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**Tertiary education as a catalyst for community development:  
The case of Kalamazoo, Michigan**

**Introduction**

The role of tertiary education has not been explored as a strategy to transform a specific geographic area. Much of the research on education and poverty has focused on discussions of individual and family outcomes. Very clear pictures have emerged from the studies on the impact of education on life outcomes. Firstly, more years of education increase the earning potential of individuals and households, and secondly, there is a huge income gap between high school graduates and degree holders. Keister (2000) found that college graduates in the US earned over four times as much income as persons without college degrees. Similarly, Murane's (2007) study of real hourly wages of US workers found that in 1976, college graduates earned 46% more than high school kids and that by 2005 the gap widened to 74%. Over the same period the inflation adjusted earnings of high school drop-outs fell by 16% (Murane's 2007).

These data suggest the need for an emphasis on getting lower income kids into college. The point is further made by the situation of the City of Pagedale in St. Louis. Pagedale's residents completing high school more than doubled from 27% in 1961 to 65% in the year 2000. Over the same period, the level of poverty increased more than 400%. Getting kids through high school does not appear to have the power to change the socio-economic status of the individual, household or community.

The education system is a key tool of social stratification. The cost of tertiary education and access to quality primary and secondary education institutions, ensures that under resourced families are excluded from attaining higher education and the concomitant levels of income. Lower income minority families are over represented in the most impoverished areas of America, serviced by the most under resourced schools (Roscigno et al 2006). These authors found that the lack of school resources are linked to the economic base of the area, and further that educational organizations make educational investments based on the perception of the corresponding labor market needs and other opportunities in their particular community. This ensures that the progressive investment of limited resources is not made in lower income,

stagnant communities. The Kalamazoo promise provides an opportunity to examine the kind of individual, familial, organizational, community and institutional adjustments that could result from placing tertiary education within the grasp of the poor; and further, how the economic arrangements in Kalamazoo could be impacted. Moreover, it supports the argument for integrated planning for community change by stakeholders who hold key institutional resources (City, School District). Especially also as public sector spending and administrative decisions influence private sector investment decisions (Massey, 1990).

Study of the potential impacts of the Kalamazoo Promise provides a unique opportunity to further the dialogue about the importance of 'place' in the lives of its residents, moving the debate to the issue of deliberate policies that undermine or revitalize places. The assertion that place matters (Wilson 1987) and the association between depressed places and negative social outcomes for residents (Wilson 1987, Wacquant 1997, Massey 1990) have inspired the focus on comprehensive multipronged community revitalization strategies of the 1980s and 1990s. The KP offers of the hope of a single strategy approach that is self sustaining in its ability to motivate the natural process that can potentially redress urban decay.

The traditional approaches of commercialization, façade development, and affordable housing, could be seen as impositions on a decaying community, which make insufficient provision for increased incomes to sustain the improvements. The KP sets the wheels of change in motion, potentially changing the socio-economic population balance, increasing commercialization and housing values, and the earning potential of families for generations.

This paper will therefore discuss the anticipated outcomes of the Kalamazoo Promise and seek to raise questions about how tertiary education can be a focal point of community re-building. The paper will be both descriptive and predictive, exploring relevant theories on aspects of community rebuilding that help unearth the mechanisms by which improved access to tertiary education may propel community change. Moreover, it will examine these issues from a total systems perspective, understanding that this investment in education alone may be insufficient for community transformation, but may in fact prove to have more potency as a growth stimulator than traditional economic/housing development models, because of its endogenous ability to ignite forces of demand and supply. As a subset of this total systems approach, the

paper will use a social ecological perspective to extrapolate some of the potential attitudinal impacts and social interactions, transactions and outcomes from this development model.

