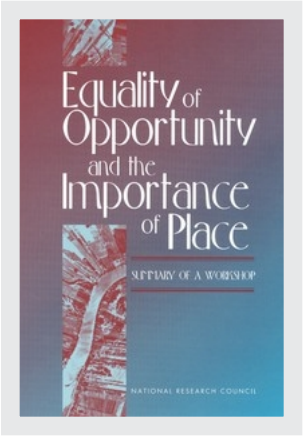

Equality of Opportunity and the Importance of Place: Summary of a Workshop

DETAILS

84 pages | 6 x 9 | PAPERBACK

ISBN 978-0-309-08467-3 | DOI 10.17226/10413

AUTHORS

Joah G. Iannotta and Jane L. Ross, Editors, National Research Council

Equality of Opportunity and the Importance of Place

SUMMARY OF A WORKSHOP

Joah G. Iannotta and Jane L. Ross

Center for Social and Economic Studies

Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education

National Research Council

NATIONAL ACADEMY PRESS
Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ACADEMY PRESS 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20418

NOTICE: The project that is the subject of this report was approved by the Governing Board of the National Research Council, whose members are drawn from the councils of the National Academy of Sciences, the National Academy of Engineering, and the Institute of Medicine. The members of the committee responsible for the report were chosen for their special competences and with regard for appropriate balance.

This study was supported by Contract No. HHS-100-00-001 between the National Academy of Sciences and the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Any opinions, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this publication are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the organizations or agencies that provided support for the project.

International Standard Book Number 0-309-08467-9

Additional copies of this report are available from the National Academy Press, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Lockbox 285, Washington, DC 20055; (800) 624-6242 or (202) 334-3313 (in the Washington metropolitan area); http://www.nap.edu

Printed in the United States of America

Suggested citation: National Research Council. (2002). *Equality of Opportunity and the Importance of Place: Summary of a Workshop*. Joah G. Iannotta and Jane L. Ross. Steering Committee on Metropolitan Area Research and Data Priorities. Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

THE NATIONAL ACADEMIES

National Academy of Sciences
National Academy of Engineering
Institute of Medicine
National Research Council

The **National Academy of Sciences** is a private, nonprofit, self-perpetuating society of distinguished scholars engaged in scientific and engineering research, dedicated to the furtherance of science and technology and to their use for the general welfare. Upon the authority of the charter granted to it by the Congress in 1863, the Academy has a mandate that requires it to advise the federal government on scientific and technical matters. Dr. Bruce M. Alberts is president of the National Academy of Sciences.

The **National Academy of Engineering** was established in 1964, under the charter of the National Academy of Sciences, as a parallel organization of outstanding engineers. It is autonomous in its administration and in the selection of its members, sharing with the National Academy of Sciences the responsibility for advising the federal government. The National Academy of Engineering also sponsors engineering programs aimed at meeting national needs, encourages education and research, and recognizes the superior achievements of engineers. Dr. Wm. A. Wulf is president of the National Academy of Engineering.

The **Institute of Medicine** was established in 1970 by the National Academy of Sciences to secure the services of eminent members of appropriate professions in the examination of policy matters pertaining to the health of the public. The Institute acts under the responsibility given to the National Academy of Sciences by its congressional charter to be an adviser to the federal government and, upon its own initiative, to identify issues of medical care, research, and education. Dr. Kenneth I. Shine is president of the Institute of Medicine.

The **National Research Council** was organized by the National Academy of Sciences in 1916 to associate the broad community of science and technology with the Academy's purposes of furthering knowledge and advising the federal government. Functioning in accordance with general policies determined by the Academy, the Council has become the principal operating agency of both the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering in providing services to the government, the public, and the scientific and engineering communities. The Council is administered jointly by both Academies and the Institute of Medicine. Dr. Bruce M. Alberts and Dr. Wm. A. Wulf are chairman and vice chairman, respectively, of the National Research Council.

STEERING COMMITTEE ON METROPOLITAN AREA RESEARCH AND DATA PRIORITIES

Acknowledgements

The National Research Council (NRC) recently conducted several projects concerning urban poverty, racial disparities, and opportunities to change metropolitan areas in ways that have positive effects on residents' well-being. In reports such as *Governance and Opportunity in Metropolitan America* (1999), place, space, and neighborhood have become important lenses through which to understand the factors affecting opportunity and well-being. After the publication of *Governance and Opportunity*, the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation (ASPE) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services became interested in what insights research focused on place might offer in terms of improving the conditions of vulnerable families—a population about whom ASPE is particularly concerned. Because of its interest in the topic, ASPE provided generous support to the NRC to hold a workshop on the importance of place and to produce a report based on the findings of the workshop. This report, *Equality of Opportunity and the Importance of Place*, is the culmination of the NRC's work on behalf of ASPE.

This report has been reviewed in draft form by individuals chosen for their diverse perspectives and technical expertise, in accordance with procedures approved by the Report Review Committee of the National Research Council. The purpose of this independent review is to provide candid and critical comments that will assist the institution in making its published report as sound as possible and to ensure that the report meets institutional

standards for objectivity, evidence, and responsiveness to the study charge. The review comments and draft manuscript remain confidential to protect the integrity of the deliberative process. We wish to thank the following individuals for their review of this report: Burt Barnow, Institute for Policy Studies, Johns Hopkins University; Keith Ihlanfeldt, Devoe Moore Center, Florida State University; Margo Schwab, Risk Sciences and Public Policy Institute, Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health; David Wright, Urban and Metropolitan Studies, Rockefeller Institute of Government, Albany, New York.

Although the reviewers listed above provided many constructive comments and suggestions, they were not asked to endorse the final draft of the report before its release. The review of this report was overseen by Robert Moffitt of the Department of Economics at Johns Hopkins University. Appointed by the NRC, he was responsible for making certain that an independent examination of the report was carried out in accordance with institutional procedures and that all review comments were carefully considered. Responsibility for the final content of this report rests entirely with the authors and the institution.

Many individuals deserve recognition for their contributions to the workshop and this report. Gordon Berlin, William Morrill, Barbara McNeil, and Harold Wolman served on the planning committee for the workshop. The five paper authors—Tama Leventhal, Claudia Coulton, Jeffrey Morenoff, George Galster, and Timothy Smeeding—are to be commended for the work they put into preparing original research for the workshop. Gordon Berlin, Harry Holzer, Bill Morrill, Sue Popkin, and Harold Wolman provided feedback on the first draft of the workshop summary and offered many insightful comments that significantly improved the manuscript. Paul Jargowsky responded to time-sensitive requests for information without hesitation, helping the authors to finish the second draft of the manuscript on schedule. Paula Melville and Sonja Wolfe deserve special recognition for their assistance in ensuring that the workshop ran smoothly and successfully. We thank them for their efforts.

Contents

1

Introduction

THE IMPORTANCE OF PLACE

For families having the intent and means to do so, selecting a residence in the "right" neighborhood is a decision made with great care. Many factors are considered in this decision, including the prevalence of crime, the reputations of school districts and local hospitals, the quality of public services, the accessibility of local businesses (such as grocery stores, banks, and child care), and local tax rates. Working parents also make choices about how close to live to work and how much time to commit to daily commutes. It is not uncommon for families who can afford to do so to choose long commute times and large monthly mortgage payments in order to live in the "right" neighborhoods.

These choices suggest that many parents believe that the social environments of neighborhoods and public services such as the schools represent important influences on their children. Thus far, research has supported this common wisdom that *place* does matter, though perhaps to a more modest and complicated extent than might be expected. For example, research seeking to measure the power of neighborhood effects on residents has yielded a range of results, suggesting in some cases that neighborhood has an important impact and in others that its effect is minimal. Complexity has also been found in the types of influence place may have on residents: in some cases place may have positive effects (e.g., young people in affluent neighborhoods tend to have higher levels of academic achieve-

ment), whereas in other cases the influence is negative (e.g., joblessness seems to be perpetuated in places having high rates of unemployment). There are also a number of intervening variables that complicate the extent to which and in what ways neighborhoods affect individuals. For instance, good parenting skills can mitigate many potentially negative neighborhood influences.

The effects of place and neighborhood on the well-being of residents are somewhat complex, suggesting a need for additional research, and there are more than a few compelling reasons beyond scientific curiosity to study place in a critical manner. For example, although safe neighborhoods, good schools, and community centers contribute positively to the neighborhood environment, their existence certainly does not guarantee that residents will prosper. On the other hand, neighborhoods in which residents fear for their physical safety, have limited or no access to such services as child care and health care, and are geographically isolated from jobs and informal employment networks create a set of constraints that make it significantly more difficult for their families to prosper. Knowing what basic conditions and opportunities in neighborhoods represent a minimum standard for residents to prosper could be extremely helpful to policy makers. In addition, a thorough understanding of the complex relationships between neighborhood factors and spatial barriers that concentrate disadvantage would be useful in designing more effective and efficient intervention programs.

Place is also the vehicle through which public policy meant to improve the lives of citizens is translated into programming and services. Even though the services may not be centered on influencing neighborhood effects, services can be and are delivered through neighborhoods and neighborhood institutions. Place may well determine the success of social policy implementation. It will also greatly affect the precise shape and design of programs meant to put policies into action because each location comes with a certain set of social relationships and spatial challenges as well as its own set of institutions and institutional relationships. Research that can help policy makers and practitioners anticipate these issues has the potential to lead to more effective social policies and interventions.

WORKSHOP ON EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY: THE IMPORTANCE OF PLACE

In 1996 the National Research Council (NRC) formed the Committee on Improving the Future of U.S. Cities Through Improved Metropoli-

tan Area Governance. The committee's charge was to focus on the inequality of opportunities in metropolitan areas, the disparities that result, the causes of the disparities, and the role of governance and the government system in contributing to, and potentially solving, these problems. The committee reported its findings in a volume entitled *Governance and Opportunity in Metropolitan America*. That report identified a number of areas that current research suggests may cause disparities and an unequal distribution of opportunities in metropolitan areas. For example, spatial mismatch (i.e., geographic isolation of a potential pool of workers from jobs appropriate to their skill level), concentrated poverty in urban neighborhoods, social isolation of the poor, neighborhood effects (i.e., the influence neighborhoods have on residents), racial and economic segregation, and tax/service disparities were all cited as likely causes that limit opportunities for poor inner-city workers.

After completion of the study, the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation (ASPE) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services asked the NRC to convene a workshop with the objective of expanding a discussion from the findings of *Governance and Opportunity*. In addition to developing a selected set of key themes from the report's findings, such as spatial barriers to opportunity and neighborhood effects, workshop participants would discuss areas of further research, identify the types of data needed to develop that research, and consider possible policy options to implement research findings.

ASPE's interest in this subject springs from its concern for intrametropolitan distribution of particular conditions, such as concentrated poverty, social isolation, and physical and social aspects of inner-city neighborhoods that affect employment, health, and child development outcomes. ASPE's programs have traditionally been shaped by people-oriented policy, meaning that programs deliver services directly to individuals. The proceedings of the NRC workshop offer a resource to ASPE in enhancing its understanding of how place may influence the outcomes of people-oriented programs through an examination of how the negative impacts of distressed inner-city neighborhoods affect welfare and employment, child development, and public health. In addition, the workshop proceedings provide a second resource to ASPE by highlighting the opportunities that programs and policies addressing conditions of place may have for ameliorating the negative impacts of distressed neighborhoods.

The Steering Committee on Metropolitan Area Research and Data Priorities was formed to develop the workshop for ASPE. William Morrill

served as chair of the committee and was joined by members Harold Wolman, Gordon Berlin, and Barbara McNeil. The "importance of place" was chosen as an organizing theme for the workshop in order to capture the multiple ways in which the location of one's residence can create barriers or opportunities to access various resources as well as influence the well-being and development of individuals. Because of the effects that place can have on residents, it is also an important research theme (e.g., how can the influence of space and neighborhood be measured?) and has important implications for the ways in which public policies are implemented to improve the opportunities available to residents. The theme, "the importance of place," also served as an effective bridge between key findings in the *Governance and Opportunity* report and issues such as child development and concentrated poverty with which ASPE is particularly concerned.

Five papers were commissioned for the workshop to explore this theme. These papers were prepared by Tama Leventhal, Claudia Coulton, Jeffrey Morenoff, George Galster, and Timothy Smeeding. Each paper addressed a topic pertinent to intrametropolitan public policy: Leventhal considered neighborhood effects and child development; Coulton's paper explored spatial factors that could influence the success or failure of welfare-to-work programs; Morenoff discussed the way in which neighborhood effects might "get under one's skin" and affect the health of inner-city residents; Galster described the data needs and interactions of variables complicating any investigation of place and opportunity; and Smeeding considered the interaction of people and place in light of creating effective public policy.

On November 14, 2001, a workshop entitled "Equality of Opportunity in Metropolitan Areas: The Importance of Place" was held at the National Academy of Sciences in Washington, D.C. The workshop explored questions about how place and neighborhood are related to opportunity on several key fronts—employment and transitions from welfare to work, public health, and child development—and sought to answer how or in what ways place and neighborhood affect residents, why they might have an effect, and what we need to know in order to deal with spatial challenges and positive and negative neighborhood effects in the future. More specifically, the workshop considered disparities in various measures of well-being among residents of different kinds of places (e.g., city and suburban residents, neighborhoods of concentrated poverty and nonpoverty neighborhoods) and identified data and research that could assist policy makers, scholars, and political leaders to understand the underlying issues and take action to address them.

Papers prepared for the workshop were presented, and each was discussed by a distinguished panel with relevant expertise. The discussion at the workshop centered on the spatial distribution of socioeconomic inequality and, in particular, the isolation of low-income minority populations in inner-city neighborhoods, meaning central-city and inner-suburban neighborhoods. Workshop participants also discussed the availability and accessibility of employment, social and health services, and educational opportunities in urban and suburban areas; the mismatch between where most unemployed people live and where employers are located ("spatial mismatch"); and the effects of concentrated poverty, social isolation, and social characteristics of inner-city neighborhoods on the health and well-being of individual residents ("neighborhood effects").

This report summarizes the proceedings of the workshop, and, while it offers insight from the presenters on the potential of future research and the implications of certain types of policy approaches to overcome the challenges facing inner-city neighborhoods, it does not contain conclusions or recommendations. Rather, it reflects the views of the workshop participants on the viability of a number of research and policy opportunities and offers a distillation of the workshop dialogue, highlighting key issues and viewpoints that emerged from the rich discussion that took place. Every effort has been made to accurately reflect the speakers' content and viewpoints. However, because the report reflects the proceedings of the workshop, it is not intended to be a comprehensive review of all the issues involved in neighborhood or place-based policy or research.

The next three chapters in this report cover a broad range of topics pertaining to place, opportunity, and the body of research that may be useful in providing a framework for creating better neighborhoods and solving place-based challenges. The second chapter provides background information on why place matters by reviewing research on the development and current status of the modern U.S. city, neighborhood effects, and spatial mismatch. The research history of the latter two concepts—spatial mismatch and neighborhood effects—underlies much of the discussion that developed at the workshop and in this respect provides an important context for the workshop discussion.

Chapter 3 examines how place matters by reviewing the content of the papers presented at the workshop, each of which explored a particular way in which neighborhood and spatial challenges can affect residents. It begins with Tama Leventhal's recent data from an ongoing social experiment involving neighborhood mobility and explores the relationship between child

and adolescent development and neighborhood effects. Claudia Coulton's analysis of spatial mismatches and the effects that create barriers in transitions from welfare to work is then presented. Finally, Jeffrey Morenoff's discussion of the relationship between neighborhood and the health outcomes of residents is reviewed.

Chapter 4 focuses on future challenges and opportunities for research and policy. This is in keeping with the workshop's goal to offer an analysis that could assist policy makers and practitioners in future actions to address place-based challenges and to guide scholars in pursuing new lines of research. A summary of George Galster's paper on factors important to conducting comprehensive and rigorous research on neighborhood effects is presented, as well as key points of discussion of future directions for neighborhood and place-based research. Timothy Smeeding's discussion of the public policy options that are available and which are in need of additional research before becoming viable is summarized. The ensuing policy discussion concludes the chapter.

