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Annotated Bibliography of Housing Mobility Research 2010-2012

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For additional bibliographic references prior to 2010, go to
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*Items not included in 2010 housing mobility bibliography at <http://www.prrac.org/projects/housingmobility.php>

Recent Books, Articles, and Reports on Housing Mobility¹

Briggs, Xavier de Souza, Jennifer Comey, and Gretchen Weismann. “Struggling to stay out of high-poverty neighborhoods: housing choice and locations in moving to opportunity’s first decade.” *Housing Policy Debate* 20.3 (2010): 383-427. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10511481003788745>

Abstract: Improving locational outcomes emerged as a major policy hope for the nation’s largest low income housing program over the past two decades, but a host of supply and demand-side barriers confront rental voucher users, leading to heated debate over the importance of choice versus constraint. In this context, we examine the Moving to Opportunity experiment’s first decade, using a mixed method approach.

MTO families faced major barriers in tightening markets, yet diverse housing trajectories emerged, reflecting variation in: (a) willingness to trade location – in particular, safety and avoidance of “ghetto” behavior – to get larger, better housing units after initial relocation; (b) the distribution of neighborhood types in different metro areas; and (c) circumstances that produced many involuntary moves. Access to social networks or services “left behind” in poorer neighborhoods seldom drove moving decisions. Numerous moves were brokered by rental agents who provided shortcuts to willing landlords but thereby steered participants to particular neighborhoods

Burdick-Will, Julia, Jens Ludwig, Stephen W. Raudenbush, Robert J. Sampson, Lisa Sanbonmatsu, and Patrick Sharkey. “Project on Social Inequality and Educational Disadvantage: New Evidence on How Families, Neighborhoods and Labor Markets Affect Educational Opportunities for American Children.” Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2010. Available at: <http://cas.uchicago.edu/workshops/education/files/2010/03/Burdick-Will-Ed-Workshop-20100301.pdf>

Abstract: A large body of non-experimental research has produced evidence consistent with the idea of large neighborhood effects on children’s schooling outcomes. However, drawing causal inferences from these studies is complicated by the fact that the attributes of a neighborhood in which a family lives is likely correlated with characteristics of the family that predict schooling outcomes. The one formal randomized experiment in this literature is the five-city Moving to Opportunity (MTO) experiment, which suggests no statistically significant impacts, on average, on reading or math test scores. In this paper, we try to reconcile the experimental, quasi-experimental and observational research literature regarding neighborhood effects on children, and argue that the available findings are more convergent than many people believe. We believe the available evidence allows us to reject both the null hypotheses that neighborhood environments never matter and that they always matter. Instead, we focus on the conditions under which neighborhoods matter for children’s academic outcomes, and why. Our ability to answer this question here is limited by the number of studies that have employed sufficiently strong research designs to support inferences and by the fact that a disproportionate share of the studies that meet this research-design threshold have been carried out in a single city (Chicago).

¹ “Abstracts” of articles presented in this bibliography are copied verbatim from the published article. “Summaries” of articles were drafted by PRRAC staff, who are solely responsible for any mis-characterizations of content.

With these important qualifications in mind, we believe there is at least a suggestive case to be made that children's test scores may be most strongly affected by community violence, or may respond non-linearly to concentrated neighborhood disadvantage or community violence.

Bush-Baskette, Stephanie R., Kelly Robinson, and Peter Simmons. "Residential and Social Outcomes for Residents Living in Housing Certified by the New Jersey Council on Affordable Housing." *Rutgers Law Review* Forthcoming (June 15, 2011). Available at: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1865342>

Abstract: In 1975, the New Jersey Supreme Court held in *Southern Burlington County NAACP v. Township of Mt. Laurel* that a developing municipality had the responsibility to afford a realistic opportunity for the construction of its fair share of the present and prospective regional need for low and moderate income housing. This decision, known as Mount Laurel I, was followed by additional court decisions, state legislation, and executive orders aimed at ensuring that households of low and moderate income were given the opportunity to move from urban to suburban areas. Previously published studies have reported the number of housing units required and provided under the law, the evolution of the Mount Laurel doctrine and the demographics of the applicants for such housing. However, there have been few published studies that explore the residential and social outcomes experienced by households that moved to suburban housing.

In this research, we surveyed residents of housing built in compliance with the Mount Laurel decisions to assess their residential and social outcomes. There are no prior statistical surveys of residents of affordable housing in the state, so we cannot make statistical conclusions about the representativeness of our sample. However, we make a strong logical argument that the sample appears reasonable given what we would expect the population to look like.