Another prospect presented by the Kalamazoo initiative is the examination of this gift and its potentially transforming impact on the community from the new institutionalist perspective. The Kalamazoo Promise provides a natural experiment of how institutions, defined as the rules of the game (North 1990), can alter human responses and interactions and provide a fillip for poverty reduction and community transformation. The Kalamazoo Promise changed the rules of the game within the education system – the institution. This altering of the rules of access to college education has made reachable, a previously unattainable option for the poor, and broadened the scope of opportunity for the non-poor. Additionally, it has created a whole new incentive for the Kalamazoo Public School system, the City administration, and the Kalamazoo community as a residential and perhaps office destination. It therefore lends itself to the examination of how changed rules in one institution could precipitate other institutional adjustments, and what are the underlying beliefs and mechanisms that propel such adjustments.

### **The Kalamazoo Promise**

Beginning in the fall of 2006, students enrolled in Kalamazoo public schools (KPS) and resident in Kalamazoo for a minimum of four years, became eligible for a tuition scholarship tenable at any public university in Michigan. The scholarship was offered on a sliding scale starting with 100% for those continuously enrolled in KPS, to 65% for those enrolled for the four years. The Promise is expected to cost approximately \$12 million per year, given a full composition of eligible high school graduates (Miller Adams, 2006). This amazing gift by a group of anonymous donors is estimated to be worth some \$40,000 per child to Kalamazoo parents (Ibid), and is anticipated as the catalyst for educational and economic revitalization. It is viewed as a phenomenal new mechanism for community transformation and poverty alleviation (Boudette, 2006; Jones 2006). The Kalamazoo promise brings college education within the grasp of poor and lower income families whose children would have had limited or no post secondary options. It also provides the potential of debt free education and broadens the college options for students of middle income families who may already be burdened with multiple loans. KP does not cover other educational expenses such as books and accommodation.

The Kalamazoo Promise is the visible hand that could trigger demand for and supply of factors that make for community development. In the context of demand for example, KP is likely to increase the demand for school places in Kalamazoo public schools (KPS) both among existing and new residents of Kalamazoo. The entry of new residents will create a demand for housing in Kalamazoo and appreciate housing values, while the increased demand on the school system will require additional teachers, further impacting the demand for housing. The new migrants including teachers' partners will also generate a demand for jobs in the area. On the supply side, it can potentially provide Kalamazoo with a better educated work force directly through KP beneficiaries and indirectly through migrant families and teacher partners. The attractiveness of this pool of professional workers may impact the supply of professional jobs, creating a more diversified employment sector in Kalamazoo, increasing the supply of higher incomes and the circulation of currency. All of these conditions are fundamental to economic turn around. The limiting factor would however be the absorptive capacity of the Kalamazoo's physical and administrative infrastructure to accommodate and facilitate such transitions overtime.

This paper will use a model of examining community trajectory and change in small n-size studies (Proscio undated) to discuss the potential impacts of the KP on Kalamazoo and the mechanisms by which it may lead to positive outcomes in the community.

### **Theoretical Framework – Why KP has such potential**

The past four decades have seen growth in involvement in place based solutions to addressing poverty and socio-economic decay. Wright (1999) traced the progression of such strategies from the domain of small charitable efforts in the 1960s to considerable support by large philanthropic donors through registered community development corporations. This period has also seen the development of Federal agencies such as HUD as key governmental investments in place based strategies. The practice of community building in this latter context has borne certain common trends; commercialization, infrastructure development, affordable housing and social service investments either as single initiatives or, particularly in the 1990s, as comprehensive community initiatives (CCIs). These approaches have been fairly consistent with research on the causes of urban decay or revitalization. The key predictive factors of the type of socio-economic character of an area include; the type of economic transition undergone and the current economic make up (Glasmeier 2002); the degree of ethnic and socio-economic integratedness (Wilson 1987; Massey, 1990); and the level of public sector investments, social organization, institutions,

networks and nature of community engagement. It can be argued that this trilogy of factors comprises the total inner city macro system, and that each in turn unfolds into myriad sub-systems that contribute to the health of the area.