2

Why Place Matters

Opportunity is unevenly distributed throughout metropolitan areas, which means that some places have considerably safer and more productive environments for residents than others. A number of factors contribute to the spatial distribution of opportunities. Poverty, discrimination, available employment, zoning, and local tax structures can all add to disparities between places. None of these factors alone can explain these disparities, nor can any single structural feature of a neighborhood explain the independent effect researchers have found neighborhoods to have on individuals. Rather a number of factors interconnect in certain places to concentrate disadvantage in some neighborhoods and to affect the well-being of residents.

This chapter provides background for the content of the workshop by reviewing three important areas of research on neighborhood and place. It begins with a brief discussion characterizing the current state of many inner-city neighborhoods and reviews briefly several important social, demographic, and economic trends that have yielded the spatial disparities that characterize inner-city conditions in the United States today. After discussion of the trends that have resulted in disparities in well-being among neighborhoods, the chapter describes two frameworks of analysis—spatial mismatch and neighborhood effects—that structure much of the current research on inner cities. In particular, these frameworks go beyond descriptions of the disparities among neighborhoods and explore how some neighborhoods, characteristics may have additional effects on the economic, psy-

chological, and health status of residents. Research on how spatial mismatch can create barriers for inner-city residents is reviewed, as are opportunities to overcome these place-based challenges. Finally, research on neighborhood effects is discussed. In particular, the primary mechanisms researchers have proposed as translating neighborhood and place-based influences into effects on individual residents' health and well-being are reviewed.

One issue worth noting at the outset of this chapter is that spatial mismatch has sometimes been conceptualized as one specific type of neighborhood effect. In fact, Ellen and Turner (1997), whose research is discussed later in this chapter, present a framework of neighborhood effects of which spatial mismatch is one major category. Throughout the workshop, spatial mismatch and its effects on residents were often discussed as if they were a type of neighborhood effect. Spatial mismatch does, however, have its own particular research trajectory separate from, if still connected to, neighborhood effects, and because of this it is presented separately in this chapter.

CREATING TODAY'S INNER-CITY NEIGHBORHOODS

Characterizing Concentrated Poverty: A Short Description

Inner-city neighborhoods are very different places today than they were 60 years ago or even 30 years ago. Since the 1970s, many inner-city neighborhoods have experienced an increasing concentration of poverty and a geographic isolation of poor families from middle-class and affluent ones. This trend toward concentrated poverty has also had an important racial component: African American neighborhoods—which proliferated in northern U.S. cities due to the migration of rural and southern blacks in the early part of the twentieth century—have experienced geographic isolation and concentrated poverty to a far greater extent than neighborhoods that are primarily white.

One way to understand the disparities among neighborhoods in metropolitan areas is to look at the distribution of poverty among them. Paul Jargowsky (1997) analyzed population growth in metropolitan areas with population growth in high-poverty areas by looking at census tracts in 239 metropolitan areas. These census tracts were classified as high poverty if the proportion of residents with incomes below the poverty line was greater than 40 percent.

Between 1970 and 1990[1] the total population in these metropolitan areas grew about 28 percent, whereas the population in high-poverty areas grew over 92 percent. The number of poor persons living in these 239 metropolitan areas grew 37 percent, but the number of poor persons living in the high-poverty areas grew 98 percent. In absolute numbers, the number of poor persons living in high-poverty areas increased from just over 4.1 million to 8.0 million. These figures indicate that a greater proportion of the total metropolitan area population lived in high-poverty areas in 1990 than in 1970 and that a greater proportion of poor persons in metropolitan areas were concentrated in high-poverty areas.

Members of minority groups were considerably more likely to live in high-poverty neighborhoods than were non-Hispanic whites. Of the 239 metropolitan areas surveyed, the total number of whites living in high-poverty neighborhoods was 258,000 in 1970 and increased to 631,000 by 1990. This compares to 1.2 million African Americans living in high-poverty neighborhoods in 1970 and 2.1 million residing in such neighborhoods by 1990.

Concentrated poverty in inner-city neighborhoods is often accompanied by a number of factors that contribute to a lower quality of life in these areas: high rates of property and violent crimes, unemployment, and cash assistance receipt. Student academic performance is generally low, and dropout rates are high. Greater rates of accidental injury, illness, chronic disease, and low birth weight are often observed. The physical environment of these areas also suffers, as abandoned and vacant buildings proliferate, and empty lots and public spaces provide a haven for illicit activities (Coulton, 2001).

[1]At the time this workshop summary was written, long-form data from the 2000 census had not been released and analyzed. Workshop participants predicted that these data would reflect improvements in the economy during the late 1990s, showing lower overall rates of poverty. However, they also predicted that despite overall improvements in employment and wages, neighborhoods that were characterized by high poverty would remain so and likely would be even more highly concentrated. Put differently, participants thought that, although the overall number of poor neighborhoods might drop, those that remained poor would become even more disadvantaged.

Historical Trends Leading to Spatial Disparities and Concentrated Poverty

Conditions in U.S. inner cities today are the products of such forces as demographic and economic trends and housing discrimination in the twentieth century. The following discussion offers a few brief examples of the ways in which the conditions of inner cities have been shaped by those forces.

Many southern and rural African Americans migrated to northern central cities during the twentieth century, significantly increasing the population of blacks living in urban neighborhoods (Sandefur et al., 2001). Most moved to these cities in hopes of finding greater economic opportunities and personal freedom, yet African Americans faced more severe racism than did immigrants from Asia and Europe, which limited their employment and educational opportunities.

Another demographic change that contributed to the concentration of poverty in inner cities was the outmigration of middle-class and affluent African Americans. Prior to the 1960s, inner-city African American neighborhoods in northern U.S. cities "featured a vertical integration of different income groups as lower-, working-, and middle-class professional black families all resided" in the same or nearby neighborhoods (Wilson, 1987, p. 49). Outmigration of the African American middle class was accompanied by, and in many cases preceded, the outmigration of middle-class and affluent whites from inner-city residences and, over time, a reduction in white patronage of African American inner-city businesses (Wilson, 1987). The residents left behind in inner-city neighborhoods were often the poorest and most disadvantaged and were now isolated from economic and social interactions with other classes.

While Wilson emphasizes the effect of class segregation on increasingly concentrated poverty and disadvantage in inner-city neighborhoods, Massey (2001) points to ways in which racial segregation and discrimination in housing contribute to concentrated poverty in African American neighborhoods. Citing recent empirical work, Massey argues that, although whites and African Americans currently share an ideological commitment to integrated housing, this ideology does not translate into actions that would accomplish actual integration. As a result, African Americans may find their ability to move close to high-job-growth areas seriously constrained.

Changes in the economy have contributed to inner cities with large

numbers of residents whose skills do not match the needs of the globalized economy. In the 1970s a significant restructuring of the U.S. economy left many low-skilled workers unemployed or unable to find jobs with decent pay. Although this change affected blue-collar workers of all races, African Americans were particularly hard hit because of their historic reliance on the manufacturing industry for employment (Wilson, 1996). Changes toward a global market have significantly exacerbated existing wage gaps between skilled and unskilled workers. The importance of education in terms of economic attainment has increased, which may be particularly problematic for poor African Americans. Mediocre and low-quality public schools, substandard community resources in terms of after-school educational opportunities, few good role models to demonstrate the positive outcomes of education, and limited social networks to help guide young people through the transitions of college, graduate or professional school, and job placement put families in high-poverty neighborhoods at a significant disadvantage (Holzer, 2001; Wilson, 1996).

TWO FRAMEWORKS IN RECENT RESEARCH: SPATIAL MISMATCH AND NEIGHBORHOOD EFFECTS

While the previous discussion highlights trends that have led to current inner-city conditions, identifying specific place-based factors that offer opportunities for public policy or intervention programs to create more equitable conditions in neighborhoods requires a slightly different analysis. Two frameworks have been particularly influential in research on place: research on spatial mismatch has focused on the geographic barriers between inner-city workers and employment opportunities, whereas neighborhood effects research has centered on the influence neighborhoods have on the individual outcomes of residents. Key issues in the scope of these two branches of research are highlighted in this section.

Spatial Factors That Reinforce Inequality

Structural factors deeply rooted in spatial relationships have had a significant role in creating and maintaining disadvantaged neighborhoods (e.g., racially and economically segregated housing, limited access to informal job networks, geographic distance from job opportunities that fit people's skill levels, poor education, and other public services).

One theory meant to capture how space can impede opportunity is the

spatial mismatch hypothesis. According to Ihlanfeldt and Sjoquist (1998), this hypothesis "maintains that the suburbanization of jobs and involuntary housing market segregation have acted together to create a surplus of workers relative to the number of available jobs in submetropolitan areas where blacks are concentrated" (p. 849). This hypothesis suggests that, although there may be a pool of workers available to staff many low-skilled jobs, these workers are geographically isolated from the suburban areas where higher rates of job growth exist. Instead, this labor pool is concentrated in inner-city areas where few jobs are available. The effect is a surplus of workers for inner-city jobs—a situation that is not beneficial to workers—and geographic barriers such as limited public transportation that make it difficult for inner-city workers to take advantage of economic growth in outlying suburban areas. As a result, unemployment, low wages, and long commute times may persist among low-skilled, inner-city black workers despite economic growth in the greater metropolitan area.[2]

Research on the spatial mismatch hypothesis has illuminated several important issues about geographic mismatches between jobs and workers. First, in a careful review of current literature, Ihlanfeldt and Sjoquist (1998) found a solid body of empirical research indicating that spatial mismatch can account for a significant proportion of inner-city unemployment in many U.S. cities. Because of this, it is appropriate for policy analysts to consider spatial mismatch in policy formulation.

Second, although spatial mismatch is an important factor in many cities, it does not explain unemployment rates among inner-city workers in *every* city. In fact, research suggests that spatial mismatch may be primarily a problem of large metropolitan areas rather than of cities in general. Considering that some of the solutions to spatial mismatch are quite costly (e.g., significant increases in public transportation), it is imperative that policy analysts determine the extent to which mismatch is a problem for a particular city before recommending public expenditures to correct any geographic isolation of low-skilled, inner-city workers.

Another feature of spatial mismatch is that women appear to be particularly vulnerable to geographic mismatches, probably because of more

[2]It is worth noting that some researchers have found that spatial mismatch is beginning to affect less-educated, low-skilled, white inner-city workers as well as minorities. See Kasarda and Ting (1996).

intensive domestic and child care responsibilities (Kasarda and Ting, 1996). For instance, even if public transportation were available to take workers to high-growth suburban areas, the long commute times associated with bus and rail systems would likely discourage many women from taking advantage of these opportunities. The challenges associated with finding child care that is affordable, geographically accessible (e.g., on the way to one's job), and available beyond normal working hours to accommodate long commute times are difficult to overcome. Measures taken to address spatial mismatch may prove ineffective for many women if the measures do not also address the issue of child care or find strategies to shorten commute times.

Finally, by adding another barrier to employment opportunities, spatial mismatch has important implications for welfare-to-work programs—another issue that is particularly important for women and that is taken up in Chapter 3. Because of this, policy makers whose focus is to create effective welfare policy could improve the chances that programs will succeed if they take into consideration the extent to which spatial mismatch represents an important problem in their particular cities.

Although a number of empirical studies have sought to evaluate the presence of spatial mismatch in a city, fewer studies have sought to determine its underlying causes. Identifying the particular barriers that prevent workers from traveling to suburban jobs is essential if cities are to develop cost-effective policies to address spatial mismatch. Research by Holzer, Ihlanfeldt, and Sjoquist (1994), Ihlanfeldt and Young (1996), Holzer and Ihlanfeldt (1996), Ihlanfeldt (1997), Sjoquist (1996), and Turner (1997) has identified several important underlying causes to spatial mismatch. For example, one of the most important factors explaining why inner-city workers do not take advantage of new job opportunities is lack of public transportation to high-growth suburban areas. Other factors include employer and customer discrimination against African American and other low-skilled inner-city workers, lack of information about jobs in suburban areas, and perceptions among inner-city workers that they will experience discrimination in suburban job settings. In most cases a combination of these factors likely prevents inner-city workers from obtaining suburban jobs.

Ihlanfeldt and Sjoquist (1998) offer several suggestions for policies that could help alleviate some of these problems. Commuting programs linking inner-city neighborhoods to high-growth areas would be helpful in cases in which the main underlying factor of spatial mismatch is that workers sim-

ply do not have transportation to those areas. Mobility strategies could include new bus routes and rail stops, greater frequency of public transportation service during off-peak hours, or new approaches such as sharing automobiles owned by the city or a private company. A second set of strategies—inner-city development strategies—involve trying to move jobs closer to the labor force. Policies to encourage residents and new businesses to move into cities generally form the foundation for these strategies. A final set of strategies centers on moving people closer to jobs or desegregating neighborhoods. Policies that would place low-cost publicly supported housing in suburban areas close to jobs is one example. Other policy options would try to alleviate some of the other causes for spatial mismatch: greater access to job information and placement services and new initiatives to overcome discrimination on the part of employers as well as the perception on the part of inner-city workers that they will be treated badly in the suburbs.

Many of these approaches have been tried in a number of cities, and most have met with limited or only very modest success. Urban planners, policy makers, and programmatic developers should take care to become familiar with the shortcomings of previous efforts. New designs on these broad solutions may well be needed and could meet with greater levels of success if they are carefully tailored to the particular challenges in a specific metropolitan area.

From Spatial to the Intangible: Neighborhood Effects

In addition to the challenges that physical distance can create in terms of workers reaching new jobs and information networks, space is important in that the nature of the place in which people live may have important effects on residents. This line of inquiry essentially seeks to answer the question of in what ways a neighborhood can itself actually influence individual outcomes. For example, Wilson (1987) discusses the influence that concentrated neighborhood poverty could have on residents in what he terms "concentration effects." For Wilson the absence in a neighborhood of vertical integration of families with various levels of socioeconomic status and the concentration of the most disadvantaged segments of an urban population creates a social milieu that reinforces and perpetuates joblessness, crime, poor health outcomes, and poverty.

More recent research has conceptualized the impact on residents of an environment characterized by social isolation and concentrated poverty as

"neighborhood effects." A 1999 report by the National Research Council's Committee on Improving the Future of U.S. Cities Through Improved Metropolitan Area Governance offers the following definition of this term: "Neighborhood effects, broadly construed, are the effects imposed on individuals as a result of living in a specific neighborhood that the same individual (or household) would not experience if living in a different neighborhood" (p. 54). Neighborhoods may influence individuals in a broad range of areas, including criminal activity, employment, educational performance, and risky health practices (e.g., early sexual activity, no prenatal care, smoking, and drug use).

In their review of the literature on neighborhood effects, Ellen and Turner (1997) note that the majority of studies suggest that neighborhoods do indeed influence their residents. However, delineating the particular factors or variables in a neighborhood that are the most influential to residents has proven to be quite difficult, as has separating the influence of neighborhood from that of family or school. Selection bias may confound research on neighborhood effects in that more highly motivated individuals find ways to leave negative environments. Measured neighborhood effects may therefore capture unmeasured characteristics of those who remain.

Questions about the power of neighborhood effects on residents persist in this research. For example, in comparison to neighborhood effects, family characteristics consistently show a far more significant influence on individuals, and, in some recent studies, neighborhood has been shown to have a negligible independent effect when family characteristics were carefully controlled. As Ellen and Turner (1997) state: "Existing evidence is inconclusive when it comes to determining which neighborhood conditions matter most, how neighborhood characteristics influence individual behavior and well-being, or whether neighborhood effects differ for families with different characteristics" (p. 835).

Although empirical research has yet to definitively determine the most influential factors contributing to neighborhood effects, a number of theoretical models have been proposed to explain and organize the mechanisms through which neighborhood might affect individuals. The following discussion reviews the models proposed by three different authors. In doing so, it provides a glimpse of the trajectory of theorizing behind neighborhood effects while also providing an overview of the multiple complex ways in which neighborhoods can affect young people.

One of the most frequently cited and influential models is that of

Jencks and Mayer (1990), who propose five main mechanisms with regard to the way in which neighborhoods can affect child development. First, the neighborhood institutional resource mechanism focuses on the effect that community resources can have on young people. Parks, libraries, community centers, and other public resources provide opportunities for learning and socializing. The presence or absence of these resources can have important effects on children's social and cognitive development. The second pathway, collective socialization mechanisms, centers on the influence of adult supervision, role modeling, and monitoring on children's development. For example, adult supervision can prevent young people from engaging in inappropriate behaviors, and adult role models can demonstrate the importance of various values (e.g., hard work, cooperation) and can teach children valuable life skills (e.g., tasks associated with maintaining a home or car, good work habits).

