

# PRRAC

*Poverty & Race Research Action Council*

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## **Recent Books, Articles, and Reports on Housing Mobility, Housing Assistance, and Family Outcomes, 2012–2015**

### **Annotated Bibliography**

Prepared for the  
**Sixth National Housing Mobility Conference**  
**July 15–16, 2015 at the University of Illinois**  
**750 S. Halstead Street, Chicago, Illinois 60607**

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Prepared by Audrey Berdahl-Baldwin, PRRAC Policy Intern

For additional bibliographic references prior to 2012, go to

<http://www.prrac.org/projects/housingmobility.php>

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## **A. RESEARCH ON HOUSING MOBILITY AND HOUSING INTEGRATION PROGRAMS<sup>1</sup>**

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**Basolo, Victoria. “Examining Mobility Outcomes in the Housing Choice Voucher Program: Neighborhood Poverty, Employment, and Public School Quality.” *Cityscape* 15, no. 2 (2013): 135-153.**

Abstract: Low-income housing policies seeking to deconcentrate poverty and increase opportunities through mobility have produced mixed results. The Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program, for example, resulted in some beneficial outcomes for low-income households moving from high-to low-poverty neighborhoods, but it did not produce the widespread positive effects anticipated by many policymakers and researchers. The Housing Choice Voucher Program (HCVP) does not require moves to low-poverty neighborhoods, as MTO did, but rather it relies on a weaker policy of choice to achieve more income-diverse neighborhoods. As compared with what researchers have learned about the MTO participants, less is known concerning the mobility behavior and outcomes of HCVP recipients. Using survey data from voucher holders under the jurisdiction of two local housing authorities in California combined with secondary data from multiple sources, this article examines a range of outcomes, including neighborhood poverty rates, employment, and school quality, associated with mobility in the HCVP. The results of the analyses show that movers did not have better outcomes than nonmovers but, compared with conditions in their previous residence, movers lived in neighborhoods with lower poverty rates and better school quality after they moved. By contrast, employment for movers dropped significantly from before to after their moves.

**Bernard van Leer Foundation. *Community violence and young children: Making space for hope. Early Childhood Matters* (2012). <http://bernardvanleer.org/Community-violence-and-young-children-making-space-for-hope>.**

Abstract: This edition of *Early Childhood Matters* looks at the effects of community violence on young children. Articles explore the idea that violence should be thought of as a public health problem analogous to infectious disease; examine from a scientific perspective the impacts on children’s social, emotional and cognitive development of growing up in a violent community; share first-hand insights from children and caregivers; and explore various interventions, from the favelas of Recife to the inner cities of Chicago and Glasgow, which are offering a tangible sense of hope.

**Blumenberg, Evelyn, and Gregory Pierce. “A Driving Factor in Mobility? Transportation’s Role in Connecting Subsidized Housing and Employment Outcomes in the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) Program.” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 80, no. 1 (2014): 52-66.**

Abstract: *Problem, research strategy, and findings:* We evaluate the role of transportation in improving the employment outcomes of participants in the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) for Fair Housing Voucher Program, a 10-year demonstration project designed to enable low-income families to improve their outcomes by moving out of high-poverty neighborhoods. We use longitudinal data from the MTO program to assess the role of transportation—automobiles and improved access to public transit—in moving to, and maintaining, employment. We use multi-nomial logistic regression to predict changes in employment status as a function of change in automobile availability and transit accessibility, controlling for other potential determinants of employment. We find that keeping or gaining access to an automobile is positively related to the likelihood of employment. Improved access to public transit is positively associated with maintaining employment, but not with job gains. Although we cannot say for certain whether car ownership preceded or followed employment, it is clear that having a car provides multiple benefits that facilitate getting and keeping a job. *Takeaway for practice:* Policies to increase automobile

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<sup>1</sup> “Abstracts” of articles presented in this bibliography are copied verbatim from the published article. “Summaries” of articles were drafted by PRRAC staff, who are solely responsible for any mischaracterizations of content.

access among low-income households—even in dense urban areas—will most clearly enhance job gain and job retention. While auto programs are unpopular with many planners, they would improve the lives of low-income families who currently have the least access to cars. In addition, supporting moves to transit-rich neighborhoods may help households maintain consistent employment.

**Carson, Deven, Robert Haveman, Tom Kaplan, and Barbara Wolfe. “Long-term earnings and employment effects of housing voucher receipt.” *Journal of Urban Economics* 71, no. 1 (January 2012): 128-150.**

Abstract: Using a propensity score matching approach coupled with difference-in-differences regression analysis, we estimate the effect of housing voucher receipt on the employment and earnings of a large longitudinal sample of low-income families for 6 years following voucher receipt. Our results indicate that voucher receipt has little effect on employment, but a negative effect on earnings. The negative earnings effect is largest in the years immediately following initial receipt, and fades out over time. In addition, we find that the pattern of recipient earnings responses to voucher receipt differs substantially across demographic subgroups. Several robustness tests are run to support the reliability of our findings. We discuss the implications of our findings for research and policy.

**Carlson, Deven, Robert Havenman, Thomas Kaplan, and Barbara Wolfe. “Long-term effects of public low-income housing vouchers on neighborhood quality and household composition.” *Journal of Housing Economics* 21, no. 2 (June 2012): 101-120.**

Abstract: In this paper we estimate the effect of housing voucher receipt on the composition of recipient households and the quality of the neighborhoods in which recipient households reside. Drawing on a dataset that contains extensive information on a large and diverse panel of low-income families for up to 5 years following voucher receipt, we isolate the effects of voucher receipt using propensity score matching techniques together with regression adjustment. Full-sample results show voucher receipt to have little effect on neighborhood quality in the short-term, but some positive long-term effects. We also find that voucher receipt is tied to a higher probability of change in household composition in the year of voucher receipt, but greater stability in subsequent years. Our large sample allows us to explore differential responses of geographic and socioeconomic subgroups. Our findings have several implications for both research and policy.

**Chetty, Raj, and Nathaniel Hendren. “The Impacts of Neighborhoods on Intergenerational Mobility: Childhood Exposure Effects and County-Level Estimates.” *The Equality of Opportunity Project* (May 2015). <http://scholar.harvard.edu/hendren/publications/impacts-neighborhoods-intergenerational-mobility-childhood-exposure-effects-and>.**

Abstract: We characterize the effects of neighborhoods on children's earnings and other outcomes in adulthood by studying more than five million families who move across counties in the U.S. Our analysis consists of two parts. In the first part, we present quasi-experimental evidence that neighborhoods affect intergenerational mobility through childhood exposure effects. In particular, the outcomes of children whose families move to a better neighborhood – as measured by the outcomes of children already living there – improve linearly in proportion to the time they spend growing up in that area. We distinguish the causal effects of neighborhoods from confounding factors by comparing the outcomes of siblings within families, studying moves triggered by displacement shocks, and exploiting sharp variation in predicted place effects across birth cohorts, genders, and quantiles. We also document analogous childhood exposure effects for college attendance, teenage birth rates, and marriage rates. In the second part of the paper, we identify the causal effect of growing up in every county in the U.S. by estimating a fixed effects model identified from families who move across counties with children of different ages. We use these estimates to decompose observed intergenerational mobility into a causal and sorting component in each county. For children growing up in families at the 25th percentile of the income distribution, each year of

childhood exposure to a one standard deviation (SD) better county increases income in adulthood by 0.5%. Hence, growing up in a one SD better county from birth increases a child's income by approximately 10%. Low-income children are most likely to succeed in counties that have less concentrated poverty, less income inequality, better schools, a larger share of two-parent families, and lower crime rates. Boys' outcomes vary more across areas than girls, and boys have especially poor outcomes in highly-segregated areas. In urban areas, better areas have higher house prices, but our analysis uncovers significant variation in neighborhood quality even conditional on prices.

**Chetty, Raj, Nathaniel Hendren, and Lawrence Katz. "The Effects of Exposure to Better Neighborhoods on Children: New Evidence from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment." *The Equality of Opportunity Project* (May 2015). <http://scholar.harvard.edu/lkatz/publications/effects-exposure-better-neighborhoods-children-new-evidence-moving-opportunity>.**

Abstract: The Moving to Opportunity (MTO) experiment offered randomly selected families living in high-poverty housing projects housing vouchers to move to lower-poverty neighborhoods. We present new evidence on the impacts of MTO on children's long-term outcomes using administrative data from tax returns. We find that moving to a lower-poverty neighborhood significantly improves college attendance rates and earnings for children who were young (below age 13) when their families moved. These children also live in better neighborhoods themselves as adults and are less likely to become single parents. The treatment effects are substantial: children whose families take up an experimental voucher to move to a lower-poverty area when they are less than 13 years old have an annual income that is \$3,477 (31%) higher on average relative to a mean of \$11,270 in the control group in their mid-twenties. In contrast, the same moves have, if anything, negative long-term impacts on children who are more than 13 years old when their families move, perhaps because of disruption effects. The gains from moving fall with the age when children move, consistent with recent evidence that the duration of exposure to a better environment during childhood is a key determinant of an individual's long-term outcomes. The findings imply that offering families with young children living in high-poverty housing projects vouchers to move to lower-poverty neighborhoods may reduce the intergenerational persistence of poverty and ultimately generate positive returns for taxpayers.

**Chetty, Raj, Nathaniel Hendren, Patrick Kline, and Emmanuel Saez. "Where is the Land of Opportunity? The Geography of Intergenerational Mobility in the United States." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129, no. 4 (2014): 1553-1623. <http://qje.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2014/10/16/qje.qju022.full>.**

Abstract: We use administrative records on the incomes of more than 40 million children and their parents to describe three features of intergenerational mobility in the United States. First, we characterize the joint distribution of parent and child income at the national level. The conditional expectation of child income given parent income is linear in percentile ranks. On average, a 10 percentile increase in parent income is associated with a 3.4 percentile increase in a child's income. Second, intergenerational mobility varies substantially across areas within the United States. For example, the probability that a child reaches the top quintile of the national income distribution starting from a family in the bottom quintile is 4.4% in Charlotte but 12.9% in San Jose. Third, we explore the factors correlated with upward mobility. High mobility areas have (i) less residential segregation, (ii) less income inequality, (iii) better primary schools, (iv) greater social capital, and (v) greater family stability. Although our descriptive analysis does not identify the causal mechanisms that determine upward mobility, the publicly available statistics on intergenerational mobility developed here can facilitate research on such mechanisms.

**Collinson, Robert, and Peter Ganong. “The Incidence of Housing Voucher Generosity.” (May 2015). [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2255799](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2255799).**

Abstract: Housing voucher recipients in the U.S. pay their landlord a fixed percentage of their income and the government pays the rest, up to a rent ceiling. Using administrative data and variation from HUD policy changes we analyze the incidence of two types of rent ceiling policies. Raising the generosity of the rent ceiling everywhere primarily benefits the landlords, who received higher rents with little evidence of quality improvements. Setting ZIP code-level rent ceilings cause rent increases in expensive neighborhoods and decreases in low-cost neighborhoods, with little change in aggregate rents. The ZIP code policy improves neighborhood quality for voucher recipients substantially.

**“Constraining Choice: The Role of Online Apartment Listing Services in the Housing Choice Voucher Program.” Poverty and Race Research Action Council (June 2015). <http://www.prrac.org/pdf/ConstrainingChoice.pdf>.**

Summary: This report evaluates the use of online listings for housing choice voucher holders, focusing on the two major websites that cater to HCV households: GoSection8.com and Socialserve.com. The research evaluates the websites’ listings in six metropolitan areas: “New York, Los Angeles, Baltimore, Dallas, Houston, and Miami-Dade County.” The report finds that “high percentages of listed apartments were in predominantly minority areas...[and] the units were generally concentrated in areas of high poverty, although differences in the level of concentration exist among PHAs.” The report raises the concern that “with limited choices in lower poverty neighborhoods, these listings may cause voucher holders to re-concentrate in higher poverty areas – a result the HCV program was created to avoid.” The fact that listings are concentrated in minority and high poverty areas risks “potential fair housing violations.” Furthermore, “in states with source-of-income protection, the Websites should not distinguish between voucher holders and non-voucher holders since discrimination on this basis is potentially a violation of the state source-of-income law.” The report recommends that GoSection8.com and Socialserve.com work to list “more balanced offerings.”

**Darra, Jennifer, and Stefanie DeLuca. “Living Here Has Changed My Whole Perspective’: How Escaping Inner-City Poverty Shapes Neighborhood and Housing Choice.” *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 3, no. 2 (2014): 350-384.**

Abstract: Research on the housing choice voucher program and housing mobility interventions shows that even with assistance, it is difficult for poor minority families to relocate to, and remain in, low-poverty neighborhoods. Scholars suggest that both structural forces and individual preferences help explain these residential patterns. However, less attention is paid to where preferences come from, and how they respond to policies and social structure to shape residential decisionmaking. In this paper, we use data from fieldwork with 110 participants in the Baltimore Mobility Program (BMP), an assisted mobility voucher program, to demonstrate how residential preferences can shift over time as a function of living in higher opportunity neighborhoods. Since 2003, BMP has helped over 2,000 low-income African American families move from high-poverty, highly segregated neighborhoods in Baltimore City to low-poverty, racially mixed neighborhoods throughout the Baltimore region. Along with intensive counseling and unique program administration, these new neighborhood contexts helped many women to shift what we term residential choice frameworks: the criteria that families use to assess housing and neighborhoods. Parents who participated in the mobility program raised their expectations for what neighborhoods, homes, and schools can provide for their children and themselves. Parents report new preferences for the “quiet” of suburban locations, and strong consideration of school quality and neighborhood diversity when thinking about where to live. Our findings suggest that housing policies should employ counseling to ensure relocation to and sustained residence in low-poverty communities. Our work also underscores how social structure, experience, and policy opportunities influence preferences, and how these preferences, in turn, affect policy outcomes.