There has been insufficient research on the outcomes of comprehensive community initiatives in terms of specific community impacts, although many evaluations have looked at the processes engaged or products delivered (Gibbs-Knotts, 2005). In addition, studies have not considered impacts on the city or neighborhood as a total system. Much of this is due to the difficulty in isolating spuriousness, and establishing relationships and associations with methodological and statistical confidence. The complex systems approach to studying community change is a useful one as it facilitates the consideration of disparate interconnected and interlocking variables that work in concert to produce a result; and to do so examining both linear and non-linear relationships among them. Systems dynamics is one mechanism for studying complex systems. In the study urban communities, Forrester (1969), the premier thinker and originator of systems dynamics, argues that many of our errors in designing strategies to address community issues stem from the use of simple systems thinking. In simple systems analysis, Forrester (1969) argues, cause and effects are closely related. Cities, communities, neighborhoods, states, are complex systems comprised of multiple interacting feedback loops within and among sub-systems. In such a context, the cause of a problem may be distant in time and space from its symptoms or effects (Forrester, 1969) and could only be understood and addressed if the interactions of the sub-systems are properly evaluated (Erkud, 1997). When simple system analysis is applied to complex system issues, the results are often the imposition of corrective actions which have unintended adverse effects (Erkud, 1997). This may be at the heart of the reason why it remains questionable whether CCIs have brought substantial or sustainable change to their communities.

There have been several critiques of and improvements on the Forrester model of urban dynamics. Gray, Pessel and Varaiya (1972) highlight inter alia, the limitations of his equilibrium model as failing to reflect the impact of new interventions; his failure to define a 'healthy city' compared to a stagnant one; his assumptions about the progression from new enterprise to declining industry as a 'mechanistic' feature of all firms (p. 144), and the fact that his model was time invariant. Still, the total or complex system approach to studying a city can potentially allow a more nuanced and more precise understanding of processes and inter-relationship at

work in the system and lead to greater potential for successful outcomes. Moreover, the use of systems dynamics would allow experimental simulations of the inter-relationships between and among changes to different components of system or city e.g. in-migration on housing values and the job market.

Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) combined the systems theory with the social ecological perspective in his ecological systems theory. He observed the cyclical interplay of community and individual effects at four levels, the macro, exo, meso and micro perspectives. Micro refers to the individual and familial; meso to the organizational; exo to the community level; and macro to the inter-cultural (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Borrowing from Bronfenbrenner (1979), this paper examines the theories and research findings that help predict the likely impacts of the KP at the micro (meso and micro) and macro (eso and macro) levels.

At the micro level, the question that needs to be answered is, by what mechanisms could the KP result in superior educational outcomes for KPS students, especially lower income students. Superior educational outcomes at the high school level would enable students to meet college entrance requirements; would better equip students to cope with the college rigor, and would enhance success at college. The question arises from the assumption the paper makes, that KP's goal of a revitalized Kalamazoo, is partly through expanding opportunities to and potentially increasing the earning capacity, of those with the least capacity to do so on their own. The paper also suspects that this expansion of opportunities to poor families maybe an insufficient condition for growth. Accordingly the KP is assumably relying on the natural triggers to create a new socio-economic balance in Kalamazoo with benefits to non-poor families as well.

There are a number of intervening factors between the offer of free college education and the ability of students to capitalize on the opportunity. These are intimately linked to the deleterious effects of the environment of persistent poverty in which many would have grown. Firstly, inner city schools are found to be the most under resourced, and to serve the more disadvantaged populations and have a larger proportion of lower educational achievers (Roscigno, Tomaskovic-Devey and Crowley, 2006). Schools with a higher ratio of disadvantaged and minority kids have poorer educational attainment (Ibid; Schutz, 2006) . The question remains, whether the Promise provides a sufficient trigger for the supply of needed resources to improve the quality of education delivered or community based support to the education system in KPS.

