

PRRAC

Poverty & Race Research Action Council

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Annotated Bibliography of Housing Mobility Research 2006-2010

**Prepared for the
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For bibliographic references prior to 2006, go to
www.prrac.org/projects/housingmobility.php

Books, Articles, and Reports on Housing Mobility

Abt Associates Inc. et al., “Effects of Housing Vouchers on Welfare Families,” prepared for U.S. Department of Housing & Urban Development (September 2006). Available at: <http://www.huduser.org/portal/publications/commdevl/hsgvouchers.html>

Abstract: Presents the final analysis of a study conducted over several years to measure the impacts of Housing Choice Vouchers on the housing mobility of low-income families, the characteristics of their neighborhoods, the composition of their households, their employment, earnings, participation in education and training, their receipt of public assistance, their poverty and material hardship, and the well-being of their children. The analysis, based on a six-site research sample of 8,731 families, uses an experimental design and makes use of outcome measures derived from tract-level Census data, person-level administrative data, and a follow-up survey. The impact estimates in this report encompass a follow-up period that is sixteen quarters in duration for all sites, and longer for some sites. Augmenting the experimental findings are insights from intensive interviews with a sample of 141 families. This research was undertaken to evaluate the Welfare to Work Voucher (WtWV) program, initiated in Fiscal Year 1999 when Congress appropriated \$283 million for tenant-based rental assistance to help families to make the transition from welfare to work. This appropriation funded 50,000 new rental assistance vouchers (P.L. 105-276). The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) awarded these vouchers to local and state housing agencies (HAs) that presented reasonable plans for matching up eligible families with the available housing assistance and for coordinating these efforts with existing welfare reform and welfare-to-work efforts.

Acevedo-Garcia, Dolores, Theresa L. Osypuk, Nancy McArdle & David R. Williams, “Toward A Policy-Relevant Analysis Of Geographic And Racial/Ethnic Disparities In Child Health,” *Health Affairs*, 27(2): 321-333 (2008).

Abstract: Discusses the impact of residential segregation on child health outcomes. Argues that the fact that health disparities are rooted in social factors should not have a paralyzing effect on the public health community. Highlights the need to move beyond conventional public health and health care approaches to consider policies to improve access to opportunity-rich neighborhoods through enhanced housing mobility, and to increase the opportunities for healthy living in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Proposed a policy framework for addressing unequal geography of opportunity in child health.

Boston, Thomas D., “The Effects of Mixed-Income Revitalization and Residential Mobility on Public Housing Residents: A Case Study of the Atlanta Housing Authority,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71(4): 1-19 (2005)

Abstract: An empirical study of the effects of HOPE VI revitalization on public housing residents, this article uses administrative data to examine the long-term socioeconomic status of households that relocated from public housing projects in Atlanta as a result of mixed-income revitalization. Comparing residents who lived in three public housing projects that were revitalized to a control group of residents who lived in three projects that were not revitalized, the article shows that mixed-income revitalization greatly accelerated the residential mobility of public housing residents and that households displaced by revitalization did not experience a statistically significant loss of housing assistance. Households that relocated by using vouchers or by moving to mixed-income revitalized communities experienced significant improvements in their socioeconomic status, and

they moved to higher quality neighborhoods. Additionally, their long-run socioeconomic status was similar to the status of households who moved from housing projects voluntarily. Argues against the elimination of funding for HOPE VI (as called for in the president's budget for 2006).

Boyd, Melody L., “The role of social networks in making housing choices: The experience of the *Gautreaux Two* residential mobility program,” *Cityscape* 10(1): 41-63 (2008)

Abstract: Explores the experiences of participants in the *Gautreaux Two* housing mobility program, which gave low-income residents of Chicago public housing a special voucher to move to more advantaged neighborhoods, designated as neighborhoods in which at least 76.5% of households were nonpoor and 70% were non-African American. Four waves of in-depth, qualitative interviews were conducted by Northwestern University’s Institute for Policy Research (IPR) between 2002 and 2005 with a randomly chosen sample of 91 families. Within the 3-year study window, qualitative analysis of the IPR data compares residents who made secondary moves with those who stayed at their *Gautreaux* placement addresses. Applies insight from feminist urbanism and a focus on social networks to a comparison of the reasons some residents moved while others stayed. Finds that secondary movers were motivated by several social network factors, including feelings of social isolation, distance from kin, and transportation difficulties. Conversely, strong social networks were crucial reasons why some families remained in their *Gautreaux* neighborhoods or moved on to other similarly advantaged neighborhoods. Explores policy implications for the success of mobility programs, including the need for continued program assistance to build and maintain strong social networks beyond the initial placement.

Boyd, Melody L., Kathryn Edin, Susan Clampet-Lundquist & Greg J. Duncan, “The durability of gains from the *Gautreaux Two* residential mobility program: a qualitative analysis of who stays and who moves from low-poverty neighborhoods,” *Housing Policy Debate* 20(1):119–46 (2010)

Highlights:

- In sample, 53% of participants made secondary moves and 81% of secondary moves were to “non-opportunity areas”
- Stayers were more likely to have lived outside of public housing during prior 5 years and to have held a job at some point during study, as compared to secondary movers
- Substandard unit quality, hassles with landlords, and social isolation were primary factors motivating second moves into poorer and more racially segregated neighborhoods

Abstract: Examines mobility in the *Gautreaux Two* Housing Mobility Program, which attempted to alleviate poverty concentration by offering vouchers to residents of highly distressed Chicago public housing developments. The vouchers could only be used in census tracts with less than 23.9% poor and 30% black residents, but voucher holders were free to move after one year. In contrast to the original *Gautreaux* program, placement moves in *Gautreaux Two* have proven far less durable – most families quickly moved on from their placement neighborhoods to neighborhoods that were quite poor and very racially segregated. Based on in-depth interviews with 58 *Gautreaux Two* participants and their children, we find that the primary factors motivating secondary moves included substandard unit quality and hassles with landlords. Other factors included feelings of social isolation due to poor integration into the new neighborhood, distance from kin, transportation difficulties, children’s negative reaction to the new neighborhood, and financial difficulties. Policy implications include the need for further pre- and post-move housing counseling for families in mobility programs.

Briggs, Xavier de Souza, Kadija Ferryman, Susan J. Popkin & Maria Rendon, “Why didn't the moving to opportunity experiment get children to better schools?”, *Housing Policy Debate* 19: 53-91 (2008)

Abstract: Educational failure is one of the costliest and most visible problems associated with ghetto poverty. This article explores whether housing assistance that helps low-income families move to better neighborhoods can also improve access to good schools. Research on the *Gautreaux* housing desegregation program indicated significant, long-term educational benefits, yet results from the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) experiment showed no measurable impacts on school outcomes for the experimental group. Using interviews and ethnographic fieldwork, finds that most MTO families did not relocate to communities with substantially better schools, and those who did often moved again after a few years. Where parents had meaningful school choices, these were typically driven by poor information obtained from insular social networks or by cultural logic centered on avoiding ghetto-type school insecurity and disorder, not garnering academic opportunity. Those factors may not shift if poor families with less educated parents are served by a relocation-only strategy.

Briggs, Xavier de Souza, & Benjamin J. Keys, “Has Exposure to Poor Neighbourhoods Changed in America? Race, Risk and Housing Locations in Two Decades,” *Urban Studies* 46(2): 429-458 (2009)

Abstract: While extreme concentrations of poor racial minorities, briefly ‘rediscovered’ as a social problem by media in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, declined significantly in the 1990s, no research has determined whether the trend reduced exposure to poor neighborhoods over time or changed racial gaps in exposure. Yet most hypotheses about the social and economic risks of distressed neighborhoods hinge on such exposure. Using a geocoded, national longitudinal survey matched to three censuses, it is found that: housing mobility continued to be the most important mode of exit from poor tracts for both Whites and Blacks; reductions for Blacks were mainly in exposure to extremely poor neighborhoods, where neighborhood change has a huge impact; Blacks remained far more likely than Whites to endure long, uninterrupted exposure; and racial gaps in the odds of falling back into a poorer neighborhood as after exiting one—a major driver of exposure duration that Black renters dominate—widened in the 1990s.

Briggs, Xavier de Souza, Susan J. Popkin & John Goering, *Moving to Opportunity: The Story of An American Experiment to Fight Ghetto Poverty*, New York: Oxford University Press (2010)

Summary: Examines the MTO experiment by focusing on three questions: 1) Where does low-income housing assistance belong in the effort to reform economic opportunity policies appropriate to the twenty-first century?; 2) how can we improve the quality of life of poor people – in particular, of poor families who endure the severe challenges of raising children in violent ghetto neighborhoods – even as we also look for ways to help them escape poverty?; and 3) as the nation responds to the economic crisis that was triggered by a credit crisis in real estate, how should we rebuild the “housing ladder” without shortchanging affordable rental housing for the sake of promoting homeownership? Includes chapters focusing on ghetto poverty pre- and post-Katrina, MTO design and implementation, housing quality, finding good schools, and finding work.

Buron, Larry, & Satyendra Patrabansh, “Are Census Variables Highly Correlated With Housing Choice Voucher Holders’ Perception of the Quality of Their Neighborhoods?” *Cityscape* 10(1): 157-84 (2008)

Abstract: Presents the results of a study examining voucher holders’ ratings of their neighborhoods on the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development’s Housing Choice Voucher Program

Customer Satisfaction Survey. Specifically, the study examines whether these ratings were internally consistent and whether they were highly correlated with any census neighborhood variables often used as measures of neighborhood quality. Finds that voucher holders' neighborhood ratings were consistent with their answers to more specific survey questions about the attributes of their neighborhoods but only weakly correlated with census-based measures of neighborhood quality. Internal consistency was demonstrated by the strong correlation between neighborhood ratings and voucher holders' perceptions of crime problems and physical disorder in their neighborhoods. Concludes that although a very systematic correlation exists between the neighborhood rating and census measures of the neighborhood, the correlation was not very strong for any of the census variables tested. The variable with the strongest correlation (percentage of female-headed households with children) explained less than 5 % of the variation in the neighborhood rating. Thus, the census tract poverty rate does almost as well to measure neighborhood quality as more complex measures drawing upon multiple census variables.

Chapple, Karen, "Overcoming Mismatch: Beyond Dispersal, Mobility, and Development Strategies," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 72(3): 322-336 (2006)

Abstract: Since the 1960s, John Kain's theory of spatial mismatch has influenced policy responses to the poor employment prospects of low-income and minority residents of inner cities by aiming to connect them with suburban jobs. This literature review examines this policy legacy using what we now know about disadvantaged jobseekers' employment searches. Recent evaluations of poverty deconcentration and employment accessibility programs show that these programs have failed to improve employment outcomes significantly. However, using evidence from studies of job search and job training programs, this article shows that local activity patterns do shape employment chances. Planners trying to improve employment outcomes for the disadvantaged should focus on policies that will provide them with opportunities to interact with a diverse social network and meet workforce intermediaries capable of linking them with jobs.