While the first two mechanisms describe what one would want in a neighborhood (i.e., it is desirable to have many good institutional resources and adult supervision of children), the next three mechanisms focus on negative influences on neighborhood—features one would seek to reduce. The contagion or epidemic models posit that problem behaviors exhibited by neighbors or peers can spread to young people. The mechanism of competition suggests that neighborhoods in which individuals compete for limited resources can create difficult and negative relationships within a peer group that can yield negative outcomes. Finally, the relative deprivation mechanism suggests that "neighborhood conditions affect individuals by means of their evaluation of their own situation relative to neighbors or peers" (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000, p. 310). For example, if the majority of high school students from an affluent neighborhood, plan to take the SAT, a classmate from a highly disadvantaged neighborhood might opt to take the SAT, too—a positive outcome to positive peer influence. However, in the relative deprivation model, if the same teen perceives him- or herself to be quite different (i.e., more disadvantaged) than his or her peers, he or she may be discouraged from taking the SAT—a negative outcome to what otherwise could be a positive influence.

Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn (2000) offer another model of neighborhood effects that is a consolidation of Jencks and Mayer's work and that features three broad mechanisms. The first mechanism—institutional resources—is largely the same as Jencks and Mayer's, although Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn note the effects of learning and social opportunities as well as access to medical facilities and employment in a neighborhood. The second

mechanism—relationships—captures family characteristics, such as coping skills and mental health, available support networks, and the peer relationships of adults and young people. Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn's approach to relationships is interesting because it insists on recognizing the interconnection between characteristics normally conceptualized as unrelated to neighborhoods (e.g., parental mental health is thought of as a family characteristic) and how these types of characteristics may become especially important and complicated in a neighborhood characterized by stress and disadvantage. For instance, a parent's mental illness may be more likely to go unrecognized, unnoticed, or unsupported in a neighborhood in which there are few social networks.

The final mechanism is norms/collective efficacy, which explores to what extent "community-level formal and informal institutions exist to supervise and monitor [the] behavior of residents, particularly youths' activities (deviant and antisocial peer-group behavior) and the presence of physical risk" to children and other adults (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000, p. 322). This mechanism focuses broadly on monitoring, noting the importance of neighbors paying attention to the behavior of children and adults. That the authors include collective efficacy in the title of the mechanism is significant because collective efficacy emphasizes not only a willingness to keep tabs on others but also the will to act and intervene on behalf of a neighbor or child (e.g., to call the police if one observes an attack or to chastise children caught spray painting a garage).

Although Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn's approach is a more consolidated one than that proposed by Jencks and Mayer, it has significant benefits. One strength is that Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn stress that each of their pathways can be considered in light of how neighborhoods might affect residents across the life span rather than focusing exclusively on the effects of neighborhood on child and adolescent development. That Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn offer a conceptualization of how neighborhood characteristics could affect adults as well as young people is somewhat different from Jencks and Mayer's approach, which focuses primarily on neighborhood effects on young people.

Ellen and Turner (1997) adopt a rather different approach to the mechanisms of influence by focusing on creating a model that describes the link between specific neighborhood characteristics and individual outcomes. These mechanisms include quality of local services, socialization by adults, peer influences, social networks, exposure to crime and violence, and physical distance and isolation. The final mechanism—physical dis-

tance and isolation—dealt largely with spatial mismatch and its effects on issues like job networks and employment, all of which were addressed in the section devoted to spatial mismatch. The effects of spatial mismatch will not be reviewed again, but it is worth repeating that much of the discussion at the workshop followed this format of treating spatial mismatch within the framework of neighborhood effects. The exception to this was the presentation by Claudia Coulton who directly addressed spatial mismatch in her research.

For Ellen and Turner the quality of local public services is largely analogous to the institutional resources models of Jencks and Mayer and Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, again emphasizing the effect that access to educational, health, and socialization opportunities may have on young people and adults. One difference is that Ellen and Turner emphasize the quality—not just the availability—of resources, pointing out that poor residents may be particularly vulnerable to the influences of their local services because few may have the means to find other services elsewhere if neighborhood ones are of low quality or entirely absent. For example, low-quality preschools, with less skilled staff, fewer volunteers to work with students, and limited educational resources, may fail to properly prepare young children for kindergarten—a situation known to predispose disadvantaged students to lower academic outcomes later. The absence of health care services in a neighborhood can affect youth and adults as it will be harder to obtain treatment for routine illnesses or chronic problems such as asthma. This can lead to more frequent absences from school or work, which can cause academic performance to suffer or may result in lower income.

Ellen and Turner separate the influence of socialization into two mechanisms. The second mechanism—socialization by adults—recognizes that the adults in a community exert a significant influence on young people by serving as role models, monitors, teachers, and disciplinarians. Adults also create and demonstrate to young people how to participate in the community's power structure. If the majority of adults are unemployed or participate in secondary or illicit markets, young people may fail to see the relationship between educational attainment and successful employment and the benefits associated with steady professional employment. Under these circumstances, the patterns of socialization that young people come to emulate may also be detrimental in other social settings.

Peer influences, the third mechanism, emphasizes that the norms of a peer group can exert a positive or negative influence depending on group expectations and the relationship between the individual and the group.

For instance, peer behaviors and attitudes may influence an adolescent to begin smoking or to initiate sexual activity earlier than the adolescent otherwise might. Alternatively, peers may inspire an adolescent to put more energy into studying or to apply to college. Ellen and Turner note that peers exert different types of influence at different ages—adolescents spend more time with their peers and so may be more affected by group norms, whereas younger children may be greatly affected by the examples set by older children whom they admire.

The fourth mechanism—social networks—emphasizes the importance of formal and informal networks on individual outcomes. For example, job networks provide individuals with information about new positions. Such networks can be of even greater assistance in helping a job seeker obtain a position if an employed person vouches for the character and abilities of the job seeker. Social networks can also provide other types of support, such as neighbors who can help with child care, that can enable working families to more easily maintain steady employment.

Social networks may be neighborhood based or may extend beyond one's immediate community. With regard to job networks, Ellen and Turner (1997) noted that individuals whose social networks are centered only in their neighborhoods will be more constrained by a neighborhood in which fewer people work because job information will be limited to a few businesses. This line of thought can be extended to other areas of well-being. For instance, neighborhoods that lack a significant number of adults who are prepared to offer support, such as picking up another parent's child from school along with their own, means that children may be left to their own devices more often and that some families or single parents may need to go without steady employment in order to meet their children's care needs.

The final mechanism—exposure to crime—can have serious and readily apparent effects on young people and adults. Certainly not the least of these effects is the acute impact in the form of sustained injuries that a violent crime may have on a victim's health. Violent crime also carries a number of emotional and psychological effects that may be longer lasting than injuries sustained in an attack. These psychological effects may extend well beyond the victim of a crime to those who witnessed the act as well as to the children and friends of a victim who observe the victim's recovery (or decline). Children may be particularly affected by secondary exposure to violent crime in that they may be led to "see the world as fundamentally violent, dangerous, and unjust," and over time breaking the law may begin

to seem like a normative activity to adolescents (Ellen and Turner, 1997, p. 841). Individuals living in high-crime neighborhoods might significantly curtail their activities (e.g., avoiding outside activities because of gunshots, not walking to the local church for community activities for fear of being victimized). This type of isolation may improve one's chances of not being the victim of some types of crime but it also reduces a person's ties to the community. If there are beneficial social networks in the neighborhood, a resident who isolates him- or herself from the community will not be able to take advantage of these networks or pooled community resources.

Unlike Jencks and Mayer and Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, Ellen and Turner identify a number of structural factors and neighborhood variables that consistently correlate with negative individual outcomes. In this respect, their model may be useful in testing specific relationships that characterize many neighborhoods. In contrast, a model like that of Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, which is more conceptual and open ended in nature, may be more helpful in identifying new phenomena and mechanisms specific to a given neighborhood.

What should be apparent from this discussion is that the ways in which neighborhood effects influence individuals are often less straightforward than might be expected. Specifically, in each broad mechanism there may be a number of paths through which factors such as public services and adult socialization may influence residents. For example, it is no surprise that peer groups influence the behavior of an adolescent in a peer group, but in what direction that influence might push an adolescent is not necessarily evident. An adolescent placed in a more affluent school outside of his or her neighborhood could be carried toward better educational performance by a group of academically minded peers, or might be seriously discouraged by the advantages of the peer group and may come to believe that success will always be out of reach.

This example sheds light on why it can be so challenging to identify the influential factors underlying neighborhood effects because many such effects interact with qualities inherent to individuals in complicated ways. Developing effective policy and programmatic responses is made more challenging by the complexity of neighborhood effects. The positive news is that the body of literature in this area has grown significantly, and as nuances of the pathways through which neighborhoods can influence individuals are better understood, better interventions will be designed.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter highlights important themes concerning why place matters. Significant disparities characterize conditions in many inner-city neighborhoods when compared with other parts of metropolitan areas. This is exemplified by the high rates of poverty and the increasing concentration of poverty in many metropolitan area neighborhoods. In addition, neighborhood disparities create significant barriers to opportunity for residents living in these areas. Research on spatial mismatch and neighborhood effects reflects these barriers and identifies factors and mechanisms that policy and intervention programs could seek to influence.

The next chapter explores some of the most recent research on spatial mismatch and neighborhood effects, particularly as they relate to several present-day policy challenges—namely, transitions from welfare to work, child and adolescent development, and the status of public health. These topics were examined in detail in the papers prepared for the workshop and build more thoroughly on concepts of spatial mismatch and neighborhood effects. This type of research has much potential in helping urban planners and policy makers positively affect inner-city, place-based disparities.

3

How Place Matters

The workshop on equality of opportunity featured three papers that analyzed recently collected data on spatial mismatch and neighborhood effects in metropolitan areas. This research sheds light on specific factors and mechanisms that create barriers to opportunity for inner-city residents. From this research, policy makers and coordinators of intervention programming can begin to think more specifically about how to capitalize on this knowledge to overcome spatial and place-based barriers. The papers explored three important areas affecting many poor inner-city residents: the effects of neighborhood on child development, transitions from welfare to work, and health outcomes. Presenters sought to capture current trends in inner-city neighborhoods; identify the particular mechanisms of observed neighborhood effects; and discuss how to overcome barriers to child and adolescent development, employment, and health and well-being. The content of these papers and the discussion the papers generated are summarized in this chapter.

NEIGHBORHOOD EFFECTS ON CHILD AND ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

In the past two decades, scholars and policy makers have become increasingly interested in the effects that neighborhood may have on children and adolescents. Significant demographic shifts, changes in labor force participation, and new theoretical perspectives about social disorganization

and ecological models of human development all contributed to the growing concern that neighborhood could be an important influence on whether young people transition into adulthood with the skills needed to succeed. At the workshop, Tama Leventhal presented a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between neighborhood and child development. Her paper included a review of research published from 1990 to 1998, an analysis of data from recent studies, and a discussion of theoretical mechanisms that may be most salient for children and adolescents. The following section highlights the key issues Leventhal identified in each of these areas.

Neighborhood Effects and Development: A Review of Eight Years of Research

In her review of research undertaken in the 1990s on neighborhood effects, Leventhal examined databases from a wide variety of disciplines, including psychology, sociology, demography, economics, and epidemiology. She included only those studies and datasets that controlled for family and background characteristics in order to show effects above and beyond family socioeconomic factors. Three important issues set the framework for Leventhal's approach to these data. First, the review was framed in terms of the three structural dimensions most frequently used to classify neighborhoods in order to understand the direction and power of neighborhood effects: socioeconomic status (SES), racial and ethnic diversity, and residential instability. Each factor was measured through census tract data. As a result, these neighborhood descriptors are just that—descriptions of structural factors in a neighborhood—and do not illuminate underlying social processes.

Definitions of these dimensions differed somewhat across studies, but the following descriptions are applicable to most. Low SES is typically defined as a given percentage of the population with household incomes below the poverty level, the percentage of residents on public assistance, the unemployment rate of a neighborhood, or sometimes the percentage of single parents. Often definitions of low SES will use more than one of these descriptive measures. High SES usually includes mean or median income, percentage of working professionals, and percentage of residents with a college education.

Measures of racial and ethnic diversity were even more consistent across the studies Leventhal examined and were generally characterized by the percentage of African American, Latino, and foreign-born residents in a

neighborhood. Definitions of residential instability often included the proportion of residents who moved within the past 5 years, the proportion of households whose residents lived in their current homes for less than 10 years, and the proportion of owner-occupied homes.

With these structural definitions framing her review of the research, Leventhal chose to stratify the data into four age periods in order to determine if there were critical ages at which young people were more vulnerable to neighborhood influences. The age periods were early childhood (birth to age 6), late childhood (ages 7 to 10), early adolescence (ages 11 to 15), and late adolescence (ages 16 to 19). Finally, Leventhal paid particular attention to three developmental outcomes as measures of well-being in these age groups: school readiness and achievement; manifestation of behavioral, social, and emotional problems; and sexuality and fertility outcomes.

Leventhal's comprehensive review of data revealed several consistent relationships between neighborhood structural factors and measures of well-being, each suggesting that neighborhood effects are an active influence on child and adolescent development. High neighborhood SES was positively associated with young children's school readiness outcomes as well as adolescents' educational achievement. Low neighborhood SES was associated with an increase in the number of younger children exhibiting behavioral problems. Similarly, adolescents with problem behaviors and delinquency increased in frequency with low SES and residential instability. Additionally, some evidence suggested an association between employment indicators and adolescents' sexual activity and fertility outcomes, but these associations were less consistent.

Leventhal's review suggests that some neighborhood effects are more important at certain ages, with some outcomes likely to be more strongly affected than others. Furthermore, although there is a strong body of knowledge on structural neighborhood factors affecting younger children and older adolescents, data on children in late childhood and early adolescence are lacking, and this poses a significant barrier to understanding how neighborhood effects influence child development. Leventhal also noted that research has yet to be thoroughly developed that specifically explores whether neighborhood effects are more powerful during a critical period in a child's development and, if so, which factors are the most important and when.

New Data on Neighborhoods and Child Development

Despite an overall lack of information on the timing of neighborhood effects, there are a few recent studies in which the topic has been explored. This section reviews the results of Leventhal's analysis of data from the Infant Health and Development Program and the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) experiment.[1]

Leventhal took an exploratory look at developmental timing and the magnitude of effects by analyzing data from the Infant Health and Development Program—a randomized trial of an early childhood educational intervention program for low-birthweight babies in eight cities. Specifically, she evaluated whether the effects of neighborhood low income during early childhood appear to be more significantly detrimental than if neighborhood low income is experienced later. She found that living in a low-income neighborhood at age 5 was the most detrimental compared to other ages. This negative effect was manifested in a nine-point decrement in children's IQ scores. By comparison, neighborhood poverty at birth or age 8 was not associated with a decrease in IQ. Although Leventhal emphasized that her findings represented exploratory research, the results corresponded to what she found in her review of the literature: developmental timing and the magnitude of neighborhood effects are potentially important and fruitful areas for future research.

Leventhal's analysis of the MTO study centered on observing the effect that neighborhood had on the developmental outcomes of young people. The MTO study included 4,600 families from five different cities (Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York), all of whom lived in public housing developments in neighborhoods classified as high poverty (i.e., 40 percent or more of residents earned wages below the poverty level or were on public assistance). MTO was a voluntary housing experiment, and most families (75 percent) that elected to participate cited getting away

[1]Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanov, & Sealand (1993) and Chase-Lansdale, Gordon, Brooks-Gunn, & Klebanov (1997) offer useful background on the Infant Health and Development Project. A list of readings about the Moving to Opportunity study can be found on the MTO quick document access website, http://www.wws.princeton.edu/~kling/mto/quick.html [viewed online May 13, 2002].

from drugs and gangs as the primary reason for joining the study. Families were placed randomly into three groups: (1) the experimental group, which received Section 8 vouchers, counseling, and assistance from local nonprofits to move into private housing in low-poverty neighborhoods (i.e., neighborhoods with 10 percent or less poverty); (2) the Section 8 comparison group, which received vouchers under the regular Section 8 program but no special assistance in finding new housing; and (3) the in-place control group, which did not receive vouchers to allow them to relocate or for support but which continued to receive normal subsidies to remain in public housing.