A large majority of residents surveyed have changed municipalities before arriving in their current unit. These moves have overwhelmingly been from more urban to less urban municipalities and from municipalities with lower median income to municipalities with higher median income. In most instances, the surveyed residents indicate that these moves have been accompanied by job opportunities, financial well-being, and access to services (including schools) that are equal to or better than where they lived previously. One exception to this is that their new municipalities tend to have less public transportation. Despite this, there is no strong evidence that moving has caused residents to lose touch with old friends. They also appear to make more friends the longer they have been in their new municipality. Most respondents indicated that they are more satisfied with both their current municipality and unit than where they lived previously. Given the opportunity, most respondents told us that they will stay where they are. We also find that moving has tended to be accompanied by greater concentration into a relative small number of municipalities. In most instances the reported results appear to be broad-based, meaning that we are not able to identify subgroups of the sample that might be influencing the results disproportionately.

Carlson, Deven, Robert Haveman, Tom Kaplan, and Barbara Wolfe. “Long-Term Effects of Public Low-Income Housing Vouchers on Labor Market Outcomes.” Discussion Paper no. 1363-09. Madison, WI: Institute for Research on Poverty, 2009. Available at: <http://www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/dps/pdfs/dp136309.pdf>

Abstract: The federal Housing Choice Voucher (Section 8) Program provides eligible low-income families with an income-conditioned voucher that pays for a portion of rental costs in privately owned, affordable housing units. This paper extends prior research on the effectiveness of rental support programs in several ways. The analysis employs a unique longitudinal dataset created by combining administrative records maintained by the State of Wisconsin with census block group data. We use a propensity score matching approach coupled with difference-in-differences regression analysis to estimate the effect of housing voucher receipt on the employment and earnings of voucher recipients; we track these effects for five years following voucher receipt. Our results indicate that voucher receipt has a generally positive effect on employment, but a negative impact on earnings. The negative earnings effect is largest in the years following initial receipt of the rental voucher, and dissipates over time. We find that the pattern of recipient labor market responses to voucher receipt differs substantially among demographic subgroups. In addition to our overall results, we present sensitivity results involving alternative estimation methods, as well as distinctions between those who receive transitory voucher support and those who are long-term recipients.

Casciano, Rebecca, and Douglas S. Massey. “Neighborhood Disorder and Anxiety Symptoms: New Evidence from a Quasi-Experimental Study.” *Health and Place* In Press (June 15, 2011). Available at: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1865238>

Abstract: This paper examines the relationship between neighborhood disorder and anxiety symptoms. It draws on data from the Monitoring Mt. Laurel Study, a new survey-based study that enables us to compare residents living in an affordable housing project in a middle-class New Jersey suburb to a comparable group of non-residents. Using these new data, we test the hypothesis that living in an affordable housing project in a middle class suburb reduces a poor person’s exposure to disorder and violence compared to what they would have experienced in the absence of access to such housing, and that this lesser exposure to disorder and violence yields improvements in anxiety that can be attributed to residents’ reduced stress burden. We find that residents of the project are much less likely to be exposed to disorder and violence and that these differences explain differences in stress burden and, hence, anxiety symptoms between the two groups.

Casciano, Rebecca, and Douglas S. Massey. “Neighborhood Disorder and Individual Economic Self-Sufficiency: New Evidence from a Quasi-Experimental Study.” *Social Science Research* In Press (June 15, 2011). Available at: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1865235>

Abstract: This paper draws on data from the Monitoring Mt. Laurel Study, a new survey-based study that enables us to compare residents living in an affordable housing project in a middle-class New Jersey suburb to a comparable group of non-residents. We test the hypothesis that living in this housing project improves a poor person’s economic prospects relative to what they would have experienced in the absence of such housing, and that these improved prospects can be explained at least in part by reduced exposure to disorder and stressful life events. We find that residents in the Ethel Lawrence Homes are significantly less to experience disorder and

negative life events and that this improvement in circumstances indirectly improves the likelihood of being employed, earnings, and the share of income from earnings. We find no relationship between residence in the housing project and the likelihood of using welfare.

Chang, Virginia W., Amy E. Hillier, and Neil K. Mehta. “Neighborhood Racial Isolation, Disorder, and Obesity.” *Social Forces* 87.4 (2009): 2063-2092. Available at: http://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/social_forces/v087/87.4.chang.pdf

Abstract: Recent research suggests that racial residential segregation may be detrimental to health. This study investigates the influence of neighborhood racial isolation on obesity and considers the role of neighborhood disorder as a mediator in this relationship. For the city of Philadelphia, we find that residence in a neighborhood with high black racial isolation is associated with a higher body mass index and higher odds of obesity among women, but not men, highlighting important sex differences in the influence of neighborhood structure on health. Furthermore, the influence of high racial isolation on women’s weight status is mediated, in part, by the physically disordered nature of such neighborhoods. Disorder of a more social nature (as measured by incident crime) is not associated with weight status.