Chicago Area Fair Housing Alliance Housing Choice Voucher Advocacy Project, *Putting the 'Choice' in Housing Choice Vouchers (Part 3): Mapping the Location of Housing Choice Vouchers in the Chicago Region to Demonstrate the Need for Affirmative Efforts to Provide Greater Access to Areas of Opportunity for Families Using Vouchers (July 2004)*. Available at: <http://www.chicagoareafairhousing.org/node/106>

Notes: Third report in a series on segregation in public housing and HCVP in the Chicago region, focusing on the distribution of voucher recipients throughout the region.

Abstract: Maps the location of 56,109 voucher households, in the six-county Chicago metropolitan area, by race and ethnicity, as of June 30, 2003. Also charts information on the racial/ethnic composition, poverty levels, and distribution of affordable housing units (with rents within HUD's voucher guidelines) in communities throughout the region. Finds high levels of racial and economic segregation that are not explained by the location of affordable housing and finds underrepresentation of Latinos in the voucher program. Recommends improved cooperation between area housing authorities to improve portability, increasing payment standards to maximum levels allowed to improve access to housing market, maximization of search period for families, and provision of mobility counseling and pre- and post-move supportive services. Also recommends using the Gautreaux and MTO definition for "opportunity area," while also increasing landlord outreach and providing incentives to increase HCVP participation.

Clampet-Lundquist, Susan & Douglas S. Massey, “Neighborhood effects on economic self-sufficiency: A reconsideration of the moving to opportunity experiment,” *American Journal of Sociology* 114(1): 107-43 (2008)

Notes: Part of Symposium issue on Moving to Opportunity

Highlights:

- Argues that feature of MTO design and implementation worked against detection of strong neighborhood effects on individual outcomes
- Focusing on cumulative amount of time spent in different neighborhoods, finds that living in low-poverty neighborhoods is positively associated over long-term with higher levels of employment, greater earnings, and lower levels of dependency on public services

Abstract: Revisits the Moving to Opportunity housing mobility experiment, which heretofore has not provided strong evidence to support the hypothesis of neighborhood effects on economic self-sufficiency among adults. The authors undertake a conceptual and empirical analysis of the study’s design and implementation to gain a better understanding of the selection processes that occur within the study. The article shows that the study is potentially affected by selectivity at several junctures: in determining who complied with the program’s requirements, who entered integrated versus segregated neighborhoods, and who left neighborhoods after initial relocation. Furthermore, previous researchers have not found an experimental treatment effect on adult economic self-sufficiency, relative to controls. The authors propose an alternative approach that involves measuring the cumulative amount of time spent in different neighborhood environments. With this method, they find evidence that neighborhood is associated with outcomes such as employment, earnings, TANF receipt, and use of food stamps.

Climaco, Carissa G., Christopher N. Rodger, Judith D. Feins & Ken Lam, “Portability Moves in the Housing Choice Voucher Program, 1998–2005,” *Cityscape* 10(1): 5-40 (2008)

Abstract: Reports the results from a study on the household and neighborhood characteristics associated with portability moves in the HCVP from 1998 to 2005. Of the 3.4 million households that received housing assistance in the voucher program from 1998 to 2005, 8.9% made a portability move. The rate of portability movers was highest among African-American households (10.3%) compared with White households (8.1%) and Hispanic households (8.6%). Compared with households in the HCVP overall, portability movers are more likely to comprise households with young children and more likely to have a younger head of household. Length of stay in the HCVP is correlated with portability moves, and portability moves are most likely to occur between the fourth and fifth years of HCVP participation. When examining public housing jurisdictions by program costs, three-fifths of portability moves were made to lower cost jurisdictions compared with the originating jurisdiction. The data also show reductions in census tract poverty rates and other neighborhood indicators for households that completed portability moves.

Comey, Jennifer, Xavier de Souza Briggs & Gretchen Weismann, “Struggling to Stay Out of High-Poverty Neighborhoods: Lessons from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment,” *Urban Institute* (2008)

Abstract: Uses data from the Three-City Study of MTO to explore the mobility patterns of MTO experimental-group and Section 8 comparison-groups families and the factors that influenced their moves. Finds that the main reasons for subsequent moves were lease problems, conflicts with a landlord, and wanting a bigger or better-quality apartment. Discusses trade-offs faced by MTO families between a decent neighborhood, a decent apartment, a job, or a reliable support network (i.e. a source of free childcare from a loved one) when considering subsequent moves. Recommends a reinvigorated supply-side strategy focused on inclusion of affordable housing in nondistressed areas and improved administration of the voucher program, including housing search assistance, landlord outreach, and ongoing relocation counseling for families that must

make subsequent moves. Suggests that transportation strategies (i.e. “car vouchers”) could mitigate some neighborhood trade-offs.

Cove, Elizabeth, Xavier de Souza Briggs, Margery Austin Turner & Cynthia Duarte, “Can Escaping from Poor Neighborhoods Increase Employment and Earnings?” Urban Institute (2008)

Abstract: Reviews findings on MTO’s impacts on employment to date and findings from the Three-City Study of MTO. Finds no significant correlation between exposure to racially integrated, low poverty areas and employment outcomes, as the results were mixed. Finds that moving away from poor, inner city neighborhoods to a less poor area did not bring greater proximity to job opportunities and, for some families, it meant leaving behind a dense concentration of low-wage jobs for a new area with fewer jobs and less public transportation. MTO movers generally formed limited relationships with their new neighbors, reducing the possible positive effect of relocation on developing better job networks. Also, changes in access to jobs and networks do not clearly benefit families who were not ready or not able to work (often due to disability or trauma). Recommends linking transportation vouchers to housing vouchers, linking mobility assistance with employment counseling, and connecting participants with health, childcare and other services to address barriers to employment.

Daniel, Tamica H, *Bringing Real Choice to the Housing Choice Voucher Program: Addressing Voucher Discrimination Under the Federal Fair Housing Act*, 98 GEORGETOWN LAW JOURNAL 769 (2010)

Summary: With affordable housing already in short supply, voucher holders are often forced into inadequate or less desirable housing in high-poverty neighborhoods, contravening the goals of the Housing Choice Voucher Program to provide safe, affordable housing and to encourage desegregation and deconcentration of poverty. Examines a case against an apartment owner who stopped accepting housing vouchers in which a federal district court allowed a plaintiff class of current Section 8 tenants and future applicants who hold vouchers to bring a disparate impact claim under the Fair Housing Act. Argues that Congress should amend the Fair Housing Act and the courts allow voucher holders to bring disparate impact claims for voucher discrimination, in order to support the goals and purposes of federal legislation and ultimately increase the quantity of options and quality of housing for low-income individuals.

Cunningham, Mary & Noah Sawyer, “Moving to Better Neighborhoods with Mobility Counseling,” Urban Institute (2005).

Abstract: This policy brief argues that although the Housing Choice Voucher Program has made housing more affordable for poor families, it is not meeting its full potential to help families move to better neighborhoods. Focusing on mobility programs as a method for fulfilling the HCVP’s potential, the authors examine administrative data from the Housing Opportunity Program (HOP) in Chicago using descriptive and multivariate analysis techniques to investigate whether HOP participants were more likely to move to a low-poverty neighborhood, whether participants made incremental moves to lower-poverty neighborhoods, and what other factors influenced households’ moves to low-poverty neighborhoods. Finds that a households that received some mobility assistance were more likely to move and slightly more likely to move to opportunity areas, while participants in the HOP were 52% more likely to move. Recommends four policies that could improve the success rate of mobility programs: 1) targeting economically stable households for mobility program participation; 2) offering intensive housing search assistance or different services to “hard-to-move” families; 3) focusing on retention services for voucher holders who have moved to opportunity neighborhoods; and 4) providing a continuum of services for self-sufficiency.

Cunningham, Mary & Molly Scott, "The Resident Choice Option: Reasons Why Residents Change from Project-Based Vouchers to Portable Housing Vouchers," What Works Collaborative & Urban Institute (2010).

Abstract: In hopes of informing the debate surrounding the resident choice and mobility provisions in HUD's 2010 Transformation of Rental Assistance proposed legislation, this policy memo discusses the results of a study based on interviews with staff at public housing agencies about tenants' reasons for exercising mobility options in the project-based voucher program. After HUD found that only a small percentage (13-20% over 19 months) of tenants in project-based voucher units converted to portable vouchers, the Urban Institute conducted this study to investigate the reasons why tenants might want to move with a portable voucher. The results of the interviews showed that tenants moved for several reasons, in addition to local program policies and the local market: to find a better unit; move closer to family, services, or schools; to transition toward more independent housing; and to obtain better quality and safer neighborhoods. Elderly and disabled tenants were less likely to move because of their reliance on local support networks. In some cases, tenants found that their project-based voucher unit was of higher quality than units that they could find in the private market.

Davidson, Nestor M., *Reconciling People and Place in Housing and Community Development Policy*, 16 GEORGETOWN JOURNAL ON POVERTY LAW & POLICY 1 (2009)

Summary: This essay reviews the conventional debate between people-based (mobility) and place-based responses to poverty, identifies ways to reconcile this perceived dichotomy, and then outlines other conceptual models that might better address the concerns on both sides of the debate. Specifically argues that individual housing vouchers can be a tool for community revitalization if they carry the right level of subsidy and are structured to account for neighborhood effects. Also argues that project-based subsidies can alleviate rather than contribute to concentrated poverty and segregation if new construction and preservation efforts focus on a diverse set of communities.

DeBray-Pelot, Elizabeth & Erica Frankenberg, *Federal Legislation to Promote Metropolitan Approaches to Educational and Housing Opportunity*, 17 GEORGETOWN JOURNAL ON POVERTY LAW & POLICY 265 (2010)

Summary: Outlines a proposal for new federal legislation to create a pilot program in selected Southern metropolitan areas designed to promote voluntary approaches to expand access to integrated educational and housing opportunity. Argues that metropolitan-wide solutions are critical in helping to ameliorate school segregation and proposes a regional combination of housing subsidies and inter-district school transfers. Drawing on the findings from *Gautreaux* and MTO, as well as existing school transfer programs, describes the duration, scope, and cost of this proposed program, explains how the housing subsidies and school transfers would work in concert with each other to promote opportunity, and provides suggestions for program design, incentives, administration, and evaluation.

De Leeuw, Michael B., Megan K. Whyte, Dale Ho & Catherine Meza, *Current State of Residential Segregation and Housing Discrimination: The United States' Obligations Under the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination*, 13 MICHIGAN JOURNAL ON RACE & THE LAW 337 (2008)

Summary: Discusses the United States government's compliance with its obligations related to housing under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination ("CERD"), as well as the importance of meaningful compliance in maintaining the United States' credibility

on human rights issues. In the context of those obligations, this article evaluates the current state of housing discrimination and segregation in the United States and the significant problems the United States government must address to fulfill its obligations under CERD. For example, some programs and policies of the United States government, both historically and today, have contributed to the creation and perpetuation of highly segregated residential patterns across the United States. In addition, private acts of discrimination frequently confront African Americans and Latinos attempting to rent or purchase a home, or attempting to secure funding or insurance for a home purchase. Argues that the United States government must improve its enforcement of the nation's fair housing laws to improve its compliance with CERD and ensure that all residents, regardless of race, enjoy a right to fair housing. Concludes by directing a series of recommendations to specific arms of the government, specifically the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Department of Justice, the United States Congress, the Internal Revenue Service, and state and local governments, to facilitate the United States government's compliance with CERD.