**Dawkins, Casey, Jae Sik Jeon, and Rolf Pendall. “Transportation Access, Rental Vouchers, and Neighborhood Satisfaction: Evidence from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment.” *Housing Policy Debate* 25, no. 3 (2015).**

Abstract: The Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program is designed in part to expand the neighborhood choices of assisted households, thereby enabling assisted households to find a living environment that simultaneously meets their housing and neighborhood preferences. While several studies have examined the impact of rental subsidies on neighborhood satisfaction, few have examined whether access to adequate transportation enables HCV recipients to locate housing in more desirable locations. This article relies on data from the Moving to Opportunity experiment to examine the impact of transportation access, rental housing vouchers, and geographic constraints on neighborhood satisfaction. We find that access to both vehicles and public transit positively influences neighborhood satisfaction, and the influence of vehicle access varies with transit proximity. These findings point to the importance of transportation in helping low-income assisted renter households locate housing in more desirable neighborhoods.

**DeLuca, Stefanie, Philip M. E. Garboden, and Peter Rosenblatt. “Segregating Shelter: How Housing Policies Shape the Residential Locations of Low-Income Minority Families.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 647, no. 1 (May 2013): 268-299.**

Abstract: Individuals participating in the HUD Housing Choice Voucher program, formerly Section 8, can rent units in the private market and are not tied to public housing projects in a specific neighborhood. We would expect vouchers to help poor families leave the ghetto and move to more diverse communities with higher socioeconomic opportunity, but many voucher holders remain concentrated in poor, segregated communities. We use longitudinal qualitative data from one hundred low-income African American families in Mobile, Alabama, to explore this phenomenon, finding that tenants’ limited housing search resources, involuntary mobility, landlord practices, and several aspects of the voucher program itself limit families’ ability to escape disadvantaged areas. We also find that the voucher program’s regulations and funding structures do not incentivize housing authorities to promote neighborhood mobility and residential choice. This combination of forces often keeps voucher recipients in neighborhoods with high concentrations of poor and minority residents.

**Edin, Kathryn, Stefanie DeLuca, and Ann Owens. “Constrained compliance: Solving the puzzle of MTO’s lease-up rates and why mobility matters.” *Cityscape* (2012): 181-194.**

Abstract: The Moving to Opportunity (MTO) for Fair Housing demonstration provided an opportunity for low-income renters to move to low-poverty neighborhoods. Many of these renters, however, did not move with their vouchers, and many of those who moved did not stay in low-poverty neighborhoods. In this article, we explore the mechanisms behind these residential outcomes and what they mean for housing policy. First, we review evidence suggesting that MTO families wanted to live in low-poverty “opportunity areas.” We then describe how some aspects of the Housing Choice Voucher Program, the structural features of the housing market, and the beliefs and coping mechanisms of low-income renters—shaped by years of living in extreme poverty—prevented these families from achieving their goals of residential mobility. Finally, we consider the negative consequences on the life chances of the poor if housing policy does not address constraints to mobility and identify potential policy solutions that might lead to opportunities for low-income renters to live in low-poverty neighborhoods.

**Ellen, Ingrid Gould, and Sherry Glied. “Housing Neighborhoods, and Children’s Health.” *The Future of Children* 25, no. 1 (2015): 135-153.**

Abstract: In theory, improving low-income families’ housing and neighborhoods could also improve their children’s health, through any number of mechanisms. For example, less exposure to environmental toxins could prevent diseases such as asthma; a safer, less violent neighborhood could improve health by

reducing the chances of injury and death, and by easing the burden of stress; and a more walkable neighborhood with better playgrounds could encourage children to exercise, making them less likely to become obese.

Yet although neighborhood improvement policies generally achieve their immediate goals—investments in playgrounds create playgrounds, for example—Ingrid Gould Ellen and Sherry Glied find that many of these policies don't show a strong effect on poor children's health. One problem is that neighborhood improvements may price low-income families out of the very neighborhoods that have been improved, as new amenities draw more affluent families, causing rents and home prices to rise. Policy makers, say Ellen and Glied, should carefully consider how neighborhood improvements may affect affordability, a calculus that is likely to favor policies with clear and substantial benefits for low-income children, such as those that reduce neighborhood violence.

Housing subsidies can help families either cope with rising costs or move to more affluent neighborhoods. Unfortunately, demonstration programs that help families move to better neighborhoods have had only limited effects on children's health, possibly because such transitions can be stressful. And because subsidies go to relatively few low-income families, the presence of subsidies may itself drive up housing costs, placing an extra burden on the majority of families that don't receive them. Ellen and Glied suggest that policy makers consider whether granting smaller subsidies to more families would be a more effective way to use these funds.

**Ellen, Ingrid Gould, and Keren Mertens Horn. “Do Federally Assisted Households Have Access to High Performing Public Schools?” Poverty and Race Research Action Council (November 2012). <http://www.prrac.org/pdf/PRRACHousingLocation&Schools.pdf>.**

Summary: This report focuses on the quality of local schools for participants in four different housing programs: Housing Choice Vouchers, Project-Based Section 8, Public Housing, and Low Income Housing Tax Credits. Researchers Ellen and Horn use census tract data from 2008-2009 from the American Community Survey to “link every household group within a census tract to the elementary school nearest to the centroid tract.” The report finds that “assisted households as a whole are more likely to live near low-performing schools than other households.” These findings include families with housing choice vouchers. Ellen and Horn highlight how this result for HCV households is particularly “surprising... given that Housing Choice Vouchers have the potential to allow low-income families to reach neighborhoods and schools that are of higher quality than those accessed by other poor households.” The report suggests that further work is required to determine how to better connect federally assisted households to quality schools.

**Ellen, Ingrid Gould, Michael C. Lens, and Kathering O'Regan. “American murder mystery revisited: Do housing vouchers households cause crime?” *Housing Policy Debate* 22, no. 4 (2012): 551-572.**

Abstract: Potential neighbors often express worries that Housing Choice Voucher holders heighten crime. Yet, no research systematically examines the link between the presence of voucher holders in a neighborhood and crime. Our article aims to do just this, using longitudinal, neighborhood-level crime, and voucher utilization data in 10 large US cities. We test whether the presence of additional voucher holders leads to elevated crime, controlling for neighborhood fixed effects, time-varying neighborhood characteristics, and trends in the broader sub-city area in which the neighborhood is located. In brief, crime tends to be higher in census tracts with more voucher households, but that positive relationship becomes insignificant after we control for unobserved differences across census tracts and falls further when we control for trends in the broader area. We find far more evidence for an alternative causal story;

voucher use in a neighborhood tends to increase in tracts that have seen increases in crime, suggesting that voucher holders tend to move into neighborhoods where crime is elevated.

**Fisher, Will. "Research Shows Housing Vouchers Reduce Hardship and Provide Platform for Long-Term Gains Among Children." Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (2014). <http://www.cbpp.org/research/research-shows-housing-vouchers-reduce-hardship-and-provide-platform-for-long-term-gains>.**

Abstract: The Housing Choice Voucher program, the nation's largest rental assistance program, helps more than 2 million low-income families rent modest units of their choice in the private market. Vouchers sharply reduce homelessness and other hardships, lift more than a million people out of poverty, and give families an opportunity to move to safer, less poor neighborhoods. These effects, in turn, are closely linked to educational, developmental, and health benefits that can improve children's long-term life chances and reduce costs in other public programs. This analysis reviews research findings on vouchers' impact on families with children, people with disabilities, and other poor and vulnerable households.

**Fisher, Will. "Neighborhood Subsidy Caps Can Make Housing Vouchers More Efficient and Effective." Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (2015). <http://www.cbpp.org/research/housing/neighborhood-based-subsidy-caps-can-make-housing-vouchers-more-efficient-and>.**

Abstract: On June 2, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) announced plans to expand a policy designed to help families with Housing Choice Vouchers move to higher-opportunity areas by tying voucher subsidy amounts to rents in a given neighborhood rather than in the entire metropolitan area. Early evidence suggests that the policy, known as "small-area fair market rents" (SAFMRs), enables voucher holders to live in neighborhoods with lower poverty and crime rates. A growing body of research shows that living in lower-poverty neighborhoods has substantial benefits for families, including raising children's college attendance and adult earnings considerably.

Expanding use of SAFMRs would be an important step to broaden housing opportunities for voucher holders -- and, importantly, requires neither congressional action nor additional funding. In fact, because HUD's plan would expand SAFMRs to replace a costly but apparently ineffective policy of raising voucher subsidies throughout certain metropolitan areas, it would likely reduce voucher costs, freeing up funds that could be used to assist additional families on voucher waiting lists.

**Galster, George C. "U.S. Assisted Housing Programs and Poverty Deconcentration: A Critical Geographic Review." In *Neighbourhood Effects or Neighbourhood Based Problems? A Policy Context*, edited by David Manley, et. al., 215-249, Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2013.**

Abstract: The personal and social costs of concentrating low-income (typically minority) households in neighbourhoods with high proportions of similarly disadvantaged households has long been of concern in the U.S. In this chapter, Galster explores four federal housing programs tasked with reducing poverty concentrations over the last 25 years: (1) scattered-site public housing; (2) tenant-based Housing Choice Vouchers (HCV); (3) private developments subsidized through the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC); and (4) mixed-income redevelopment of distressed public housing estates (HOPE VI). Based on a synthesis of the evidence, four conclusions are drawn. Residents of U.S. public housing on average reside in significantly more disadvantaged neighbourhoods compared to participants in any other assisted housing program. Residents of other types of site-based assisted housing programs (particularly LIHTC) do not reside in significantly different residential environments than tenant-based HCV holders. HCV households live in somewhat lower-poverty neighbourhoods than equivalent households who do not receive housing subsidies, but the comparative differences are more modest for residents in LIHTC units.



HCV holders typically do not substantially improve their neighbourhood circumstances with subsequent moves. In understanding how these post-public housing policy efforts have not produced more significant deconcentration of poverty the chapter identifies both the scale and structure of the housing programs, characteristics and needs of residents, and structural barriers. In conclusion, an amalgam of supply-side and demand-side housing program reforms is suggested, coupled with non-housing strategies. Importantly, the US experience offers selective lessons for housing policymakers in Western Europe, though there are vast differences in the origins and policy options available for addressing concentrated poverty.

**Holloway, Adrienne M. “From the City to the Suburbs: Characteristics of Suburban Neighborhoods Where Chicago Housing Choice Voucher Households Relocated.” *Urban Studies Research* (2014).**

Abstract: The Housing Choice Voucher program (HCV) is a federally supported demand-side housing subsidy. According to HCV, eligible households are encouraged to secure affordable housing in favorable neighborhoods, including suburban neighborhoods. To what extent, however, is the supply of affordable rental housing located in suburban communities that offer favorable amenities meeting the increased demand? Using the Geography of Opportunity as a framework, this study examines the mobility results of traditional HCV households who moved from the city of Chicago to surrounding suburban neighborhoods to reveal characteristics of destination communities. Findings indicate that HCV households tend to move into suburban renter neighborhoods that have high poor, African American, and female-headed household populations. Policy makers are encouraged to consider findings to improve life outcomes of suburban HCV program participants.

**Horn, Keren Mertens, Ingrid Gould Ellen, and Amy Ellen Schwartz. “Do Housing Choice Voucher holders live near good schools?” *Journal of Housing Economics* 23 (2014): 28-40.**

Abstract: The Housing Choice Voucher program was created, in part, to help low income households reach a broader range of neighborhoods and schools. Rather than concentrating low income households in designated developments, vouchers allow families to choose their housing units and neighborhoods. In this project we explore whether low income households use the flexibility provided by vouchers to reach neighborhoods with high performing schools. Unlike previous experimental work, which has focused on a small sample of voucher holders constrained to live in low-poverty neighborhoods, we look at the voucher population as a whole and explore the broad range of neighborhoods in which they live. Relying on internal data from HUD on the location of assisted households, we link each voucher holder in the country to the closest elementary school within their school district. We compare the characteristics of the schools that voucher holders are likely to attend to the characteristics of those accessible to other households receiving place based housing subsidies, other similar unsubsidized households and fair market rent units within the same state and metropolitan area. These comparisons provide us with a portrait of the schools that children might have attended absent HUD assistance. In comparison to other poor households in the same metropolitan areas, we find that the schools near voucher holders have *lower* performing students than the schools near other poor households without a housing subsidy. We probe this surprising finding by exploring whether differences between the demographic characteristics of voucher holders and other poor households explain the differences in the characteristics of nearby schools, and whether school characteristics vary with length of time in the voucher program. We also examine variation across metropolitan areas in the relative quality of schools near to voucher holders and whether this variation is explained by economic, socio-demographic or policy differences across cities.

**Jacob, Brian A., and Jens Ludwig. “Effects of Housing Assistance on Labor Supply: Evidence from a Voucher Lottery.” *American Economic Review* 102, no. 1 (2012): 272-304.**

**Abstract:** This study estimates the effect of means-tested housing programs on labor supply using data from a randomized housing voucher wait-list lottery in Chicago. Economic theory is ambiguous about the expected sign of any labor supply response. We find that among working-age, able-bodied adults, housing voucher use reduces labor force participation by around 4 percentage points (6 percent) and quarterly earnings by \$329 (10 percent), and increases Temporary Assistance for Needy Families program participation by around 2 percentage points (15 percent). We find no evidence that the housing-specific mechanisms hypothesized to promote work, such as neighborhood quality or residential stability, are important empirically.