Covington, Kenya, Lance Freeman, and Michael Stoll. “The Suburbanization of Housing Choice Voucher Recipients.” Washington, DC: Brookings Institute, 2011. Available at: http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2011/1011_housing_suburbs_covington_freeman_stoll.aspx

Summary: This study analyzes the changing location of voucher recipients within 100 of the largest U.S. metropolitan areas in 2000 and 2008. The Housing Choice Voucher program was implemented with the hopes voucher recipients would have more housing choices. The study was able to determine that by 2008 roughly half of all voucher recipients lived in suburban areas. Black voucher holders suburbanized at a faster rate than Latinos, but white voucher holders were still more suburbanized than both black and Latino voucher recipients. Metro areas in the west experienced high percentage point increases of voucher recipients. Within metro areas during 2000 and 2008, more voucher holders moved toward higher-income, jobs-rich suburbs, and the poor and affordable housing units also shifted toward higher-income, job-rich suburbs.

Crowley, Sheila, and Danilo Pelletiere. “Affordable Housing Dilemma: The Preservation vs. Mobility Debate.” Washington, DC: National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2012.

Summary: The report traces the history of what the authors characterize as a “debate” between housing mobility and housing preservation and describes how the pendulum swings in policy preferences. Interviews with ten stakeholders with varying perspectives, including five low income people, offer insights into these individuals’ perceptions of the perceived tensions between these approaches. Among the findings are: (1) The lack of resources to address the shortage of affordable housing for the lowest income households severely constrains housing choice; (2) The impetus for mobility programs is largely about improving children’s educational prospects; (3) The debate is rooted in the troubled history of race in America; and (4) Public policy should not be based on the assertion that it is problematic for too many low income people or too many people of color to live near one another. Rather, the focus should be on eliminating

public policies that help to create communities of high poverty and racial isolation, and promoting policies that create choice and access to opportunity.

DeLuca, Stefanie, and Elizabeth Dayton. "Switching Social Contexts: The Effects of Housing Mobility and School Choice Programs on Youth Outcomes." *Annual Review of Sociology* 35 (2009): 457-491.

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, and Peter Rosenblatt. "Walking Away from *The Wire*: Residential Mobility and Opportunity in Baltimore." *Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, 2009.*

Abstract: Prior research shows that African-Americans often live in poor segregated neighborhoods, even after moving. This occurs despite potential intervening factors, such as housing choice vouchers or increases in individual education, income, or wealth. Explanations for this pattern vary from structural constraints, such as discrimination in housing markets, to arguments about same race preferences. We explore these competing explanations for continued segregation using new data from the partial remedy to the *Thompson v. HUD* desegregation case in Baltimore. We examine how public housing families respond to the receipt of vouchers designated for use in low-poverty, majority-white neighborhoods. Findings indicate that low income black families from public housing projects *will* move to more integrated neighborhoods if given the chance and assistance, and many will stay in these neighborhoods for years. Eventually, a small proportion of families move to neighborhoods that are less white, but these areas are significantly less poor and less segregated than original communities. Our findings demonstrate that it is possible to help poor minority families relocate to better neighborhood conditions, in contrast to observational research, which demonstrates patterns of repeat mobility between poor neighborhoods. We also discuss current findings in light of past mobility studies, such as those based on Chicago's *Gautreaux* program and the federal Moving to Opportunity demonstration.

DeLuca, Stefanie, Peter Rosenblatt, and Holly Wood. “Why Poor People Move (and Where They Go): Residential Mobility, Selection and Stratification.” *Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Las Vegas. 2009.*

Abstract: The reproduction of segregation and unequal neighborhood attainment has long been a social problem identified by scholars. Despite demonstrating high levels of residential mobility *between* intraurban neighborhoods, low-income black families are less likely than any other group to escape disadvantaged neighborhoods. These findings call for research to identify the mechanisms which work to channel families into unequal neighborhoods. Using in-depth interviews with 100 low-income African-American families residing in Mobile, AL and Baltimore, MD, we describe how the process of relocation works for the urban poor and how families engage in the process of neighborhood selection throughout their residential biographies. In a striking departure from traditional research on mobility, we find that most families do not choose to move at all, with more than 70 percent of all most recent moves being catalyzed by forces which induce immediate, often involuntary relocation. We show how this “reactive mobility” works to accelerate and hamper residential selection in ways that may reproduce neighborhood context. Where mobility happens voluntarily, we show how these choices are often made under circumstances which prohibit families from investigating their full range of residential options. We also show how parenting in the inner city and a lifetime of experience in violent communities sets expectations low for neighborhood quality, but high for housing unit characteristics.

DeLuca, Stefanie. “What is the Role of Housing Policy? Considering Choice and Social Science Evidence.” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34.1 (2012): 21-28.