Approximately half of the experimental group in the MTO study relocated to housing in low-poverty areas. Of the group that moved, 90 percent relocated to neighborhoods with less than 10 percent of the population living in poverty, and 9.5 percent relocated to neighborhoods in which 10 to 39 percent of the residents were poor. While this was a most encouraging outcome, only 12 percent of the Section 8 group moved to low-poverty neighborhoods. Seventy percent of this group moved to a neighborhood with a moderate rate of poverty (10 to 39 percent), and 18 percent remained in high-poverty neighborhoods. This suggests that, if housing programs seek to reduce the number of public assistance recipients living in high- and moderate-poverty neighborhoods, the programs will need to provide more support than just vouchers to facilitate a move to a low-poverty neighborhood.

That the experimental group did successfully move to low-poverty neighborhoods meant that Leventhal and her colleagues could compare individual developmental outcomes for families living in a variety of neighborhoods. Across several site-specific evaluations, differences were observed for a number of measures of well-being, including academic attainment, behavioral and emotional problems, and health outcomes. The results suggested that moving to low-poverty neighborhoods may be more beneficial for younger children than for adolescents. This may be due to the fact that disrupting the peer network of an adolescent is more problematic because of the important social role that peers play in adolescents' lives. Younger children tend to have less established social groups and are less affected by a move—they simply form new friendships at their new locations, and those new relationships are what influence them later in adolescence. As a result, younger children may benefit from new opportunities and positive neighborhood effects that are available in low-poverty neighborhoods, whereas adolescents experience such a move as primarily disruptive to their social

networks, a negative effect that seems to override some of the benefits offered by the new neighborhood. A summary of the specific results of the MTO study follows.[2]

In Baltimore, Ludwig, Duncan, and Ladd (2001) found that younger children ages 5 to 11 at random assignment in the experimental group were more likely to pass state-required reading exams than those in an in-place control group that remained in high-poverty neighborhoods. This complements Leventhal's results derived from Infant Health and Development Program data in that both studies suggest that neighborhood might affect educational outcomes. In Leventhal's New York MTO evaluation, younger children (ages 8 to 13) who moved to low-poverty neighborhoods experienced fewer problems with anxiety and depression. There were no significant differences for older children (ages 14 to 18). The New York evaluation also found an effect for gender: boys in both the experimental and the Section 8 groups reported significantly fewer dependency problems (e.g., clinging to adults, crying too much, excessive demands for attention) compared to in-place controls. Furthermore, these effects were quite powerful, with experimental and Section 8 boys experiencing about a one-third reduction in such symptoms compared to controls. The Boston evaluation by Katz, Kling, and Liebman (2001) also observed that boys in both the experimental and the Section 8 groups had fewer maternal-reported behavioral problems than the in-place controls.

Leventhal speculated that boys may benefit more than girls from a move because parents tend to let boys have more access than girls to neighborhoods (and thus neighborhood influences). Concerns about safety may encourage parents to keep their girls "closer to home," and as a result girls may be less affected by neighborhood influences. In comparison, boys who were exposed to gangs and violence prior to a move should, in theory, reap greater benefits from living in a better neighborhood.

Children in Boston's experimental group experienced another benefit of moving to a low-poverty neighborhood—namely, improved health outcomes compared to in-place controls. Children ages 6 to 15 were less likely to have an injury, accident, or asthma attack requiring medical assistance. This neighborhood effect could be due to safer and improved home envi-

[2]These are preliminary results based on single-site studies from MTO. The full five-year analysis of all cities involved is in progress.

ronments as a result of moving out of public housing. The reduction in asthma attacks could also be attributed to reduced chronic stress—an issue often associated with living in high-poverty and high-crime neighborhoods.

Mechanisms of Neighborhood Effects

Although the MTO study that Leventhal discussed provided powerful evidence of the link between neighborhood effects and particular outcomes, such studies do not illuminate the underlying mechanisms that may transmit neighborhood effects. This situation is problematic because intervention programs are likely to be much more effective if a specific mechanism can be targeted, rather than treating a broad array of correlated factors that appear to be linked to certain outcomes. One straightforward example comes from the Boston MTO evaluation, which found that asthma attacks decreased when children moved to low-poverty neighborhoods. A suspected mechanism by which this occurs is a reduction in chronic stress caused by fear of crime, violence, and harassment that young people might experience regularly in a high-poverty, high-crime neighborhood. If this is the case, comprehensive programs that seek to reduce crime in high-poverty neighborhoods would be an appropriate use of public funds. However, it is also possible that children's asthma attacks could be caused by an environmental stimulus, such as dust and pollution from demolition, construction, landfills, or other industrial waste. If many high-poverty neighborhoods in Boston were in close proximity—closer than low-poverty neighborhoods—to such environmental hazards, it could be that this environmental contaminant was the underlying cause of increased asthma attacks. This scenario would require a dramatically different use of public funds, and only research that identifies specific mechanisms can best direct these types of expenditure.

Leventhal discussed three possible mechanisms by which neighborhood effects could be explained—namely, institutional resources, relationships, and norms and collective efficacy. A more lengthy discussion of these mechanisms is presented in Chapter 2 in the section on neighborhood effects research. Very briefly, the institutional resource mechanism posits that neighborhood influences are transmitted through the quality, quantity, and diversity of community resources. The relationship mechanism focuses on the potential for neighborhood effects to be translated to young people through their relationships with other residents, including parents, peers, and adult neighbors. Finally, the norms and collective efficacy mecha-

nism suggests that neighborhood effects can be explained by the extent of formal and informal community institutions that are present to monitor residents' behavior and physical threats to them.

Three points should be kept in mind during this discussion. First, it is generally believed that neighborhood effects influence young people indirectly through family, peers, and institutions such as schools. Second, the relationship mechanism is thought to be the most important for understanding how neighborhoods affect young children who, in theory, should be more isolated from and therefore least affected by community influences. Parental attributes, social networks, behavior characteristics, and quality of the home environment can serve as a buffer to negative neighborhood effects or can act to transmit this influence to young people who might not otherwise be impacted. Finally, the utility of these models depends on the particular outcome under investigation as well as the age of the individual for whom the outcome is expected. In other words, no singular mechanism will explain all outcomes, and the mechanism that most powerfully transmits a neighborhood effect will depend on the child's age.

Summary

Leventhal's careful examination of the way in which neighborhood could affect child and adolescent development touched on a number of important points. Her review of data and research conducted during the 1990s clearly suggested that neighborhoods do influence development, that the outcomes influenced vary depending on the particular resources of the community, and that there may be critical ages when neighborhood effects may be especially detrimental or nurturing to children's development. Her analysis of data from the Infant Health and Development Program and the MTO study provided preliminary empirical results that support previous findings that neighborhoods do matter to young people. Neighborhood effects may touch a broad range of areas of young people's well-being, including educational performance, social and behavioral well-being, and health outcomes. Finally, Leventhal presented three important mechanisms through which neighborhood effects are transmitted to young people. Many of the mechanisms and their outcomes for children of various age groups need to be explored in future research. Such scholarship has the potential to assist in the development of effective intervention programs and the direction of public expenditures.

Workshop participants who commented on Leventhal's paper noted

several important caveats to remember when considering these results. First, it is significant that only half of the participants in the experimental group of the MTO study moved. This raises questions about whether those individuals shared some common trait that explains positive outcomes of moving rather than actual neighborhood effects due to living in a low-poverty neighborhood. Second, Xavier Briggs noted in submitted comments that research studies such as Leventhal's make it difficult to conceptualize neighborhoods as dynamic, fluid, churning spaces rather than static concepts with clear boundaries. Future research would do well to find ways to address this issue. Finally, results from the MTO study are preliminary, so initially observed phenomena may not be as significant at the end of the five-year project period.

SPATIAL BARRIERS TO TRANSITIONS FROM WELFARE TO WORK

In 1996 Congress passed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act. This act places a 60-month lifetime limit on federal cash welfare benefits and mandates that participants meet work requirements after receiving two years of support. Failure to meet this requirement could result in the loss of cash benefits as well as services (e.g., subsidized child care) and the right to participate in parallel programs such as Medicaid. The first families came to their five-year lifetime limit on cash subsidies in 2001.[3]

Research on welfare-to-work programs has been encouraging in that many programs have improved employment rates and earnings. However, there are still opportunities to further improve transitions to work in terms of earnings and stable employment. Spatial barriers can present important challenges to these programs and, if not addressed, may reduce the effectiveness of the programs. Research on spatial mismatch can be used to identify instances in which geographic isolation may be a factor in the success or failure of a welfare-to-work program in a specific city, and this knowledge can be used to develop strategies that could reduce the impact of mismatch on welfare-to-work transitions.

Claudia Coulton engaged in this type of research, examining how place

[3]Information from the Children's Defense Fund, http://libertynet.org/~edcivic/welfcdf.html [viewed online January 3, 2002].

influences the success or failure of welfare-to-work programs by exploring newly collected data from the Project on Devolution and Urban Change conducted by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation. This study began in 1997, prior to key changes in welfare legislation, and includes neighborhoods from Cleveland, Los Angeles, Miami, and Philadelphia. Waves of data collection are planned through 2003 in order to observe the results of welfare reform with respect to changes in welfare caseloads and employment. The study was designed to reflect concerns about place-based inequalities as they affect welfare dependency and, as Coulton (2001) stated, "is unique among studies of welfare reform because of its focus on urban communities with high concentrations of welfare, its expansive data collection, and its integrated and multidisciplinary approach" (p. 46).

Survey data about employment and earnings in 1998 were gathered from female-headed families that had been on welfare during 1995. An additional step of geocoding the residence of each participant (i.e., linking a participant's data to the zip code in which he or she resided) in 1995 and 1998 was taken, and social and economic indicators were analyzed from census tract data for all neighborhoods in which participants lived. This process was used to facilitate an analysis of place-based barriers and neighborhood effects on participants.

Coulton centered her analysis on four metropolitan inequalities: concentration and isolation of welfare recipients, neighborhood effects on work, barriers to job access for low-skilled and inner-city workers, and residential mobility and neighborhood change. What follows is a summary of her analysis.

Concentration of Poverty and Isolation of Welfare Recipients

Concentrated poverty and isolation of welfare recipients were Coulton's points of departure for examining place-based inequities. As established in the overview of previous work on inner-city neighborhoods, concentrated poverty is an important condition—perhaps a foundational one—for the decline of neighborhoods and fodder for the proliferation of neighborhood conditions that have negative effects on residents. When poor neighborhoods are geographically isolated in regions of a city that lack public transportation and are distant from areas of job growth, the neighborhood effects on residents can be particularly troubling.

Previous research has certainly documented the increasing propensity

of poor residents to cluster in specific areas in inner cities and has correlated a concentration and isolation of the urban poor with negative neighborhood effects. Cities, however, have undergone significant changes in the past decade. Because of this shift, Coulton began her analysis by examining data from the first two years of the Project on Devolution and Urban Change study to determine the extent to which welfare recipients were concentrated in certain inner-city neighborhoods. She found that in 1995 welfare recipients in Cleveland and Philadelphia were highly concentrated in certain neighborhoods as measured on three different indices. In comparison, Miami and Los Angeles were less highly concentrated, with poor and affluent families spread somewhat more evenly throughout the city and with fewer neighborhoods in which welfare recipients exceeded 20 percent of the population.

By 1998 the concentration of welfare recipients in poor areas had fallen in all four cities. This change was due to the drop that occurred by 1998 in the overall number of welfare cases. As a result, many neighborhoods that had exceeded a 20 percent threshold of welfare families living in the area now fell below this mark. Coulton explained that to the extent welfare dependency influences residents and neighborhoods through a threshold effect—in this case the threshold was a 20 percent or more concentration of welfare recipients in a neighborhood—fewer families in 1998 were exposed to this threshold. In other words, if neighborhood effects that perpetuate joblessness or other negative social traits are a significant influence only if a large number of residents are on welfare, the fact that fewer neighborhoods actually reached this 20 percent threshold suggests an overall improvement in the neighborhoods in which welfare recipients were living. Despite this encouraging trend of deconcentration, Coulton found that families that remained welfare dependent were still more likely to live in poverty-concentrated neighborhoods.

In addition to tracking the extent to which welfare recipients were concentrated in certain neighborhoods, Coulton explored whether welfare recipients were also living in "disparate" neighborhoods. Coulton defined disparate neighborhoods as those that not only were poor but also had high rates of child maltreatment, births to unmarried females, births to girls ages 10 to 17, high rates of violent crime, and low median values of single-family homes. Using instruments to measure the rates of each of these five categories, Coulton labeled a neighborhood as disparate if the rates for these indicators measured more than twice the region's median.

Disparate census tracts were found in all four cities and represented the

following percentages of all neighborhoods in each city: 19 percent of Cleveland neighborhoods were disparate, 2 percent in Los Angeles, 10 percent in Miami, and 4 percent in Philadelphia. Coulton noted that the rate in Philadelphia was artificially low because the city's *regional* median value of disparity was quite high. This was one drawback to the methodology Coulton used to identify disparate neighborhoods: because each neighborhood was compared to a median rate of disparity for the region, cities like Philadelphia in which so many neighborhoods were poor and had high levels of social disorder did not calculate as disparate because their rates were not twice as high as the regional median. As a result, neighborhoods in Philadelphia that would have registered as disparate in another city did not score as such because they were being compared to an area in which poverty and disparity were widespread.

One encouraging trend for all cities was that the number of tracts disparate on all five indicators fell from the medians calculated for the 1992-1995 period versus the 1996-1999 period, suggesting an improvement in the quality of many neighborhoods during this time. The number of welfare recipients living in disparate neighborhoods also decreased during this time: Cleveland dropped to 34.5 percent, Miami to 10.7, and Los Angeles to 0.2 (Philadelphia could not be characterized in this way).

Finally, Coulton examined the extent to which high concentrations of welfare recipients in a census tract overlapped with tracts that were disparate. Her argument was that high overlap suggests that a concentration of welfare recipients may drive other disparities in inner-city neighborhoods. The results in Cleveland were particularly telling: although the numbers of high-welfare tracts and disparate tracts decreased, the number of tracts that were both high welfare and disparate increased. This finding suggests that, even though welfare caseloads are declining, the people remaining on public assistance may be living in worse circumstances now than before welfare reform.

It should be noted that this pattern was not seen in every city: Miami's remaining welfare tracts were less likely to also be disparate, suggesting that neighborhood conditions have improved for welfare recipients there. Sue Popkin noted that there is an alternative interpretation: Florida initiated time limits on welfare recipiency before other states. As a result, the number of welfare recipients may be artificially low not because people have made successful transitions to work but because they are simply no longer on the welfare rolls.

Coulton's assessment of the overall status of inner-city neighborhoods

is one of positive trends: disparate neighborhoods in all four cities—despite the broad geographic, historical, and economic diversity that characterizes each—are improving. This general positive trend is not, however, without a disquieting caveat. As Coulton stated, in cities such as Cleveland "in which welfare families were highly concentrated and segregated before welfare reform, the remaining high-welfare neighborhoods have become even worse off" (p. 54). Should the economy remain in its recent downward trajectory, one concern is that the concentration of welfare recipients in disparate neighborhoods may be foreshadowing a problematic future trend.

Residential Movement and Neighborhood Churning

One straightforward manner in which concentrated poverty can be reduced is to create opportunities for welfare recipients or the working poor to move to better neighborhoods. For individuals receiving housing subsidies and other supplemental benefits, public policy and programming such as Section 8 mobility programs can help facilitate a move. Programs like Section 8 are tenant based in that they provide a rent subsidy to low-income families. This subsidy allows low-income families to afford private-market housing in a location determined by the families to be the most beneficial to them. This is very different from government-operated public housing.