**Jacob, Brian A., Max Kapustin, and Jens Ludwig. “The Impact of Housing Assistance on Child Outcomes: Evidence from a Randomized Housing Lottery.” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 130, no. 1 (2015): 465-506.**

**Abstract:** One long-standing motivation for low-income housing programs is the possibility that housing affordability and housing conditions generate externalities, including on children’s behavior and long-term life outcomes. We take advantage of a randomized housing voucher lottery in Chicago in 1997 to examine the long-term impact of housing assistance on a wide variety of child outcomes, including schooling, health, and criminal involvement. In contrast to most prior work focusing on families in public housing, we focus on families living in unsubsidized private housing at baseline, for whom voucher receipt generates large changes in both housing and nonhousing consumption. We find that the receipt of housing assistance has little, if any, impact on neighborhood or school quality or on a wide range of important child outcomes.

**Jacob, Brian A., Jens Ludwig, and Douglas Miller. “The effects of housing and neighborhood conditions on child mortality.” *Journal of Health Economics* 32, no. 1 (2013): 195-206.**

**Abstract:** In this paper we estimate the causal effects on child mortality from moving into less distressed neighborhood environments. We match mortality data covering the period from 1997 to 2009 with information on every child in public housing that applied for a housing voucher in Chicago in 1997 ( $N = 11,680$ ). Families were randomly assigned to the voucher wait list, and only some families were offered vouchers. The odds ratio for the effects of being offered a housing voucher on overall mortality rates is equal to 1.13 for all children (95% CI 0.73–1.70), 1.34 for boys (95% CI 0.85–2.05) and 0.21 for girls (95% CI 0.01–1.04).

**Kalamar, Amanda, Tanya Lukasik, Robert Blum, Freya Sonenstein, Beth Marshall, Kristin Mmaria, and Michelle Decker. “Extreme Warfare: Residency in Housing Voucher-Dense Communities, Violence, and Adolescent Mental Health.” Presentation, Population Association of America 2014 Annual Meeting Program, Boston, Massachusetts, May 3, 2014. <http://paa2014.princeton.edu/abstracts/143155>.**

**Abstract:** Federal housing policy has shifted focus considerably, moving away from project-based, supply-side housing production programs toward tenant-based, demand-side subsidy programs, the largest of which is the Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program. HCV aims to ultimately deconcentrate poverty and promote upward social and geographic mobility, leading to improved employment, educational, and health outcomes. Little research exists examining mental health outcomes among adolescents in communities with a large concentration of HCV subsidized housing. Using data from the Baltimore site of the WAVE study, multivariate logistic regression analyses show that adolescents residing in extremely voucher dense environments report being more fearful in their communities and that residency in these environments modifies the effect of exposure to violence in the community on symptomology of PTSD. The concentration of these voucher-assisted households may be creating added vulnerability for these adolescents in terms of fear and mental health that warrant further exploration.

**Kessler, Ronald C., Greg J. Duncan, Lisa A. Gennetian, Lawrence F. Katz, Jeffery R. Kling, Nancy A. Sampson, Lisa Sanbonmatsu, Alan M. Zaslavsky, and Jens Ludwig. "Associations of Housing Mobility Interventions for Children in High-Poverty Neighborhoods With Subsequent Mental Disorders During Adolescence." *JAMA* 311, no. 9 (2014): 937-948.**

**Abstract:** *Importance:* Youth in high-poverty neighborhoods have high rates of emotional problems. Understanding neighborhood influences on mental health is crucial for designing neighborhood-level interventions. *Objective:* To perform an exploratory analysis of associations between housing mobility interventions for children in high-poverty neighborhoods and subsequent mental disorders during adolescence. *Design, Setting, and Participants:* The Moving to Opportunity Demonstration from 1994 to 1998 randomized 4604 volunteer public housing families with 3689 children in high-poverty neighborhoods into 1 of 2 housing mobility intervention groups (a low-poverty voucher group vs a traditional voucher group) or a control group. The low-poverty voucher group (n=1430) received vouchers to move to low-poverty neighborhoods with enhanced mobility counseling. The traditional voucher group (n=1081) received geographically unrestricted vouchers. Controls (n=1178) received no intervention. Follow-up evaluation was performed 10 to 15 years later (June 2008-April 2010) with participants aged 13 to 19 years (0-8 years at randomization). Response rates were 86.9% to 92.9%. *Main Outcomes and Measures:* Presence of mental disorders from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (Fourth Edition) within the past 12 months, including major depressive disorder, panic disorder, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), oppositional-defiant disorder, intermittent explosive disorder, and conduct disorder, as assessed post hoc with a validated diagnostic interview. *Results:* Of the 3689 adolescents randomized, 2872 were interviewed (1407 boys and 1465 girls). Compared with the control group, boys in the low-poverty voucher group had significantly increased rates of major depression (7.1% vs 3.5%; odds ratio (OR), 2.2 [95% CI, 1.2-3.9]), PTSD (6.2% vs 1.9%; OR, 3.4 [95% CI, 1.6-7.4]), and conduct disorder (6.4% vs 2.1%; OR, 3.1 [95% CI, 1.7-5.8]). Boys in the traditional voucher group had increased rates of PTSD compared with the control group (4.9% vs 1.9%, OR, 2.7 [95% CI, 1.2-5.8]). However, compared with the control group, girls in the traditional voucher group had decreased rates of major depression (6.5% vs 10.9%; OR, 0.6 [95% CI, 0.3-0.9]) and conduct disorder (0.3% vs 2.9%; OR, 0.1 [95% CI, 0.0-0.4]). *Conclusions and Relevance:* Interventions to encourage moving out of high-poverty neighborhoods were associated with increased rates of depression, PTSD, and conduct disorder among boys and reduced rates of depression and conduct disorder among girls. Better understanding of interactions among individual, family, and neighborhood risk factors is needed to guide future public housing policy changes.

**Kleit, Rachel Garshick, Seungbeom Kang, and Corianne Payton Scally. "Why Do Housing Mobility Programs Fail in Moving Households to Better Neighborhoods?" *Housing Policy Debate* (2015).**

**Abstract:** This article conceptualizes the relationship between housing instability, residential mobility, and neighborhood quality. We summarize the existing literature about residential mobility and housing instability and examine their potential interactions along three dimensions: (a) the reasons for a move, including a variety of push and pull factors; (b) mobility outcomes in terms of whether moves result in residing in a better or worse neighborhood than that of the prior residence; and, especially important for low-income households, (c) the degree to which the current move and past experiences of moving have been discretionary or forced. Housing instability is a cumulative concept, with involuntary moves at its center. This synthetic model of housing instability's impact on mobility outcomes suggests that the more instability a household has experienced, the less likely mobility moves are to occur, or, if they do occur, to be long lasting. Policy implementation may underestimate the interaction between cumulative housing instability and residential mobility in housing mobility policies. Thus, these interactions have implications for mobility policies, pointing toward a path for future research that inform policies to move low-income households toward both greater housing stability and better neighborhood outcomes.

**Lens, Michael C. “Safe, but Could Be Safer: Why Do HCVP Households Live in Higher Crime Neighborhoods?” *Cityscape* 15, no. 3 (2013): 131-152.**

Abstract: The radical growth in the Housing Choice Voucher Program (HCVP) during the past 25 years has benefitted subsidized households, granting them access to a greater array of neighborhoods. Although the HCVP households tend to live in safer neighborhoods than households in supply-side subsidized housing, they still lag behind the general population in terms of neighborhood safety.

This article identifies the urban spatial characteristics that lead HCVP households to live in higher crime neighborhoods. Using census tract-level crime and housing data on 91 U.S. cities in 2000, I estimate a set of regression models that find that three housing market variables have strong associations with the crime exposure of HCVP households: (1) the percentage of renters located in high-crime neighborhoods, (2) the differential between average rents in low- and high-crime neighborhoods, and, to a lesser extent, (3) the vacancy rate in low-crime neighborhoods.

These findings suggest that the existence of tight rental markets in low-crime neighborhoods within cities makes it harder for HCVP households to access those neighborhoods. Cities with these market characteristics can respond through landlord outreach and by increasing the supply of rental housing in lower crime neighborhoods, either by reducing building restrictions or subsidizing supply.

**Lens, Michael. “Employment Accessibility Among Housing Subsidy Recipients.” *Housing Policy Debate* 24, no. 4 (2014): 671-691.**

Abstract: This article estimates the extent to which different types of subsidized households live near employment, measuring the extent of spatial mismatch between these households and employment. Using census tract-level data from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development on housing subsidy locations and employment data from the U.S. Census Bureau, this article uses a distance-decay function to estimate job-accessibility indices for census tracts in metropolitan statistical areas with 100,000 people or more. I use these data to create weighted job-accessibility indices for housing subsidy recipients (public housing, Low-Income Housing Tax Credit, Section 8 New Construction, and housing voucher households) and the total population and renter households earning below 50% of area median income as points of comparison. I find that of all these groups, by a large margin, public housing households live in census tracts with the greatest proximity to low-skilled jobs. However, they also live among the greatest concentration of individuals who compete for those jobs, namely, the low-skilled unemployed. These findings suggest that we pay close attention to the trade-offs that public housing residents are making as these units are demolished and replaced with vouchers.

**Ludwig, Jens, Greg J. Duncan, Lisa A. Gennetian, Lawrence F. Katz, Ronald C. Kessler, Jeffrey R. Kling, and Lisa Sonbanmatsu. “Long-Term Neighborhood Effects on Low-Income Families: Evidence from Moving to Opportunity.” *American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings* 103, no. 3 (2013): 226-231.**

Abstract: We examine long-term neighborhood effects on low-income families using data from the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) randomized housing-mobility experiment. This experiment offered to some public-housing families but not to others the chance to move to less-disadvantaged neighborhoods. We show that ten to 15 years after baseline, MTO: (i) improves adult physical and mental health; (ii) has no detectable effect on economic outcomes or youth schooling or physical health; and (iii) has mixed results by gender on other youth outcomes, with girls doing better on some measures and boys doing worse. Despite the somewhat mixed pattern of impacts on traditional behavioral outcomes, MTO moves substantially improve adult subjective well-being.

**Mast, Brent D., and Ronald E. Wilson. “Housing Choice Vouchers and Crime in Charlotte, NC.” *Housing Policy Debate* 23, no. 3 (2013): 559-596.**

Abstract: Recent media attention and research have focused on the effect of housing vouchers on crime, with different conclusions. The purpose of this study is to bring further evidence to the voucher-crime debate, using annual data from 2000 to 2009 for Charlotte-Mecklenburg County. We study the relationship between crime counts and housing vouchers with quantile regression models with year and census tract fixed effects. We found that voucher households are associated with increased crime, controlling for past crime levels. Estimates vary, however, with the concentration of vouchers in the neighborhood, with little impact in areas with low concentrations. Estimates also vary with the neighborhood crime level. We extend the literature by examining the effect of different voucher family types, finding no evidence that elderly households or nonelderly households without disabilities and without children are associated with more crime. However, we found a very significant positive association for nonelderly households without disabilities with children. Our results indicate that significant crime reductions could be accomplished by focusing U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, local housing agency, and criminal justice resources on the types of places and voucher families most at risk for crime problems when a family uses a voucher to move into a new neighborhood.

**McClure, Kirk. “Which Metropolitan Areas Work Best for Poverty Deconcentration With Housing Choice Vouchers?” *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research* 15, no. 3 (2013): 209-236.**

Abstract: The Housing Choice Voucher Program (HCVP) offers choice to poor renter households, but only a fraction of the households in the program use that choice to locate in low-poverty neighborhoods. Analysis of metropolitan areas across the United States finds that the typical metropolitan area locates 19 percent of its HCVP households in census tracts where less than 10 percent of the population is impoverished. This rate is less than the share of units with rents low enough for the program found in these low-poverty tracts. Race and ethnicity matter. Non-Hispanic White HCVP households are able to enter low-poverty neighborhoods at a rate greater than the availability of affordable units, whereas minorities are not. The metropolitan areas differ markedly in the percentage of HCVP households who locate in low-poverty tracts. Greater entry into low-poverty tracts is found in soft markets and markets with a high percentage of total tracts that are low-poverty tracts. The level of the Fair Market Rents (FMRs), which govern the HCVP, also proves to influence the level of voucher entry into low-poverty neighborhoods, suggesting that gains could be realized by localized changes to the FMRs.

**Metzger, Molly W. “The Reconcentration of Poverty: Patterns of Housing Voucher Use, 2000 to 2008.” *Housing Policy Debate* 24, no. 3 (2014): 544-567.**

Abstract: In theory, housing choice vouchers provide low-income families with increased neighborhood options. However, previous research is mixed regarding whether the program promotes integration. Examining the 50 most populous U.S. metropolitan areas, I find that households using vouchers are more economically and racially segregated than an extremely low-income comparison group. However, voucher households in areas with source-of-income protection laws are less racially segregated than voucher households in areas without such laws.