Abstract: This is a response to David Imbroscio's critique of urban policy. He gives the readers of the *Journal of Urban Affairs* a chance to think about the significance of communities we often devalue and the potential costs of urban policy that favors residential mobility—specifically extra-urban “moves to opportunity.” To be clear, however, he does this by implying a futuristic thought experiment that assumes the researchers who study residential mobility programs, the mobility paradigm (MP), have somehow gotten control of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and turned it inside out. In the face of this research hegemony, he advocates that we return to a placemaking paradigm (PP) that focuses on community building and bringing resources to urban neighborhoods, instead of bringing families to neighborhoods with resources. I am glad we get to talk honestly about urban policies, as we clearly have not gotten it right yet. However, I am afraid that Imbroscio's paper is part of an emerging literature that has the potential to do more harm than good by distracting us with research caricatures and a false dichotomy between policies that could be mutually beneficial. I must preface this commentary by saying that I have been implicated as part of the MP, and as such, it might be difficult to comment on Imbroscio's paper without sounding like part of the MP.

Duncan, Greg, and Anita Zuberi. “Mobility Lessons from Gautreaux and Moving to Opportunity.” *Northwestern Law Journal of Social Policy* 1.1 (2009): 110-126. Available at: <http://www.law.northwestern.edu/journals/njlsp/v1/n1/5/>

Summary: This article seeks to compare the efficacy of differing approaches to affordable housing policy, as represented through the Gautreaux residential mobility program and its sister program, Moving to Opportunity. MTO was inspired by the Gautreaux program, which relocated

thousands of families from high poverty neighborhoods over 2 decades, but focused on a different indicator of neighborhood quality: specifically, MTO targeted segregation by class, while the Gautreaux program targeted racial segregation. Gautreaux largely succeeded in reestablishing low-income households in more affluent, less segregated neighborhoods. Studies found that MTO, on the whole, was much less successful at promoting self-sufficiency; beneficiaries were no more likely to be employed or achieve higher levels of education than individuals from the control group. While MTO beneficiaries usually experienced an increase in neighborhood quality, this did not necessarily produce an improvement in educational quality or levels of prosperity. Members of the MTO program, however, reported much higher levels of well-being and mental health. The data suggests that neighborhood improvement is necessary but not the sole factor in ensuring a family's escape from poverty. Other networks of support are also a crucial component of ensuring employment, educational success and other markers of increased prosperity.

Freeman, Lance. "The impact of source of income laws on voucher utilization." *Housing Policy Debate* 22.2 (2012): 297-318.

Abstract: Vouchers are lauded both for being the most efficient way of delivering housing assistance to needy households and for the potential to allow poor households to access better neighborhoods. The success of vouchers is of course predicated on recipients being able to successfully use a voucher. For a number of reasons, including discrimination by landlords on the basis of source of income (i.e. a voucher), voucher recipients frequently cannot find apartments to lease. Using a difference-in-differences approach the research reported here examines how Source of Income anti-discrimination laws affect the utilization of housing vouchers.

The findings indicate that utilization rates are higher among Local Housing Authorities in jurisdictions with Source of Income anti-discrimination laws. These findings suggest such laws can be an effective tool for increasing the rate at which vouchers are successfully utilized. In a time of scarce resources for affordable housing this is an important policy tool that should not be over looked.

Goetz, Edward. "Gentrification in Black and White: The Racial Impact of Public Housing Demolition in American Cities." *Urban Studies* 48.8 (2011): 1581-1604. Available at: <http://usj.sagepub.com/content/48/8/1581.abstract>

Abstract: The gentrification that has transformed high-poverty neighborhoods in US cities since the mid 1990s has been characterized by high levels of state reinvestment. Prominent among public-sector interventions has been the demolition of public housing and in some cases multimillion dollar redevelopment efforts. In this paper, the racial dimension of state-supported gentrification in large US cities is examined by looking at the direct and indirect displacement induced by public housing transformation. The data show a clear tendency towards the demolition of public housing projects with disproportionately high African American occupancy. The pattern of indirect displacement is more varied; public housing transformation has produced a number of paths of neighborhood change. The most common, however, involve significant reductions in poverty, sometimes associated with Black to White racial turnover and sometimes not. The findings underscore the central importance of race in understanding the dynamics of gentrification in US cities.

Gubits, Daniel, Jill Khadduri, and Jennifer Turnham. “Housing Patterns of Low-Income Families with Children: Further Analysis of Data from the Study of Effects of Housing Vouchers on Welfare Families.” Cambridge, MA: Harvard Joint Center on Housing Studies, 2009.

Summary: This paper seeks to isolate and examine the low-income subgroups that seem to have benefitted the most from the Housing Choice Voucher Act. Findings show that low-income families with children, as well as the formerly homeless, have displayed the most profound increases in housing quality and overall quality of life. Voucher benefits are concentrated among African-American families that reside in a community’s poorest and most racially segregated neighborhoods. For others, gains are more modest. The paper makes the case that vouchers are highly effective at preventing homelessness within a community’s most marginalized populations, but are an incomplete method of ensuring access to affordable housing within desegregated neighborhoods. Alternate “mobility” strategies might include counseling programs for families receiving vouchers or the use of vouchers in combination with supply-side rental subsidy programs.

Hanson, Andrew, and Zackary Hawley. “Do landlords discriminate in the rental housing market? Evidence from an internet field experiment in US cities.” *Journal of Urban Economics* Unpublished Manuscript (2011).