Unfortunately, local neighborhood politics, zoning restrictions, and the perception that subsidized and public housing is damaging to a neighborhood often prevent these types of public policy and housing programs from being implemented. It is not uncommon for residents in "good" neighborhoods to resist the placement of subsidized housing in their communities, thus closing down one avenue for desegregating neighborhoods. Furthermore, a strategy of relocating welfare recipients to less disparate or less welfare-concentrated neighborhoods has a very important limit: it will never be feasible, nor perhaps desirable, to relocate entire neighborhoods of people in order to disperse a disparate census tract. Thus, approaches that facilitate welfare recipients moving to a new neighborhood can be helpful to a limited number of people, and although it is one path to ease concentrated neighborhood poverty or disparity, it may have a relatively limited scope. Finally, previous research suggests the demographic profile of women on welfare is that of a less mobile population. African Americans are also less likely to be able to move out of poor neighborhoods.

The second piece of Coulton's research explored the extent to which

residential mobility is used by families as a strategy to improve their situation and the number of opportunities available to them. The presence of residential mobility or churning in a neighborhood may indicate that residents move to better neighborhoods or closer to jobs when they have the opportunity to do so. On the other hand, frequent residential changes—especially if residents are not moving closer to tangible opportunities—may make it more difficult for community networks to develop and for individuals to tap into neighborhood resources.

Coulton found considerable residential mobility among participants in the Urban Change study, with 61 percent of Cleveland residents, 61 percent of Los Angeles residents, 39 percent of Miami residents, and 52 percent of Philadelphia residents having made at least one move to a new census tract between 1995 and 1998-1999. Most of the moves were in response to a crisis or to seek less expensive housing. Only 10 percent moved because they wished to live in a better neighborhood and less than 1 percent moved to be closer to jobs or child care. The majority of movers were not consciously using residential mobility as a strategy to improve job or neighborhood-related opportunities.

Two other insights developed from these data. The first was that movers and nonmovers differed on a number of characteristics. Not only were movers younger, were more likely to be married, had younger children, were less likely to live in public housing, and were more likely to have a housing subsidy, they also were more likely to perceive their neighborhoods favorably and to view destination neighborhoods as an improvement over their current location. Movers seemed to be a somewhat more resilient group who began in and later moved to better neighborhoods than their nonmoving counterparts.

The second insight was that, even though movers seemed to fare somewhat better than nonmovers, changing city conditions were a more powerful factor in predicting whether welfare recipients actually lived and moved into areas that were not distressed. Coulton offered the following example and explanation: "In Miami, both movers and non-movers experienced positive neighborhood change. In Philadelphia, it appears that the trends were negative for both movers and non-movers. Thus, it appears that without special mobility policies, most welfare families do not get out of distressed neighborhoods on their own even though those who do move begin in somewhat more advantaged places and experience greater neighborhood satisfaction" (p. 56).

Another study of Cleveland residents transitioning from welfare to

work found similar results. This study found that while almost one-quarter of individuals exiting welfare moved within the first six months of getting off welfare, most moved between inner-city neighborhoods rather than to high-job-growth suburban locations. As many increased as decreased their commute distances by moving. This also suggests that residential mobility was not deliberately used to improve job access.

Although residential mobility has the potential to assist welfare recipients in relocating to neighborhoods with greater opportunities, on the whole this does not seem to be occurring. Rather, residents often move reactively to deal with rising housing costs or a crisis and not to improve access to jobs or other services that could promote a better quality of life.

Neighborhood Effects on Welfare-to-Work Success

Many scholars have speculated that neighborhood effects could be influential in successful transitions from welfare to work. Because data from the Project on Devolution and Urban Change study indicated that welfare recipients were concentrated in poor neighborhoods and that many of those neighborhoods displayed significant social and economic disparities, it was possible to test whether neighborhood exerted an independent (in this case negative) effect on employment. Through participant interviews, data on two measures of employment—the number of months employed during the previous 12 months and the participant's earnings in the month prior to the interview—were collected to measure the extent to which families were finding work, maintaining employment, and earning a wage that would enable them to be financially self-sufficient.

Coulton attempted to test whether violent crime, economic disinvestments, and welfare dependency were factors through which a neighborhood might exert an influence on individual employment through modeling techniques. Rates of violent crime were chosen because earlier studies of women on welfare suggested that fear of victimization could be a barrier to work. Declining housing values represented whether a neighborhood was developing economically and, by extension, the extent to which socioeconomic status would be influential on residents. It also represented the extent to which residents of these neighborhoods might be perceived negatively by employers, who would then be discouraged from hiring them as workers. The concentration of families on welfare represented the extent to which neighborhoods lacked social networks (e.g., informal job information) that could support and facilitate work.

After controlling for individual and family differences to the extent possible, significant effects were found for several of the factors tested. Violent crime and disinvestments had a significant effect on the number of months worked, and welfare concentration and disinvestments had significant effects on earnings. Neighborhood effects had a significant influence and appeared to create barriers to finding and maintaining well-paying positions. Despite this outcome, Coulton cautioned that in studies like the Project on Devolution and Urban Change, neighborhood effects could be inflated by individual characteristics that were not controlled. This fact is generally what is meant when researchers talk about neighborhoods as endogenous: residents may choose a neighborhood because they share similar individual attributes unbeknownst to the researcher. As a result, observed neighborhood effects may actually be the result of these shared and unmeasured characteristics.

Researchers have developed a strategy to deal with the endogeneity of neighborhoods and that is to create social experiments in which families are relocated to neighborhoods they would not have had the means to choose themselves so that the results can be observed. Essentially, a treatment group that received a housing subsidy and assistance in relocating to a middle-class suburban neighborhood and a control group that received a subsidy but remained in low-income inner-city neighborhoods would be created. Studies such as the MTO experiment and naturally occurring quasi-experimental programs such as the Gautreaux Program have yielded varying results regarding the extent to which neighborhoods exert significant influences on residents.

The Gautreaux Program began in Chicago in the 1970s and through a lottery process moved some African American families on public assistance to public housing in white suburban neighborhoods. A significant difference in employment rates was found for suburban residents compared to those living in the city—suburban movers had a 16 percentage point higher rate of employment than city dwellers. Children of suburban movers also appeared to benefit from the move. However, suburban movers did not appear to fare better with respect to hours worked or wages.

Interestingly, the MTO study did not replicate these results. Employment and welfare outcomes for the treatment group that moved to a low-poverty suburban neighborhood were not significantly different from those of a randomized Section 8 comparison group. A Baltimore treatment group did show higher rates of moving from welfare to work, although Baltimore was the only city in which this effect was significant. Differences between

the Gautreax Program and MTO could be due to the longer follow-up period of Gautreaux and the fact that data from the MTO employment outcomes were being collected at a time of high labor demand and economic growth, thus improving the employment prospects of all participants.[4]

The power of neighborhood effects remains an area of exploration, as do the particular variables (such as a booming economy) that may intervene. Future studies that involve the kind of social experiment produced in the Gautreaux Program and MTO would be an invaluable resource for researchers and potentially participants.

Spatial Constraints to Job Access

In addition to the Project on Devolution and Urban Change study, Coulton analyzed data from a longitudinal study of families leaving welfare in the Cleveland metropolitan area. This study offered the opportunity to evaluate the extent to which spatial mismatch created significant barriers for families leaving welfare. Two data sources were available in this study. The first was a survey of adults whose welfare cases had been closed for at least two consecutive months. The survey documented their employment experiences, the job and residential locations of participants six months after leaving welfare, and the racial composition of the neighborhoods in which participants lived and worked. The second dataset was a database of entry-level job openings in the greater Cleveland metropolitan area used to estimate the number of entry-level positions available in various neighborhoods. In addition, a method was developed to estimate travel time by public transportation or car between various census tracts as a way to gauge the accessibility of high-growth job areas to the residential locations of welfare leavers.

Coulton found that, although there were pockets of job opportunities in the inner city, 83 percent of low-skilled job openings occurred in the outlying suburbs of Cleveland. In contrast, 75 percent of welfare leavers lived in the inner city and the rest lived in inner-ring suburbs. Clearly, there was a geographic mismatch between the location of jobs and the residences

[4]Additional information on the MTO study and the Gautreaux Program can be found at http://www.mtoresearch.org [viewed online May 31, 2002].

of this pool of potential workers. In Cleveland the spatial mismatch was compounded by fairly substantial challenges in getting workers to outlying suburbs: inner-city welfare leavers who relied on public transportation would be able to reach less than one-quarter of the available jobs within 30 minutes and one-half of the jobs within 90 minutes.

Given these conditions, it is perhaps not surprising that Coulton found that owning an automobile was the most important factor in gaining access to jobs. For example, African American and white welfare leavers who were able to drive a car to work had similar rates of job access. However, when comparing the entire population of welfare leavers, race is a more salient issue in two ways. Regarding car ownership, only 39 percent of African American welfare leavers had access to a car, compared to 51 percent of their white counterparts.

Race also appeared to influence the location in which welfare leavers found employment. African American welfare leavers—including those who lived in the suburbs—found jobs in the inner city. Furthermore, these individuals worked in census tracts that had a higher proportion of African American residents. In contrast, white welfare leavers found employment in a pattern that mirrored the city-suburb ratio of available jobs. Certainly, barriers to traveling to jobs in the suburbs are an important factor in explaining these results, but the explanation might not end there. For example, employers located in census tracts with a low percentage of minorities may hire whites preferentially. It may also suggest that African American welfare leavers seek jobs in areas in which they believe they will be less likely to experience discriminatory attitudes.

The end result of the spatial mismatch between African American welfare leavers and jobs and limited access to automobiles is that blacks found jobs in an area 65 percent as large as that of white welfare leavers. African American welfare leavers living in the suburbs were more likely to commute to the city for work than were their white counterparts (30 percent compared to 13 percent). Finally, black welfare leavers had the least spatially dispersed employment patterns and whites the most dispersed.

Summary

Coulton's paper was broad in scope, considering in depth the effects on transitions from welfare to work of concentrated poverty and a high percentage of welfare recipients in a neighborhood, a broad array of factors that could lead to neighborhood effects, the outcomes of residential mobil-

ity and churning, and spatial-geographic barriers to work. Research in these areas is promising, suggesting possible mechanisms by which neighborhoods might create barriers or opportunities for people transitioning from welfare to work, and yet a number of studies (e.g., MTO versus Gautreaux) have produced mixed results on the extent to which neighborhood is a significant influence on employment. This is especially true, as Gordon Berlin noted, when neighborhood effects are compared to the influence of family and individual characteristics, SES, and the impact of racial differences and racial segregation in neighborhoods. Furthermore, separating the independent effects of these influences is difficult.

Harry Holzer complicated the issue further by pointing out that, when it comes to welfare to work, not only do studies of place yield mixed results, but the particular city in which a study is undertaken makes an enormous difference in the extent to which place-based factors represent a significant influence on residents. The time period in which a study is conducted, as well as the tightness of the labor market then, can overwhelm any observed effects of place. For instance, MTO may have not detected effects because even in control neighborhoods as much as 50 percent of the population was employed. Prior to the booming economy of the late 1990s, these control neighborhoods consistently had employment rates of 20 to 30 percent. Significant changes in the economy will have an impact on studies that are social experiments. Finally, neighborhood effects and spatial barriers to work will likely interact in complicated ways with the time period, overall labor market conditions, structural characteristics of the neighborhood, and individual differences (e.g., race, gender, family size and stability) of the participants.

Conducting research on place-based influences on welfare-to-work transitions is clearly a challenging task. In general, discussants at the workshop thought it was fair to say that research suggests place does matter in facilitating successful transitions and creating barriers but that more research is needed to identify the particular mechanisms by which these effects occur in specific city contexts.

"GETTING UNDER ONE'S SKIN": NEIGHBORHOOD EFFECTS ON HEALTH

In addition to influencing transitions from welfare to work and child development, neighborhood environments have been theorized to have effects on the health outcomes of residents. While it may seem straightfor-

ward that factors such as geographic isolation could create important barriers to finding employment and that social environments affect children's social and emotional development, the way in which neighborhood conditions might, as one discussant put it, "get under one's skin" to yield negative physical outcomes is perhaps less obvious.

Jeffrey Morenoff centered his discussion on two neighborhood conditions that stand to affect health—exposure to chronic environmental stress, such as violent crime, and the presence or absence of supportive social relationships. He also analyzed data that identified the underlying mechanisms by which these conditions are transferred to individuals in a manner that produces poor health outcomes. This section reviews the results of two of Morenoff's studies. The first paper examined neighborhood effects that can provide conditions in which violent crime can proliferate. This research found that collective efficacy—defined as the presence of social cohesion, trust, and a willingness on the part of residents to take action to enforce social norms—was important in explaining the relationship between neighborhood kin/friendship ties and homicide rates and that spatial dependence of homicide is quite strong.

The second paper focused on the underlying mechanisms by which neighborhood effects are translated into health outcomes. Homicide rates proved to be an important predictor of low birth weights, suggesting that regular exposure to the chronic stress of a violent neighborhood produces a "weathering effect" that results in negative health outcomes. In addition to the effects of chronic stress, Morenoff examined reciprocal relationships as a second mechanism by which neighborhoods could affect health. Finally, Morenoff highlighted new perspectives—life course and event course approaches—that are useful in more accurately conceptualizing the ways in which neighborhoods impact residents.

A life course focus conceptualizes the effects of neighborhood on individuals as something that happens over the course of one's development and life cycle. The weathering effect is a good example of the type of neighborhood effect that fits into a life course approach because a researcher must attend to the way in which experiences can have a cumulative effect on individuals over time. In contrast, an event course approach would focus on the way in which spatial relationships can create the circumstances for certain events to occur. In addition, the approach considers the impact of specific events on individuals. Both approaches are useful in understanding how neighborhoods can affect residents, but they emphasize different aspects of place-based influences.

Data for these studies were drawn in part from the community survey completed as part of the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods. This survey assessed the status of Chicago's neighborhoods in 1995 and 2001 in terms of their social, economic, organizational, political, and cultural structures. By using these community surveys in conjunction with other data sources on crime and health outcomes, Morenoff was able to explore the relationships between place and individual outcomes in important new ways.

Neighborhood Effects and Crime

Neighborhood crime can exert important influences on residents and affect a wide range of issues. Neighbors who are constantly concerned about their safety may be less willing to make use of public spaces and resources and may fear using public transportation to travel to employment, especially if they work a nonstandard shift. In addition, the psychological reactions residents may experience from being exposed to violent crime can reduce their sense of well-being and increase stress in problematic ways.

Morenoff's study of homicide rates in Chicago neighborhoods sought to answer why some neighborhoods are more violent than others by identifying the underlying mechanisms. Were there neighborhood characteristics beyond SES that accounted for the uneven distribution of violent crimes? To answer these questions, Morenoff examined rates of collective efficacy and social ties in neighborhoods, two mechanisms that have received the attention of scholars for the potential they are thought to have in creating an environment less conducive to crime. Essentially, if neighbors are willing to informally supervise and intervene in the activities occurring in neighborhood space, it may be more difficult for individuals bent on illicit activities to accomplish their goals.

In more specific terms, collective efficacy is a representation of the extent to which neighbors share ideas about acceptable social behavior and the expectation that they would take appropriate action if one observed someone behaving in a manner that violated normative standards. It combines social control and community cohesion and trust in a manner that emphasizes residents' willingness to take action and make use of social resources for specific purposes. In this respect, collective efficacy moves beyond traditional notions of social capital that center on the potential resources stemming from close social ties in a neighborhood because collective efficacy captures the extent to which residents are willing and expect each

other to take action and mobilize public resources. For example, in a neighborhood with high collective efficacy, neighbors would state that they expected other residents would take action if they saw children skipping school or spray painting graffiti, if someone observed a fight in front of their house, or if it was discovered that the city planned to close a nearby library or fire station. Residents would also describe their neighborhood as close knit, meaning that neighbors share the same values and trust each other, share in the supervision of young people, and are willing to assist other residents.

The strength of social ties (measured by the number of kin and friends that residents reported living in the neighborhood) and collective efficacy were measured for Chicago neighborhoods, and each neighborhood was classified into one of four categories: (1) weak social ties and low collective efficacy; (2) weak social ties and high collective efficacy; (3) strong social ties and low collective efficacy; and (4) strong social ties and high collective efficacy. Using Geographic Information Systems software, a typological map was created to represent neighborhoods matching these categories (see Figure 3-1). This map was overlaid with markers of homicide "hot spots" (i.e., areas with high homicide rates) and "cold spots" (low homicide rates).