DeLuca, Stefanie, & Elizabeth Dayton, “Switching Social Contexts: The Effects of Housing Mobility and School Choice Programs on Youth Outcomes,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 35: 457-91 (2009)

- Highlights:
- *Gautreaux* results suggest neighborhood change can improve educational outcomes
 - MTO showed short-term improvements but gendered divides in the long-term; emphasizes social structural processes as barriers
 - Yonkers showed housing and quality of life improvements but not more integrated schools and not better youth development
 - Baltimore’s Thompson program’s initial results show large reductions in neighborhood poverty, segregation, and crime and increased school quality

Abstract: Despite years of research, methodological and practical obstacles make it difficult to conclude whether policies aimed at improving schools and communities are effective for improving youth outcomes. To complement existing work, we assess research on the educational and social outcomes for comparable youth who change school and neighborhood settings through unique housing policy and school voucher programs. Research shows that housing programs have helped poor families move to much safer, less disadvantaged, and less segregated neighborhoods. Some housing programs have also provided early educational benefits for young people who relocated to less poor and less segregated neighborhoods, but these gains were not maintained in the long run. School voucher programs have helped disadvantaged youth attend higher-performing private schools in less segregated environments with more middle-class peers. Although some voucher programs have shown small positive effects, the results of others are less certain owing to methodological weaknesses. Future research should directly examine families’ selection processes and be cautious with quantitative research that uses naturally occurring variation to model the effects of potential social programs. Researchers should also recognize the family processes that interact with social policy to determine how youth development can be improved, alongside the structural and political processes that condition how programs work at a larger scale.

DeLuca, Stefanie, Greg J. Duncan, Micere Keels & Ruby M. Mendenhall, “Gautreaux mothers and their children: an update,” *Housing Policy Debate* 20:7 (2010)

- Highlights:
- Over long term, mothers tended to remain in lower poverty neighborhoods, but many moved to more racially diverse neighborhood after placement
 - Neighborhood's racial composition and poverty level were more influential on mothers' earnings and AFDC receipt than suburban/city distinction
 - Suburban/city distinction did have an effect on criminality among kids, with gendered

distinctions:

- males placed in suburban locations experienced lower odds of being arrested (42% drop) or convicted (52% drop) of a drug offense, compared with males placed within Chicago;
- females placed in suburban neighborhoods with low percentages of black residents or lower rates of poverty experienced significantly higher criminal justice system involvement based on convictions (although not more likely to be arrested).

Abstract: The *Gautreaux* program was one of the first major residential mobility programs in the United States, providing low-income black families from public housing with opportunities to relocate to more affluent white neighborhoods in the Chicago suburbs and in other city neighborhoods. This paper reviews the most recent research on the *Gautreaux* families, which uses long-term administrative data to examine the effects of placement neighborhoods on the economic and social outcomes of mothers and children. We find that both *Gautreaux* mothers and their now-grown children were remarkably successful at maintaining the affluence and safety of their placement neighborhoods. As to the long-run economic independence of the mothers themselves, however, the new research fails to confirm the suburban advantages found in past *Gautreaux* research, although it does show that these outcomes were worst in the most racially segregated placement neighborhoods. With regard to the criminal records of *Gautreaux* children, it is found that suburban placement helped boys but not girls. Based on these results, we review possible new directions for successful mobility programs.

DeLuca, Stefanie & Peter Rosenblatt, “Does moving to better neighborhoods lead to better schools opportunities? Parental school choice in an experimental housing voucher program,” *Teachers College Record* 122(5): 7-8 (2010)

Highlights:

- Most families moved to school zones with less than average test scores
- Three themes among parents: low expectations for schools, resistance to school mobility due to fear of disruption, and lack of information about schools

Abstract: Uses survey, census, and school-level data for 249 children, as well as interviews with heads of households to compare data for families with children who either moved with the Baltimore Moving to Opportunity (MTO) experiment or were in the nonmoving control group to examine the general school decision making process and investigate why housing opportunity did not translate into a larger increase in school quality. Quantitative analyses suggest that the most important reason is that families did not relocate to communities with the highest performing schools. Qualitative analyses find that some parents were resistant to transfer their children because they thought it was too disruptive and other believed that what their children “put into school” was more important than where they went to school. Interviews also show a “decoupling” of considerations of academic quality from school choices. Concludes with a discussion of how these results inform the relationship between housing programs and educational outcomes.

Duncan, Greg J., Elizabeth Clark-Kauffman, & Emily Snell, “Residential Mobility Interventions as Treatments for the Sequelae of Neighborhood Violence,” Northwestern University (2004).

Highlights:

- Found gendered distinction between mental health outcomes for boys and girls
- Found improvements in mental health for adults involved in MTO

Abstract: After reviewing the evidence on neighborhood violence and mental health, the authors focus on the promise of residential mobility intervention programs to reduce neighborhood-violence-related mental health problems. Concentrating on the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program, the authors found substantial program-based improvements in adults’ perceptions of neighborhood safety and victimization and in adults’ mental health, four to seven years out. Found that impacts

on the violence experienced by children were much smaller than for adults and also smaller for boys than girls. Mental health improvements were also confined to girls. Suggests that boys' problem behaviors may actually have worsened as a result of their families' moving to low-poverty neighborhoods with MTO.

Duncan, Greg J. & Anita Zuberi, *Mobility Lessons from Gautreaux and Moving to Opportunity*, 1 NORTHWESTERN JOURNAL OF LAW AND SOCIAL POLICY 110 (2006)

Summary Provides an update on Gautreaux lessons based on a new wave of Gautreaux research. The recent research provides a much longer-run picture of residential and personal outcomes, and draws its data from administrative records rather than surveys. Also provides some comparison between results from Gautreaux and those from its sister program, Moving to Opportunity (MTO). Concludes with some thoughts about policy implications based not only on residential mobility research but also from evaluations of more general work-support programs that have been conducted in the past decade.

Engdahl, Lora, *New Homes, New Neighborhoods, New Schools: A Progress Report on the Baltimore Housing Mobility Program, PRRAC and Baltimore Regional Housing Campaign* (October 2009)

Abstract: Provides a comprehensive description of the Baltimore Housing Mobility Program, a specialized regional voucher program operating with deliberate attention to expanding fair housing choice by targeting vouchers to low-poverty neighborhoods with less than 30% minority population and less than 5% public housing or HUD-assisted complexes. Describes the key features for program success, including financial education, bus tours of high-opportunity neighborhoods, two-plus years of post-move counseling and second-move counseling, employment and transportation assistance, and monitoring. Almost 90% of families moved to suburban counties and families consistently report high levels of satisfaction with their new neighborhoods and homes, including satisfaction with new schools, with high rates of retention (62% stayed in their initial unit).

Ferryman, Kadija, Xavier de Souza Briggs, Susan J. Popkin & Maria Rendon, "Do Better Neighborhoods for MTO Families Mean Better Schools?", The Urban Institute (2008)

Abstract: One expected benefit of moving poor families from the concentrated poverty of some inner city neighborhoods to better, less poor neighborhoods, was that the children would attend better schools, with more resources and more advantaged peers who might be models for hard work and higher achievement. This brief looks at the schools MTO children attended after their move, how they did or did not differ from the schools in their pre-move neighborhoods, and what factors mattered to families choosing schools for their children.

Frey, William, "Diversity Spreads Out: Metropolitan Shifts in Asian, Black, and Hispanic Populations Since 2000," Living Cities Census Series, Brookings Institution (2006)

Summary: Analysis of Census Bureau population estimates detailing the distribution of racial and ethnic groups within and across U.S. metropolitan areas since Census 2000 reveals that: Hispanic and Asian populations are spreading out from their traditional metropolitan centers, while the shift of blacks toward the South is accelerating; the fastest growing metro areas for each minority group in 2000–2004 are no longer unique, but closely parallel the fastest growing areas in the nation; of the nation's 361 metropolitan areas, 111 registered declines in white population from 2000 to 2004, with the largest absolute losses occurring in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles; minorities contributed the majority of population gains in the nation's fastest-growing metropolitan areas and central metropolitan counties from 2000 to 2004; a strong multi-minority presence

characterizes 18 large "melting pot" metro areas, and 27 large metro areas now have "majority minority" child populations. Hispanic, Asian, and black populations continue to migrate to, and expand their presence in, new destinations. They are increasingly living in suburbs, in rapidly growing job centers in the South and West, and in more affordable areas adjacent to higher-priced coastal metro areas. The wider dispersal of minority populations signifies the broadening relevance of policies aimed at more diverse, including immigrant, communities.

Galvez, Martha M., "Finding housing with a Section 8/Housing Choice Voucher in Seattle," Paper draft, NYU Furman Ctr. for Real Estate & Urban Policy (April 2010)

Highlights:

- 40% of voucher holders lived in the same five neighborhoods; half of voucher holders would need to move to achieve an even distribution
- Recommends use of portable screening reports to help voucher holders find willing landlords, as well as direct financial assistance to help alleviate burden of housing search costs
- Suggests local source of income discrimination ordinance is not enough to prevent actual discrimination - need statewide protections and stronger enforcement

Abstract: The goal of this project is to shed light on how Section 8/Housing Choice Voucher holders in Seattle experience the housing search process. Of particular interest are two obstacles commonly believed to limit housing options for voucher program participants: landlord discrimination against voucher holders; and high search costs. Data from interviews and focus groups with 31 successful Seattle Housing Authority (SHA) voucher participants suggest that both are significant challenges facing voucher holders searching for housing.

Greater New Orleans Fair Housing Action Center, *Housing Choice in Crisis: An Audit Report on Discrimination Against Housing Choice Voucher Holders in the Greater New Orleans Rental Housing Market* (2009). Available at:

<http://www.gnofairhousing.org/pdfs/HousingChoiceInCrisis2009.pdf>

Highlights

- Found 82% of landlords denied voucher holders the opportunity to rent units: 75% outright refused, and 7% added insurmountable requirements to preclude rental
- Primary reasons for refusal were racial discrimination against low-income African Americans and dysfunctional administration of HCVP (slow, hard to reach, no recourse against LHA)
- Recommends housing counseling, landlord outreach, and public education

Abstract Housing Choice in Crisis is an investigation of bias against Housing Choice Voucher holders in the greater New Orleans rental housing market. Though discrimination on the basis of a renter's source of income is not currently illegal, it is important to understand the rate at which voucher holders encounter discrimination in evaluating the functionality of the Housing Choice Voucher Program (HCVP). Housing Choice in Crisis examined one hundred (100) rental properties in the greater New Orleans area to determine whether available rental units would be offered to voucher holders relying on the HCVP. Rental properties investigated advertised rental rates of \$1250 or under for a two-bedroom unit and did not advertise any preference in favor of or against renting to voucher holders. Also includes results from a series of interviews with landlords, housing advocates, tenants and administrators to assess the administration of HCVP. The data demonstrates that the alarming rate of discrimination against voucher holders is driven by two primary causes: discrimination against and stereotypes of low-income, African Americans and dysfunctional administration of the HCVP. Proposes several recommendations that would reduce the alarming rate of source of income discrimination in the region. Argues that as federal and regional housing policy increasingly relies upon the voucher program as a solution to our affordable housing needs, it is critical that we confront prejudice harbored against voucher holders and rectify the dysfunctional administration of the program.

