find a job that I like to do?...it just gets to me. At that point there seems to be no incentive . . . I would think there'd be more turn around.

That's weird because it's occupying an apartment that someone else could be using, more than someone who's making 100 grand.

But I can see the rationale behind that because you don't want to put at risk all of the tenants . . . if I'm walkin down the hall, I want to make sure that I don't get my apartment broken into . . . I don't want to sound like . . . there are security issues. And even here, they posted something about people taking cars from garage.

But I think it's important that the management screen people because if not that's gonna ruin it for everyone, whether low-income or not, because these are all pretty decent people, I've never seen anything trashed . . . because at least what I understand, if you don't follow the rules your out, there's like a one shot, you don't get a second chance. Which I think is okay, if you're getting it free, why not? Why would you want to blow that opportunity, it would be stupid . . . So we're pretty happy here.

Respondent 17. What she thought of mixed income: "Well it depends on who the person is. I mean, I think its okay, but then again, some people cause problems. You get some people that don't work [in the community], that don't care where they live, don't take care of the property. They loiter in the halls, smoke in the halls. They smoke in the halls. Like I said it depends on the individual. Cause you may have some people who are on mixed income low income who are decent, nice, you know, clean. And then you have some that, you know, they don't care. And usually those are the ones that get worked out."

Potential for mixed-income: I think a lot of people who [are better off] who can help people with lower incomes. You know I think, a lot of people need the help. If they want the help. But then you have are a lot of people who are elderly, on social security, disability. And there's problems when they move younger people in there. Some of them use drugs, you know, drink and whatever and that makes it bad 'cause I've worked in bouldings where the let some fo the younger people in and I've seen when they let some of the younger people in, they borrow from the elderly people who let them in, cause they're afraid, so you know they let em in. And they get stole from.

You have some of the college people, like from yale, can be nice or they can be snooty, and some of the doctors that work here, they can be nice or they can be snooty. But I pretty much get along with everybody. Even if you don't speak to me, I'm thet type that I'll, you know, speak.

Respondent 18. On her own she raises that she liked the diversity. There are a lot of people - Black, white, Puerto Rican, Oriental – it stays cleaner, nicer. Except for those college kids. They are lazy. They drop cups in the elevator. Leave their garbage anywhere they feel like it.

no body knows who's paying full price or whatever, unless someone tells them. The way the place is built there is no room for convocating. I like it that way, I stay out of people's business, they stay out of mine. It's not to great an idea to get to close to people where you live. For one thing, there are people who tend to take advantage of you. I had that over there and over here. One lady who lived next to my gdaughter, she wants me to do this and do that. Bugging me to get my car back. Just latched onto me. She needs all the time. She needs all the time. Now this one here, she knocked on my door. I

didn't answer. She's my ggkids granddaughter, heard I was moving over here she said "o good, someone can give me aride. I don't mind helping people, but they act like its my job. That's the one thing about getting close to people – they borroow and borrow and don't pay back.

Mixed income is a good thing. Some people may just assume because you are black you are getting help. But that's not true. There are a lot of black people who like those places. Like the lady who moved out – she said she was paying full rent but the mice weren't paying anything. The mix was good.

quiet place, people just come and go and take care of their own business. I don't see a problem. Some people you can tell they couldn't possibly be paying full rent – like the girl who they wanted out of there. Like I said, there isn't a lot of room for convocating there, so you cant tell.

It's not fair that the kid was paying 800 dollars but I was being charged 925 because the government was paying most of it. They are ripping off the government. Why should they charge the government more for section 8 apartments. That doesn't make sense. The government has been getting ripped off forever. There should be a way to stop that. I guess the government is ripping itself off too.

Respondent 19. Idea of mixed income: As far as I'm concerned it's a good plan, but I don't think management cares. They can care less, they only care for income coming in. When you're on section 8, it's guaranteed money to them. You're not gonna have someone here for 6 months and then move out because they find out they can't afford the rent. If they don't want to live here, it's because they don't like what they see.

That's one good think about living in a building like this. It's mixed more or less, I think that's generally accepted. As far as I'm concerned, that's not so much with people who live here, because they know they're downtown, that's the situation. If a white couple doesn't want to be around blacks, they're not going to live here.

See above in management section: I think the best thing for that, for management to come out straight and say look, this is a mixed income apartment, we have low-income people living here, and there's more low income people living here than you guys paying rent, I think if the management says that, I think a lot of people who pay regular rent will move out. So I think the management hides the fact that, we're not going to tell people who are interested in moving in that there are low-income people, more, living in this building. Sure there's a lot of people in this building. They won't talk about it.

Compare to other places you've lived, community: I think it's fine because the fact of the matter is, recently, someone who was obese, one time she had to call the ambulance, they had to break the door down because she couldn't get out of her apartment, again, obviously she was disabled, but at the same time, I think that if people really knew that in terms of people with disabilities, would a person who pays regular rent want to live next to her, I don't think so, but again, when you're selling apartments, you're not going to say, look this lady that lives right over here, she got big feet, she got big ass feet, something's wrong with her because it's our privacy. People that do come to this building, they don't care.