**Moulton, Shawn, Laura R. Peck, and Keri-Nicole Dillman. “Moving to Opportunity’s Impact on Health and Well-Being Among High-Dosage Participants.” *Housing Policy Debate* 24, no. 2 (2014): 415-445.**

Abstract: This article reports the health impacts of the Moving to Opportunity for Fair Housing Demonstration Program for the subset of participants who were most likely to spend more time in low-

poverty neighborhoods. Using the methodological approach developed by Peck, we find that children whose profiles predict that they spent more time in lower-poverty neighborhoods experience higher neighborhood and housing quality, improved mental health outcomes, and better general health relative to their control-group counterparts. Moving to Opportunity's impact on these "high-dosage" participants is larger in magnitude than intention-to-treat impact estimates produced by prior studies. Further, while prior work found no evidence that neighborhoods affect overall child health, we find that parents who are likely to spend more time in lower-poverty neighborhoods are significantly more likely to report every good or excellent child health. In contrast, those who are not likely to spend more time in lower-poverty neighborhoods show some evidence of unfavorable health impacts.

**Nguyen, Quynh C., Nicole M. Schmidt, M. Marie Glymour, David H Rehkopf, and Theresa L. Osypuk. "Were the mental health benefits of a housing mobility intervention larger for adolescents in higher socioeconomic status families?" *Health & Place* 23 (2013): 79-88.**

Abstract: Moving to Opportunity (MTO) was a social experiment to test how relocation to lower poverty neighborhoods influences low-income families. Using adolescent data from 4 to 7 year evaluations (aged 12-19, n=2829), we applied gender-stratified intent-to-treat and adherence-adjusted linear regression models, to test effect modification of MTO intervention effects on adolescent mental health. Low parental education, welfare receipt, unemployment and never-married status were not significant effect modifiers. Tailoring mobility interventions by these characteristics may not be necessary to alter impact on adolescent mental health. Because parental enrollment in school and teen parent status adversely modified MTO intervention effects on youth mental health, post-move services that increase guidance and supervision of adolescents may help support post-move adjustment.

**Oppenheimer, Sarah, Megan Haberle, and Philip Tegeler. "Increasing Housing Choices: How Can the MTW Program Evolve to Achieve its Statutory Mandate?" *Poverty and Race Research Action Council* (March 2013). <http://www.prrac.org/pdf/MTW-HousingOpportunity.pdf>.**

Summary: This report focuses on housing mobility services and requirements in HUD's Moving to Work (MTW) demonstration program. In response to MTW's undefined goal of "increasing housing choices," the report evaluates MTW's degree of success in expanding housing options by examining different "housing mobility-related programming" at MTW agencies. The report focuses on whether MTW agencies define efforts to expand housing choice as implementing housing mobility programs, and assesses the extent to which "MTW agencies are actually engaged in this type of programming." The research utilizes qualitative data obtained from "interviews and data review" surrounding the work of "thirteen MTW agencies in large, highly-segregated cities." The data show "substantial variation in MTW agencies' understanding of 'housing choice' and 'residential mobility.'" The report also highlights that "the outcomes of strategies in advancing choice and mobility frequently remained unevaluated....[which] is problematic because it indicates that the MTW program may include missed opportunities to promote mobility and to learn what works." The second portion of the report reviews the "current MTW plans of all participating agencies" to evaluate their described mobility programs. The report recommends that MTW more clearly define its "goal of 'increasing housing choices,'" that "HUD hold agencies accountable for delivering on the 'choices' goal," and that PHAs require all staff to participate in mobility training and require all residents to receive "basic mobility counseling."

**Osypuk, Theresa L., Eric J. Tchetgen-Tchetgen, Dolores Acevedo-Garcia, Felton J. Earls, Alisa Lincoln, Nicole M. Schmidt, and M. Maria Glymour. "Differential Mental Health Effects of Neighborhood Relocation Among Youth in Vulnerable Families: Results From a Randomized Trial." *Arch Gen Psychiatry* 69, no. 12 (December 2012): 1284-1294.**

**Abstract:** *Context:* Extensive observational evidence indicates youth in high-poverty neighborhoods exhibit poor mental health, although not all children may be affected similarly. *Objective:* To use experimental evidence to assess whether gender and family health problems modify mental health effects of moving from high- to low-poverty neighborhoods. *Design, Setting, Participants:* The Moving to Opportunity Study, a randomized controlled trial, enrolled volunteer low-income families in public housing in 5 U.S. cities from 1994–1997. We analyze 4–7 year outcomes among youth aged 12–19 (n=2829, 89% effective response rate). *Intervention:* Families were randomized to control (remaining in public housing) or experimental (receiving government-funded rental subsidies to move into private apartments) groups. Intent-to-treat analyses included intervention interactions by gender and health vulnerability (defined as pre-randomization health/developmental limitations or disabilities among family members). *Outcome Measures:* Past-year psychological distress (K6), and Behavioral Problems Index (BPI). Supplemental analyses used past-year major depressive disorder (MDD). *Results:* Male gender and family health vulnerability significantly adversely modified the intervention effect on K6 (gender: p=.02, health vulnerability: p=.002); male gender, but not health vulnerability, significantly adversely modified the intervention effect on BPI (gender: p=.01, health vulnerability: p=.17). Female adolescents without baseline health vulnerabilities were the only subgroup to benefit on any outcome (K6 (B= -0.21, 95% CI: (-0.34–-0.07), p=.003); MDD (Odds Ratio =0.42 (0.20–0.85) p=0.024). For male adolescents with health vulnerabilities, intervention was associated with worse K6 (B=.26, (0.09–0.44), p=.003) and BPI (B=.24 (0.09–0.40) p=.002). Neither females with health vulnerability, nor males without health vulnerability, experienced intervention benefits. Adherence-adjusted instrumental variable analysis found intervention effects twice as large. Patterns were similar for MDD but estimates were imprecise due to low prevalence. *Conclusions:* Although some girls benefited, boys and adolescents from families with baseline health problems did not experience mental health benefits from housing mobility policies, and may need additional program supports.

**Osypuk, Theresa L., Nicole M. Schmidt, Lisa M. Bates, Eric K. Tchetgen-Tchetgen, Felton J. Earls, and M. Marie Glymour. “Gender and Crime Victimization Modify Neighborhood Effects on Adolescent Mental Health.” *Pediatrics* 130, no. 3 (September 2012): 472-481.**

**Abstract:** *Objective:* Leverage an experimental study to determine whether gender or recent crime victimization modify the mental health effects of moving to low-poverty neighborhoods. *Methods:* The Moving to Opportunity (MTO) study randomized low-income families in public housing to an intervention arm receiving vouchers to subsidize rental housing in lower-poverty neighborhoods or to controls receiving no voucher. We examined 3 outcomes 4 to 7 years after randomization, among youth aged 5 to 16 years at baseline (n = 2829): lifetime major depressive disorder (MDD), psychological distress (K6), and Behavior Problems Index (BPI). Treatment effect modification by gender and family's baseline report of recent violent crime victimization was tested via interactions in covariate-adjusted intent-to-treat and instrumental variable adherence-adjusted regression models. *Results:* The Moving to Opportunity (MTO) study randomized low-income families in public housing to an intervention arm receiving vouchers to subsidize rental housing in lower-poverty neighborhoods or to controls receiving no voucher. We examined 3 outcomes 4 to 7 years after randomization, among youth aged 5 to 16 years at baseline (n = 2829): lifetime major depressive disorder (MDD), psychological distress (K6), and Behavior Problems Index (BPI). Treatment effect modification by gender and family's baseline report of recent violent crime victimization was tested via interactions in covariate-adjusted intent-to-treat and instrumental variable adherence-adjusted regression models. *Conclusions:* Girls from families experiencing recent violent crime victimization were significantly less likely to achieve mental health benefits, and boys were harmed, by MTO, suggesting need for cross-sectoral program supports to offset multiple stressors.

**Park, Miseon. "Housing vouchers as a means of poverty deconcentration and race desegregation: Patters and factors of voucher recipients' spatial concentration in Cleveland." *Journal of Housing and Built Environment* 28, no. 3 (2013): 451-468.**

Abstract: Housing Choice Voucher Program is the single largest housing subsidy program in the USA with the goal of poverty deconcentration and race desegregation. This study aims to identify the presence and locations of voucher holders' spatial concentration, and to investigate the factors associated with the location outcomes of voucher recipients in Cleveland from 2005 to 2009. Hotspot analysis indicated that voucher holders have clustered together and their concentrations have changed during the five years. Over time, concentration patterns spread out from the central city to suburbs. Spatial concentrations were significantly different by race. Regression analysis identified several factors associated with voucher recipients' concentration, including race, availability of affordable housing, poverty rates, vacancy rates, and accessibility to public transportation. The spatial error model estimation and Geographically Weighted Regression account for spatial autocorrelation and spatial heterogeneity. Results from the study presented the limited potential of the voucher program since voucher holders are still clustered in specific neighborhoods, even though they tend to move in less poor neighborhoods over time.

**Patterson, Kelly L., and Eun-Hye Enki Yoo. "Trapped in Poor Places? An Assessment of the Residential Spatial Patterns of Housing Choice Voucher Holders in 2004 and 2008." *Journal of Social Service Research* 38 (2012): 637-655.**

Abstract: This study examines the residential spatial patterns of Housing Choice Voucher holders in Western New York in 2004 and 2008 ( $n = 4,600$  and  $n = 4,759$ , respectively). It seeks to answer two questions: Has the concentration of voucher holders in impoverished and same race neighborhoods diminished overtime; and are voucher holders, particularly African Americans, relocating in patterns that would lead to reghettoization or the reconcentration of race and poverty? This type of residential pattern puts voucher holders at risk for resettling in neighborhoods that limit economic and social mobility. Data from the public housing agency contracted to distribute Housing Choice Vouchers were examined. Exploratory spatial analysis techniques were used to identify spatial outliers and to form a hypothesis on spatial patterns of relocation. Spatial clustering analyses were conducted to test the hypothesis on the reghettoization of African American voucher holders in recently relocated neighborhoods. Analyses indicate that African American voucher holders are moving out of impoverished, hypersegregated areas into historically White neighborhoods. A limited number of voucher holders are moving in clustered patterns, which lead to reghettoization. Future research is needed that highlights the role that housing assistance providers play in the residential location choices of low-income clients.

**Pollack, Craig Evan, Rachel L. Johnson, and Stefanie DeLuca. "Targeting Housing Mobility Vouchers to Help Families With Children." *JAMA Pediatrics* 168, no. 8 (2014): 695-696.**

Summary: This article offers a broad overview of housing mobility programs and concludes with three policy recommendations focused on the intersection of health and housing issues. The authors discuss the impact of neighborhoods on health outcomes and existing research on the impact of housing mobility. The first recommendation advises policymakers to develop methods to measure the health benefits of mobility programs: "Currently, the US Department of Housing and Urban Development and local housing agencies have little incentive to bear the costs of mobility programs on their budgets if the 'savings' accrue to health agencies. Rigorously quantifying the potential cost savings of housing mobility is an important step in better aligning health and housing policy goals and building an evidence base for these agencies to jointly pay for mobility counseling as a potential health and wellness intervention." A second recommendation surrounds studying the "optimal way to target mobility programs to obtain the biggest health return investment," such as through prioritizing "an early childhood preference." Finally, the authors suggest that "clinicians, health care systems, and insurers may play an important role in not



only identifying individuals and families who may benefit from a referral to a housing mobility program but also supporting their health as they move.”

**Rosen, Eva. “Rigging the Rules of the Game: How Landlords Geographically Sort Low-Income Renters.” *City & Community* 13, no. 4 (December 2014): 310-340.**

Abstract: This paper considers an unexamined mechanism in the selection processes that sort the urban poor into different neighborhood environments: the landlord. Scholars of poverty and residential mobility have long been interested in how the choices of low-income families interact with structural barriers to create high-poverty neighborhoods that reproduce social and economic isolation as well as racial segregation. However, they have not examined the ways in which these choices are shaped by the intermediary force of the landlord. This paper draws on ethnographic observation and in-depth interviews with 20 landlords and 82 residents in Baltimore, examining their engagement with the Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program. Findings show that landlords’ strategic implementations of voucher rules contribute to residential sorting patterns through a three-step process: first, selection, in which targeted recruitment tactics favor voucher tenants; second, a sorting process in which landlords cherry-pick the lower-end voucher tenants, matching them to hard-to-rent units; and third, landlords’ selective retention of tenants who do not have the means to leave. This results in rigging the game, where a process of “reverse selection” operates: Rather than tenants selecting homes and neighborhoods, landlords are selecting tenants. Taken together, these tactics result in a strategic balkanization of the rental housing market that retains voucher holders where they can be most profitable—in the very neighborhoods policymakers would like to provide them the opportunity to leave. Landlord tactics serve as a powerful mechanism for the concentration of poverty.

**Rosenblatt, Peter, and Stefanie DeLuca. “‘We Don’t Live Outside, We Live in Here’: Neighborhood and Residential Mobility Decisions Among Low-Income Families.” *City and Community* 11, no. 3 (September 2012): 254-284.**

Abstract: Over 20 years of scholarship suggests that living in America’s poorest and most dangerous communities diminishes the life course development of children and adults. In the 1990s, the dire conditions of some of these neighborhoods, especially those with large public housing developments, prompted significant policy responses. In addition to the demolition and redevelopment of some of the projects, the federal government launched an experiment to help families leave poor neighborhoods through an assisted housing voucher program called Moving to Opportunity (MTO). While families who moved through this program initially relocated to census tracts with poverty rates almost four times lower than their original projects, many returned to communities of moderate to high poverty. Why? We use mixed methods to explore the patterns and the decision-making processes behind moves among MTO families. Focusing on the Baltimore MTO site, we find that traditional theories for residential choice did not fully explain these outcomes. While limited access to public transportation, housing quality problems, and landlords made it hard for families to move to, or stay in, low-poverty neighborhoods, there were also more striking explanations for their residential trajectories. Many families valued the low-poverty neighborhoods they were originally able to access with their vouchers, but when faced with the need to move again, they often sacrificed neighborhood quality for dwelling quality in order to accommodate changing family needs. Having lived in high-poverty neighborhoods most of their lives, they developed a number of coping strategies and beliefs that made them confident they could handle such a consequential trade-off and protect themselves and their children from the dangers of poorer areas.