Gubits, Daniel, Jill Khadduri & Jennifer Turnham, Joint Center for Housing Studies at Harvard University, “Housing Patterns of Low Income Families with Children: Further Analysis of Data from the Study of the Effects of Housing Vouchers on Welfare Families (W09-7),” Working paper (2009). Available at: <http://www.jchs.harvard.edu/publications/governmentprograms/w09-7.pdf>

Summary: Presents an empirical study of the effects of housing vouchers on welfare families. Using data from the Housing Voucher Evaluation – an experimental evaluation of the Welfare to Work Voucher program completed in 2006 – the study takes a controlled look into several outcomes related to housing, homelessness, employment, education, and neighborhood quality of participating welfare families under a number of baseline scenarios in order to show the differential effects of the voucher according to initial physical, social, and economic differences in personal, family, household, and neighborhood characteristics of the participants. Finds that vouchers had the strongest effect on improving neighborhood quality for those initially in the poorest neighborhoods, especially for those in public housing in such neighborhoods. It also found that vouchers have a very strong effect on reducing homelessness, and those in the most tenuous housing positions were most likely to use their voucher. In addition, those who relinquish their vouchers often do so inadvertently and have particularly poor outcomes, and although vouchers may help doubled-up families form independent households, they do not make families any more able to afford rents without assistance within 4-5 years.

HOME Line, Section 8 Report #15 – Diminished Choices: 2/3 of All Units Off Limits to Section 8 Tenants (2009). Available at: http://www.homelinemn.org/wp-content/uploads/Section-8-Report-2009_HOMELin-Hauge_10-09.pdf

Highlights:

- One third of units surveyed were off-limits to voucher holders due to landlord bias
- Over 11,193 families are on waitlists in the counties surveyed, and all waitlists are closed

Abstract: This report is the latest in a series of annual surveys of rental housing in several counties in Minnesota to determine where tenants with Section 8 vouchers can actually use them; this report reached over 65,000 rental units (half of all units) in Anoka, Dakota, and suburban Hennepin Counties. Even though over 70% of units fell within eligible Section 8 rent limits (due in part to HUD’s increased rent limits for the region), only 33% of the units were available to voucher holders due to “landlord bias” and imposition of minimum income requirements that exclude voucher holders. Found that the average minimum time to obtain a voucher after getting on the waitlist is over two years, and all voucher waiting lists were closed.

Illinois Assisted Housing Action Research Project, *Are We Home Yet? Creating Real Choice for Housing Choice Voucher Families in Chicago* (2010). Available at: http://www.housingactionil.org/downloads/IHARP_HCV_Report_2010.pdf

Highlights:

- Found racial segregation of HCV holders increased from 1998, with most voucher holders living in communities that are more than 60% African American and above the city poverty level
- Defines housing choice more broadly than just race or poverty but in terms of community "health," including environmental health, crime exposure, transportation, and housing stability
- Argues for changes that will proactively create more communities within the city of Chicago that are healthy for voucher users as well as the people who live there without housing assistance

Abstract: Discusses role of HCVP in segregation patterns in Chicago. Findings from an analysis of the Chicago HCVP reveal that most voucher holders were living in predominantly African American neighborhoods on the south and west sides of Chicago with nearly half living in just 10 of the 77 community areas in Chicago, which demonstrates and increase in racial segregation from 1998. Reviews results of the *Gautreaux* Program, the Moving to Opportunity program, the Latinos

United consent decree, Chicago Housing Authority Plan for transformation (under Moving to Work), and the Wallace case; all programs had mixed results. Argues that "choice" should be looked at not only in terms of race and poverty levels, but more broadly in terms of "health": environmental health risks, exposure to crime, transportation, and housing stability. Recommendations for systemic improvement include partnership between Chicago HA and mobility housing counseling agency to promote opportunity moves, an information campaign about HCVP, outreach to underserved groups (including Latinos), incentives for landlords in high-opportunity area (including increased payment standards and exception rents), more targeted FMRs, use of flexibility under the Moving to Work program to promote mobility, and enactment of source of income protections.

Julian, Elizabeth K. & Demetria L. McCain, "Housing Mobility: A Civil Right," in *The Integration Debate: Competing Futures For American Cities* (Chester Hartman & Gregory Squires, eds.), New York: Routledge, pp. 85-98 (2009)

Summary: Argues for Congress to enforce non-segregation of federally-funded housing assistance by promoting housing mobility

Highlights:

- Defines housing mobility as the right of low-income people of color not to be limited to predominately minority communities as a condition of receiving federal housing assistance
- Urges low-income housing advocates to promote and remove barriers to housing mobility into whiter and higher-opportunity neighborhoods for tenants who choose them
- Details efforts of the Inclusive Communities Project in Dallas.

Keels, Micere, Greg Duncan, Stephanie DeLuca, Ruby Mendenhall, & James Rosenbaum, "Fifteen years later: Can residential mobility programs provide a long-term escape from neighborhood segregation, crime and poverty?", *Demography* 42(1): 51-73 (2005)

Abstract: Examines whether the *Gautreaux* residential mobility program, which moved poor black volunteer families who were living in inner-city Chicago into more-affluent and integrated neighborhoods, produced long-run improvements in the neighborhood environments of the participants. Finds that although all the participants moved in the 6 to 22 years since their initial placements, they continued to reside in neighborhoods with income levels that matched those of their placement neighborhoods. Families who were placed in higher-income, mostly white neighborhoods were currently living in the most-affluent neighborhoods. Families who were placed in lower-crime and suburban locations were most likely to reside in low-crime neighborhoods years later.

Keels, Micere, "Residential attainment of now-adult *Gautreaux* children: do they gain, hold or lose ground in neighborhood ethnic and economic segregation?", *Housing Studies* 23(4): 541-64 (2008)

Highlights:

- Found virtually no generational regress: both mothers and children currently reside in ethnically integrated neighborhoods
- Children placed in mostly black neighborhoods (averaging 97.7% black) currently live in neighborhoods that average 61.0% black and 18.6% poor residents
- Children placed in mostly white neighborhoods (averaging 0.9 percent black) currently live in neighborhoods that average 49.1% black and 19.2% poor residents.

Abstract: This paper examines the extent to which Chicago's *Gautreaux* residential mobility program affected children's residential attainment. Low-income black families voluntarily relocated into mostly white or mostly black city and suburban neighborhoods. The paper uses quantitative and qualitative data collected eight to 22 years after participants' initial move into their placement neighborhoods. The primary goal of desegregation was accomplished. The average of black

residents for now-adult children's origin neighborhood was 85.6%, 29.9% for placement neighborhoods and 44.5% for current neighborhoods. Now-adult children's residential mobility decisions have located them, on average, in ethnically integrated, low-poverty neighborhoods. Children placed in mostly black, high-poverty neighborhoods and those placed in mostly white, low-poverty neighborhoods have relocated to ethnically-balanced low-to-moderate-poverty neighborhoods. Suburban placement was key in determining the level of children's initial relocation and current neighborhood quality. Now-adult children placed in suburban neighborhoods were more likely to live in suburban neighborhoods as adults than those placed in Chicago. Now-adult children currently residing in suburban cities live in higher quality neighborhoods compared to those currently residing in Chicago.

Keels, Micere, "Second generation effects of Chicago's *Gautreaux* Residential Mobility Program on children's participation in crime," *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 18(2): 305-52 (2008)

Highlights:

- Male children placed in suburban placement were 27% less likely to be arrested for a drug, theft, or violent offense compared with male children placed within Chicago
- Among children placed within Chicago, there was no difference in arrests and convictions among those placed in low versus high poverty neighborhoods
- Mothers placed in the suburbs reported that adjustment difficulties increased substantially the older the child was when the move occurred

Abstract: Data from the *Gautreaux* residential mobility program are used to assess whether children's later involvement with the Illinois criminal justice system is associated with the characteristics of their placement neighborhoods. Finds that suburban placement provides a strong protective benefit for boys, primarily for drug offenses. Conversely, girls placed in suburban neighborhoods were more likely to be convicted of a criminal offense. Qualitative data indicate that children placed in the suburbs experienced a dramatic reduction in direct exposure to gangs and drugs. Children placed in higher SES neighborhoods within Chicago still attended lower performing schools and the surrounding neighborhoods offered many opportunities for participation in delinquent activities.

Kingsley, G. Thomas & Kathryn L.S. Pettit, "Have MTO Families Lost Access to Opportunity Neighborhoods Over Time?", *Urban Institute* (2008)

Abstract: Families in HUD's Moving to Opportunity program had the chance to move to neighborhoods with lower poverty, lower crime rates and, presumably, more opportunities for employment, good schools and better quality of life. Did they benefit from the moves and did they remain there to continue those benefits? This brief identifies patterns of moving for MTO families and the characteristics of the neighborhoods both from and to which they moved.

Kling, Jeffrey R., Jeffrey B. Liebman, & Lawrence F. Katz, "Experimental analysis of neighborhood effects," *Econometrica* 25: 83-119 (2007)

Abstract: Discusses results of MTO experiment and finds that 4 to 7 years after random assignment, families offered vouchers lived in safer neighborhoods that had lower poverty rates than those of the control group not offered vouchers. Finds no significant overall effects of this intervention on adult economic self-sufficiency or physical health. Mental health benefits of the voucher offers for adults and for female youth were substantial. Beneficial effects for female youth on education, risky behavior, and physical health were offset by adverse effects for male youth. For outcomes that exhibit significant treatment effects, this report finds, using variation in treatment intensity across voucher types and cities, that the relationship between neighborhood poverty rate and outcomes is approximately linear.

Ludwig, Jens & Jeffrey Kling, "Is Crime Contagious?", 50 *Journal of Law & Economics* 491 (2007)

Summary: Understanding whether criminal behavior is "contagious" is important for law enforcement and for policies that affect how people are sorted across social settings. We test the hypothesis that criminal behavior is contagious by using data from the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) randomized housing mobility experiment to examine the extent to which lower local area crime rates decrease arrest rates among individuals. Our analysis exploits the fact that the effect of treatment group assignment yields different types of neighborhood changes across the five MTO demonstration sites. We use treatment by site interactions as instruments for measures of neighborhood crime rates, poverty, and racial segregation in our analysis of individual arrest outcomes. We are unable to detect evidence in support of the contagion hypothesis. Neighborhood racial segregation appears to be the most important explanation for across-neighborhood variation in arrests for violent crimes in our sample, perhaps because drug market activity is more common in high-minority neighborhoods.