Respondent 20. Potential for Mixed-Income: I don't know how you get mixed income housing to work, but I think mixed income housing is the future of cities. I think there is a rising young black professional class, and it is a class that is getting good jobs and they

are graduating from good schools and they know that they are on the verge of being middle class, whatever that means, it varies based on the setting. And they know that their counterparts, their white counterparts, their Asian counterparts, they want to live in the city. I think that if we can convince that group - as well as everyone else, but starting with that group - that if they can buy into mixed-income housing I think you have development. Because they are not so traditional, and not so prepared for being rooted that the question, that should I live in the suburbs, or I can't be around this, my children can't be around this, they don't have children. So you get people like me and [my roommate] to live there and to actually communicate with people we are living around and you are passing down fresh information about how to navigate society as an African American who is interested in being upwardly mobile. I mean, that's what I think, but I don't run a city . . . not yet.

My dream mixed income building is black. With black working class people and black middle class people. Or Black and Latino or whatever. Not because there aren't [open-minded white friend]s or in the world or Chrises [mes] in the world. The black community needs some serious healing and needs to repair itself within itself for a while. It is just a broken community. There is something to be said about those debates that ask, is it even a community, because what is it about me that I should feel I'm part of community with the working class people who lived in that. Why should I? There are times when I wonder, "Why should I?" And there are times where I'm like, well there is a legacy of slavery in this country and a legacy of discrimination in this country, and even though my experience in America, how I walk through the world is different in that my mom is biracial, and I didn't call myself a black woman until I was twenty-one years old, I didn't think that way, I was always perplexed by racial discussion. And one day I woke up and just realized, it doesn't even matter how I experience the world, like the point is, there are enough people who see me that think I'm part of a group whether it be black or white and you have to be conscious of that. You can't just be in the Clarence Thomas way, say "no." And you can say, "I don't feel like that on the inside but let's deal with it." I mean that's like the best way, thinking "hmm, my psyche doesn't tell me that's all that's necessary, but like my duty to society tells me I have to reckon with social stereotypes or whatever." If that doesn't happen, and we don't have people doing the work that you are doing now, and or African American people talking about what you are talking about now, I don't know. I don't know what the state of cities will be. I'm a little concerned. And then you have great leaders like Obama, Corey Booker, Deval Patrick - all people I've gotten to know and I feel very lucky about that - when they find themselves in the positions that they are in, they are sometimes compromised to be like, real, and not talk about it and the way you and I are talking about it now. And I'm not sure that that will be useful. That is just unacceptable. It's not helpful for what we need to do in the future. I used to say - I grew up speaking all these languages, and into international issues, and not wanting to be bogged down by these issues - you can't have a whole group, whether they want to be a group or not, not advancing. That is not good for our country . . .

XVI. CONCERNS ABOUT LIVING IN THE NINTH SQUARE:

Respondent 2. [When asked about moving]. Hopefully this is it. If they don't up the rent. Nobody got fixed income raise. But the rent went up 77 dollars.

Respondent 3. Rent increase could cause me to leave. Rent is supposed to be increased in april and that's def an issue there are some that can afford it but some are making it

barely by. I know that things have to happen sometimes, that the taxes are going up, and layoffs and stuff like that, but the rent increase. Year-to year rent increase is a little steep for some peoples' pockets.

Respondent 5. [Concerns] with downtown nightlife can be very scary. I've heard guns popping off. I'm right above Center Street lounge. That can be nerve wrecking. *Children who live on church street having to sleep in the bath tub because bullets fly through the bldg.* If it gets any worse I can't stay. I like the independence but I'm looking out the window and the cops are having more fun than the kids.

I get very nervous about walking from the garage. Can't park on the street cause you get tickets. [she lives across from the garage, and has to walk to near the center street lounge]. Almost like an attitude we are looking for a tax base, looking for the clubs, but its crazy. This has become a greater and greater concern. Anybody could get killed. And I don't want to be laying up here and a bullet come crashing up my window because its so out of control at the end of the night.

Respondent 12. I actively don't want to move. But that could be for many reason. If I were to say what I like about the neighborhood, it would be Eddy and the Ninth Sq mkt. Everyone knows him. If you want to talk about one person anchoring a community that would be him. I hadn't been in there for a wk, and was sick, and he was asking me how I was doing. The presence of one person, all the time, the continuity is a huge part of it. And everyone else is his family. There is a shop between orange and church, says "no change without purchase" feels much less welcoming – probably on purpose trying to keep people out waiting for busses – he's different. To the extent he's trying to keep a business successful, without discriminating. Huge influx of business from construction workers for Comm College.

Project Storefronts is achieving its role of keeping people there. What this is really going to hinge on in the success of 360 State.

The second day of my rent at Dwight street, Wed at the first wk of law school, I was walking up to the house and stopped. DEA agents there till 4 am. That happened and I stayed there. [it would take a lot for me to move].