Secondly, the nature of the local economy has been credited with not only depriving inner city schools of resources, but also with determining the target and nature of the limited investments (De Young, 1987; Reeder, 1988; Wilson, 1987). Roscigno, Tomaskovic-Devey and Crowley, (2006) put forward their three most important educational investments for achievement and attainment: “smaller class sizes, teacher encouragement and a broader more challenging curriculum” (p. 2129). These authors argue however that educational investment decisions may be influenced by the need for certain skills in the community, the “local job structure” and administrative inertia (p. 2124). In other words, if a community is marred by high joblessness, with high school graduates’ options limited to fast food outlets and other low wage jobs, progressive educational investment remains uninspired. A similar argument is made of investments at the inner city familial level, both in terms of the limited supply of resources and culturally determined investment priorities (Ibid) impacted by the neighborhood effects of prolonged joblessness and poverty (Wilson, 1987; Katz, Kling & Liebman, 2001).

Thirdly, socio-economic integration has been described as a powerful predictor of increased student performance (Miller-Adams, 2006) and racial-residential segregation has been put forward as a main mechanism of “white advantage and non-white disadvantage” (Roscigno, Tomaskovic-Devey and Crowley, 2006, p. 2127). Teaching students with lower educational attainment is a more challenging prospect (Schutz, 2006), more so in the context of scarce resources. Fourthly, Matthews (1996) argues that given the breadth of challenges facing inner city schools, “reforms have to start in and with the community” for “long terms success” (in Schultz, 2006, p. 692).

The argument here is that increasing access to tertiary education for KPS students alone may be an insufficient policy condition to automatically result both in increased secondary school performance, college entrance and college graduation, especially among lower income students from inner city schools. Our goal is to understand, as is anticipated, whether the KP could inspire changes in the school population ratio, changes in investment decisions by school administration, and increased support for already poor performing students by community organizations. The answer to this question may lie in the understanding of the meaning of the Kalamazoo Promise to these various actors in Kalamazoo.

Research on the impact of assets in the form of Individual Development Accounts could provide a guide to the meaning KP is likely to hold for Kalamazoo families. Scholars found positive effects of asset accumulation on “economic, psychological, social, civic/political and intergenerational outcomes” among lower income persons (Sherraden, CSD, 2007). Specifically, positive impacts have been found in terms of improved household stability, a more futuristic orientation in decision making, pursuit of other assets (Page-Adams and Sherraden, 1996), increased quality of life of children, life satisfaction, social influence, (Rohe and Stegman 1994, in Weber and Smith 2003). It is therefore a reasonable expectation, though left to be seen, that lower income families would pursue sacrifices for their children to take full advantage of the scholarship.

The socio-economic balance in Kalamazoo could be adjusted through different routes. One route is the embrace of the scholarship offer predominantly by students of middle income families from Kalamazoo or migrants to Kalamazoo, bringing the needed SES heterogeneity but possibly also leading to the gentrification of the lower income Kalamazoo families. Another route is the take up of the scholarship by a significant proportion of students of minority and lower income families, as well as middle income locals and migrants. In the latter scenario, existing residents of Kalamazoo would be well represented among the beneficiaries of the Promise and be participants in the process of economic transformation, with fewer affected by the process of gentrification. The meaning attached to the Promise by Kalamazoo stakeholders and the absorptive capacity of Kalamazoo will determine which approach prevails.

On the macro side, the paper is concerned with the mechanisms that would be associated with the longer term outcomes of the Kalamazoo Promise; the direct inputs to the socio-economic transformation of Kalamazoo. For the necessary mechanisms of community change we draw on the work of researchers who have examined predictors of community decay and its inverse.