**Rosenblatt, Peter, and Jennifer Cossyleon. “Take a Chance on Me”: A Review of the Milwaukee County HOME Security Deposit Assistance Program.” *Poverty and Race Research Action Council, with the Greater Milwaukee Fair Housing Council* (January 2015). <http://prrac.org/pdf/MilwaukeeCountySecurityDepositStudy.pdf>.**

Summary: This study analyzes how the Milwaukee County HOME Security Deposit Assistance Program (SDAP) increases the number of moves to higher opportunity neighborhoods among housing choice voucher holders. The program administers a \$1,000 security deposit grant, on the condition that a family moves to a unit in one of the “suburban municipalities outside of the City of Milwaukee.” Since the Milwaukee County Security Deposit Assistance Program is not paired with any other mobility services, such as counseling, this program offered “an opportunity to study a particular kind of targeted intervention to facilitate moves by HCV families to lower-poverty areas and meet the goal of affirmatively furthering fair housing.” The researchers relied on “surveys and interviews” to assess the impact of the program. The study finds that the Security Deposit Assistance Program did incentivize a significant number of families to look for housing in suburban areas. However, the presence of individual and structural discrimination impeded housing mobility for many families. The report recommends that in order “to achieve maximum effect, the security deposit incentive needs to be combined with other policy changes to improve access to suburban communities.”

**Ross, Lauren M., and Anne B. Shlay. “You Can’t Always Get What You Want: The Role of Public Housing and Vouchers in Achieving Residential Satisfaction.” *Cityscape* 14, no. 1 (2012): 35-53.**

Abstract: Using data from the 2009 American Housing Survey, this research examines neighborhood and housing satisfaction among assisted and unassisted renters. Studying the effect of housing assistance on neighborhood satisfaction allows for an assessment of the role that housing vouchers play in promoting household mobility to higher quality housing and neighborhoods compared with public housing developments or unsubsidized housing units. A major goal of this study is to shed light on the effectiveness of a predominant form of U.S. government-sponsored housing assistance at providing expanded housing choices for low-income families. Our findings show that housing voucher holders and public housing residents achieve higher levels of housing satisfaction and choose more desirable dwellings than do unassisted low-income renters. Housing assistance, however, does not enable recipients to locate to better neighborhoods.

**Scott, Mary M., Mary K. Cunningham, and Jennifer Biess. “Expanding Choice: Practical Strategies for Building a Successful Housing Mobility Program.” Urban Institute, with the Poverty and Race Research Action Council (2013).**

Abstract: The Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program provides low income households the ability to affordably rent decent housing practically anywhere in the United States. And yet, voucher holders largely live in a relatively small number of low opportunity neighborhoods. In order to fully exercise their housing choice, program participants need quality information about the housing options available and tools to overcome real and perceived barriers in the private rental market. Drawing on the best available research and model programs from across the country, this toolkit provides practical advice on how to plan and implement a housing mobility program to overcome these challenges.

**Schmidt, Nicole M., Alisa K. Lincoln, Quynh C. Nguyen, Dolores Acevedo-Garcia, Theresa L. Osypuk. “Examining mediators of housing mobility on adolescent asthma: Results from a housing voucher experiment.” *Social Science & Medicine* 107 (2014): 136-144.**

Abstract: Literature on neighborhood effects on health largely employs non-experimental study designs and does not typically test specific neighborhood mediators that influence health. We address these gaps using the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) housing voucher experiment. Research has documented both beneficial and adverse effects on health in MTO, but mediating mechanisms have not been tested explicitly. We tested mediation of MTO effects on youth asthma ( $n = 2829$ ). MTO randomized families living in public housing to an experimental group receiving a voucher to subsidize rental housing, or a control group receiving no voucher, and measured outcomes 4–7 years following randomization. MTO

had a harmful main effect vs. controls for self-reported asthma diagnosis ( $b = 0.24, p = 0.06$ ), past-year asthma attack ( $b = 0.44, p = 0.02$ ), and past-year wheezing ( $b = 0.17, p = 0.17$ ). Using Inverse Odds Weighting mediation we tested mental health, smoking, and four housing dimensions as potential mediators of the MTO–asthma relationship. We found no significant mediation overall, but mediation may be gender-specific. Gender-stratified models displayed countervailing mediation effects among girls for asthma diagnosis by smoking ( $p = 0.05$ ) and adult-reported housing quality ( $p = 0.06$ ), which reduced total effects by 35% and 42% respectively. MTO treatment worsened boys' mental health and mental health reduced treatment effects on asthma diagnosis by 27%. Future research should explore other potential mediators and gender-specific mediators of MTO effects on asthma. Improving measurement of housing conditions and other potential mediators may help elucidate the “black box” of neighborhood effects.

**Sharkey, Patrick, Amy Ellen Schwartz, Ingrid Gould Ellen, and Johanna Lacoé.** “High Stakes in the Classroom, High Stakes on the Street: The Effects of Community Violence on Students’ Standardized Test Performance.” NYU’s Institute for Education and Social Policy (2013). [http://steinhardt.nyu.edu/iesp/featured/IESP\\_Working\\_Paper\\_03-13](http://steinhardt.nyu.edu/iesp/featured/IESP_Working_Paper_03-13).

Abstract: This paper examines the effect of exposure to violent crime on students’ standardized test performance among a sample of students in New York City public schools. To identify the effect of exposure to community violence on children’s test scores, we compare students exposed to an incident of violent crime on their own blockface in the week prior to the exam to students exposed in the week after the exam. The results show that such exposure to violent crime reduces performance on English Language Arts assessments, and no effect on Math scores. The effect of exposure to violent crime is most pronounced among African Americans, and reduces the passing rates of black students by approximately 3 percentage points.

**Sheffield, Jonathan.** “Cook County Prevents Source of Income of Discrimination from Begetting Unlawful Race Discrimination and So Should Illinois.” *Public Interest Law Reporter* 19, no. 2 (2014).

Abstract: In May 2013, Cook County amended its human rights ordinance to prohibit discrimination against Housing Choice Voucher holders. Specifically, the amended ordinance prohibits landlords from denying applications on the basis that an applicant pays rents with a Housing Choice Voucher (HCV). The prohibition will have positive implications for all HCV holders, particularly HCV holders who are people of color, because landlords in Cook County may have been using lawful discrimination against HCV holders as a proxy for unlawful race discrimination. Moreover, source of income (SOI) discrimination, without exception, in all Illinois municipalities, most of which have a legal obligation to promote fair housing choice under the federal Fair Housing Act and Department of Housing and Urban Development regulations.

**Slopen, Nancy, Amy L. Non, David R. Williams, Andrea L. Roberts, and Michelle A. Albert.** “Childhood Adversity, Adult Neighborhood Context, and Cumulative Biological Risk for Chronic Diseases in Adulthood.” *Psychosom Med* 76, no. 7 (2014): 481-489.

Abstract: *Objective:* We examined the association between childhood adversity and cumulative biological risk for a variety of chronic diseases in adulthood, and whether this association varied by neighborhood affluence. *Methods:* Data were drawn from the Chicago Community Adult Health Study (2001-2003), a cross-sectional probability sample that included interviews and blood collection ( $n = 550$  adults). A childhood adversity score was calculated from eight items. Neighborhood affluence was defined using Census data. An index to reflect cumulative biological risk was constructed as a count of eight biomarkers above clinically established thresholds, including systolic and diastolic blood pressure, resting heart rate,

C-reactive protein, waist circumference, hemoglobin A1c, and total and high-density lipoprotein cholesterol. Generalized linear models with a Poisson link function were used to estimate incident rate ratios (IRRs). *Results:* A 1-standard-deviation increase in the childhood adversity score was associated with a 9% increase in cumulative biological risk, after adjustment for demographic and behavioral characteristics (IRR = 1.09, 95% confidence interval (CI) = 1.02-1.17). This association was modified by neighborhood affluence (IRR = 0.92, 95% CI = 0.86, 0.99). Stratified models indicated that childhood adversity was associated with elevated cumulative biological risk only among individuals who resided in low-affluence (bottom tertile) neighborhoods (IRR = 1.16, 95% CI = 1.05, 1.28); there was no association in high-affluence (top tertile) neighborhoods (IRR = 0.97, 95% CI = 0.83, 1.14). *Conclusions:* Childhood adversity is associated with elevated cumulative biological risk in adulthood, and neighborhood affluence may buffer this association. Results demonstrate the importance of neighborhood characteristics for associations between childhood adversity and disease risk, even after accounting for adult socioeconomic status.

**Song, Wei, and Karl Keeling. "Location Patterns of Section 8 Housing in Jefferson County, Kentucky." In *Geospatial Technologies and Advancing Geographic Decision Making*, edited by Donald Patrick Albert, 170-187. Hershey, PA: Information Science Reference, 2012.**

Abstract: The controversial Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher program is the largest federal low-income housing program. Using GIS-based spatial clustering analysis (Getis-Ord's Gi statistic) and multiple linear regressions, in this paper, the authors examine the locational patterns of more than 13,600 Section 8 housing units in Jefferson County, Kentucky, and explore key social, economic, demographic, and locational factors underlying the spatial distribution of Section 8 housing. The findings reveal that Section 8 housing continues to concentrate in the central city area with predominantly black residents, a high proportion of families in poverty, and abundant low-cost properties. The Section 8 voucher policy has failed to successfully de-concentrate poor families from these urban areas. Residential mobility of low-income families has been restricted by various factors, most important of which is the lack of accessibility to public transportation across the metropolitan area.

**Turney, Kristin, Rebecca Kissane, and Kathryn Edin. "After Moving to Opportunity: How Moving to a Low-Poverty Neighborhood Improves Mental Health among African American Women." *Society and Mental Health* 3, no. 1 (2013): 1-21.**

Abstract: A large body of nonexperimental literature finds residing in a disadvantaged neighborhood is deleterious for mental health, and recent evidence from the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program—a social experiment giving families living in high-poverty neighborhoods the opportunity to move to low-poverty neighborhoods—suggests a causal effect of moving to a low-poverty neighborhood on adult mental health. We use qualitative data from 67 Baltimore adults who signed up for the MTO program to understand how moving to a low-poverty neighborhood produced these mental health benefits. First, we document the vast array of mental health challenges, traumatic experiences, and stressors reported by both experimentals (those who received a housing voucher to move to a low-poverty neighborhood) and controls (those who did not receive a voucher). We then explore how changes in the physical and social environments may have produced mental health benefits for experimentals. In particular, experimentals reported the following: improved neighborhood and home aesthetics, greater neighborhood collective efficacy and pride, less violence and criminal activity, and better environments for raising children. Notably, we also document increased sources of stress among experimentals, mostly associated with moving, making the positive effects of MTO on adult mental health all the more remarkable. These findings have important implications for both researchers and policymakers.

**Varady, David, and Reinout Kleinhans. "Relocation Counselling and Supportive Services as Tools to Prevent Negative Spillover Effects: A Review." *Housing Studies* 28, no. 2 (2013): 317-337.**

**Abstract:** This paper aims to review the literature on negative neighbourhood spillovers connected to four *voluntary* housing mobility programs: Gautreaux 1 and Gautreaux 2 (Chicago), the Moving to Opportunity Fair Housing Demonstration (five cities) and the Baltimore Housing Mobility Program. Although these four programs involve voluntary moves, a great deal may be learned from them because of (1) efforts to forestall community opposition and (2) special counselling and supportive programs provided to ease adjustment into destination neighbourhoods. Unfortunately, the available research often falls short in providing evidence for or against negative spillover effects. Nevertheless, our review indicates that screening out multi-problem families, limiting the number of housing voucher families moving into particular neighbourhoods and providing both pre- and post-relocation counselling to program participants can minimize the risk of negative neighbourhood spillovers.

**Varady, David, Xinhao Wang, Dugan Murphy, and Andrew Stahlke. “How Housing Professionals Perceive Effects of the Housing Choice Voucher Program on Suburban Communities.” *Cityscape* 15, no. 3 (2013): 105-129.**

**Abstract:** In recent years, increasing numbers of households using housing vouchers have moved to the suburbs, following a general trend for minority and low-income families. Suburban residents often resist this in-movement because of concerns that the clustering of voucher families will lead to increases in crime and decreases in property values. Through a case study of Hamilton County, Ohio, employing both spatial analysis (overall trends for the county and distributional trends within two inner suburbs) and unstructured informant interviews with civic leaders, landlords, public officials, and fair housing advocates, this article seeks to improve the existing understanding of the level of support or resistance to the Housing Choice Voucher Program (HCVP) by these stakeholders. Although informants endorsed HCVP as a mechanism for accessing affordable housing, they expressed concern about some forms of negative neighborhood spillovers (for example, poorly maintained property exteriors, cultural conflicts, and declining school test scores). In line with recent academic writings, informants recognized that voucher in-migration often is more a symptom rather than a cause of decline. This article addresses possible ways to increase the effectiveness of HCVP in the suburbs.