Abstract: This paper tests for racial discrimination in the rental housing market using matched-pair audits conducted via e-mail for rental units advertised on-line. We reveal home-seekers’ race to landlords by sending e-mails from names with a high likelihood of association with either whites or African Americans. Generally, discrimination occurs against African American names; however, when the content of the e-mail messages insinuates home-seekers with high social class, discrimination is non-existent. Racial discrimination is more severe in neighborhoods that are near “tipping points” in racial composition, and for units that are part of a larger building.

Imbroscio, David. “Beyond Mobility: The Limits of Liberal Urban Policy.” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34.1 (2011): 1-20.

Abstract: Liberalism remains the dominant philosophical perspective underlying the development of urban public policy in the United States. At the heart of Liberal Urban Policy lies a Mobility Paradigm, which is marked by a strong emphasis on facilitating population movement as a means of addressing urban social problems. In this paper, I explicate the nature of this Mobility Paradigm across four key urban policy goals and then develop a critique of it. In its place, I offer one alternative – a Placemaking Paradigm- and discuss its contrasting conceptual attributes and policy implications. The Placemaking Paradigm points toward the nascent development of a Critical Urban Policy, which stands as an insurgent normative and empirical challenge to hitherto liberal dominance.

Kirk, David. “Residential Change as a Turning Point in the Life Course of Crime: Desistance or Temporary Cessation?” *Criminology* Forthcoming (2012). Available at: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1822644>

Abstract: Many former prisoners return home to the same residential environment, with the same criminal opportunities and criminal peers, where they resided before incarceration. If the path to desistance from crime largely requires knifing-off from past situations and establishing a new set of routine activities, then returning to one’s old environment and routines may drastically limit an ex-prisoner’s already dismal chances of desisting from crime. This study tests these ideas by examining how forced residential migration caused by Hurricane Katrina affected the likelihood of reincarceration among a sample of ex-prisoners originally from New Orleans. Property damage from the hurricane induced some ex-prisoners to move to new neighborhoods who otherwise would have moved back to their former neighborhoods. Findings from an instrumental variables survival analysis reveal that those parolees who moved to a new parish following release were substantially less likely to be reincarcerated during the first 3 years after release than ex-offenders who moved back to the parish where they were originally convicted. Moreover, at no point in the 3-year time period was the hazard of reincarceration greater for those parolees who moved than for those who returned to the same parish.

Kirk, David S., and John H. Laub. “Neighborhood Change and Crime in the Modern Metropolis.” *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research* 39.1 (2010): 441-502.

Abstract: Few empirical studies of crime have treated neighborhoods as dynamic entities, by examining how processes of growth, change, and decline affect neighborhood rates of crime. From a small yet burgeoning collection of dynamic research related to population migration — including population loss, gentrification, the development and demolition of public housing, homeownership and home foreclosure, and immigration — we know that neighborhood change, even when it leads to socio-economic improvements, tends to have a destabilizing influence that leads to increases in crime in the short-term. This results, in part, because residential turnover undermines informal social control. There is also evidence across a variety of neighborhood changes, including population loss from central cities as well as gentrification, that population migration is both a cause and consequence of crime. However, too few studies pay adequate attention to how methodological choices affect inferences about the effect of neighborhoods on crime, and as a result there is much that is not known about the relationship between neighborhood change and crime, especially regarding causal mechanisms. Longitudinal data on neighborhood social and cultural processes and population migration are needed to advance our understanding of neighborhood change and crime.

LaVeist, Thomas, Keshia Pollack, Roland Thorpe Jr., Ruth Fesahazion, and Darrell Gaskin. “Place, Not Race: Disparities Dissipate In Southwest Baltimore When Blacks And Whites Live Under Similar Conditions.” *Health Affairs* 30.10 (2011): 1880-1887.

Abstract: Much of the current health disparities literature fails to account for the fact that the nation is largely segregated, leaving racial groups exposed to different health risks and with variable access to health services based on where they live. We sought to determine if racial health disparities typically reported in national studies remain the same when black and white Americans live in integrated settings. Focusing on a racially integrated, low-income neighborhood of Southwest Baltimore, Maryland, we found that nationally reported disparities in hypertension, diabetes, obesity among women, and use of health services either

vanished or substantially narrowed. The sole exception was smoking: We found that white residents were more likely than black residents to smoke, underscoring the higher rates of ill health in whites in the Baltimore sample than seen in national data. As a result, we concluded that racial differences in social environments explain a meaningful portion of disparities typically found in national data. We further concluded that when social factors are equalized, racial disparities are minimized. Policies aimed solely at health behavior change, biological differences among racial groups, or increased access to health care are limited in their ability to close racial disparities in health. Such policies must address the differing resources of neighborhoods and must aim to improve the underlying conditions of health for all.