The association between urban decline and economic transition has been well made. The process of economic transition had a number of features; transition in the agricultural sector leading to large rural-urban migration; later, the downsizing and suburbanization of large manufacturing interest due to foreign competition and economic benefits associated with suburban sprawl; the growing emphasis on technological and service industries which also involved the loss of manufacturing jobs, and created a skills mismatch between urban residents

and the jobs that remained in urban centers (Wilson, 1996; Rank, 2004; Muller, 2001; Glasmeier 2002; Wacquant, 1997). Most urban cities especially the former ‘rust belt’ cities of the south and Midwest experienced jobless poverty described by Wilson (1996) and Wacquant (1997) as the most pernicious form of poverty.

Sociologists further argue that the high concentrations of poverty are also explained in the context of the processes of exclusion and involuntary residential segregation that also occurred (Wilson; 1996; Wacquant, 1997; Massey, 1990). This was exacerbated for Wilson (1987), by the black middle class flight from urban communities that left poor and lower income folks bereft of the modeling effects and social networks of the former. Massey (1990) and Wacquant (1997) identified the intentional ethnic segregation as pivotal to the clustering of minorities in under-resourced neighborhoods and ensuring persistent poverty in inner cities.

In light of these issues, research needs to establish a causal connection between the Promise and a number of macro level changes. Firstly, there needs to be a shift in the economic base of Kalamazoo so that there would be a sufficient supply of jobs for the residents of Kalamazoo. Secondly, and not necessarily in this order, there needs to be a shift in the socio-economic ratio in Kalamazoo so that the community and school system could benefit from a diversified SES and ethnic population, that would provide the modeling and stabilizing effects as well as generate more resources for the city and could demand quality investments from the city.

### ***Kalamazoo Promise – Stimulant for Local Development***

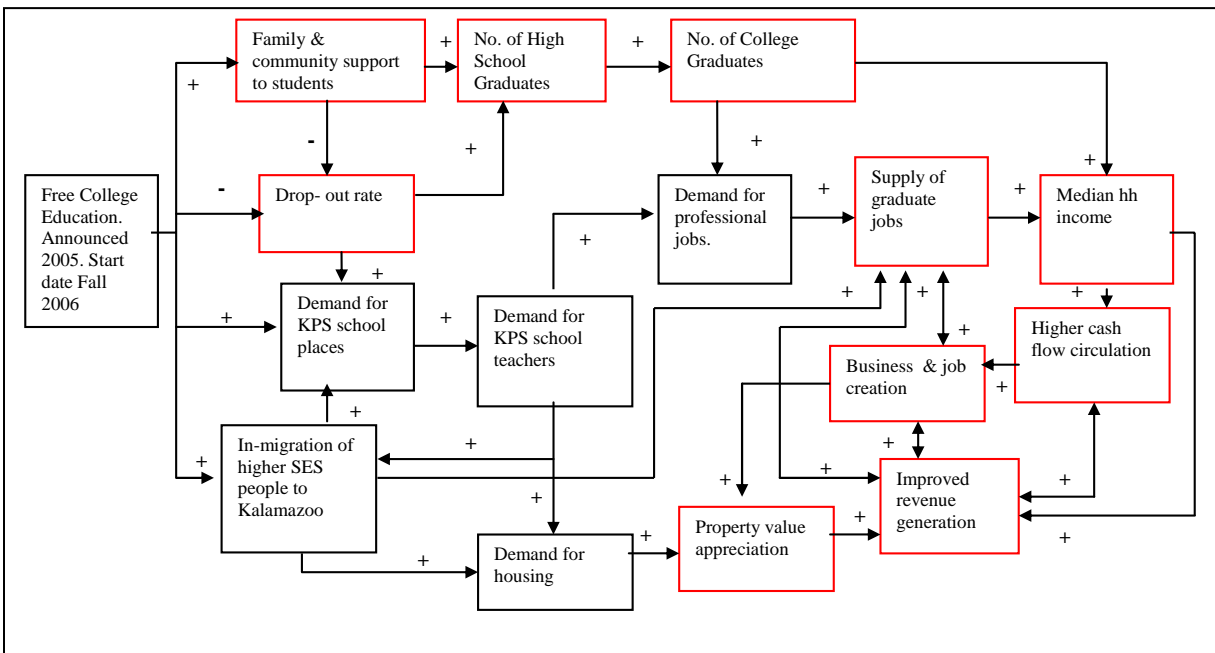
It must be noted that in this paper we have not separated the situation of Kalamazoo County from Kalamazoo City as each would raise unique issues. This will be done at another time. However, the paper argues that the Kalamazoo Promise inherently ignites the forces of supply and demand that could potentially bring about the needed changes in the county as a whole. The view is drawn from market economy theory in which supply and demand is said to be ultimately determined by the aggregate interactions of individuals and suppliers, and that the process of this interaction allocates resources most efficiently (Lazonick, 2003). Lazonick himself does not support this view entirely but opines (as does many development economists) that markets need the operations of “well functioning organizations and institutions that generate the innovative capabilities that underpin economic development” (2003, p. 9). The Promise is actually a policy intervention, the redistribution of resources, that would be considered a distortion of the market.