**Walter, Rebecca J., Yanmei Li, and Serge Atherwood. “Moving to Opportunity? An Examination of Housing Choice Vouchers on Urban Poverty Deconcentration in South Florida.” *Housing Studies* (2015).**

**Abstract:** The increase in socioeconomic disparity between households runs counter to federal housing goals to improve the prospects of the poor. One goal of the Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program, which provides rental assistance to low-income families, is the deconcentration of poverty. This study is a longitudinal analysis of the HCV program’s deconcentration effectiveness in Broward County, Florida. The movement of HCV households before and after voucher assignment is examined. Spatial statistics reveal that HCV recipients are highly clustered in low opportunity areas both prior to and after receiving a voucher. Factors that significantly relate to the likelihood that a voucher recipient will or will not move to an area of higher opportunity are assessed. Results from an opportunity index derived from principal components analysis and an ordinary least squares regression model indicate that being non-Black, having a larger household, and originating from economically distressed areas with high poverty and unemployment relates more strongly to relocation to neighborhoods with greater opportunity.

## **B. RESEARCH ON OTHER HOUSING PROGRAMS, PUBLIC HOUSING RELOCATION, AND BARRIERS TO MOBILITY**

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**Barrett, Edith J. “Women’s Work Attitudes, Aspirations, and Workforce Participation before and after Relocation from Public Housing.” *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 40, no. 3 (2013): 135-161.**

Abstract: For the past decade or so, public housing policies have focused on moving residents from concentrated housing developments into newly designed mixed-income developments or, through housing choice vouchers, into neighborhoods with lower concentrations of poor. These newer programs are driven by research that suggests public housing residents will have greater opportunity for financial self-sufficiency and, although not openly discussed, will better appreciate the importance of work when they live among higher income working residents. Using panel data collected from public housing residents relocated following the closure of a public housing development, this study explores the relationship between individual characteristics, neighborhood characteristics, and work attitudes, aspirations, and actions. The findings reveal that public housing residents are no different from the non-poor in their attitudes about work, but that when residents move into high income neighborhoods, their dreams of satisfying careers become more solid.

**Brooks, Richard R. W., and Carol M. Rose. *Saving the Neighborhood: Racially Restrictive Covenants, Law, and Social Norms*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.**

Abstract: *Saving the Neighborhood* tells the charged, still controversial story of the rise and fall of racially restrictive covenants in America, and offers rare insight into the ways legal and social norms reinforce one another, acting with pernicious efficacy to codify and perpetuate intolerance.

The early 1900s saw an unprecedented migration of African Americans leaving the rural South in search of better work and equal citizenship. In reaction, many white communities instituted property agreements—covenants—designed to limit ownership and residency according to race. Restrictive covenants quickly became a powerful legal guarantor of segregation, their authority facing serious challenge only in 1948, when the Supreme Court declared them legally unenforceable in *Shelley v. Kraemer*. Although the ruling was a shock to courts that had upheld covenants for decades, it failed to end their influence. In this incisive study, Richard Brooks and Carol Ropse unpack why.

At root, covenants were social signals. Their greatest use lay in reassuring the white residents that they shared the same goal, while sending a warning to would-be minority entrants: keep out. The authors uncover how loosely knit urban and suburban communities, fearing ethnic mixing or even “tipping,” were fair game to a new class of entrepreneurs who catered to their fears while exacerbating the message encoded in covenants: that black residents threatened white property values. Legal racial covenants expressed and bestowed an aura of legitimacy upon the wish of many white neighborhoods to exclude minorities. Sadly for American race relations, their legacy still lingers.

**Cordes, Sarah A., Amy Ellen Schwartz, and Jeffery Zabel. “Is neighbourhood destiny? Exploring the link between neighbourhood mobility and student outcomes.” *Urban Studies* (January 2015).**

Abstract: The notion that children from ‘good’ neighbourhoods are destined for success while those from ‘bad’ neighbourhoods are destined for failure has considerable popular appeal. Residential location is strongly linked to school quality, access to educated adults, exposure to violence, etc. There is, however, surprisingly little evidence on the link between the neighbourhood in which a child begins school and later schooling outcomes. Understanding early neighbourhood experiences is important for determining whether students are ‘stuck’ in neighbourhoods of disadvantage. It is also critical for determining the

extent to which students who begin their schooling careers in disadvantaged neighbourhoods are destined for poor schooling outcomes, and conversely, whether changing neighbourhood context improves student performance. In this study, therefore, we document how students' early neighbourhood and schooling experiences are related to later success in school, and explore how changing neighbourhood and school contexts explain differences in academic outcomes. Using data from New York City (NYC), we construct a panel containing all students enrolled as first graders in NYC public schools in 1996–1997, following them through academic years 2007–2008, which would be their 12th grade year if they made standard academic progress (annual one-grade promotion). Far from supporting the simplistic story of 'dead-end' neighbourhoods, our analyses describe a situation where students from poor neighbourhoods actually move more often than their peers in less disadvantaged neighbourhoods and are more likely to experience changes in neighbourhood and school quality, with 45.7% of neighbourhood moves from the poorest neighbourhoods being made to significantly higher quality neighbourhoods.

**Coulton, Claudia, Brett Theodos, and Margery A. Turner. "Residential Mobility and Neighborhood Change: Real Neighborhoods Under the Microscope." *Cityscape* 14, no. 3 (2012): 55-89.**

Abstract: Residential mobility is a process that changes lives and neighborhoods. Efforts to build strong communities are unavoidably caught up with this dynamic but have insufficient understanding of its complexities. To shed light on the underlying forces of residential mobility, this study uses a unique panel survey from the Casey Foundation's Making Connections initiative targeting poor neighborhoods in 10 cities.

The study classified households in the 10 cities as movers, newcomers, or stayers, and it evaluated the push and pull factors related to their mobility decisions. Cluster analysis revealed discernible types based on life cycle, household economic factors, and neighborhood attachment. The study also investigated the effect of residential mobility on neighborhood composition, finding that neighborhood change was primarily due to differences between movers and newcomers rather than changes for stayers. Combining information on the mix of household types with the components of neighborhood change, the study suggests these neighborhoods functioned in quite different ways that are relevant to family well-being and community development.

**Cutuli, J.J., and Janette E. Herbers. "Promoting resilience for children who experience family homelessness: Opportunities to encourage developmental competence." *Cityscape* 16, no. 1 (2014): 113-139.**

Abstract: A developmental perspective on resilience is needed to inform policies and programs that respond to family homelessness. Homelessness and the experiences associated with it can threaten and disrupt healthy development in children, contributing to worse academic achievement, more emotional and behavioral problems, and lower levels of developmental competence in a variety of other domains. Scholarship on resilience and risk provides a framework for understanding how and why this happens, identifying ways to prevent and compensate for the negative impacts of the homeless experience on children. We first explain the fundamental concepts underlying this framework. Through a review of literature on risk and resilience among children in homeless families, we identify two ordinary but powerful adaptive systems that help children avoid or bounce back from the negative effects of homelessness on development—positive parenting and child self-regulation. We argue that policymakers and homeless services providers can enhance, support, and facilitate these systems to achieve better outcomes for children.

**De la Roca, Jorge, Ingrid Gould Ellen, and Katherine M. O'Regan. "Race and neighborhoods in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: What does segregation mean today?" *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 47 (July 2014): 138-151.**

Abstract: Noting the decline in segregation between blacks and whites over the past several decades, some recent work argues that racial segregation is no longer a concern in the 21st century. In response, this paper revisits some of the concerns that John Quigley raised about racial segregation and neighborhoods to assess their relevance today. We note that while segregation levels between blacks and whites have certainly declined, they remain quite high; Hispanic and Asian segregation have meanwhile remained unchanged. Further, our analysis shows that the neighborhood environments of minorities continue to be highly unequal to those enjoyed by whites. Blacks and Hispanics continue to live among more disadvantaged neighbors, to have access to lower performing schools, and to be exposed to more violent crime. Further, these differences are amplified in more segregated metropolitan areas.

**Feinberg, Emily, Bricia Trejo, Brianna Sullivan, Zhandra Ferreira-Cesar Suarez. "Healthy Start in Housing: A Case Study of a Public Health and Housing Partnership To Improve Birth Outcomes." *Cityscape* 16, no. 1 (2014): 141-164.**

Abstract: This article describes the collaboration that supported the development and implementation of the nation's first contemporary program to use housing as a strategy to promote healthy birth outcomes. Using case study methodology, we examine how two agencies with distinctly different missions, the Boston Housing Authority (BHA) and the Boston Public Health Commission (BPHC), were able to successfully collaborate and develop the program Healthy Start in Housing (HSiH) in 2011. HSiH provides priority access to housing in the city's traditional family housing developments to homeless and housing-insecure pregnant women who have existing medical risks associated with poor birth outcomes. Data were collected from eight key stakeholder interviews, two focus groups with HSiH staff, program documents, and archival records. The contextual factors, chronology of the development of HSiH, and lessons learned were identified from an analysis of the case. We found that recognizing the need for interdependence, having a history of previous interagency collaboration, and clear and mutually shared goals facilitated the development of the HSiH collaboration. The challenges to cross-agency collaboration between the BHA and BPHC were minor but did exist, including difficulty in assessing BHA eligibility at program entry. This case study provides insights to the key components of a unique collaboration that aims to promote healthy birth outcomes and sets the stage for future research to assess the health effects of program participation.

**Galvez, Martha. "An Early Assessment of Off-Site Replacement Housing, Relocation Planning and Housing Mobility Counseling in HUD's Choice Neighborhoods Initiative." *Poverty and Race Research Action Council* (March 2013). <http://www.prrac.org/pdf/choiceneighborhoods-affh.pdf>.**

Summary: This report analyzes "how HUD and the first two rounds of CNI [Community Neighborhoods Initiative] awardees approach relocation and neighborhood mobility for households displaced by development." Galvez uses qualitative data from HUD documents and from questionnaires completed by CNI planning grantees. Galvez finds that "CNI and grantees incorporate lessons from HOPE VI and other relocation programs about the challenges displaced households often face." CNI emphasizes improvement of target neighborhoods, and "the possibility of reaching better neighborhoods through off-site replacement housing in high-quality neighborhoods or mobility-enhanced voucher moves is treated as secondary." The report recommends expanded "housing options during the redevelopment period," emphasizing that the potential long-term benefits of community improvement through CNI are not immediately accessible to displaced residents. Therefore, the report underscores the "need for housing mobility counseling for all displaced residents," and suggests that "more explicit and meaningful attention to mobility counseling is needed to encourage grantees to offer intensive services." The report also



recommends that CNI defines “with more precision the conditions and jurisdiction where applicants should be required to site a portion of replacement housing outside CNI neighborhoods.”

**Haberle, Megan, Ebony Gayles, and Philip Tegeler. “Accessing Opportunity: Affirmative Marketing and Tenant Selection in the LIHTC and Other Housing Programs.” Poverty and Race Research Action Council (December 2012). <http://www.prrac.org/pdf/affirmativemarketing.pdf>.**

Summary: This report focuses on the need for “Affirmative Fair Housing Marketing (AFHM) and tenant selection guidance” for the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program, as well as the “need for stronger, up-to-date AFHM and tenant selection guidance throughout all federal housing programs, including HUD programs.” Affirmative marketing and tenant selection practices are important tools for equity and inclusion, and can help to connect households to more diverse communities by addressing “informational and other disparities” that hinder “equal and open housing choice.” The report analyzes the limitations of “commonly-used procedures and existing guidance” and presents “recommendations intended to help HUD, Treasury, state housing finance agencies, and developers or property managers all take meaningful steps toward fair, effective marketing and tenant selection.”

**Hair, Nicole L., Jamie L. Hanson, Barbara L. Wolfe, and Seth Pollack. “Association of Child Poverty, Brain Development, and Academic Achievement.” *JAMA Pediatrics*, online (July 2015).**

Abstract: *Importance:* Children living in poverty generally perform poorly in school, with markedly lower standardized test scores and lower educational attainment. The longer children live in poverty, the greater their academic deficits. These patterns persist to adulthood, contributing to lifetime-reduced occupational attainment. *Objective:* To determine whether atypical patterns of structural brain development mediate the relationship between household poverty and impaired academic performance. *Design, Setting, and Participants:* Longitudinal cohort study analyzing 823 magnetic resonance imaging scans of 389 typically developing children and adolescents aged 4 to 22 years from the National Institutes of Health Magnetic Resonance Imaging Study of Normal Brain Development with complete sociodemographic and neuroimaging data. Data collection began in November 2001 and ended in August 2007. Participants were screened for a variety of factors suspected to adversely affect brain development, recruited at 6 data collection sites across the United States, assessed at baseline, and followed up at 24-month intervals for a total of 3 periods. Each study center used community-based sampling to reflect regional and overall US demographics of income, race, and ethnicity based on the US Department of Housing and Urban Development definitions of area income. One-quarter of sample households reported the total family income below 200% of the federal poverty level. Repeated observations were available for 301 participants. *Exposure:* Household poverty measured by family income and adjusted for family size as a percentage of the federal poverty level. *Main Outcomes and Measures:* Children’s scores on cognitive and academic achievement assessments and brain tissue, including gray matter of the total brain, frontal lobe, temporal lobe, and hippocampus. *Results:* Poverty is tied to structural differences in several areas of the brain associated with school readiness skills, with the largest influence observed among children from the poorest households. Regional gray matter volumes of children below 1.5 times the federal poverty level were 3 to 4 percentage points below the developmental norm ( $P < .05$ ). A larger gap of 8 to 10 percentage points was observed for children below the federal poverty level ( $P < .05$ ). These developmental differences had consequences for children’s academic achievement. On average, children from low-income households scored 4 to 7 points lower on standardized tests ( $P < .05$ ). As much as 20% of the gap in test scores could be explained by maturational lags in the frontal and temporal lobes. *Conclusions and Relevance:* The influence of poverty on children’s learning and achievement is mediated by structural brain development. To avoid long-term costs of impaired academic functioning, households below 150% of the federal poverty level should be targeted for additional resources aimed at remediating early childhood environments.