Ludwig, Jens, Jeffrey B. Liebman, Jeffrey R. Kling, Greg J. Duncan, Lawrence F. Katz, Ronald C. Kessler, & Lisa Sanbonmatsu, "What Can We Learn about Neighborhood Effects from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment?", *American Journal of Sociology* 114(1): 144-88 (2008)

Notes: Part of Symposium issue on Moving to Opportunity

Abstract: Experimental estimates from Moving to Opportunity (MTO) show no significant impacts of moves to lower poverty neighborhoods on adult economic self sufficiency four to seven years after random assignment. The authors disagree with Clampet-Lundquist and Massey's claim that MTO was a weak intervention and therefore uninformative about neighborhood effects. MTO produced large changes in neighborhood environments that improved adult mental health and many outcomes for young females. Clampet-Lundquist and Massey's claim that MTO experimental estimates are plagued by selection bias is erroneous. Their new non-experimental estimates are uninformative because they add back the selection problems that MTO's experimental design was intended to overcome.

Ma, Fontane, "Boosting the Portability of Housing Vouchers," *PolicyMatters Journal* (Spring 2009)

Highlights

- Identifies jurisdictional boundaries as barriers to portability, and Meta-Level HAs (statewide) and regional cooperation as solutions
- Results from six cities show that trends on poverty rate are generally not correlated to increased voucher portability
- Suggests that increased voucher portability is helpful but not sufficient on its own to deconcentrate poverty, as lack of education for housing authority staff and voucher holders makes deconcentration hard to achieve and there are also social barriers when moving to low-poverty neighborhoods

Abstract Portable housing vouchers can help low-income families move to lower-poverty neighborhoods. However, jurisdictional boundaries between housing authorities (HAs) may decrease the effective "portability" of vouchers. Such boundaries create funding disincentives for HAs to help their clients move to other jurisdictions. They also add a burden for landlords, who, as a result, may be less inclined to rent to voucher recipients. Two approaches for addressing the problems posed by jurisdictional boundaries are meta-level HAs and increased cooperation between regional HAs. Using Integrated Public Use Microdata Series Current Population Survey (IPUMS CPS) data, this

paper presents a preliminary analysis of the effects of these approaches on voucher portability and poverty deconcentration. The analysis reveals mixed results, with some showing significant promise. Akron, OH, Portland, OR, and Jacksonville, FL are potential success stories from which there is still much to learn.

Mendenhall, Ruby, Stefanie DeLuca & Greg Duncan, “Neighborhood resources, racial segregation, and economic mobility: Results from the *Gautreaux* program,” *Social Science research* 35(4): 892-923 (2006)

Abstract: This study uses the unique design of the *Gautreaux* residential mobility program to estimate the long-run impacts of placement neighborhood conditions on the AFDC receipt (N = 793) and employment levels (N = 1258) of low-income Black women. Find that women initially placed in neighborhoods with few Black residents and moderate to high neighborhood resources experienced significantly more time employed when compared with women placed in neighborhoods with higher concentrations of Blacks and a low level of resources. Women placed in neighborhoods with high levels of resources and low Black populations also spent significantly less time on welfare than women placed in highly Black segregated areas with low levels of resources.

National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, *Student Mobility: Exploring the Impact of Frequent Moves on Achievement: Summary of a Workshop*, Committee on the Impact of Mobility and Change on the Lives of Young Children, Schools, and Neighborhoods; Board on Children, Youth, and Families, Division of Behavioral Sciences and Education. The National Academies Press (2010)

Summary: Summarizes the discussion at a workshop on residential mobility convened by the Board on Children, Youth, and Families on June 30, 2009, and planned by the Committee on the Impact of Mobility and Change on the Lives of Young Children, Schools, and neighborhoods. Describes the scope of the impact of frequent moves on student achievement, the circumstances that influence the effects of mobility on children, what is known about the consequences of mobility, and approaches to supporting vulnerable children who move. Also describes the methodological issues related to disentangling the effects of mobility itself from the many other factors likely to influence the lives of disadvantaged children. Finally, the report concludes with a discussion of policy directions and priorities for future research.

O’Neil, Jennifer Lee, “Housing Mobility Counseling: What’s Missing?”, in *Public Housing and the Legacy of Segregation* (Margery Austin Turner, Susan J. Popkin, and Lynette Rawlings, eds.), Urban Institute Press, pp. 115-126 (2009)

Summary: O’Neil, the former director of CHAC, Inc., offers lessons from her hands-on experience with assisted housing mobility and identifies concrete steps that would improve the performance of these efforts, including: a well-run voucher program with policies and procedures that support mobility counseling efforts; quality of life indicators used to define “opportunity areas”; aggressive fair housing enforcement; incremental measures of families’ success; greater family involvement in the community; return to voucher participant anonymity; and counseling efforts focused on “second movers.”

Popkin, Susan J., “New Findings on the Benefits and Limitations of Assisted Housing Mobility,” Urban Institute (2008). Available at: <http://www.urban.org/publications/901160.html>

Popkin, Susan J., Tama Leventhal & Gretchen Weismann, “Girls in the ‘Hood: The Importance of Feeling Safe,” Urban Institute (2008)

Abstract: The Moving to Opportunity program targeted families living in some of the nation's poorest, highest-crime neighborhoods and offered them a chance to move to lower poverty areas. One hope was that, away from concentrated poverty and the risks associated with it—including poor physical and mental health, risky sexual behavior and delinquency—families would fare better. This brief examines how adolescent girls benefited from moving out of high poverty and discusses why girls might have fared so much better than boys, including the importance of feeling safe from harassment and pressure to become sexually active.

Reece, Jason, et. al., “The Geography of Opportunity: Mapping to Promote Equitable Community Development and Fair Housing in King County, WA,” Kirwan Institute (2010) (Commissioned by Steve Fredrickson, Northwest Justice Project)

Abstract: This report assesses the “State of Opportunity” in King County, WA, by discussing the results of an opportunity mapping analysis that explored how low-income groups and racial populations were situated within King County in terms of education, economic opportunity and mobility, and housing and neighborhood conditions. Found that opportunity was unevenly distributed throughout the county, and 75% of the African American population was isolated in low and very low opportunity communities. Argues for an adoption of the Communities of Opportunity model, which aims to bring opportunities to opportunity-deprived areas and to connect people to existing opportunities throughout the metropolitan region, by encouraging more investment in people, places, and the linkages between and among them.

Reece, Jason & Eric Schultheis, *POVERTY'S PLACE: The Use of Geographic Information Systems in Poverty Advocacy*, 42 CLEARINGHOUSE REVIEW 430 (2009)

Highlights: The use of geographic information systems (GIS) gives advocates a powerful way to understand how laws and policies affect the poor based on where they live. Through the use of this computer-based tool, advocates can visually illustrate adverse effects upon the poor and thus more effectively focus their advocacy efforts. Understanding how GIS works and how it can be applied in the real world can both expand the advocacy community's perception of the intersection of space, place, race, and poverty and further specific advocacy goals.

Summary: Introduces advocates to the concept of spatial thinking through geographic information systems (GIS) and presents case studies on the use of GIS to support antipoverty advocacy. The case studies detail GIS implementation by the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity, the Race Equity project, and Legal Services of Northern California (LSNC), where GIS technology was leveraged to serve client needs and organizational policy objectives better. Demonstrates in practical terms how GIS can further advocacy goals and expand advocacy communities' understanding of the intersection of place and poverty.

Roisman, Florence Wagman, *Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing in Regional Housing Markets: The Baltimore Public Housing Desegregation Litigation*, 42 WAKE FOREST LAW REVIEW 333 (2007)

Summary: Argues that racial segregation in public housing has been a “curiously invisible” public issue in America and that HUD is obligated to “affirmatively further” fair housing and remedy racial segregation. Provides an overview of and introduction to the housing desegregation litigation, including a discussion of housing mobility as a result of that litigation. Also considers in some detail the most recent of those cases, *Thompson v. HUD*, involving Baltimore, MD.

Rosenbaum, James & Stefanie DeLuca, “Does Changing Neighborhoods Change Lives? The Chicago Gautreaux Housing Program,” in *Social Stratification: Race, Class and Gender in Sociological Perspective* (David Grusky, ed.), Westview Press, pp. 393-399 (2008)

Summary: Reviews a decade of research on Chicago’s *Gautreaux* Program and outcomes for families.

Rosenbaum, James & Stefanie DeLuca, *What Kinds of Neighborhoods Change Lives? The Chicago Gautreaux Housing Program and Recent Mobility Programs*, 41 *INDIANA LAW REVIEW* 653 (2008)

Summary: Reviews a decade of research on Chicago’s *Gautreaux* Program and outcomes for families.

Rosenbaum, James E. & Anita Zuberi, “Comparing residential mobility programs: design elements, neighborhood placements and outcomes in MTO and *Gautreaux*,” *Housing Policy Debate* 20(1): 27-41 (2010)

Highlights:

- Focuses on five aspects of neighborhood placements: poverty rate, racial composition, employment, schools, and distance from prior neighborhoods
- Looks at individual outcomes: education, employment, subsequent moves, and mental health
- Design: compared to *Gautreaux*, MTO was focused on poverty (not race) and provided less support and fewer restrictions for finding housing (more choice for participants)
- Results: MTO resulted in shorter moves to areas with higher poverty, more minorities, worse schools, and lower employment rates than the *Gautreaux* program
- Argues for policy makers to encourage longer-distance moves to improve employment, build stronger ties in new communities, and improve education outcomes because “given free choice, families did not move to the same types of distant white neighborhoods where *Gautreaux* families moved.”

Abstract: Reviewing prior studies of two residential mobility programs, the *Gautreaux* and Moving to Opportunity (MTO) programs, examines whether program design elements may explain differences in neighborhood placements, which in turn may explain the programs’ different individual outcomes. Finds that while MTO has a stronger research design than *Gautreaux*, it creates more modest changes in environment. Specifically, finds that the two programs create very different kinds of neighborhood placements. Compared with *Gautreaux*, MTO moves were shorter distances and to census tracts with higher poverty rates, larger minority populations, worse schools, and lower employment rates. These differences in neighborhood placements may explain why *Gautreaux* found larger impact than MTO in education and employment outcomes and in duration of moves. Although often ignored, design elements may be crucial to the success of programs, and several design elements may explain these different placements.