The results showed that areas with low collective efficacy, regardless of the strength or weakness of social ties, had high rates of homicide, whereas areas high in collective efficacy were homicide cold spots. This suggests that collective efficacy is an extremely important mechanism through which a neighborhood climate that discourages crime can be created. It also suggests that the potential of social ties to improve the climate of a neighborhood is mediated through collective efficacy. In other words, the potential for close relationships among neighbors is not enough to affect the climate of a neighborhood. Rather, neighbors must be willing to act as social agents by exerting a regulatory force over inappropriate behavior they observe.

Morenoff's analysis also suggested that spatial dynamics may be an important factor in the rates of violent crime. Neighborhoods that were close to a community with high collective efficacy had lower homicide rates than those that were not. Collective efficacy appeared to have a spillover effect into other neighborhoods regardless of whether the other neighborhoods had high or low collective efficacy. Morenoff noted that this finding suggests researchers need to be careful not to think of neighborhoods as islands unto themselves but rather as spatially interconnected locations that will affect and be influenced by the conditions that surround them.

Although SES remains the strongest and most consistent predictor of

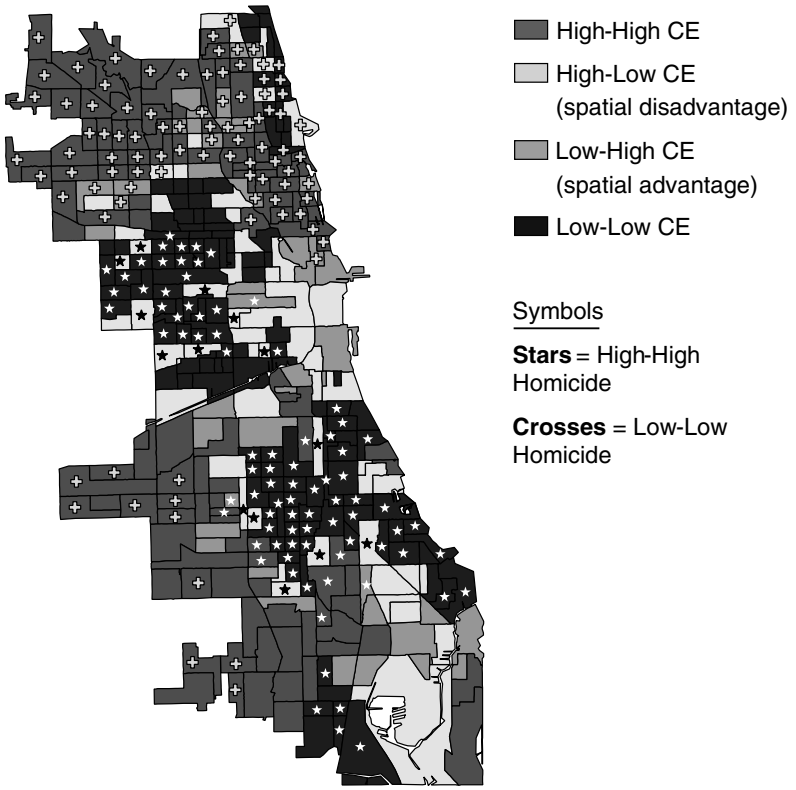

FIGURE 3-1. Typology of social ties and collective efficacy (1995) with homicide hot/cold spots (1996-1998).
SOURCE: Reprinted with permission from Morenoff, J. D., Sampson, R. J., and Raudenbush, S.W. (2001.) Neighborhood inequality, collective efficacy, and the spatial dynamics of urban violence. *Criminology, 39*(3), 517-560.

neighborhood homicide rates, collective efficacy and spatial dependence exert powerful independent effects on violent crime. In Morenoff's study, social ties and institutional resources did not have independent effects, suggesting that the potential of relationship and institutional resources is mediated through collective efficacy: if neighbors are not willing to use these resources, they cannot be of help in creating an environment that reduces opportunities for crime to occur.

Neighborhood Effects and Health

Many health outcomes have long been thought to be influenced by one's environmental conditions. Low birth weights may well be one such outcome. Large and persistent racial and ethnic disparities have been documented, and many researchers have asked to what extent these disparities can actually be explained by the neighborhood in which one lives. At the workshop, Morenoff presented a conceptual model of factors that may represent important neighborhood influences on a mother's health (see Figure 3-2). Neighborhood effects included structural features of the environment such as SES and racial segregation, institutional resources such as health care and social services, and ecological sources of stress such as crime and violence. Morenoff's presentation focused on the effects of ecological sources of stress (e.g., homicide as a marker of exposure to violent crime) and social resources that offer insight into racial disparities in neighborhoods. The next two sections discuss the mechanisms underlying these two particular neighborhood effects and summarize the results of Morenoff's data.

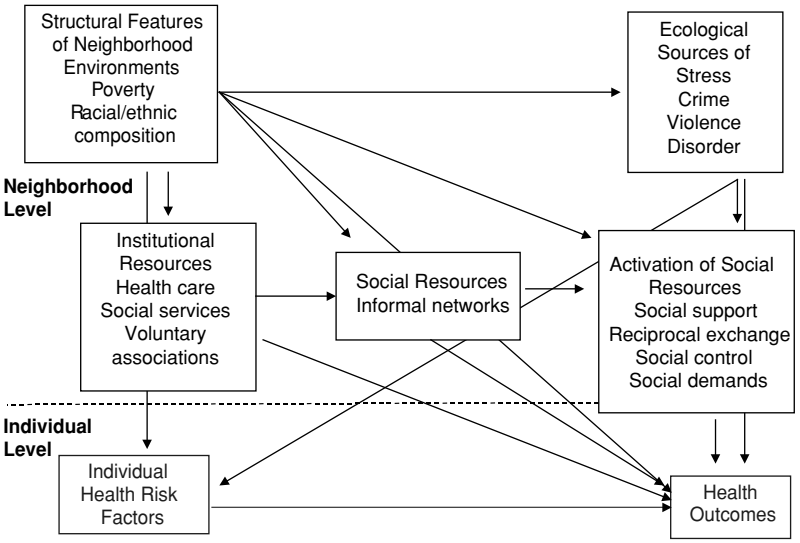

FIGURE 3-2. Conceptual model of neighborhood effects on health outcomes.
SOURCE: Adapted from Morenoff, J. D., Sampson, R. J., and Gannon-Rowley, T. (2002). Assessing 'neighborhood effects:' Social processes and new directions in research. *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (in press).

Ecological Influences: Homicide Hot Spots and Low Birth Weight

Researchers have theorized that chronic stress stemming from one's environment and lifestyle can create an "allostatic load," meaning a cumulative physiological effect stemming from prolonged exposure to stress. The effects of chronic stress have been linked to a number of poor health outcomes, including heart disease, asthma, and low birth weight—an outcome that may be particularly problematic because of the potential to predispose a child to developmental problems. Because of the link between stress and these health conditions, outcomes such as low-birthweight babies offer a good representation of the extent to which neighborhoods were "getting under the skin" of residents. It is also the demographic factor that is regularly tracked by a number of sources that can be linked to specific spatial locations.

One explanation of how environmental stress can influence individuals is captured in the notion of a "weathering effect." This term represents the impact that stress can have over time, suggesting that prolonged exposure to chronic ecological stress—such as violent crime—may have a cumulative effect on individuals that can lead to poor health outcomes. In other words, the longer individuals are exposed to environmental stressors, the more likely it is that this allostatic load will translate into low-birthweight babies, asthma attacks, heart disease, and other health problems.

Morenoff began this part of the study by mapping clusters of homicides and low-birth-weight babies. As visible in Figure 3-3, there was significant overlap in the proximity of these occurrences. A multivariate analysis confirmed what the maps suggested: after controlling for a wide range of individual-level risk factors linked to low-birth-weight babies, neighborhood homicide rates were an important predictor of birth weight.

In terms of understanding the way in which neighborhoods can affect residents, it is worth pointing out that crime is an adverse event to which individuals can be exposed. This exposure can be in many forms—for example, witnessing an assault can trigger long-lasting fears of being attacked. Exposure to a crime has a different type of effect compared to other neighborhood effects that are related to the compositional characteristics of the population in residence. For example, high unemployment rates in an area can weaken information networks about potential employment. This structural characteristic—unemployment—can affect social networks. In contrast, violent crimes are events, and, although such events may be influenced in part by social mechanisms like neighborhood collective efficacy,

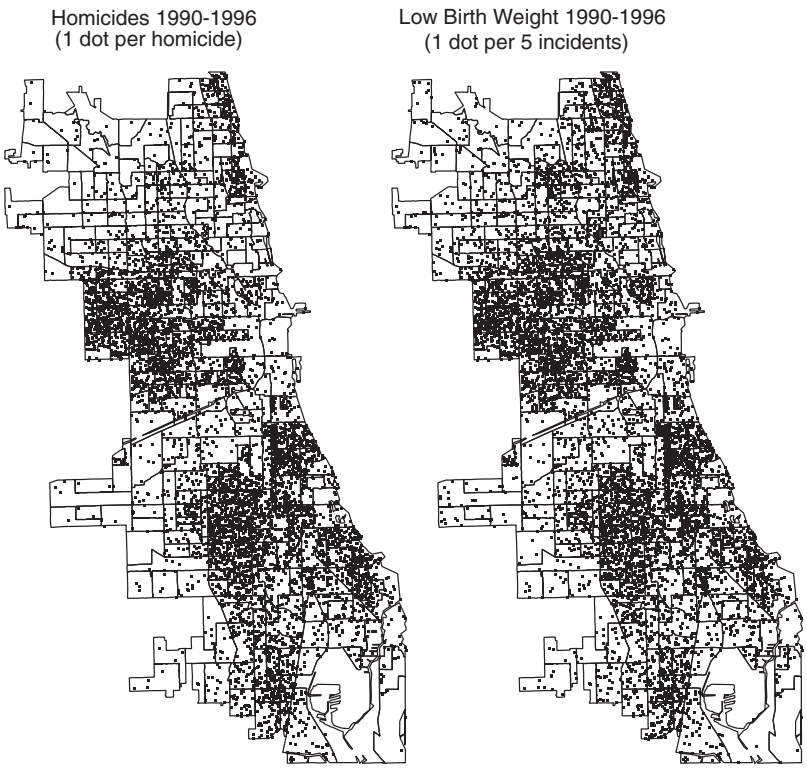

FIGURE 3-3. Geographic overlap of rates of homicide and low birth weight (1990-1996).
SOURCE: Adapted from Morenoff, J. D. (2001). Place, race and health: Neighborhood sources of group disparities in birthweight. Population Studies Center. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan.

treating event-based influences in the same way as a demographic characteristic may provide fewer insights into how to remedy the situation.

In addition to finding a significant spatial overlap between high rates of homicide and low birth weights, Morenoff discovered an important relationship between the age of mothers and their babies' birth weights. In low-crime neighborhoods there is relatively little relationship between maternal age and birth weights. However, in high-crime neighborhoods, African Americans appear to experience a weathering effect, whereby as the age of

the mother increases, birth weight drops. This suggests that chronic exposure to this type of ecological stress creates an allostatic load that affects these women over time. In contrast, non-Hispanic whites and Mexican Americans appear to be more adversely affected by living in a high-crime neighborhood if they give birth at a younger age than at an older age, suggesting that a mechanism other than weathering may be needed to understand this phenomenon.

Reciprocal Relationships and Racial Disparities in Birth Weight

Racial disparities in Chicago's birth weights have been significant and persistent. For example, from 1989 to 1996 non-Hispanic whites had the highest average birth weights, with Hispanics of Mexican descent having only slightly lower averages. African Americans had the lowest birth weights, and these were substantially lower than those for non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics (see Figure 3-4). These racial disparities raise important questions about the role of neighborhoods. For example, it might make sense to assume that because ethnic minorities living in inner cities often reside in the poorest neighborhoods and have substantially lower average incomes than whites, SES must account for these observed differences. Certainly, this could be part of the picture, yet it cannot explain what some have called the Hispanic paradox: low SES does not appear to affect the birth weights of the babies of Mexican American women. Another mechanism must have a mediating influence.

In his presentation, Morenoff again turned to collective efficacy but this time focused his measurement on reciprocal exchange rather than social control and cohesion. Again, collective efficacy can be understood as the extent to which residents are willing to take action and use the social and institutional resources in their neighborhoods. Because of this a variety of measurements can be used to capture this "will to act," and scales that are specific to the particular outcome will more accurately determine whether collective efficacy is the mediating mechanism in a situation. Reciprocal exchange measured the extent to which neighbors were willing to care for one another and lend assistance. The scale inquired about such matters as the frequency with which neighbors exchanged favors for each other, watched over each other's property, socialized and visited with one another, and asked each other for advice.

The results indicated that reciprocal exchange has a significant protective effect on birth weights, especially for whites and Mexican Americans.

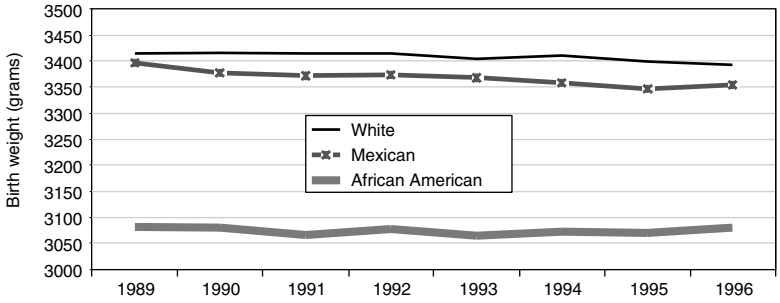

FIGURE 3-4. Trends in mean birth-weights: Chicago vital stats (1989-1996). SOURCE: Data from Morenoff, J. D., and Sampson, R. J. (1997). Violent crime and the spatial dynamics of neighborhood transition: Chicago, 1970-1990. *Social Forces, 76*(1):31-64. Morenoff, J. D., Sampson, R. J. and Raudenbush, S. W. (in press). Integrating structural characteristics, neighborhood social processes, and the spatial dynamics of urban violence. *Criminology*. Based on data from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN).

Nonsignificant effects were found for African Americans, and Morenoff speculated that may be because family support has historically been primary for African Americans, with friends and neighbors representing secondary sources of support. Therefore, the scale of reciprocal exchange that focused on neighbors may have masked the importance of familial social support in mediating birth weights for African Americans.

Another interesting result of this part of the study was the relationship between neighborhood composition and birth weights. Mexican American babies' birth weights were highest in minority neighborhoods and lowest for Mexican families living in predominantly white neighborhoods. Scholars have speculated that close-knit Mexican communities may provide a buffer against acculturation. This pattern could be of great benefit if part of the U.S. culture *not* assimilated into Mexican communities includes less healthy lifestyle choices (e.g., eating at fast food resturants, smoking). In contrast, racial segregation posed a significant health risk for African American mothers above and beyond other measured neighborhood risk factors.

Developmental Perspective and Event-Oriented Approaches

In this part of the discussion, Morenoff emphasized the need to examine neighborhood phenomena in two ways. A person-based view would

emphasize developmental effects of neighborhood conditions that may become attached to a resident and yield long-term consequences. For instance, chronic stress from exposure to violence and crime that leads to low birth weight may place a child at risk for learning disabilities that can make school experiences more daunting. In this case, neighborhood conditions may stay with a mother and her child for years. In contrast, an event-based perspective would focus on the situational effects of the likelihood of events occurring in a neighborhood. This approach may be particularly helpful in understanding how to prevent crime and other event-based issues that may have shorter-term, more episodic effects. For example, several situational factors must come together to provide a venue in which crime can occur: a motivated offender and suitable target must meet in the same place, and this place must lack capable guardians who can or would intervene effectively. When these events occur together, a crime can occur. An event-based approach would be helpful in developing strategies to reduce crime. In contrast, addressing the effects of crime on individuals would be better served with a people-based approach.

Summary

Morenoff's analysis of health outcomes and their relationship to place and neigborhood effects covered a broad range of material and identified a number of important relationships. Collective efficacy emerged as an important mechanism that has the potential to reduce neighborhood crime and improve health outcomes such as birth weights. Morenoff stressed that the concept of collective efficacy reflects not just shared values or a sense of community in a neighborhood but also a belief in the willingness of other neighbors to act and intervene in situations.