Yet it is a potential trigger that could shift the economic balance in the community and arrive at a new equilibrium of growth and stability.

Except for some dramatic event inspired by a risk taker, urban communities like Kalamazoo City hardly arise to positions of viability that are sustained. KP is an institutionally driven policy initiative, borne out of a desire to challenge the inequity in the education system. It targets a core systemic barrier to breaking the cycle of intergenerational poverty. Moreover, it does so in a specific locality, recognizing the primacy of place as a contributory factor in cyclical poverty.

Figure 1 models the growth path anticipated in the wake of the KP. The boxes in red indicate factors directly and indirectly supplied as a result of KP. The boxes in black reflect the areas of demand directly and indirectly. A few of these will be addressed in this section.

**Figure 1: Pathway of Anticipated Economic Development in Kalamazoo Michigan 2006-2016**



The KP has brought hope and energy to the residents inspiring students, families and community organizations to make major mental and programmatic shifts towards ensuring that lower income students qualify for the scholarship (Evergreen & Miron 2008). Evergreen and Miron (2008) have reported that there has been an immediate response (the supply) by students, families and organizations to the demand for greater investment in primary and high school kids to improve the quality of their educational outcome pre-college. This supply is motivated by the meaning

the community attached to the Promise for its future development. Realistically however, the need for support to lower income and minority students has so far outstripped the supply of interventions, and, the supply has been tempered by both parental and organizational capacity issues (Evergreen & Miron 2008). However, these and other initiatives by the school district, Promise Event organizers, and business community are all part of the supply of services in support of the goal of larger percentage (supply) of KPS district college graduates.

A second major potential impact of Kalamazoo is the demand for homes in Kalamazoo, which is likely to send up housing values, as families move in to take advantage of the scholarship. Available evidence in the period post-Promise, suggests that much of this demand has been from white middle class families and that the Promise has also had a reducing effect on ‘white flight’ from the area (Evergreen & Miron 2008). The in-migration is likely to cause an increase in housing demand. Together with the reduction in loss of white families, these factors are expected to work to appreciate housing values.