Sampson, Robert J., “Moving to Inequality: Neighborhood Effects and Experiments Meet Social Structure,” *American Journal of Sociology* 114(1): 189-231 (2008)

Notes: Part of Symposium issue on Moving to Opportunity

Abstract: The Moving to Opportunity (MTO) housing experiment has proven to be an important intervention not just in the lives of the poor, but in social science theories of neighborhood effects. Competing causal claims have been the subject of considerable disagreement, culminating in the debate between Clampet Lundquist and Massey and Ludwig et al. in this issue. This article assesses the debate by clarifying analytically distinct questions posed by neighborhood level theories, reconceptualizing selection bias as a fundamental social process worthy of study in its own right rather than a statistical nuisance, and reconsidering the scientific method of experimentation, and hence causality, in the social world of the city. The author also analyzes

MTO and independent survey data from Chicago to examine trajectories of residential attainment. Although MTO provides crucial leverage for estimating neighborhood effects on individuals, as proponents rightly claim, this study demonstrates the implications imposed by a stratified urban structure and how MTO simultaneously provides a new window on the social reproduction of concentrated inequality.

Sanbonmatsu, Lisa, Jeffrey R. Kling, Greg J. Duncan & Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, “Neighborhoods and Academic Achievement: Results from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment,” *The Journal of Human Resources* 41(4): 649 (2006)

Abstract: Families originally living in public housing were assigned housing vouchers by lottery; encouraging moves to neighborhoods with lower poverty rates. Although we had hypothesized that reading and math test scores would be higher among children in families offered vouchers (with larger effects among younger children), the results show no significant effects on test scores for any age group among more than 5,000 children aged six to 20 in 2002 who were assessed four to seven years after randomization. Program impacts on school environments were considerably smaller than impacts on neighborhoods, suggesting that achievement-related benefits from improved neighborhood environments alone are small.

Snell, Emily K., & Greg J. Duncan, “Child Characteristics and Successful Use of Housing Vouchers: Estimates from the Moving to Opportunity Demonstration,” *Housing Policy Debate* 17(4):727-54 (2006)

Abstract: Uses data collected from 2,938 households in the Moving to Opportunity demonstration program to estimate the influence of child characteristics on a household's probability of using a Section 8 housing voucher to lease a residence in the private market, also called "take-up." Finds that basic child characteristics have little bearing on the take-up of housing vouchers. However, finds that child health, behavioral, and educational problems that affect the ability to go to school and the presence of low-birth-weight babies do influence take-up. Households with two or more child problems are 7 percentage points less likely to move than those who have none of these problems or only one. Argues that policy-makers and program implementers need to find ways to help these families, otherwise programs will continue to suffer reduced take-up among this particularly needy population

Sobel, Michael E., “What Do Randomized Studies of Housing Mobility Demonstrate?,” *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 101(476): 1398–1407 (2006)

Abstract: During the past 20 years, social scientists using observational studies have generated a large and inconclusive literature on neighborhood effects. Recent workers have argued that estimates of neighborhood effects based on randomized studies of housing mobility, such as the “Moving to Opportunity” (MTO) demonstration, are more credible. These estimates are based on the implicit assumption of no interference between units; that is, a subject's value on the response depends only on the treatment to which that subject is assigned, not on the treatment assignments of other subjects. For the MTO studies, this assumption is not reasonable. Although little work has been done on the definition and estimation of treatment effects when interference is present, interference is common in studies of neighborhood effects and in many other social settings (e.g., schools and networks), and when data from such studies are analyzed under the “no-interference assumption,” very misleading inferences can result. Furthermore, the consequences of interference (e.g., spillovers) should often be of great substantive interest, even though little attention has been paid to this. Using the MTO demonstration as a concrete context, this article develops a framework for causal inference when interference is present and defines a number of causal estimands of interest. The properties of the usual estimators of treatment effects, which are

unbiased and/or consistent in randomized studies without interference, are also characterized. When interference is present, the difference between a treatment group mean and a control group mean (unadjusted or adjusted for covariates) estimates not an average treatment effect, but rather the difference between two effects defined on two distinct subpopulations. This result is of great importance, for a researcher who fails to recognize this could easily infer that a treatment is beneficial when in fact it is universally harmful.

Timberlake, Jeffrey, “Racial and Ethnic Inequality in the Duration of Children’s Exposure to Neighborhood Poverty and Affluence,” *Social Problems* 54(3): 319-42 (2007)

Abstract: Despite much scholarly attention to "neighborhood effects" on children, no study to date has measured the cumulative exposure of children to neighborhood poverty and affluence. This article estimates racial and ethnic inequality in the amount of time children can expect to live in poor and nonpoor neighborhoods throughout childhood. At rates prevailing in the early- to mid-1990s, the average black child can expect to spend about 50 percent of her first 18 years in neighborhoods with poverty rates in excess of 20 percent. The corresponding figures for Latino and white children are about 40 percent and 5 percent, respectively. Finds that black/white differences in childhood exposure to neighborhood poverty are largely accounted for by differences in the probability of being born into a poor neighborhood, and to a lesser degree by differences in rates of upward and downward neighborhood mobility during childhood. Finally, cross-period analyses indicate that white children's share of childhood in the most affluent neighborhood type increased steadily beginning in the late 1980s and that black children's exposure to the poorest neighborhood type increased rapidly in the mid-1980s and then declined sharply throughout the first half of the 1990s.

Tegeler, Philip, “Connecting Families to Opportunity: The Next Generation of Housing Mobility Policy,” in *All Things Being Equal: Instigating Opportunity in an Inequitable Time* (Brian D. Smedley & Alan Jenkins, eds.), The New Press, pp.79-95 (2007)

Summary: Argues that in addition to continuing to target resources to improve poor, racially isolated communities, federal and state policies should also include housing choice and mobility. Outlines a new national mobility program that goes beyond housing policy alone and also addresses education, employment, public health, transportation, and child development.

Tegeler, Philip, “The Future of Race Conscious Goals in National Housing Policy,” in *Public Housing and the Legacy of Segregation* (Margery Austin Turner, Susan J. Popkin, and Lynette Rawlings, eds.), Urban Institute Press, pp. 145-70 (2009)

Summary: Argues that the Supreme Court’s 2007 decision on voluntary school integration (*Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*) leaves the door open for properly drawn racial classifications in a national housing mobility program, but that policy-makers should ensure that race-conscious approaches are well-justified. Explains the legal issues and outlines an agenda of research that will be needed to address the legal questions likely to arise in the years ahead.

Turner, Margery Austin & Xavier de Souza Briggs, “Assisted Housing Mobility and the Success of Low-Income Minority Families: Lessons for Policy, Practice, and Future Research,” Urban Institute (2008)

Abstract: The federal Moving to Opportunity program (MTO) was designed to help poor minority families move from distressed, high poverty neighborhoods to better locations, thereby improving their quality of life and long term chances for well-being. Low income families living in concentrated poverty face a variety of challenges to their safety, health, and economic health, including poor schools, high crime and unemployment. This brief examines areas where the MTO program

helped movers with those challenges, areas still problematic even after moving, and factors affecting those outcomes and considers policy implications for the next generation of assisted housing mobility initiatives.

Turner, Margery A. & Stephen Ross, “How racial discrimination affects the search for housing,” in *The geography of opportunity: Race and housing choice in metropolitan America* (Xavier de Souza Briggs, ed.), Brookings Institution Press (2006)

Turney, Kristin, Susan Clampet-Lundquist, Kathryn Edin, Jeffrey Kling & Greg Duncan, “Neighborhood effects on barriers to employment: Results from a randomized housing mobility experiment in Baltimore,” *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs* 137-87 (2006)

Varady, David P. & Caral C. Walker, *Neighborhood Choices: Section 8 Housing Vouchers and Residential Mobility*. New Brunswick, NJ: CUPR Press (2007)

Summary: This book addresses the central question of whether it is possible to achieve the benefits of housing mobility offered by the Section 8 program while maximizing the degree of choice for householders. Although Gautreaux and MTO have been examined in several studies, few recent studies with the exception of Goetz’s 2003 case study of the *Hollman v. Cisneros* litigation settlement in Minneapolis have investigated the housing choices of residents in the regular Section 8 program. This book focuses on the experiences of families receiving Section 8 housing vouchers in two programs: (1) the “vouchering out” of four federally subsidized private developments, where the residents were given only a bit more counseling than is provided in the regular program; and (2) the Section 8 program in Alameda County, where many inner-city families in Oakland and Berkeley were moving to suburban locations in the county unlike in other metropolitan areas, where households with vouchers rarely cross the city/suburban boundary. Up to now, too little attention has been given to ways to improve the operation of the regular Section 8 housing voucher program. This book is aimed at reducing this gap in the literature.

Wang, Xinhao, David Varady & Yimei Wang, “Measuring the Deconcentration of Housing Choice Voucher Program Recipients in Eight U.S. Metropolitan Areas Using Hot Spot Analysis,” *Cityscape* 10(1): 65-90 (2008)

Abstract: Describes the use of hot spot analysis to measure changes in the clustering of U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Housing Choice Voucher Program (HCVP) recipients. Hot spot analysis for HCVP recipients in eight metropolitan areas (New York, Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, Miami, Houston, Los Angeles, and Phoenix) was performed using the tenant-based data system from HUD’s Office of Public and Indian Housing. The 2000 and 2005 hot spots were overlaid with 2000 Census block group data. The hot spot results show that the tendency of HCVP households to cluster varies by metropolitan area; however, no evidence indicates that HCVP clustering is declining. Although HCVPs are becoming less concentrated in hot spots in Chicago and Phoenix, the opposite is true in other metropolitan areas, especially in New York, Cincinnati, and Baltimore. This type of HCVP concentration is likely to continue as long as affordable rental housing is confined largely to central cities and older inner suburbs.

Weismann, Gretchen, “The Relative Risk: Parenting, Peers, and Poverty in the Three-City Study of Moving to Opportunity,” Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (2008). Available at: <http://dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/44365?show=full>

Abstract: Using the Three City Study of Moving to Opportunity (Boston, Los Angeles, and New York), this study examines how the content and location of adolescent’s daily routines and social ties to friends and relatives are associated with their involvement in risky and delinquent behavior, and the role of parental monitoring and housing mobility patterns in moderating exposure to risk. The study concludes that for most adolescents in the experimental group, the new low poverty neighborhood did not become the primary neighborhood of influence. The results also suggest that social ties to family and friends in the old neighborhood influenced risky and delinquent behavior outcomes directly and indirectly. Additionally, parents who were vigilantly monitoring their children’s behavior did not relax their monitoring after the move to low-poverty neighborhoods. Their children were less likely to engage in risky or delinquent behavior.

Wood, Michelle, Jennifer Turnham & Gregory Mills, “Housing affordability and family well-being: Results from the housing voucher evaluation,” *Housing Policy Debate* 19(2): 367-412 (2008)

Abstract: The Effects of Housing Vouchers on Welfare Families was an experimental evaluation that examined the effects of housing assistance on low-income families eligible for or receiving Temporary Assistance for Needy Families. Household-based rental vouchers were provided to participants under the Welfare to Work Voucher program sponsored by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development from 2000 through 2004. Vouchers were randomly assigned to eligible program participants in six sites across the country, sample members were tracked over about five years, and the effects of vouchers on homelessness and crowding, household composition, housing mobility, neighborhood quality, employment and earnings, and other aspects of family well-being were measured. Vouchers significantly reduced homelessness, crowding, household size, and the incidence of living with relatives or friends, but had no effect on marriage or cohabitation. Vouchers increased housing mobility, while reducing the number of subsequent moves, and resulted in small improvements in neighborhood quality.