Lens, Michael C., Ingrid Gould Ellen, and Katherine O'Regan. "Do Vouchers Help Low-Income Households Live in Safer Neighborhoods?" *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research* 13.3 (2011): 135-159.

Abstract: This article examines an important potential justification for the Housing Choice Voucher Program, namely, whether participants are able to access safer neighborhoods. Using neighborhood crime and subsidized housing data for 91 large cities, we examined whether voucher holders are able to reach communities with lower levels of crime. We found that, in 2000, voucher households occupied neighborhoods that were about as safe as those housing the average poor renter household and were significantly safer than those in which households assisted through place-based programs lived. Notably, Black voucher holders lived in significantly lower crime neighborhoods than poor households of the same race, but Hispanic and White voucher holders did not. In a separate analysis of seven cities, we found that voucher holders lived in considerably safer neighborhoods in 2008 than they did in 1998, largely because crime rates fell more in the neighborhoods where voucher holders live than in other neighborhoods.

Ludwig, Jens, Julia Burdick-Will, Stephen W. Raudenbush, Robert J. Sampson, Lisa Sanbonmatsu, and Patrick Sharkey. "Converging Evidence for Neighborhood Effects on Children's Test Scores: An Experimental, Quasi-Experimental, and Observational Comparison." Whiter Opportunity: Rising Inequality, Schools, and Children's Life Chances. Ed. Greg Duncan and Richard Murnane. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011. 255-276.

Abstract: Rising income inequality has been found to be associated with rising segregation at the neighborhood level, generating concern about whether neighborhood environments themselves may influence children's life chances, independent of other individual child and family characteristics. Because poor and minority Americans are overrepresented in our most disadvantaged neighborhoods, any neighborhood effects on children may contribute to persistent disparities in overall schooling outcomes across race and class lines in the United States.

A large body of nonexperimental research dating back to the Coleman Report in 1966 has produced evidence consistent with the idea of large neighborhood effects on children's schooling outcomes. However, drawing causal inferences from these studies is complicated by the fact that the attributes of a neighborhood in which a family lives is likely correlated with characteristics of the family that predict schooling outcomes. These studies are therefore vulnerable to selection bias. The one formal randomized experiment in this literature is the five-city Moving to Opportunity (MTO) experiment, data from which suggests no statistically significant impacts, on

average, on reading or math test scores for children in MTO measured four to seven years after baseline. How one should weight the findings from the MTO experiment versus the larger body of nonexperimental research remains the topic of ongoing debate within the research and policy communities.

In this chapter, we try to reconcile the experimental, quasi-experimental, and observational research literature regarding neighborhood effects on children, and we argue that the available findings are more convergent than many people believe. Drawing on a number of recent and unusually high-quality quasi-experimental and observational studies, together with a reexamination of MTO findings across the individual MTO demonstration sites, we believe that the available evidence allows us to reject the null hypothesis that neighborhood environments *never* matter for children's outcomes. Yet at the same time, the data also do not support the hypothesis that neighborhoods *always* matter.

In our view, the key question for research and public policy is to learn more about the conditions under which neighborhoods matter for children's academic outcomes and why. Our ability to answer this question in the present chapter is restricted by the limited number of studies that have employed sufficiently strong research designs to support inferences about neighborhood effects on children's outcomes, and by the fact that a disproportionate share of the studies that meet this research-design threshold have been carried out in a single city (Chicago).

With these important qualifications in mind, we believe that there is at least a suggestive case to be made that children's test scores may be most strongly affected by community violence or may respond nonlinearly to concentrated neighborhood disadvantage or community violence. Put differently, what may matter most for children's cognitive development is to avoid living in the most severely economically distressed or dangerous neighborhoods in the country, neighborhoods that are found in cities like Baltimore and Chicago but, surprisingly, are less prevalent even in other major urban areas such as Boston, Los Angeles, and New York. Given the limitations of the available evidence, we offer these as hypotheses to be tested further rather than as strong conclusions.

McClure, Kirk. "The Prospects for Guiding Housing Choice Voucher Household to High-Opportunity Neighborhoods." *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research* 12.3 (2010): 101-122.

Abstract: The Housing Choice Voucher Program seeks to do more than help poor households lease good-quality rental housing. One of the program's goals is to help poor households break out of the cycle of poverty by locating in neighborhoods with numerous opportunities for gainful employment, good schools, and racial and ethnic integration. The Moving to Opportunity (MTO) for Fair Housing program showed that, with constrained choice, households will locate in low-poverty neighborhoods. If the MTO model were to be used on a larger scale, would enough neighborhoods be available to offer good housing, employment, and educational opportunities?

Examination of census block groups across the nation suggests that the supply of high opportunity neighborhoods may not be as large as desired; there are simply too few ideal neighborhoods and affordable units. By relaxing the objectives, however, and focusing on poverty deconcentration and perhaps expanding the use of HUD's procedure that grants

exception rents above the fair Market Rents limit, a more ample supply of target neighborhoods and rental units could become available.