One point stressed by Morenoff and workshop discussant Patricia O'Campo was that the specific nature of collective efficacy will vary depending on the phenomenon being explored. As a result, researchers must be careful to tailor the scale of collective efficacy to the phenomenon in order to accurately evaluate its presence and effect. For example, with regard to reducing juvenile crime, instruments of collective efficacy might measure the extent to which neighbors would intervene if they observed young people engaged in vandalism or other illicit activities. In contrast, in determining whether collective efficacy is important to birth weights, social ties and reciprocity among neighbors (such as doing favors and caring for one another) would be the salient issues to measure.

Attending to individual life course patterns, critical ages, and developmental trajectories as they are influenced by race and ethnicity was identified by workshop discussants as an important part of conducting rigorous research on neighborhood effects. This was most evident in Morenoff's discussion of the weathering effect as a mechanism that is important to African American birth weights but not to women of other ethnicities. Finally, while a developmental or people-based approach to neighborhood effects may be important in understanding how negative effects become attached to individuals, solving some of the situational-based causes of these effects may require an event-based analysis.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The workshop discussions summarized in this chapter reflect the growing knowledge of neighborhood effects and advances in conducting research to identify key mechanisms responsible for translating neighborhood conditions to individual outcomes. While the data are preliminary—the Moving to Opportunity study involves five years of data collection, while the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods will continue for eight years—results thus far indicate that neighborhood has important implications for residents with regard to employment and welfare, child and adolescent development, and health outcomes. In addition, it is clear that how a neighborhood affects its residents is complicated and that developing appropriate policy and programmatic responses will be challenging. Despite this challenge, the careful measures and critical analyses displayed in research such as that conducted by Coulton, Leventhal, and Morenoff demonstrate that identification of factors that can be targeted for intervention is possible and may have the potential to yield better neighborhoods and better outcomes for residents in the future.

4

Where Do We Go from Here?

Research presented in Chapter 3 not only highlights ways that spatial mismatch and neighborhood effects can significantly impact residents in disparate neighborhoods but also begins to suggest opportunities for future research and policy that might ameliorate some of these negative influences. Identifying promising directions for research, ways to improve datasets and methodologies focused on measuring the effects of place, and policy options to improve the conditions of inner-city neighborhoods were the final goals of the workshop, and these issues were explored in the final session. George Galster focused on methodological challenges to conducting research on neighborhood effects, and Tim Smeeding discussed policy options that could be appropriate responses based on the current status of research. This chapter summarizes their remarks as well as those of discussants Paul Jargowsky, John Goering, and Harold Wolman. In addition, comments made during the day that were particularly salient to the discussion of general research and policy issues are presented.

RESEARCH

Discussion of the direction of future research on neighborhood effects covered two major areas: (1) the desirability of developing an overarching conceptual framework that could account for all the interactions among variables as contrasted with breaking up the question into at least two parts—the effect of neighborhoods on outcomes and an understanding of

how neighborhoods came to be the way they are and (2) the strengths of various methodological approaches for understanding the first question—the effect of neighborhoods on outcomes.

George Galster contended that the way to understand the challenges facing researchers investigating the role of place or neighborhood in shaping opportunities for children and youth is to articulate an overarching conceptual framework. Such a framework is based on the premise that, in order to suggest the most promising directions for future research, one needs to comprehend in a holistic fashion all the factors that contribute to the outcome in question and the causal interrelationship among those factors. Specifically, Galster suggested using a model in which housing tenure, neighborhood, mobility expectations, and housing wealth are determined simultaneously.

Five methodological issues presented challenges to researchers interested in measuring the mechanisms of neighborhood impacts on human outcomes. First, neighborhood characteristics and social processes have to be operationalized in clever ways. A better understanding of social processes, such as social capital and group norms, can yield conclusions about how these processes link to the variables that are available for geographic areas such as census tracts.

Second, some of the links between neighborhood characteristics and human outcomes may be nonlinear and indirect. As a result, the relationship between neighborhood and outcomes may be quite complicated. For example, the poverty level in a neighborhood may have to decline below a particular level in order to have a positive effect on children's outcomes. Gordon Berlin and Sue Popkin both discussed this point of nonlinearity in the context of the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) experiment. Both noted that while it is impractical to adopt a national policy of moving all poor people into neighborhoods that are less than 10 percent poor, it is possible to stimulate opportunities for some families to move to neighborhoods with lower rates of poverty. Important research questions then become: At what threshold do people begin experiencing benefits? Would people who live in extremely poor neighborhoods (i.e., with poverty rates of 40 percent or more) be markedly better of in areas with poverty rates of 20 percent or even 30 percent? Is there some threshold of neighborhood poverty below which people experience benefits but above which residents would experience few, if any, changes from their current neighborhoods?

Galster's third point on challenges for future research was that a complete understanding of neighborhood characteristics and outcomes has to

take account of omitted variables. In order to solve this challenge it is necessary to work into statistical models such factors as housing tenure status, mobility expectations, and housing wealth that have not been included consistently or extensively in other studies. For example, homeowners tend to take better care of their dwellings than renters, and better-quality housing environments might have positive impacts on children. Alternatively, because homeowners have a greater financial stake in their neighborhood, they are more likely to get involved in community efforts such as those discussed earlier. As a result, homeowners may be more likely to monitor the collective behaviors of young people in their neighborhood, which could result in a reduction in crimes by youth and more positive social environments for young people.

Selection bias represented yet another, if relatively well-known, methodological challenge. In this case the unobserved variables, such as parental characteristics, would affect not only neighborhood characteristics through the choice of neighborhood but also residents' savings behavior, their choice of home ownership, and their mobility expectations and behavior. Galster suggested that databases with a much richer set of characteristics relating to parenting style and the whole panoply of attitudes and behaviors that factor into the outcome in question could help to solve this challenge. An alternative to generating new databases would be to develop better methods for measuring neighborhood choice and characteristics, as well as the other intervening variables in a model. He also suggested that researchers probe more deeply into the use of data from natural policy experiments that mimic random experiments such as the Denver Housing Authority's Dispersed Housing Program.

The final research challenge was the problem of simultaneity. For example, if an individual has a predisposition to become a homeowner, that individual is likely to choose a neighborhood carefully because one would not want such an asset to depreciate in value. Conversely, if for information or economic reasons a potential homeowner has access to only a small set of neighborhoods in which to purchase a home, that individual may opt to continue renting. This is one kind of endogeneity between the key variable of interest, neighborhood characteristics, and a key intervening variable, tenure status.

Paul Jargowsky summarized Galster's proposal about the future direction of neighborhood effects as follows: Galster argued that researchers need to understand the complex set of factors that produce the neighborhood characteristics that in turn produce the neighborhood effects; the best way

to understand the relationships is to use a statistical model. Jargowsky had two major comments on Galster's ideas. First, he suggested that there are still more things that need to be included in Galster's model, things such as the role of politics, policies, zoning, fragmentation, and public service provisions. He remarked that Galster's work usually includes these dimensions and that they ought be part of any consideration of future research ideas. However, the limitation of making the problem so comprehensive is that it becomes entirely intractable. Jargowsky argued that understanding the effect of neighborhood on a given child or children requires only knowledge of the current characteristics of a neighborhood if all parental characteristics were controlled. How the neighborhood came to be the way it is represents a separate and interesting question, but linking these questions may make it impossible to solve either one. The workshop discussion did not resolve the conflict as to whether a complete specification of factors affecting neighborhoods is needed in order to understand their effects on particular outcomes.

Jargowsky and several other discussants addressed the issue of the advantages of various research methods for enhancing our understanding of the importance of neighborhoods and the mechanisms through which neighborhoods contribute to particular outcomes. Clearly, Galster made the case that instrumental variables set within a series of simultaneous equations was the preferred method for moving researchers' understanding forward. Jargowsky suggested that setting up these statistical models, with appropriate variables, is at least as challenging as pursuing the role of neighborhoods through experimental models.

Gordon Berlin made a strong case that we can advance researchers' understanding of neighborhood effects primarily with evaluations and social experiments. He discussed the merits of two specific experimental projects. The first social experiment, MTO, a long-term randomized experiment conducted by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, relocates certain families into neighborhoods with poverty rates that are dramatically lower than those from which the families are moving and in which the control groups remain. This methodology offers an important opportunity to understand whether there is some independent effect on outcomes related to the move.

The second experiment Berlin described was the Jobs Plus study in which pairs or triplets of housing projects were matched. In seven cities one of those three matched housing developments was saturated with "best practices" employment and training incentives that help to make work more

valuable than government subsidies. Results for both studies will be available in the next few years, and these data may help answer questions about the importance of neighborhoods and the mechanisms by which neighborhoods affect outcomes.

Berlin also discussed why some experimental studies, such as MTO and Jobs Plus, might show little effect of neighborhoods. Specifically, in a robust economy such as that which existed through much of the 1990s and with the tremendous amount of resources that have been expended for welfare reform, there may be few low-income adults or welfare recipients who are able to hold a job but do not now have one. In effect, these forces have accomplished most of what the experiments on neighborhoods were designed to do.

John Goering's major comment on Galster's presentation related to the importance of social experimentation in understanding neighborhood effects. Goering suggested that Galster's comprehensive model was not really necessary to answer questions related to the effects on neighborhoods of people who were at the bottom of the housing market and who would be unlikely to become homeowners. Goering also took issue with the importance of natural experiments in understanding the effects of neighborhoods. He suggested that natural experiments may become too entangled with local politics and public opinion to be particularly helpful in understanding neighborhood effects. Despite this, it may prove useful to compare the outcomes that result from two different types of policies: demolition and relocation.

One aspect of the discussion of the research methodology that was raised by several workshop participants was the difference between theory and practice in randomized experiments. In particular, there were several comments on the fact that not all the families in the experimental group in the MTO study actually moved. This suggested that the families that did move may not be a random selection of all families in their neighborhoods. In other words, the "movers" may be different in some important respects from the control group.

Jeffrey Morenoff, in the course of his presentation on the importance of place for public health outcomes, also discussed the types of questions that are best answered with experimental data and those that are better answered with multivariate statistical controls. He talked about two different types of questions: Does place matter and why? He argued that the first question is best answered with experimental data. However, the second question—why place matters—is much harder to get at with experimental

data because it would require a very complex type of experiment to be able to control for a vast number of things that might be changing. Morenoff believes that this second question is better handled through multivariate statistical controls. Over the past five years or so there have been significant advances in research design and measurement that enable researchers to measure factors and mechanisms at the neighborhood level. Finally, Morenoff argued that when researchers are trying to measure neighborhood processes, it is important to have multiple people from the same neighborhood responding to the same survey.

Jargowsky suggested that research can be furthered by undertaking a large new data collection effort comprised of 500 neighborhoods and 100 young adults in each. Neighborhoods would differ by resources, such as quality of school districts, income status, and public services. By selecting neighborhoods with various combinations of resources, researchers would be able to understand which resources affected outcomes and by how much. He pointed out that in the MTO study everything changed for the treatment group—schools, neighborhoods, and public services. This makes it virtually impossible to isolate the contribution of each of the various influences.

Tim Smeeding also suggested new datasets that might enhance our understanding of the dynamics of cities. His suggestions differed from Jargowsky's because Smeeding focused on datasets that already exist or that are in the planning stages. Smeeding stated that adding geographic coding to the Panel Study of Income Dynamics will provide a new source of city-level data. Also, the American Community Survey, which is currently being planned by the Census Bureau, will provide more current information on cities and where people live than does the decennial census. While these datasets may be important for policy makers in understanding what is happening in their cities, using such datasets in research will depend on the level of detail that is available. Many of the research questions raised in this discussion require data at the census tract level or even the neighborhood level.

Susan Popkin discussed the role that large tracking studies could play in identifying mechanisms through which neighborhoods affect outcomes. She also described the use of qualitative research to help with decisions about the quantitative research that will help people decide what issues to explore when attempting to identify the causes of various effects. Her point was that there is a range of complementary research going on that can contribute significantly to our general understanding.

Hal Wolman commented in support of Galster's first point that there is a great need to understand and do a better job of defining social processes and neighborhood effects. Wolman also stated that, while participants spent much time during the workshop discussing how to obtain data that are difficult to obtain, some of what researchers must accomplish is to do a better job of conceptualizing the underlying processes or mechanisms that social experiments are trying to measure.

POLICY

The discussion of future directions for policy focused primarily on the following points: many policies are linked to places, but the emphasis should be on policies for people; direction for policy makers given that it is not completely understood how neighborhood affects work; and knowledge of the problem is not the same as knowledge of how to create a solution.

Tim Smeeding began the discussion of policy options with the difficult linkage between policies related to place and those that focus on people. He pointed out that there are some policies that focus in a general way on specific places without adequate attention to the needs of the people in the area. In these cases, *place* policy has become political and is used to "spread the bacon." But this sort of untargeted community development only benefits those most able to develop and benefit in a particular city. Smeeding acknowledged that this sort of policy may be necessary in the world of politics, but it is not the way to help the people who most need to be helped. The more important starting place is with *people* policy because it can be better targeted to individual economic needs and circumstances.

This was not to suggest that geographic and locational realities are unimportant: people live in particular places, and targeted populations are often reached through place-based policies. Gordon Berlin echoed this point, noting that sometimes a concentration of people with similar needs in the same geographic areas provides opportunities to deliver services that otherwise would not exist. Clearly, some policies are almost necessarily place based—public health policies and school policies—because these services need to be delivered from fixed locations. Smeeding concluded that, even though place and people policies are intertwined, the way to begin thinking about policy that can capitalize on place-based opportunities is to consider what people need, not what places need.

Smeeding then moved to a discussion of particular policy options he

believes can be recommended to policy makers even though we do not completely understand the ways in which neighborhoods affect the lives of their residents. Overall, the best policy to improve people's well-being is a strong economy with strong demand for lower-skilled labor. The boom of the late 1990s decreased poverty rates and raised the employment rates and incomes of African Americans and Hispanics like no social policy or intervention program has been able to do.

Smeeding's second policy point was that increasing mobility is a powerful way to allow individuals living in areas of concentrated poverty to deal with their economic and social needs. As Claudia Coulton noted, more than any other factor, access to a car most positively affects job access. It is possible to promote mobility through improvements in public transportation, but it still may not be possible to address the problems of mothers who work unusual hours or have to go in one direction to get to child care and then in another to get to work.

Rather than directing every city to rebuild its public transportation system, Smeeding suggested dealing with mobility issues through programs that give people access to cars. "Poor people," he stated, "need what everybody else in America has: a car." Smeeding acknowledged the difficulties of such an idea but was clear that he believed at least one part of a policy agenda was to enhance people's mobility through whatever means possible. He argued that focusing policy attention on mobility was likely to be more productive than either trying to redo central cities to bring in all the needed employment and services or permanently moving people into other neighborhoods where employment and services already exist. Smeeding added a caveat to these policy ideas by pointing out that all cities are different and that actions having a substantial payoff in one place may create little benefit someplace else. Each city has its own barriers and its own economic structure. As a result, no single set of policies can be put in place to accomplish the same outcomes everywhere.

The third major policy topic Smeeding discussed was that "problem knowledge" is not the same as "solution knowledge." For example, research suggests that collective efficacy is a key mechanism by which neighborhood effects have a positive influence on young people. One powerful way to shift neighborhood dynamics might be to stimulate collective efficacy in a neighborhood. However, the question that remains is how to accomplish this goal. What are the policy levers for promoting the mechanism or the factors identified as important to intervening and overcoming a given neighborhood issue? If research suggests that schools are an important

mechanism to improve neighborhood outcomes, what particular aspects of schools are important and should be targeted for change? Researchers have yet to determine if it is smaller classes, school choice, or better facilities that make some schools good places. As a result, even when researchers have learned more about the mechanisms that improve individual outcomes in neighborhoods, there will still be more to learn before recommending and putting specific policies into place.

Hal Wolman made a comment on defining place that provided a useful amplification of Smeeding's point on the complexity of the relationship between people and place policy. Wolman highlighted why political jurisdictions may be more practical than neighborhoods as the locus and focus of what we mean by place. He contended that there are other dimensions of space and place, such as local jurisdictions, to which questions of place can be addressed more productively because it may be a lot easier to address policy for local jurisdictions, for example, than neighborhoods. If you discuss local jurisdictions, you can more easily assess an area's fiscal capacity to tax and provide services, and fiscal capacity is something that can vary significantly among jurisdictions. He continued by saying that if one believes fiscal capacity is related to the quantity and quality of services provided, and if one further believes that the quality of services provided is related to important individual outcomes, then one would want to know what the fiscal capacity is and how it varies among local governments. Knowing about fiscal policy is important because there are ways to provide funds that can equalize spending among jurisdictions and therefore offset the variations in fiscal capacity across local governments. Wolman did remark that, while technically possible, this matter of equalization might be politically difficult.