**Hamilton, Zachary, Alex Kigerl, and Zachary Hays. “Removing Release Impediments and Reducing Correctional Costs: Evaluation of Washington State’s Housing Voucher Program.”** *Justice Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (2015).

Abstract: Homelessness is a persistent problem facing offenders returning to the community from prison. Many offenders were homeless prior to incarceration, and often return to homelessness after release. Additionally, the costs of incarceration have led policy-makers to consider large-scale alternatives to rapidly and effectively reduce correctional costs. The Washington State Department of Corrections’ Housing Voucher Program (HVP) is a reentry program that seeks to divert offenders from homelessness by paying for returning offenders’ rent expenses in private housing for up to three months following their release. The current study provides an impact evaluation and cost assessment of HVP. Findings demonstrate support for the program and indicate dramatic reductions in associated correctional costs.

**Hayes, Christopher, Graham MacDonald, Susan Popkin, Leah Hendey, and Allison Stolte. “Public Housing Transformation and Crime: Are Relocates More Likely To Be Offenders or Victims?”** *Cityscape* 15, no. 3 (2013): 9-35.

Abstract: Our previous research about the effect of public housing transformation on crime patterns in the neighborhoods receiving households that moved with vouchers from public housing was based on modeling the relationships among the measurable factors in all neighborhoods. Our model indicated an increase in crime rates is associated with relocated voucher holders under certain conditions, but this finding does not give us any information about the nature of the effect. Critics of relocation are concerned that offenders are moving into the neighborhoods using vouchers, but voucher holders may also be more likely to be victims in their new neighborhoods. Developing sound policy on the basis of our research clearly requires a better understanding of why crime and relocation appear to be connected. This project conducted an intensive case study of crime in a few census tracts in a single year to find out if, in those neighborhoods, voucher holders relocated from public housing have a specific connection to arrests or incident reports and, if so, whether we can draw any conclusions about how relocates affect crime.

We found that, although definitively linking crime data to specific households is challenging and could not be accomplished with complete confidence, Chicago Housing Authority voucher relocates in our selected tracts were more likely to be linked to both arrests and incidents of violent and property crimes than the population in general. That is, although the strength of the connection varied from tract to tract, people associated with relocated households were more likely to be both a victim and an alleged perpetrator than the general population. This effect was more pronounced for violent crime than property crime. We also found that older voucher holders were more likely to be victims of crime than the general population, whereas juveniles and young adults were more likely to be alleged perpetrators. These findings support the conclusions of our earlier study, further emphasize the need for greater services and supports for relocated households, and can help inform policy directed at breaking the association between these households and neighborhood crime rates.

**Infranca, John. “Housing Resource Bundles: Distributive Justice and Federal Low-Income Housing Policy.”** *University of Richmond Law Review* 49 (2015).

Abstract: Only one in four eligible households receives some form of rental assistance from the federal government. Nonetheless, there is no time limit for the receipt of this assistance; individuals can continue to receive benefits as long as they satisfy eligibility requirements. In addition, individuals who do obtain assistance frequently have higher incomes than those denied it. Beyond simply providing housing, federal rental assistance is enlisted to serve a myriad of additional policy goals—including furthering economic integration and providing access to better neighborhoods—that can exacerbate inequities between those who receive benefits and those denied assistance. These broader objectives often increase the cost of housing assistance and reduce the number of households served.

Given increasingly limited resources and the growing demand for rental assistance, difficult decisions must be made regarding how to satisfy a range of conflicting programmatic goals. Although for at least four decades legal scholars, economists, public policy experts, and politicians have denounced the inequities in existing housing policy, no one has provided a detailed analysis of the specific ways in which this policy departs from norms of distributive justice and of how it might be made more equitable. This Article moves the conversation beyond simply decrying existing inequities and instead carefully analyzes federal housing policy in light of specific theories of distributive justice. Drawing on the philosophical literature, it evaluates the specifics of existing policies, and their distributional impacts, in light of five theories of distributive justice. It then proposes a new structure for federal rental assistance, which would allow recipients to choose among a set of “housing resource bundles.” This approach will not only satisfy the most salient understandings of distributive justice, but will also advance the concerns that underpin other distributive justice theories and allow federal housing policy to more effectively embrace a plurality of programmatic goals.

**Kost, Thomas C. “Hope After Hope VI? Reaffirming Racial Integration as a Primary Policy Goal in Housing Policy Prescriptions.” *Northwestern University Law Review* 106, no. 3 (2012): 1379.**

Abstract: In a small but significant portion of urban public housing, the dual legacies of segregation and concentrated poverty have long plagued residents. Over the course of decades, these legacies have contributed to chronic systemic failures, the burden of which has disproportionately fallen on members of minority groups. The federal government has responded through two strands of policies, each aimed at a different legacy. First, Congress enacted the Fair Housing Act to root out the last vestiges of state-sanctioned segregation by affirmatively promoting racial integration. Second, and more recently, Congress created a program known as HOPE VI to combat the concentration of very poor residents in urban public housing by replacing dilapidated projects with mixed-income developments, which bring in moderate-income working families to serve as role models. But success in overcoming historical failures remains elusive--largely because housing policies that promote income mixing seem bound to come into conflict with housing policies that promote racial integration. Persistent patterns of residential segregation in HOPE VI communities attest to the problem. The use of restrictive income-based admissions policies has put once-distressed neighborhoods on track to become as segregated as before, though the racial pendulum has swung in the opposite direction. I thus argue that programs advancing racial integration should trump income-mixing considerations when the compasses point in different directions. Reaffirming racial integration as a primary policy goal would ultimately remedy the related harms of racial isolation and displacement that have continued to mar HOPE VI projects. Just as importantly, adopting an integrative norm comports with both the express obligations and underlying spirit of the Fair Housing Act.

**Kramer, Michael R., Lance A. Waller, Anne L. Dunlop, and Carol R. Hogue. “Housing transitions and low birth weight among low-income women: longitudinal study of the perinatal consequences of changing public housing policy.” *American Journal of Public Health* 102, no. 12 (2012): 2255-2261.**

Abstract: *Objectives:* We assessed the longitudinal association between housing transitions and pregnancy outcomes in a sample of public housing residents. *Methods:* A cohort of 2670 Black women residing in Atlanta, Georgia, housing projects with 1 birth occurring between 1994 and 2007 was created from maternally linked longitudinal birth files and followed for subsequent births. Traditional regression and marginal structural models adjusting for time-varying confounding estimated the risk of preterm low birth weight (LBW) or small for gestational age LBW by maternal housing transition patterns. *Results:* Women moving from public to private housing as a result of housing project demolition were at elevated risk for preterm LBW (risk ratio = 1.74; 95% confidence interval = 1.00-3.04) compared with women not affected by project demolition. Other non-policy-related housing transition patterns were not associated with pregnancy outcomes. *Conclusions:* Further longitudinal study of housing transitions among public

housing residents is needed to better understand the relationship between housing, neighborhoods, housing policy, and perinatal outcomes.

**Massey, Douglas, Len Albright, Rebecca Casciano, Elizabeth Derickson, and David Kinsey.**  
*Climbing Mount Laurel: The Struggle for Affordable Housing and Social Mobility in an American Suburb.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Abstract: Under the New Jersey State Constitution as interpreted by the State Supreme Court in 1975 and 1983, municipalities are required to use their zoning authority to create realistic opportunities for a fair share of affordable housing for low- and moderate-income households. Mount Laurel was the town at the center of the court decisions. As a result, Mount Laurel has become synonymous with the debate over affordable housing policy designed to create economically integrated communities. What was the impact of the Mount Laurel decision on those most affected by it? What does the case tell us about economic inequality?

*Climbing Mount Laurel* undertakes a systematic evaluation of the Ethel Lawrence Homes--a housing development produced as a result of the Mount Laurel decision. Douglas Massey and his colleagues assess the consequences for the surrounding neighborhoods and their inhabitants, the township of Mount Laurel, and the residents of the Ethel Lawrence Homes. Their analysis reveals what social scientists call neighborhood effects--the notion that neighborhoods can shape the life trajectories of their inhabitants. *Climbing Mount Laurel* proves that the building of affordable housing projects is an efficacious, cost-effective approach to integration and improving the lives of the poor, with reasonable cost and no drawbacks for the community at large.

**Mayberry, Lindsay Satterwhite, Marybeth Shinn, Jessica Gibbons Benton, and Jasmine Wise.**  
“Families experiencing housing instability: The effects of housing programs on family routines and rituals.” *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 84, no. 1 (2014): 95-109.

Abstract: Maintenance of family processes can protect parents, children, and families from the detrimental effects of extreme stressors, such as homelessness. When families cannot maintain routines and rituals, the stressors of poverty and homelessness can be compounded for both caregivers and children. However, characteristics of living situations common among families experiencing homelessness present barriers to the maintenance of family routines and rituals. We analyzed 80 in-depth interviews with parents who were experiencing or had recently experienced an instance of homelessness. We compared their assessments of challenges to family schedules, routines, and rituals across various living situations, including shelter, transitional housing programs, doubled-up (i.e., living temporarily with family or friends), and independent housing. Rules common across shelters and transitional housing programs impeded family processes, and parents felt surveilled and threatened with child protective service involvement in these settings. In doubled-up living situations, parents reported adapting their routines to those of the household and having parenting interrupted by opinions of friends and family members. Families used several strategies to maintain family routines and rituals in these living situations and ensure consistency and stability for their children during an otherwise unstable time.

**McCarty, Maggie, Randy Alison Aussenberg, Gene Falk, and David H. Carpenter.** “Drug Testing and Crime-Related Restrictions in TANF, SNAP, and Housing Assistance.” *Congressional Research Report for Congress* (September 2013). <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R42394.pdf>

Abstract: Throughout the history of social assistance programs, administrators have attempted to limit access only to those families considered “worthy” of assistance. Policies about worthiness have included both judgments about need—generally tied to income, demographic characteristics, or family circumstances—and judgments about moral character, often as evidenced by behavior. Past policies

evaluating moral character based on family structure have been replaced by today's policies, which focus on criminal activity, particularly drug-related criminal activity.... The three programs examined in this report—the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) block grant, the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP, formerly Food Stamps), and federal housing assistance programs (public housing and Section 8 tenant and project-based assistance)—are similar, in that they are administered at the state or local level.... All three programs feature some form of drug- and other crime-related restrictions and all three leave discretion in applying those restrictions to state and local administrators.... Housing assistance programs are not subject to the drug felon ban, but they are subject to a set of policies that allows local program administrators to deny or terminate assistance to persons involved in drug-related or other criminal activity. Housing law also includes mandatory restrictions related to specific crimes, including sex offenses and methamphetamine production. All three programs also have specific restrictions related to fugitive felons.

Recently, the issue of drug testing in federal assistance programs has risen in prominence.... The current set of crime- and drug-related restrictions in federal assistance programs is not consistent across programs, meaning that similarly situated persons may have different experiences based on where they live and what assistance they are seeking.... Proposals to modify these policies also highlight a tension that exists between the desire to use these policies as a deterrent or punishment and the desire to support the neediest families, including those that have ex-offenders in the household.

**Rothwell, Jonathan T., and Douglas S. Massey. "Geographic Effects on Intergenerational Income Mobility." *Economic Geography* 91, no. 1 (2014): 83-106.**

Abstract: Research on intergenerational economic mobility often ignores the geographic context of childhood, including neighborhood quality and local purchasing power. We hypothesize that individual variation in intergenerational mobility is partly attributable to regional and neighborhood conditions—most notably access to high-quality schools. Using restricted Panel Study of Income Dynamics and census data, we find that neighborhood income has roughly half the effect on future earnings as parental income. We estimate that lifetime household income would be \$635,000 dollars higher if people born into a bottom-quartile neighborhood would have been raised in a top-quartile neighborhood. When incomes are adjusted to regional purchasing power, these effects become even larger. The neighborhood effect is two-thirds as large as the parental income effect, and the lifetime earnings difference increases to \$910,000. We test the robustness of these findings to various assumptions and alternative models, and replicate the basic results using aggregated metropolitan-level statistics of intergenerational income elasticities based on millions Internal Revenue Service records.

**Rugh, Jacob S., and Douglas S. Massey. "Segregation in Post-Civil Rights America." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 11, no. 2 (Fall 2014): 205-232.**

Abstract: In this paper we adjudicate between competing claims of persisting segregation and rapid integration by analyzing trends in residential dissimilarity and spatial isolation for African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians living in 287 consistently defined metropolitan areas from 1970 to 2010. On average, Black segregation and isolation have fallen steadily but still remain very high in many areas, particularly those areas historically characterized by hypersegregation. In contrast, Hispanic segregation has increased slightly but Hispanic isolation has risen substantially owing to rapid population growth. Asian segregation has changed little and remains moderate, and although Asian isolation has increased it remains at low levels compared with other groups. Whites remain quite isolated from all three minority groups in metropolitan America, despite rising diversity and some shifts toward integration from the minority viewpoint.

Multivariate analyses reveal that minority segregation and spatial isolation are actively produced in some areas by restrictive density zoning regimes, large and/or rising minority percentages, lagging minority socioeconomic status, and active expressions of anti-Black and anti-Latino sentiment, especially in large metropolitan areas. Areas displaying these characteristics are either integrating very slowly (in the case of Blacks) or becoming more segregated (in the case of Hispanics), whereas those lacking these attributes are clearly moving toward integration, often quite rapidly.