Oakley, Deirdre. “Out of the Projects, Still in the Hood: The Spatial Constraints on Public Housing Residents’ Relocation in Chicago.” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 20.1 (2009): 1-26.

Abstract: Public housing, usually located in predominantly poor, minority neighborhoods, has long been associated with concentrated poverty and spatially constraining opportunities for upward mobility. The federal government created HOPE VI in 1992 to transform the physical and social shape of public housing, demolishing existing projects and replacing them with mixed-income developments. To accomplish this public-housing residents are relocated with housing voucher subsidies to the private market and only a small portion will be able to return to the new mixed income developments. To what extent do these voucher subsidies simply reinforce a stratified housing market by limiting the types of neighborhoods available to former public-housing residents? Using spatial analytic techniques, this study examines the spatial patterns and neighborhood conditions of voucher housing and how these patterns link to public-housing relocatees’ destinations. Findings indicate that voucher housing tends to be clustered in poor African-American neighborhoods where the majority of relocated public-housing residents settle. Thus, there appear to be spatial constraints on relocatees’ residential options.

Roscigno, Vincent J., Diana L. Karafin, and Griff Tester. “The Complexities and Processes of Racial Housing Discrimination.” *Social Problems* 56.1 (2009): 49-69.

Abstract: Housing represents an important arena within which racial inequalities continue to manifest—a fact highlighted in housing audit studies and the substantial literature on racial residential segregation. In this article, we extend the insights of prior work by: (1) denoting the wide range of “exclusionary” discriminatory practices that transpire at distinct stages of the rental/sales process and that are too varied to be captured by any singular audit design; (2) analyzing something that audits simply cannot, namely discrimination that occurs within already established housing arrangements (i.e., non-exclusionary discrimination). We draw from qualitative and quantitative data truly unique to the literature, reflecting approximately 750 instances of housing discrimination— discrimination verified by civil rights investigators following state and federal guidelines. Quantitative patterns denote unique and disparate vulnerability, especially for African American women, and the centrality of powerful institutional (i.e., banks, realtors, insurance companies, etc.) and more proximate actors (i.e., landlords and neighbors) in reifying racial disadvantage. Landlords are clearly on the “front line” with regard to both exclusionary and non-exclusionary forms. Neighbors, realtors, banks, and mortgage companies play a role as well, more or less, depending on the form of discrimination being examined. Qualitative immersion into case materials offers important insight on relevant processes pertaining to victim vulnerability and status, and how discriminatory actions themselves occur. We conclude by discussing the implications of our arguments and findings for future analyses of race and housing inequality, and for understanding stratification and its micro-interactive dimensions generally. Keywords: discrimination, housing, race, inequality, social closure.

Rosenbaum, James, Stefanie DeLuca, and Anita Zuberi. “When does residential mobility benefit low-income families? Evidence from recent housing voucher programmes.” *Benefits* 17.2 (2009): 113-123.

Abstract: Policy reforms try to improve education or employment while individuals remain in the same locations - these reforms often fail. Such policies may be fighting an uphill battle as long as individuals live in the same social contexts. Findings from Chicago's Gautreaux programme suggest that residential mobility is a possible lever. By moving into more advantaged neighbourhoods, with higher-quality schools and better labour markets, mothers had improved employment rates and children had access to better educational settings and jobs. However, a subsequent mobility programme (MTO) was conducted with a randomised field trial and child and family outcomes were more mixed. We speculate about what kinds of moves and social settings are required in order to effect improved economic and social outcomes.

Rosenblatt, Peter, and Stefanie DeLuca. “We Don’t Live Outside, We Live in Here!: Neighborhood and Residential Mobility Decisions in Low-Income Families.” *Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Atlanta. 2010.*

Abstract: Recent policy approaches to ameliorate the effects of concentrated poverty on individual well-being have used housing vouchers to allow families to move to higher opportunity neighborhoods. This paper uses quantitative and qualitative data from the MTO experiment in Baltimore to explore these patterns and the decision making processes behind them in greater detail. While some families made moves to low-poverty areas that persisted over time, the majority moved back to higher poverty or more segregated neighborhoods. Structural constraints like access to public transportation or ease of finding a place to use the voucher explain some of the reasons families ended up where they did. Yet we also find that families think of neighborhoods as only one component in a balancing act that is influenced by the constraints of life in poverty. Previous studies of how families make residential decisions largely consider residential mobility to be an example of utility maximizing behavior. To extend this, we explore how social structure interacts with individual behavior to shape residential mobility outcomes. The data support the notion that these families negotiate a constrained form of choice. On the one hand, low income families often see residential mobility as a chance to increase safety or maximize dwelling space. However, the interviews also highlight how poverty and socioeconomic status are not only about income constraints, but are also factors that shape families’ perceptions about the opportunities that neighborhoods can provide.