Respondent 13. Only thing that would make me move, they always go up on the rent. Every time you turn around, they go up on the rent.

I work at the Yale hospital. I love living down here. I was going to try to get into 360, but you know . . . I said I was gonna go but, I like it here . . .

Respondent 14. What would cause you to leave?: I hate moving, so it would have to be something really terrible. Don't tell the management that because when I have to renew my lease again, I refuse to pay anymore money. I can't think of anything specific. It would have to be something pretty terrible . . . someone would have to have tried to kill me in my apartment.

XVII. COMPARISONS TO WHERE THEY USED TO LIVE:

Respondent 1. He had more interactions where he lived before. He described his old residential community as "more close-knit."

Respondent 2. Very different in Newhallville – she lived in a house there, when you live in houses next to each other, it's a different kind of relationship than when you are more secluded. Knew more about what's going on there. Knew where more places were for

resources, but don't go [back] there [nonetheless].

Respondent 3. Compared to before: these relationships are okay. I didn't have any complaints about that place other than maintenance. I had a problem with mice. I live in NY for all my life, so when I came here, commuting to a place where I have a mouse problem, I was like "ah!" I could deal with it. I definitely couldn't compare.

In NY we were like one big family. Everyone knew each other on my floor. They saw my kids grow up. We all had a pretty good relationships. I had a specific neighbor that I came pretty good friends with. We still talk. She's come to visit. We turned out to be really friends. I could see that happening here. I'm a people person. I like socializing. I like sharing. [Seemed a project]

Life has improved moving here. Has helped me a lot to get a little more. Maybe it's because of the area, you feel like you owe it to get a little more involved. [but she doesn't get "involved"]

Respondent 8. When asked if she found that a mixed-income environment was different than where she lived before or if she noticed anything particular about it she replied: "Well since they usually do home visits, most people are pretty clean and they're okay."

Respondent 10. Compared to where she lived before: "I haven't been to the other building I lived in before in a while. It's a lot different than where I lived before. It's a little bit more up to date than where I lived before; more moderate [modern?]; before they had the washer and dryer down the hall and you shared, here you have your own washer and dryer."

Respondent 11. DC was a real city. Atlanta, where he lived, was a similar food desert.

Respondent 12. the house I lived in first year, I knew one of them. Actually know more people now. But that's by virtue of the accident that I have to wait for the elevator. Before I lived on the first floor and could walk right in.

Changes have improved his life? Yes. Because my heat was prohibitively expensive last year so I kept my heat at 58. So Yes because I have heat, and it works. Also yes because it's quite. My window faces Crown Street, so on Thursdays you get the noise from Crown, but otherwise it's quite. Apts well insulated, you don't hear neighbors. I actively like my walk everyday now. I walk across the green its pretty. There are more people out on the street. It's an interesting feel. The people watching at the corner near the bus stop is interesting.

Respondent 13. I grew up on Olive and Green (Wooster area). This is my first apartment. I been out of my mom's house for about 5/6 years, and my mother still lives there.

(Do you think this is different than where you lived before) No cause my neighborhood was friendly.

Respondent 14. Compare to other places, interactions: It's roughly about the same, I mean I don't interact with the neighbors unless we happen to be in the hall a lot together.

If long-term resident?: I really don't know, the last places I've lived I'd always thought of myself as a long-term resident and I still didn't meet people.

Respondent 15. Smaller apartment here.

Respondent 16. But it's not incomparable with this (Meridan). I got more friends over there. Community: I don't like Connecticut. I lived in California for 5 years, San Diego. I go Friday, Saturday and Sunday to the beach.

Respondent 17. I lived in Hamden all my life. She had a home in the suburbs in Georgia with her son's father and her son. He misses the dog and the backyard.

Lived with her mom for 30 years. Very quite out there.

Georgia, we lived in a house. My New York friends called it country. We knew our neighbors. My son, actually he wants to go back. You know, he likes the yard, he wants his dog. But he's doing great out here. He's in a really good school. He's in the first grade and he's at the third grade reading level.

Respondent 18. It's so nice and quite here. I love it. I can smell. [referring to the restaurants above which she used to live in ninth square] [Same sorts of relationships here as to other places she lived.]

XVIII. LENGTH OF INTERVIEW

Respondent 1: 0:35

Respondent 2: 0:52

Respondent 3: 1:08

Respondent 4: 0:26

Respondent 5: 0:52

Respondent 6: 0:16

Respondent 7: 0:27

Respondent 8: 0:15

Respondent 9: 0:16

Respondent 10: 0:16

Respondent 11: 0:56

Respondent 12: 1:38

Respondent 13: 0:18

Respondent 14: 0:23

Respondent 15: 0:35

Respondent 16: 0:13

Respondent 17: 0:25

Respondent 18: 0:34

Respondent 19: 0:34

Respondent 20: 1:20

Average Total Length of Interview: 37.95 minutes