**Santiago, Anna Maria, George C. Galster, Jessica L. Lucero, Karen J. Ishler, Eun Lye Lee, George Kypriotakis, and Lisa Stack. "Opportunity Neighborhoods for Latino and African-American Children." U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Policy Development and Research (2014). [http://www.huduser.org/portal/Publications/pdf/Opportunity\\_Neighborhoods.pdf](http://www.huduser.org/portal/Publications/pdf/Opportunity_Neighborhoods.pdf)**

Abstract: The *Denver Child Study* explores the extent to which multiple dimensions of neighborhood context affect the physical and behavioral health, exposure to violence, risky behaviors, education, youth and young adult labor market outcomes, and marriage and childbearing of Latino and African-American children and youth from low-income families. The study uses a natural experiment involving the Denver, Colorado Housing Authority (DHA), which since 1969 has operated public housing units located in a wide range of neighborhoods throughout the city and county of Denver. Because the initial assignment of households on the DHA waiting list to vacant public housing units (and, thus, to neighborhoods) mimics a random process, this program represents an unusual opportunity for reducing parental geographic selection bias and observing the unusual combination of low-income, minority youths raised for extended periods in advantaged (as well as disadvantaged) neighborhoods.

In this study, we analyze data from several administrative sources and data we have collected from telephone and in-person surveys with Latino or African-American current and former DHA tenants whose children were the appropriate ages when they lived in DHA housing. Our surveys provide retrospective information on a battery of youth outcomes, family characteristics, and residential histories. . . . Many aspects of neighborhood context proved statistically and substantively important predictors of child and youth outcomes in all domains, though sometimes in unexpected ways. Aspects of the neighborhood's safety, physical environment, social status, ethnic mix, and nativity mix were associated with large differences in the odds and timing of virtually all outcomes investigated. In particular, neighborhoods with higher occupational prestige and percentages of foreign-born populations as well as lower property crime rates and scores on a social problems index had more favorable outcomes for children across the board. The consequences of higher neighborhood percentages of Latino and African-American ethnic composition and lower percentages of pre-1940 vintage housing also were generally favorable though more mixed depending on the outcome. Particular indicators seemed to exert their influence only on selected child outcomes: Higher respiratory risk index predicted poorer health outcomes, more risky behaviors and inferior education outcomes; negative peers in the neighborhood predicted more exposure to violence and risky behaviors.

**Sawhill, Isabel V., and Quentin Karpilow. "How Much Could We Improve Children's Life Chances by Intervening Early and Often?" The Brookings Institution (2014). <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2014/07/improve-child-life-chances-interventions-sawhill>.**

Abstract: Children born into low-income families face barriers to success in each stage of life from birth to age 40. Using data on a representative group of American children and a life cycle model to track their progress from the earliest years through school and beyond, we show that well-evaluated targeted interventions can close over 70 percent of the gap between more and less advantaged children in the proportion who end up middle class by middle age. These interventions can also greatly improve social mobility and enhance the lifetime incomes of less advantaged children. The children's enhanced incomes

are roughly 10 times greater than the costs of the programs, suggesting that once the higher taxes and reduced benefits likely to accompany these higher incomes are taken into account, they would have a positive ratio of benefits to costs for the taxpayer. The biggest challenge is taking these programs to scale without diluting their effectiveness.

**Schnabel, Jim. “Poverty and Cognition: How the Poor Get Poorer.” Dana Foundation (February 2014). [http://dana.org/News/Poverty\\_and\\_Cognition\\_\\_How\\_the\\_Poor\\_Get\\_Poorer](http://dana.org/News/Poverty_and_Cognition__How_the_Poor_Get_Poorer).**

Summary: This article applies neurological research on stress to discuss people’s cognitive abilities in conditions of poverty. Schnabel writes, “Rich people tend to be smarter than poor people. Thus on balance they should learn more, earn more, and invest better. The rich and smart also tend to marry each other, which applies that their advantages – better genes to better parenting and higher-quality education – may become more concentrated with each generation.” Schnabel references research on how stressful circumstances inhibit cognition and argues that conditions of poverty, including financial strain, “environmental noise, violence, and abuse” lead to diminished learning and memory capacities. Schnabel writes, “Researchers hypothesize that when someone worries, even unconsciously, about not having enough money, the worrying ends up consuming some of the person’s limited cognitive capacity, or ‘bandwidth.’” Schnabel concludes by discussing the potential policy applications of this research, such as “making paperwork easier.”

**Seicshnaydre, Stacy E. “The Fair Housing Choice Myth.” *Carodozo Law Review* 33, no. 3 (2012): 967-1019.**

Abstract: The Fair Housing Choice Myth examines why racial segregation persists in residential neighborhoods despite the fact that the nation codified the policy of equal housing opportunity over four decades ago. In passing the Fair Housing Act in 1968, Congress expressed the purpose of “replacing ghettos by truly integrated and balanced living patterns.” The Article moves beyond the usual critique regarding strengthening enforcement provisions and proving intentional discrimination in order to address a structural flaw in the Fair Housing Act: the Act’s nondiscrimination provisions focus on consumers of color and industry members, but cannot reach third-party white consumers who choose to “opt out” of integration.

The Article considers the role of “housing choice,” as that concept is understood in equal housing opportunity law and policy, and questions whether it actually exists for consumers of color, or whether it is more myth than reality. The Article examines the research on neighborhood preferences of black and white consumers, noting that white consumers desiring all-white enclaves are better able to exercise their housing choices than black consumers desiring more integrated neighborhood settings. It considers whether federal housing policy has helped curtail or facilitate this phenomenon. The Article examines the Fair Housing Act’s nondiscrimination provisions and concludes that they cannot address white housing preferences in favor of segregation. In addition, federal initiatives that are aimed at eliminating ghettos are found lacking because they help deliver on the “exit strategy” without delivering the “entrance strategy,” thus failing to assist segregated, isolated ghetto residents to enter communities of opportunity.

The Article then examines what is described as the missing link between the Fair Housing Act’s nondiscrimination provisions and real housing choice for all: the Act’s requirement that the Secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) affirmatively further fair housing in all its programs and activities. This heretofore undefined provision could be interpreted to create the “entrance strategy” by prohibiting the use of billions of federal housing and community-development dollars annually to subsidize and reinforce segregation, and instead requiring incentives for inclusive communities. The fact that HUD has never issued a regulation on its affirmative responsibility makes the

Article important and relevant to a very real and pressing issue: the persistent failure of law to deliver real housing choice and opportunity to communities of color in housing markets across the United States.

**Sharkey, Patrick. *Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress Toward Racial Equality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (2013).**

Abstract: In the 1960s, many believed that the civil rights movement's successes would foster a new era of racial equality in America. Four decades later, the degree of racial inequality has barely changed. To understand what went wrong, Patrick Sharkey argues that we have to understand what has happened to African American communities over the last several decades. In *Stuck in Place*, Sharkey describes how political decisions and social policies have led to severe disinvestment from black neighborhoods, persistent segregation, declining economic opportunities, and a growing link between African American communities and the criminal justice system.

As a result, neighborhood inequality that existed in the 1970s has been passed down to the current generation of African Americans. Some of the most persistent forms of racial inequality, such as gaps in income and test scores, can only be explained by considering the neighborhoods in which black and white families have lived over multiple generations. This multigenerational nature of neighborhood inequality also means that a new kind of urban policy is necessary for our nation's cities. Sharkey argues for urban policies that have the potential to create transformative and sustained changes in urban communities and the families that live within them, and he outlines a durable urban policy agenda to move in that direction.

**Steil, Justin, Jorge De la Roca, and Ingrid Gould Ellen. "Desvinculado y Desigual: Is Segregation Harmful to Latinos?" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 660, no. 1 (July 2015): 57-76.**

Abstract: Despite the high levels of metropolitan-area segregation that Latinos experience, there is a lack of research examining the effects of segregation on Latino socioeconomic outcomes and whether those effects differ from the negative effects documented for African Americans. We find that segregation is consistently associated with lower levels of educational attainment and labor market success for both African American and Latino young adults compared with whites, with associations of similar magnitudes for both groups. One mechanism through which segregation may influence outcomes is the difference in the levels of neighborhood human capital to which whites, Latinos, and African Americans are exposed. We find that higher levels of segregation are associated with lower black and Latino neighborhood exposure to residents with college degrees, relative to whites. We also find support for other commonly discussed mechanisms, such as exposure to neighborhood violent crime and the relative proficiency of the closest public school.

**Taylor, Dorceta E. *Toxic Communities: Environmental Racism, Industrial Pollution, and Residential Mobility*. New York: New York University Press (2014).**

Abstract: From St. Louis to New Orleans, from Baltimore to Oklahoma City, there are poor and minority neighborhoods so beset by pollution that just living in them can be hazardous to your health. Due to entrenched segregation, zoning ordinances that privilege wealthier communities, or because businesses have found the "paths of least resistance," there are many hazardous waste and toxic facilities in these communities, leading residents to experience health and wellness problems on top of the race and class discrimination most already experience. Taking stock of the recent environmental justice scholarship, *Toxic Communities* examines the connections among residential segregation, zoning, and exposure to environmental hazards. Renowned environmental sociologist Dorceta Taylor focuses on the locations of hazardous facilities in low-income and minority communities and shows how they have been dumped on, contaminated and exposed. Drawing on an array of historical and contemporary case studies from across



the country, Taylor explores controversies over racially-motivated decisions in zoning laws, eminent domain, government regulation (or lack thereof), and urban renewal. She provides a comprehensive overview of the debate over whether or not there is a link between environmental transgressions and discrimination, drawing a clear picture of the state of the environmental justice field today and where it is going. In doing so, she introduces new concepts and theories for understanding environmental racism that will be essential for environmental justice scholars. A fascinating landmark study, *Toxic Communities* greatly contributes to the study of race, the environment, and space in the contemporary United States.

**Theodos, Brett, Claudia Coulton, and Amos Budde. “Getting to Better Performing Schools: The Role of Residential Mobility in School Attainment in Low-Income Neighborhoods.” *Cityscape* 16, no. 1 (2014): 61-84.**

Abstract: This article builds on the two largely separate literatures on school and residential mobility by investigating the dynamic interplay of residential mobility, school mobility, and educational opportunity in 10 low-income neighborhoods that were targeted for improvement through Making Connections, a place-based initiative. We analyzed a person-period dataset spanning the years 2002 through 2010, created from representative samples of families, including more than 2,000 children living in the target areas. Most study children attended low-performing schools, and more than one-half attended schools outside the target area. Children moved schools and homes frequently, but these types of moves were often independent. Ordinary least squares models predicting change in school rank showed that, compared with their less educated counterparts, better educated parents were more likely to experience increases in the rank (as measured by aggregate test scores) of their child’s school. Compared with White children, African-American and Hispanic children more often experienced a drop in school rank. Housing tenure was not associated with change in the quality of schools children attended, but worsened food security was associated with decline in school rank. The variable most strongly associated with improvement in school rank was moving out of the baseline school district, yet most residential moves were not associated with such gains. We conclude with a discussion of the implications of our findings for place-based initiatives.

**Widestrom, Amy. *Displacing Democracy: Economic Segregation in America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press (2015).**

Abstract: In recent decades, economically disadvantaged Americans have become more residentially segregated from other communities: they are increasingly likely to live in high-poverty neighborhoods that are spatially isolated with few civic resources. Low-income citizens are also less likely to be politically engaged, a trend that is most glaring in terms of voter turnout. Examining neighborhoods in Atlanta, Kansas City, Milwaukee, and Rochester, Amy Widestrom challenges the assumption that the “class gap” in political participation is largely the result of individual choices and dispositions. *Displacing Democracy* demonstrates that neighborhoods segregated along economic lines create conditions that encourage high levels of political activity, including political and civic mobilization and voting, among wealthier citizens while discouraging and impeding the poor from similar forms of civic engagement.

Drawing on quantitative research, case studies, and interviews, Widestrom shows that neighborhood-level resources and characteristics affect political engagement in distinct ways that are not sufficiently appreciated in the current understanding of American politics and political behavior. In addition to the roles played by individual traits and assets, increasing economic segregation in the United States denies low-income citizens the civic and social resources vital for political mobilization and participation. People living in poverty lack the time, money, and skills for active civic engagement, and this is compounded by the fact that residential segregation creates a barren civic environment incapable of supporting a vibrant civic community. Over time, this creates a balance of political power that is dramatically skewed not only toward individuals with greater incomes but toward entire neighborhoods with more economic resources.

**Zuk, Miriam, and Ian Carlton. “Equitable Transit Oriented Development: The progress and continued challenges of developing affordable housing in opportunity and transit-rich neighborhoods.” Poverty and Race Research Action Council (March 2015). <http://www.prrac.org/pdf/EquitableTOD.pdf>.**

Summary: This report evaluates the geographic relationship between transit stations and housing funded by the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program. In particular, this study explores the nexus between investments in transit-oriented developments (TODs), “affordable housing and neighborhood opportunity patterns.” The report presents several findings: “Limited progress has been made over the past two decades in delivering new affordable housing options near transit stations in high-opportunity neighborhoods.... Over half of new transit stations have been located in neighborhoods where affordable housing is already located.... We found that in neighborhoods where transit stations opened since 2000 only one in five saw new affordable units added. Combined with our findings that transit-rich neighborhoods were more likely to experience...gentrification pressures, and with previous findings that transit neighborhoods were at risk of losing federally subsidized units, these findings create cause for concern of the future for equitable TODs.”