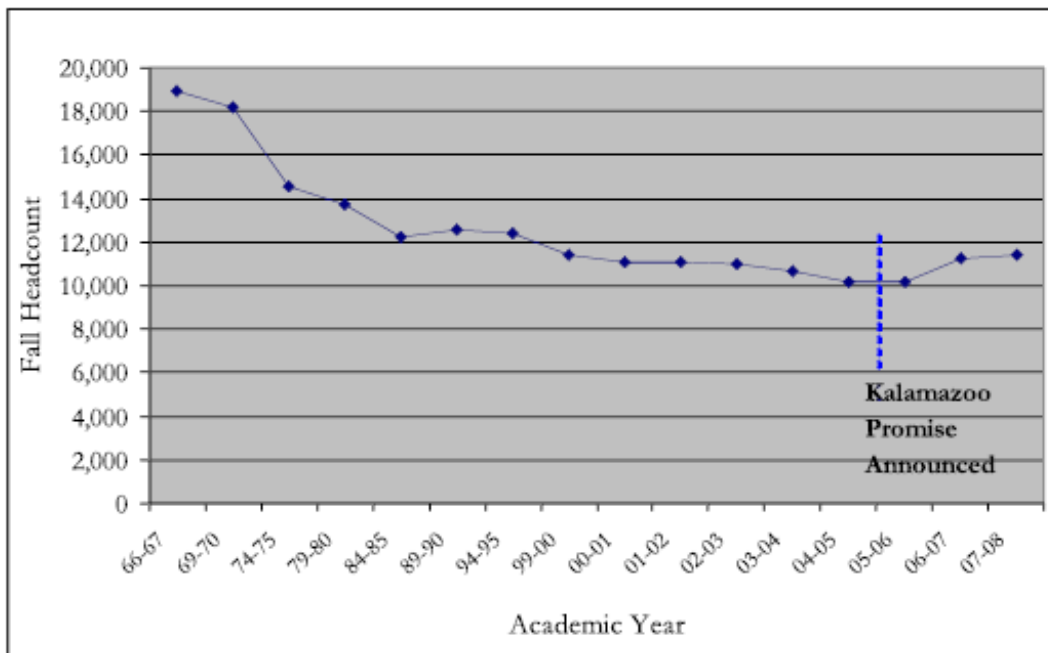
There are pros and cons to this development. The paper has already made the case for ethnic and socio-economic integration as a key factor in the economic health of a community. A sufficient in-migration of middle class families of any ethnicity and of middle class white families specifically, should improve the economic tone, increase the attractiveness of the community and income tax generated. SES and ethnic diversity at schools has also been associated with better educational outcomes for students (Miller-Adams, 2006). The influx and retention of middle class families should be beneficial for the school district.

Several issues would arise however, from the settlement patterns generated by the Promise. Would the addition of new higher income families be sufficient over time to shift the ratio of lower income to middle income families in a manner that would produce better economic outcomes for all? Would the introduction of new residents to Kalamazoo cluster in already better off sections of Kalamazoo intensifying the disparities? Would the children of the new residents cluster in schools within the district that are less heterogeneous thereby making worse off the schools with a disparate percentage of minorities? And finally, would the influx gentrify the poor and lower income residents? Any such inclusive social intervention is in danger of capture by the elite and the better off; but a positive answer to these questions for the lower income community, may rely significantly on the power of lower income families and

community organizations to mobilize on behalf of this group and to supply the services necessary.

Information from the W. E. Upjohn Institute has suggested that up to one year after its announcement, the Promise has not had a noticeable effect of reducing the among of out-migrants from Kalamazoo. While in 2004-2005 the number of out-migrants was 6,221 persons, in 2005-2006, the number leaving increased by 203 persons. Also in 2005-2006, there was an increase in in-migrants by 73 persons, but this was actually down from 143, the previous period. In the first year of implementation, Kalamazoo's net migration was -474 (W.E. Upjohn Institute, 2008). Further time is needed to examine the direction and composition of population movements in Kalamazoo.

**Figure 2: Kalamazoo Public Schools Enrollment 1967-2008**



**Source: Community Report Card-W.E. Upjohn Institute**

In terms of school enrollment however, and consistent with the model of economic change for Kalamazoo, existing data suggests that the declining school enrollment for the KPS district came to an abrupt halt coinciding with the announcement of the Promise in 2005. Since that time, school enrollment appreciated by 10% (W.E. Upjohn Institute, 2008), perhaps due largely to the

momentum generated by the Promise among existing residents and due to the increased familial and social support to students as discussed above. Figure 2 refers.