Related materials on HOPE VI, public housing redevelopment, etc.

Alexander, Lisa T., “A Sociological History of Public Housing Reform in Chicago,” *Journal of Affordable Housing* 17(1-2): 155-175 (2008).

Summary: This book review summarizes two books related to HOPE VI: 1) Alexander Polikoff’s *Waiting for Gautreaux: A Story of Segregation, Housing, and the Black Ghetto*, Northwestern University Press (2006), and 2) Mary Pattillo’s *Black on the Block: The Politics of Race and Class in the City*, University of Chicago Press (2007). The review summarizes each book’s insights into the challenges of implementing HOPE VI in Chicago, and compares the books to highlight their contributions and limitations.

Belsky, Eric S. & Rachel Bogardus Drew, “Overview: Rental Housing Challenges and Policy Responses,” in *Revising Rental Housing* (N. P. Restsinas & E. S. Belsky, eds.), Brookings

Institution Press, pp. 14-56 (2007)

Summary: This chapter explores the primary problems generated by the operation of rental markets, why addressing these problems is important, what factors contribute to the generation of these problems, and how policies and programs have (or have not) tried to deal with them. Four problems are emphasized: 1) rental affordability; 2) concentration of affordable rental housing in and near city centers; 3) concentration of poor renters and neighborhood decline; and 5) rental housing quality and crowding problems. A fifth problem is treated separately: the basis upon which households make their tenure choices – that is, their decision about whether to own or rent. Although it may not constitute a problem of the kind the others represent, there is reason to believe that tenure choices may be influenced by cultural factors and perceptions that make people more favorably disposed to homeownership. This can result in tenure choices that leave households either more vulnerable to risks they would not face as renters or with a lower chance of financial benefit. In addition, tenure choice speaks to the critical importance of rental housing as an option. In this sense, a look at the tenure choice and the basis for making it is an important first step in properly construing the importance of rental housing and geographically balanced rental choices.

Bennett, Larry, Janet L. Smith & Patricia Wright (eds.), *Where Are Poor People to Live?: Transforming Public Housing Communities*. M.E. Sharpe (2006)

Summary: Focusing on Chicago, this book shows how major shifts in federal policy are spurring local public housing authorities to demolish their high-rise, low-income developments and replace them with affordable low-rise, mixed income communities. The editors and chapter authors express a concern that proponents of public housing restructuring give little attention to the social, political, and economic risks involved in the current campaign to remake public housing. The first section of the book discusses the national and local contexts for public housing transformation; the second section focuses on the Chicago Housing Authority's Plan for Transformation and its impact on public housing residents; finally, the third section discusses policy implications. Chapter authors include: Yan Zhang, Gretchen Weismann, Susan J. Popkin, Richard M. Wheelock, Carol Steele, William P. Wilen, Rajesh D. Nayak, and Wendy L. Stasell.

Bonastia, Christopher, *Knocking on The Door: The Federal Government's Attempt to Desegregate the Suburbs*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (2006)

Summary: This book provides an in-depth look at the federal involvement in residential segregation from the Reconstruction period to the present. Details of the events from the period of 1968 to 1973 provide an explanation of the US Department of Housing and Urban Development's plans for desegregation, until President Nixon's decision to freeze federal housing funds in January 1973. The period was marked by new legislative protections against housing discrimination, unprecedented federal involvement in housing construction, and frequent judicial backing for the actions of civil rights agencies. By comparing housing desegregation policies to civil rights enforcement in employment and education, the author offers an account of why civil rights policies diverge so sharply in their ambition and effectiveness.

Browne-Dianis, Judith & Anita Sinha, *Economics and Development: The Cost of Hurricane Katrina: Exiling the Poor: The Clash of Redevelopment and Fair Housing in Post-Katrina New Orleans*, 51 HOWARD LAW JOURNAL 481 (2008)

Summary: Examines the government's post-Katrina actions with respect to New Orleans public housing and discusses how the plan for public housing constitutes an eradication of the buildings and families who lived in them, demonstrating that the "opportunity" created by the storm is not for the city's low-income residents of color. It also addresses how the government's plans for New Orleans' public housing violate Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 - the Fair Housing Act. Argues

that, in the case of New Orleans as well as nationwide, the mere issuance of vouchers to public housing residents displaced by HUD's redevelopment plans cannot meet HUD's obligation to affirmatively further fair housing, because vouchers simply do not offer the housing opportunities the statute was intended to create for African Americans.

Buron, Larry, Diane K. Levy & Megan Gallagher, "Housing Choice Vouchers: How HOPE VI Families Fared in the Private Market," Urban Institute (2007)

Highlights:

- HOPE VI residents who relocated with a voucher were more likely to be younger, female, living with children, and employed, as compared to residents who relocated to public housing
- 47% of voucher holders moved to neighborhoods with less than 20% poverty, only 11% remained in extremely high-poverty neighborhoods
- Voucher holders report improved mental health

Abstract: Most former HOPE VI residents received Housing Choice Vouchers to relocate. Compared with those who moved to traditional public housing developments, voucher-holders are living in significantly better quality housing in neighborhoods that are lower poverty and dramatically safer. Despite these positive results, discusses how many voucher holders are struggling to cope with the financial challenges of living in the private market. Moving out of public housing presents new financial management challenges, such as paying rent on time and being responsible for separate utility payments. Policy recommendations include relocation assistance and updated utility allowances to ease the burdens for those moving to the private market with vouchers.

Carr, James H., & Nandinee K. Kutty, *Segregation: The Rising Cost for America*. Routledge (2008).

Summary: Documents the connection between discriminatory practices in the housing markets and extreme levels of residential segregation, which result in significant disparities in access to good jobs, quality education, homeownership attainment and asset accumulation between minority and non-minority households. Also discusses how problems facing minority communities are increasingly important to the nation's long-term economic vitality and global competitiveness as a whole. Chapter authors include Douglas Massey, Kathleen Engel, Patricia McCoy, Margery Austin Turner, Jeffrey Vincent, Deborah McKoy, Dolores Acevedo-Garcia, Theresa Osypuk, Gregory Squires, Heather Boushey, Dean Baker, Ingrid Gould Ellen, and Rachel Garshick Kleit.

Cisneros, Henry G. & Lora Engdahl (eds.), *From Despair to Hope: Hope VI and the New Promise of Public Housing in America's Cities*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press (2009)

Summary: Documents the evolution of HOPE VI from its origins to its impacts on future policies through the experiences of public and private sector leaders. Authors include: Richard D. Baron, Peter Calthorpe, Sheila Crowley, Mary K. Cunningham, Richard C. Gentry, Renee Lewis Glover, Bruce Katz, G. Thomas Kingsley, Alexander Polikoff, Susan J. Popkin, Margery Austin Turner, and Ronald D. Utt.

Comey, Jennifer, "HOPE VI'd and on the Move," The Urban Institute (2007). Available at: http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/311485_HOPEVI_Mobility.pdf

Abstract: Discusses how most HOPE VI residents have not moved back to their original communities. The largest number of families (43 %) received Housing Choice Vouchers, and another third were still living in traditional public housing. Just 5% were living in mixed-income communities – a number likely to increase as the sites are completed. Residents who have moved to the private market or to

mixed-income developments reported substantial improvements in the quality of their housing and are living in neighborhoods that are considerably lower poverty. In contrast, those who remained in traditional public housing – either their original development or a different one – experienced virtually no improvement in housing quality over time.

Gallagher, Megan & Beata Bajaj, “Moving On: Assessing the Benefits and Challenges of HOPE VI for Children,” The Urban Institute (2007). Available at: <http://www.urban.org/publications/311488.html>

Abstract: Children are particularly vulnerable to the effects of HOPE VI relocation. While they are the most likely to benefit in important ways from improved housing quality—and reduced exposure to risks like lead paint or mold—and from safer, less distressed neighborhoods, moving can disrupt their education and friendships and even put older youth at risk for conflict with local gangs. Where they moved was also significant. Children whose families moved to the private market with vouchers are doing better, while those whose families moved to other traditional public housing are not faring as well. Girls, in particular, are suffering from the ill effects of being left behind in developments that are becoming increasingly dangerous and chaotic as vacancies increase.

Goetz, Edward G., “Better Neighborhoods, Better Outcomes? Explaining Relocation Outcomes in HOPE VI,” *Cityscape* 12:1 (2010)

Highlights:

- Concludes that the degree of neighborhood change is not statistically related to changes in individual-level outcomes for economic self-sufficiency or access to enhanced social capital
- No significant educational achievement improvements for children and no improvement in employment or financial security; possibly due to destroyed support networks
- Similarly, Duluth case study shows little to no improvement on subjective individual-level measures, despite moving to objectively better neighborhoods
- Highlights importance of individual characteristics like age,

Abstract: Previous studies have shown weak and inconsistent benefits for families forcibly displaced by the HOPE VI program, despite the fact that families are uniformly moved into better neighborhoods (as measured on a range of indicators at the census-tract level). This article reviews studies of HOPE VI and presents the findings of an additional case study, in Duluth, Minnesota. Improving on the design of most previous studies, this study connected changes in outcomes at the individual level with changes in neighborhood conditions. The results confirm the conclusion of previous studies: the degree of neighborhood change is not statistically related to changes in individual level outcomes. These findings suggest that the Hope VI model of dispersal reflects an oversimplified view of urban poverty and, in particular, may neglect the importance of informal networks of support and attributes at the individual level in determining the outcomes of forced relocation.

Johnson, Heidi, “Vulnerable Youth and the Transition to Adulthood: Youth in Distressed Neighborhoods, ASPE Research Brief,” Urban Institute (2009). Available at: http://www.urban.org/uploadedpdf/411948_distressed_neighborhoods.pdf

Highlights:

- 10% of youth from distressed neighborhoods have sex before age 13 compared with 3% from non-distressed neighborhoods.
- 32% of youth from distressed neighborhood do not earn a high school diploma compared with 15% from non-distressed neighborhoods.
- 65% of youth from distressed neighborhoods are employed on their 24th birthday, compared with 78% from non-distressed neighborhoods.

Abstract: Fact sheet prepared by Heidi Johnson of the Urban Institute, under contract to ASPE, as part of a series on vulnerable youth and the transition to adulthood. This four page research brief uses data

from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1997 cohort, to compare adolescent risk behaviors and young adult outcomes of youth from distressed neighborhoods with those of youth from non-distressed neighborhoods. The analyses in this series use the subset of youth born in 1980–81, who were 15–17 years old when first interviewed in 1997. Outcomes are obtained by using the annual data through 2005 when these young adults were 23–25 years old. Finds that youth from distressed neighborhoods do not engage in more risk behaviors during adolescence than youth from non-distressed neighborhoods, in some cases resulting in lower rates of participation in criminal activities. However, youth from distressed neighborhoods are more likely to have sex at young age and less likely to earn a high school diploma.