Paul Jargowsky also commented on the equalization of expenditures among areas. He supported working toward providing public services such as safety and schooling more equally. Even without looking to mechanisms such as establishing metropolitan governments, he contended that there are ways to provide services more equally. Jargowsky also added another element to Smeeding's list of policies that can be recommended to policy makers even before the research is completed—namely, that it is necessary to change the way urban environments are built. The current approach is to build an exclusionary development pattern with outer-ring suburbs taking the lion's share of the resources. The residents of the outer ring can avoid responsibility for all the public problems that exist while still exploiting the benefits of being near a major cultural and economic center. This is

a long-term perspective because even if it were possible to immediately implement the type of policy that would solve this problem, the housing stock is still there and will be for another 30 years. It will take time to achieve some sort of consensus about things that can be done to slow the current expansion process and turn it around. Because of this, discussion about how to stop making so many bad neighborhoods should begin soon so that new policies can facilitate changes before we have to contend with the negative effects of new and larger disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Susan Popkin, in her comments on one of the earlier papers, raised some policy questions based on research results suggesting that neighborhood effects are positive but small. She was concerned about the advisability of investing in neighborhood interventions because they are very expensive and may not have more than a modest positive effect. Under the circumstances, it seems appropriate to understand who is most likely to benefit from interventions and in what circumstances. She also commented that even if the effects are small, they may be important and they may affect something we really care about—the well-being of young people.

One issue mentioned by several workshop speakers but not addressed in detail either in terms of research or policy implications was how racial discrimination interacts with other neighborhood mechanisms that affect the outcomes of individuals. At the beginning of this workshop summary, the increased concentration of low-income African Americans in central cities was considered, and Tim Smeeding discussed employment discrimination, housing discrimination, and mortgage discrimination, which are entangled with other problems of low-income neighborhoods. Workshop participants did not discuss how various policy proposals would address this interaction effect.

Another topic that received comment from several workshop participants was the wisdom of thinking about expanding MTO into national policy if it is judged to be successful in improving the outcomes of people who move out of high-poverty neighborhoods. In particular, questions such as the following must be addressed: What are the budgetary and social limits of moving people into new neighborhoods? How should this type of program fit with alternative policy initiatives such as increasing mobility for residents of high-poverty neighborhoods and enhancing low-income neighborhoods by increasing services?

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The final discussion of the workshop raised a number of questions for future research and policy directions. In general, participants thought that further research on the importance of place could be productive and had the potential to address a number of important issues concerning building better neighborhoods, reducing spatial barriers and disadvantage, and creating places that might yield positive rather than detrimental effects on residents' well-being.

The comments of workshop participants consistently converged around three points—each of which are highlighted in the findings of the *Governance and Opportunity* report that was the original impetus for the workshop and each of which tied back into the workshop theme of how place relates to the well-being and opportunity of individual residents. First, understanding neighborhood dynamics and effects more clearly is important. The implications of ignoring the effect of place may permit the continued growth of neighborhoods of concentrated poverty and disadvantage. In contrast, identifying the mechanisms that create barriers to opportunities in a given city has the potential to yield cost-effective, well-targeted, and successful social policy and intervention programming. The path to gaining this knowledge is not without challenge, but a number of advances in this type of research make this process considerably more viable. In general, workshop participants were encouraged by the new steps taken in current research on neighborhood effects and were eager to learn the final results of ongoing studies such as MTO and the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods.

Second, incorporating contextual and governance issues, in addition to neighborhood characteristics, would lead to better problem definitions and improved research and policy approaches. Every neighborhood possesses a contextual set of factors (e.g., socioeconomic status, racial composition, employment opportunities, crime, access to public transportation) that will affect outcomes. In addition, neighborhoods are subject to exterior policies such as zoning, tax structures, and other governance issues that also will affect outcomes. Any attempt at conceptualizing neighborhood and place-based challenges must consider both the contextual and the governance issues. Perspectives that conceive of neighborhood effects as results produced only by the "culture" or "personality" of a neighborhood will be incomplete, as will approaches that focus only on governance or contextual factors. All of these factors together have an effect on residents and on the

social dynamics of a community, and research and policy must bear this in mind.

Finally, it is important to create linkages between neighborhoods in which certain effects are occurring and political jurisdictions where programs to address these effects are located. Furthermore, linkages are needed between people policy and approaches that are strongly tied to specific places. Place-based policy will not necessarily solve all problems and runs the risk of missing the people it intends to influence. However, certain types of policies carried out through specific places will be considerably less effective if a connection between space and residents is overlooked.

References

Brooks-Gunn, J., Duncan, G. J., Klebanov, P. K., & Sealand, N. (1993). Do neighborhoods influence child and adolescent development? *American Journal of Sociology*, 99(2), 353-395.

Chase-Lansdale, P. L., Gordon, R. A., Brooks-Gunn, J., and Klebanov, P. K. (1997). Neighborhood and family influences on the intellectual and behavioral competence of preschool and early school-age children. In J. Brooks-Gunn, G. J. Duncan, & J. L. Aber (Eds.), *Neighborhood Poverty: Vol.1 Context and Consequences for Children* (pp. 79-118). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Coulton, C. (2001). Metropolitan and neighborhood context: Implications for welfare to work. Paper presented at the Workshop on the Equality of Opportunity in Metropolitan Areas: The Importance of Place. National Research Council, Washington, D.C.

Ellen, I. G., and Turner, M. A. (1997). Does neighborhood matter? Assessing recent evidence. *Housing Policy Debate, 8*(4), 833-866.

Holzer, H. (2001). Racial differences in labor market outcomes among men. In N. J. Smelser, W. J. Wilson, and F. Mitchell (eds.), *America Becoming: Racial Trends and Their Consequences Volume II*, pp. 98-123. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Holzer, H. J., and Ihlanfeldt, K. R. (1996). Spatial factors and the employment of blacks at the firm level. *New England Economic Review* (Federal Bank of Boston), May/June Special Issue, 65-82.

Holzer, H. J., Ihlanfeldt, K. R., and Sjoquist, D. L. (1994). Work, search, and travel among white and black youth. *Journal of Urban Economics, 35,* 320-345.

Ihlanfeldt, K. R. (1997). Information on the spatial distribution of job opportunities within metropolitan areas. *Journal of Urban Economics, 41,* 218-242.

Ihlanfeldt, K. R., and Sjoquist, D. L. (1998). The spatial mismatch hypothesis: A review of recent studies and their implications for welfare reform. *Housing Policy Debate, 9*(4), 849-892.

Ihlanfeldt, K. R., and Young, M. V. (1996). The spatial distribution of black employment between the central city and suburbs. *Economic Inquiry, 64,* 613-707.

Jargowsky, P. (1997). *Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barios, and the American City.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Jencks, C., and Mayer, S. (1990). The social consequences of growing up in a poor neighborhood. In L. E. Lynn and M. F. H. McGeary (eds.), *Inner-City Poverty in the United States,* pp. 111-186. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Kasarda, J. D., and Ting, K. (1996). Joblessness and poverty in America's central cities: Causes and policy prescriptions. *Housing Policy Debate, 7*(2), 387-419.

Katz, L. F., Kling, J., and Liebman, J. B. (2001). Moving to Opportunity in Boston: Early results of a randomized mobility experiment. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 119*(2), 607-654.

Leventhal, T., and Brooks-Gunn, J. (2000). The neighborhoods they live in: The effects of neighborhood residence on child and adolescent outcomes. *Psychological Bulletin, 126*(2), 309-337.

Ludwig, J., Duncan, G., and Ladd, H. (2001). The effects of urban poverty on educational outcomes: Evidence from a randomized experiment. In W. G. Gale and J. R. Pack (eds.), *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings.

Massey, D. S. (2001). Residential segregation and neighborhood conditions in U.S. metropolitan areas. In N. J. Smelser, W. J. Wilson, and F. Mitchell (eds.), *America Becoming: Racial Trends and Their Consequences Volume I,* pp. 135-169. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

National Research Council. (1999). *Governance and Opportunity in Metropolitan America.* Committee on Improving the Future of U.S. Cities Through Improved Metropolitan Area Governance, Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, A. Altshuler, W. Morrill, H. Wolman, and F. Mitchell, eds. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Sandefeur, G. D., Martin, M., Eggerling-Boeck, J., Mannon, S. E., and Meier, A. M. (2001). An overview of racial and ethnic demographic trends. In N. J. Smelser, W. J. Wilson, and F. Mitchell (eds.), *America Becoming: Racial Trends and Their Consequences Volume I,* pp. 40-102. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Sjoquist, D. (1996). Spatial mismatch and social acceptability. Working paper, Policy Research Center, Georgia State University.

Turner, S. C. (1997). Barriers to a better break: Employer discrimination and spatial mismatch in metropolitan Detroit. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 19*(2), 123-141.

Wilson, W. J. (1987). *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, W. J. (1996). *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*. New York: Vintage Books.

Appendix

Workshop Materials

AGENDA

November 14, 2001

8:30–9:00 a.m.
Registration and Breakfast

9:00–9:30 a.m.
Welcome and Introductions

William Morrill, Caliber Associates
Jane Ross, National Research Council

9:30–10:30 a.m.
Session I: Welfare to Work—The Importance of Place

Metropolitan and Neighborhood Context: Implications for Welfare to Work

Presenter: Claudia Coulton, Case Western Reserve University

Discussant: Gordon Berlin, Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation
Discussant: Harry Holzer, Georgetown University

10:30–11:30 a.m.
Session II: Child and Adolescent Development—The Importance of Place

The Neighborhoods They Live In: Effects of Neighborhood Residence on Child and Adolescent Outcomes

Presenter: Tama Leventhal, Columbia University

Discussant: Susan Popkin, The Urban Institute
Note: Jane Ross summarized written comments submitted by Xavier Briggs, Harvard University, who was unable to travel to the meeting.

11:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m.
Session III: Public Health—The Importance of Place

Place, Race, and Health: Neighborhood Sources of Group Disparities in Birth Weight

Presenter: Jeffrey Morenoff, University of Michigan

Discussant: Laurie Anderson, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
Discussant: Patricia O'Campo, Johns Hopkins University

12:30–1:30 p.m.
Lunch

1:30–2:30 p.m.
Session IV: Research, Data, and Policy—The Importance of Place

Opportunities for People and Place: How Do They Interact? What Else Do We Need to Know?

Presenter: Timothy Smeeding, Syracuse University

Investigating Place and Opportunity: Needs in Data and Analytic Strategies

Presenter: George Galster, Wayne State Univeristy

Discussant: John Goering, Baruch College of New York
Discussant: Harold Wolman, George Washington University
Discussant: Paul Jargowsky, University of Texas at Dallas
Note: Discussants addressed both papers in this session.

3:30–4:00 p.m.
Wrap-up and Closing Remarks

William Morrill, Workshop Chair

WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

Scott W. Allard, Department of Public Administration, Center for Policy Research, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University

Laurie Anderson, Guide to Community Preventive Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Olympia, WA

Dennis P. Andrulis, Downstate Medical Center, State University of New York

Ana Marie Argilagos, Annie E. Casey Foundation, Baltimore, MD

Patricia Auspos, Aspen Roundtable on Comprehensive Community Initiatives, New York, NY

Pat Babcock, Public Policy, W. K. Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek, MI

William R. Barnes, Center for Research and Program Development, National League of Cities, Washington, DC

Gordon Berlin, Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, New York, NY

Brenda Benesch, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, DC

Alan Berube, Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC

Jill K. Center, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, MD

Elizabeth Chacko, Department of Geography, George Washington University

Rosemary Chalk, Board on Health Care Services, Institute of Medicine, Washington, DC

Steve Coleman, Center for Urban Environmental Research and Education, University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Eileen L. Collins, Division of Science Resources Statistics, National Science Foundation, Arlington, VA

Claudia Coulton, Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University

Marilyn Dabady, Center on National Statistics, National Research Council, Washington, DC

Cecily Darden, Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, College Park

Valerie Durrant, Committee on Population, National Research Council, Washington, DC
Diana Elliott, Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, College Park
Robin Ersing, College of Social Work, University of Kentucky
Felipe M. Floresca, Annie E. Casey Foundation, Baltimore, MD
Molly E. French, Policy Research, Partnership for Prevention, Washington, DC
George C. Galster, College of Urban, Labor, and Metropolitan Affairs, Wayne State University
Nancy Augustine Gardner, Department of Public Policy, George Washington University
Marisa Gerstein, Committee on National Statistics, National Research Council, Washington, DC
John Goering, School of Public Affairs, Baruch College, City University of New York
Caterina Gouvis, Justice Policy Center, The Urban Institute, Washington, DC
Elizabeth Groff, National Institute of Justice, Washington, DC
Peggy Halpern, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, DC
Elizabeth Hamilton, Transportation, Air Quality, and Economic Development, National Association of Regional Councils, Washington, DC
Laura Harris, The Urban Institute, Washington, DC
Stephani Hatch, Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, College Park
Harry Holzer, Public Policy Institute, Georgetown University
Gail R. Houle, Office of Special Education Programs, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC
Joah G. Iannotta, Center for Social and Economic Studies, National Research Council, Washington, DC
Paul Jargowsky, School of Social Sciences, University of Texas at Dallas
Eric S. Jefferis, National Institute of Justice, Washington, DC
Aranthan Steve Jones II, National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, MD
Mariana Kastrinakis, Office of Public Health and Science, Office of Population Affairs, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Bethesda, MD

Tom Kingsley, The Urban Institute, Washington, DC
Barbara Krimgold, Center for the Advancement of Health, Washington, DC
Gary LaFree, Department of Criminology, University of Maryland, College Park
Nancy La Vigne, Justice Policy Center, The Urban Institute, Washington, DC
Tama Leventhal, Center for Children and Families, Teachers College, Columbia University
Elizabeth Lower-Basch, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, DC
Michael Millman, Division of Information and Analysis, Health Resource Services Administration, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Rockville, MD
J. Henry Montes, Public Health Workforce Development, American Public Health Association, Washington, DC
Jeffrey Morenoff, Department of Sociology, Population Research Center, University of Michigan
William Morrill, Caliber Associates, Fairfax, VA
Elena O. Nightingale, Board on Children, Youth, and Families, National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, Washington, DC
Patricia O'Campo, Population and Family Health Science, Johns Hopkins School of Public Health
Mary Ellen O'Connell, Board on Children, Youth, and Families, National Research Council, Washington, DC
William O'Hare, KIDS COUNT, Annie E. Casey Foundation, Baltimore, MD
Theresa Osypuk, Department of Health and Social Behavior, Harvard School of Public Health
Kathryn Pettit, The Urban Institute, Washington, DC
Canta Pian, Division of Economic Support for Families, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, DC
Susan J. Popkin, Metropolitan Housing and Communities, The Urban Institute, Washington, DC
Holly Reed, Committee on Population, National Research Council, Washington, DC

Todd Richardson, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, DC
Jane L. Ross, Center for Social and Economic Studies, National Research Council, Washington, DC
Brian Smedley, Board on Health Sciences Policy, Institute of Medicine, Washington, DC
Timothy Smeeding, Center for Policy Research, Syracuse University
Sarah Staveteig, Program on Assessing the New Federalism, The Urban Institute, Washington, DC
Adrienne Stith, Board on Health Sciences Policy, Institute of Medicine, Washington, DC
Miron Straf, Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, National Research Council, Washington, DC
Elaine K. Swift, Board on Health Care Services, Institute of Medicine, Washington, DC
Wilma M. Tilson, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Health Policy Division, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, DC
Shelly Ver Ploeg, Committee on National Statistics, National Research Council, Washington, DC
Christy Visher, The Urban Institute, Washington, DC
Robin M. Weinick, Center for Primary Care Research, Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, Rockville, MD
Dianne Wolman, Board on Health Care Services, Institute of Medicine, Washington, DC
Harold Wolman, Department of Political Science, George Washington University