Another important trigger of the Promise is the anticipated increase in the supply of a higher educated work force in Kalamazoo, hopefully to be matched by the supply of professional jobs for these college graduates. It is early yet to experience the effects on the work force. There have however been mixed signals from the data on eligibility and scholarship take up over the last two years. The percentage of eligible students increased from 81% in 2006 to 86% in 2007 (W.E. Upjohn Institute, 2008), suggesting again that perhaps the success of community interventions to secure the highest college enrollment may have been paying off. Data on the take up rate is less encouraging as the percentage of KPS students accessing the scholarship dropped from 73% in 2006 and 70% in 2007 (W.E. Upjohn Institute, 2008). While this rate is still relatively high, it would be useful to know the college enrollment rate of KPS district students prior to the Promise; who comprise the eligible students who do not enroll, to see if there is a developing pattern. Another good sign is that a large percentage of the awardees 72% and 63% in 2006 and 2007 respectively selected universities in Kalamazoo (Ibid). This should increase the likelihood of their attempting to find employment in Kalamazoo, after college. Overall there is the indication that the increase in the educated workforce is a reasonable expectation.

What could be predicted about the availability of graduate jobs for these students is another issue. Is there a trigger ignited by the Promise that could answer this question? Miller-Adams who is engaged in writing a book on the Promise believes KP does not have the power to attract new employers (Miller-Adams, 2006). Kalamazoo County has a highly educated population. **Table 1** shows that Kalamazoo County's percentage of persons with Associate's to doctoral degrees surpass the state and national figures in all areas. These statistics provoke additional questions. Is the professional market saturated in Kalamazoo County? Would there be sufficient attraction for the graduates to return to Kalamazoo? The figures also suggest the need to look at this data on the education of the work force in Kalamazoo city, since according to Miller-Adams (2006), the decision to implement the Promise, was triggered by a desire to increase the supply of educated workers in Kalamazoo.

**Table 1: Percentage of the Population with Professional Degrees 2006**

	Kalamazoo County	State of Michigan	United States
Associate's Degree	8.0%	8.0%	7.4%
Bachelor's Degree	19.4%	15.1%	17.2%
Master's Degree	10.1%	6.8%	6.9%
Professional Degree	2.8%	1.8%	2.0%
Doctorate	2.0%	0.9%	1.1%

*Source: Community Report Card-W.E. Upjohn Institute*

Triggers to the supply of graduate jobs in Kalamazoo City may need to be generated by the deliberate actions of the city administration, organizations and residents. This takes the discussion back to Lazonick's (2003) assertion of the need for well functioning institutions and organizations to facilitate innovations that ignite market forces. City administrations have traditionally played a key role in attracting businesses to their jurisdictions (Robertson, 1997), so too have Community Development Corporations (Wright, 1999). Current steps taken by the City and others to facilitate investments of professional business interests in Kalamazoo, are likely to have been indirectly triggered by the Promise intervention, and well in keeping with our model.

## **Conclusion**

Increased housing values, the sustainable supply of professional and other businesses, and a more integrated population are important indicators of community vitality. These also expose the community to gentrification, and would possibly require deliberate and creative strategies to support the retention and empowerment of lower income families.

The next stage of development for this paper is to attempt to use systems dynamics to model the growth path for Kalamazoo. To do so a number of issues need to be resolved:

- i) Separate models would be needed for Kalamazoo City and Kalamazoo County as their economic and demographic starting points are quite different. The City may also be particularly challenged by its absorptive capacity compared with the County. The paper proposes to examine comparative data on the historical developmental trajectory of Kalamazoo City and County compared with the whole of Michigan to get a better grasp of the context of the Kalamazoo Promise.
- ii) The paper has also not addressed the element of time in terms of the processes of change in the model, which would be addressed in the SD model as well.

- iii) Much of the data may have to be speculative as the project is in its early stages and key pieces of data are not available for accumulation.

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