Joseph, Mark L., “Creating mixed-income developments in Chicago: developer and service provider perspectives,” *Housing Policy Debate*, 20(1): 91-118 (2010)

Summary: Mixed-income development has been embraced by policymakers across the country as a promising means of deconcentrating poverty and revitalizing inner-city neighborhoods. The unprecedented scale of Chicago’s effort at mixed-income development provides an important opportunity to learn about the possibilities and challenges of this approach. Most of the new developments have completed at least one pre-occupancy phase of construction, marketing, and resident outreach. This paper explores the perspectives of two key actors in the mixed income development process: private developers and social service providers. In-depth interviews were conducted with 26 individuals working on nine of Chicago’s major new mixed-income developments. This qualitative analysis uses the perspectives of these key actors to identify some of the major early challenges of the mixed-income development process in Chicago. Implications for the future of mixed-income development and public housing transformation in Chicago and across the country are considered.

Joseph, Mark L., Robert J. Chaskin, & Henry S. Webber, “The Theoretical Basis for Addressing Poverty Through Mixed-Income Housing,” *Urban Affairs Review* 42:369-409 (2007)

Abstract: The article examines the theories behind the push for mixed-income development strategies as a way to deal with urban poverty. The study analyzes four propositions based on social networks as social capital; social control; culture, behavior, and role modeling; and the political economy of place. They conclude that the most compelling theories suggest that some low-income residents may benefit from a higher quality of life through greater informal social control and access to higher quality services. They find less evidence that socioeconomic outcomes for low-income residents may be improved through social interaction, network building, and role modeling.

Julian, Elizabeth, *Fair Housing and Community Development: Time to Come Together*, 41 INDIANA LAW REVIEW 555 (2008)

Summary: Examines the tensions between the fair housing/civil rights advocates and community development advocates in the context of Public Housing/HOPE VI Program, the Low Income Housing Tax Credit Program, and local zoning and land use policies. Calls for a "coming together" of all low-income housing advocates in a way that provides for true housing choice regardless of race and income. It is likely that the idea of housing mobility will continue to find its way into anti-poverty and civil rights policy discussions, as both have also perpetuated, rather than ameliorated, existing housing and community segregation, despite the mandates of the Fair Housing Act that federal housing and community development programs "affirmatively further fair housing." These initiatives sought to transform the ghetto conditions in public housing communities, expand housing opportunities by deconcentrating the location of public housing, and create more choices through the administration of the voucher program. This is an opportunity for

civil rights/fair housing advocates and community development/low-income housing advocates to find common ground and support policies that do not repeat the mistakes of the past, but rather address them with a new vision and vigor. While the tax credit agencies are not required to maintain civil rights related data regarding the developments, available information suggests that in many places the LIHTC program is continuing the pattern of concentrating developments in high poverty, predominately minority areas or failing to ensure that units built in non-minority areas are available to low-income minority families. Fair housing/civil rights and community development/affordable housing advocates should come together and begin to build their respective movements anew on a foundation that respects and supports the other's core values.

Kelly, Michael, “Staying in the ‘Hood: Community Relocation as a Centerpiece for the Next Generation of Urban Revitalization,” in *Public Housing and the Legacy of Segregation* (Margery Austin Turner, Susan J. Popkin & Lynette Rawlings, eds.), Urban Institute Press (2009)

Highlights: • Questions the notion of a “healthy community” which is attractive but does not address the immeasurable value of a sense of community and only applies to suburbs, which are mostly white neighborhoods with poor public transportation and far from the city

Summary: Kelly is the Executive Director of the District of Columbia Housing Authority. He argues that original residents of distressed public housing should not be encouraged to move to distant, opportunity-rich neighborhoods, but rather should be relocated close by so they can benefit from community investment and revitalization.

Kleit, Rachel Garshick, & Lynne Manzo, “To Move or Not To Move: Relationships to Place and Relocation Choices in HOPE VI,” *Housing Policy Debate* 17(2): 271-308 (2006)

Abstract: As the HOPE VI (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere) program redevelops public housing, residents must relocate. Little is known about how they make the choice to stay or to go, if they are given one. Survey interviews with 200 residents of Seattle's High Point HOPE VI project provide the data to address four questions about such moves: 1) what factors predict residents' initial choice to stay on site during redevelopment or to move permanently away?; 2) how does the initial choice predict actual behavior?; 3) what is the role of place attachment and place dependence on residents' relocation choices?; and 4) what is the role of other trade-offs in decision making? Findings suggest that family situations and place-dependent considerations shape initial relocation preferences of public housing residents and that their family situations may be a more important influence on the actual move.

Pattillo, Mary, *Black on the Block: The Politics of Race and Class in the City*, University of Chicago Press (2007)

Summary: Looks back on the rise, fall, and renewal of Chicago's North Kenwood–Oakland neighborhood to explore the politics of race and class in contemporary urban America. Uses ethnographic data from 1998 forward to examine the interests and actions of four key stakeholders: 1) government officials, 2) private investors and developers, 3) institutions and community organizations, and 4) residents. Includes discussion of the context of urban policy that shaped the neighborhood, including HOPE VI, the Chicago Housing Authority's Plan for Transformation, and the *Gautreaux* experiment.

Popkin, Susan J., “A glass half empty? New evidence from the HOPE VI Panel Study,” *Housing Policy Debate* 20(1): 43-63 (2010)

Summary: Presents new evidence about how residents have fared since the Chicago Housing Authority's Plan

for Transformation began. Questions remain about where they are living, the circumstances of their new housing, and how relocation has affected their overall well-being. Presents evidence on resident outcomes from the HOPE VI Panel Study, a national study that includes Chicago. The findings show that those residents who received vouchers are living in better housing in dramatically safer neighborhoods; many report improved mental health; and their children are having fewer behavior problems. But there are also very real reasons for concern. Voucher holders are experiencing economic hardship that may place them at risk for housing instability and the most troubled families are at risk for being left behind in traditional public housing, little better off than they were when the Plan began.

Popkin, Susan J. & Elizabeth Cove, “Safety is the Most Important Thing: How HOPE VI Helped Families,” Urban Institute (2007)

Summary: Fear of crime has profound implications for residents, causing stress and social isolation; relocation has brought about a dramatic positive impact on residents’ life circumstances. Those residents who left traditional public housing—voucher holders and unassisted renters and homeowners—are now living in neighborhoods that are dramatically safer than their original public housing developments. These improvements in safety have had a profound impact on their quality of life; they can let their children play outside, they are sleeping better, and are feeling less worried and anxious overall. However, those who remain in traditional public housing developments are still living in extremely dangerous circumstances, little better than where they started.

Popkin, Susan J., Diane K. Levy, & Larry Buron, “Has HOPE VI Transformed Residents’ Lives? New Evidence From the HOPE VI Panel Study,” *Housing Studies* 24:477-502 (2009)

Abstract: Since the early 1990s, the HOPE VI program has been the United States’ largest, most ambitious community revitalization program. This paper uses new evidence from the HOPE VI Panel Study on how HOPE VI families have fared. The long-term findings from this research paint a more positive picture than many critics had predicted, showing that the program has had profound benefits for many public housing families—particularly those who have relocated to less poor communities. However, the long-term results highlight the limitations of the HOPE VI approach, particularly the lack of impact on economic outcomes. These findings point to the need for new and creative strategies for addressing some of the worst consequences of concentrated poverty.

Popkin, Susan J., Brett Theodos, Caterina Roman, Elizabeth Guernsey, & Liz Getsinger, “The Chicago Family Case Management Demonstration: Developing a New Model for Serving ‘Hard to House’ Public Housing Families,” The Urban Institute (2008)

Abstract: The Chicago Family Case Management Demonstration is an innovative initiative designed to meet the challenges of serving the Chicago Housing Authority’s (CHA) "hard to house" residents. It involves a unique partnership of city agencies, service providers, researchers, and private foundations, all with a deep commitment to finding solutions for the most vulnerable families affected by the CHA's Plan for Transformation. The report highlights the lessons learned during the first year implementation of the Demonstration and what still needs improvement. The study found higher satisfaction with the case management services and a higher rapport between case managers and families. The lower case load allowed case managers to spend more time understanding and helping the families, as well as adapting services towards the “hard to house” residents.

Rasinski, Kenneth A., Lisa Lee, & Catherine Haggerty, "Functional and social neighborhood integration of leaseholders relocated into public and private housing by the Chicago Housing Authority's Plan for Transformation," *Housing Policy Debate*, 20(1): 65-89 (2010)

Abstract: Sociologists have theorized that one of the reasons why concentrated poverty has a negative effect on people living in such circumstances is because it limits social capital. We examine the extent to which different forms of social capital are utilized by leaseholders relocated during the early stages of the Chicago Housing Authority's (CHA) Plan for Transformation. We use data from a survey of CHA leaseholders who have relocated back into public housing or into the private housing market as part of the Plan for Transformation. The analyses showed that use of neighborhood amenities did not vary by housing status. Generally, the level of social interaction was less for those who moved into the private sector when compared to those who had relocated to the public sector. However, social interaction improved as tenure in the private sector increased.

Rosenthal, Stuart, "Where Poor Renters Live in our Cities," RR07-2, Prepared for Revisiting Rental Housing: A National Policy Summit, November 2006 (2007). Available at: http://www.jchs.harvard.edu/publications/rental/revisiting_rental_symposium/papers/rr07-2_rosenthal.pdf

Summary: Finds that persistence in poverty levels is highest in communities with poverty rates below 15%: roughly 80% of these communities retained their low poverty status from 1970 to 2000. In contrast, over half of the highest poverty neighborhoods in 1970 were of lower poverty status thirty years later. Analyzes what causes changes in local poverty rates, suggesting that access to public transit, the presence of aging housing stocks, local spillover effects arising from social interactions, and the presence of place-based subsidized rental housing can explain a considerable portion of the change in census tract poverty rates.

The Ramona Utti Report: Impacts of the Ripley Arnold Relocation Program. Prepared for the City of Fort Worth. Year 1 (2002-03); Year 2 (2003-04); Year 3 (2004-05); Year 4 (2005-06). Available at <http://www3.uta.edu/faculty/ebarrett/Publications.htm>

Summary: Series of follow-up reports on residents who were forced to relocate from Ripley Arnold, a public housing project in Fort Worth, Texas. The relocation was not voluntary, but residents were able to choose whether to move to another public housing project or obtain a Section 8 voucher. These reports present the data from focus groups and surveys of the former residents (without much further analysis).

Turner, Margery Austin & G. Thomas Kingsley, "Federal Programs for Addressing Low-Income Housing Needs: A Policy Primer," Urban Institute (2008). Available at http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411798_low-income_housing.pdf