Ross, Lauren. “The Impact of Housing Vouchers on Renters’ Neighborhood Satisfaction: Understanding the Perceptions and Constraints among Assisted and Unassisted Renters.” *American Housing Survey User Conference, Washington, DC. March 8, 2011.*

Abstract: This paper examines the efficacy of the Housing Choice Voucher program, which is intended to maximize housing choices for low-income households and produce higher levels of renter satisfaction. The findings show that housing vouchers lead to measurable increases in housing satisfaction. However, voucher recipients continue to demonstrate lower levels of neighborhood satisfaction compared to unassisted renters. Voucher recipients are more likely to live in neighborhoods with higher levels of poverty, crime and racial segregation, and are more likely to remain in these neighborhoods even after receiving racial assistance. However, voucher recipients are also more likely than unassisted renters to seek housing in other neighborhoods,

suggesting that this propensity to remain in poorer neighborhoods may not be entirely a matter of personal choice. The paper implies that housing vouchers may increase individual choice, but cannot account for larger patterns of discrimination within the private renter market. Landlord discrimination may limit mobility. The limited availability of affordable housing, additional expenses prompted by a move to private rental housing and the presence of miscellaneous hardships (such as poor health, unemployment, and household members with disabilities) are also limiting factors in voucher recipient mobility, suggesting that the voucher program is an incomplete improvement over prior project-based approaches to ensuring housing for vulnerable communities.

Sanbonmatsu, Lisa, Jeffrey R. Kling, Greg J. Duncan, and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn. “Neighborhoods and Academic Achievement: Results from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment.” *Journal of Human Resources* 41.4 (2006): 649–691.

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 over 5000 children ages 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.

Sharkey, Patrick. “Neighborhoods and the Black-White Mobility Gap.” Washington, DC: The Economic Mobility Project: An Initiative of The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2009.

Abstract: One of the most powerful findings of the Economic Mobility Project’s research to date has been the striking mobility gap between blacks and whites in America. This report explores one potentially important factor behind the black-white mobility gap: the impact of neighborhood poverty rates experienced during childhood. Using the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), the report focuses on blacks and whites born from 1955-1970, following them from childhood into adulthood. The first section of the paper investigates relative intergenerational mobility; whether neighborhood poverty in childhood impacts the ability of both black and white adults to move up or down the income ladder relative to the position their parents held. The second section investigates whether changes in neighborhood poverty rates experienced by black children affected their adult incomes, earnings, and wealth. Finally, the third section provides an overview of the possible policy implications of the results.

Sharkey, Patrick, and Robert J. Sampson. “Destination Effects: Residential Mobility and Trajectories of Adolescent Violence in a Stratified Metropolis.” *Criminology* 48.3 (2010): 639-681. Available at: http://as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/6024/Sharkey_NewPaper1.pdf

Abstract: Two landmark policy interventions to improve the lives of youth through neighborhood mobility—the Gautreaux program in Chicago and the Moving to Opportunity experiments in five cities—have produced conflicting results and created a puzzle with broad implications: Do residential moves between neighborhoods increase or decrease violence, or both? To address this question we analyze data from a subsample of adolescents ages 9–12 from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods, a longitudinal study of children and their families that

began in Chicago, the site of the original Gautreaux program and one of the MTO experiments. We propose a dynamic modeling strategy to separate the effects of residential moving over three waves of the study from dimensions of neighborhood change and metropolitan location. The results reveal countervailing effects of mobility on trajectories of violence: Whereas neighborhood moves within Chicago lead to an *elevated* risk of violence, moves outside of the city *reduce* violent offending and exposure to violence. The gap in violence between movers within and outside Chicago is explained not only by the racial and economic composition of the destination neighborhoods, but the quality of school contexts, adolescents' perceived control over their new environment, and fear. These findings highlight the need to consider simultaneously residential mobility, mechanisms of neighborhood change, and the wider geography of structural opportunity.

Squires, Gregory D. "Beyond the Mobility versus Place Debate." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34.1 (2012): 29-33.

Abstract: David Imbroscio has once again offered provocative ideas for effectively addressing urban poverty in metropolitan areas across the country. But in "Beyond Mobility" he has developed an incomplete and misleading portrait of the "mobility paradigm" and the broader "liberal urban policy" umbrella of which he claims it is a part. This is a picture that minimizes if not dismisses altogether legitimate issues raised by those who have studied the ecology of poverty, racial segregation, and the consequences. And while several of the recommendations that flow from the "placemaking paradigm" offer promise, many of these and related ideas have actually been proposed by those he criticizes for focusing on mobility. But there are serious problems associated with some of the specifics offered here. Perhaps most importantly, "Beyond Mobility" offers a far more one-sided vision than the liberal urban policy advocates he criticizes for being so focused on mobility. It is time to move beyond the mobility versus place debate.

Tuch, Steven A., Michael Huges, and Samantha Friedman. "Racial and Ethnic Differences in Residential Preferences in "Post-Racial" America: A Study of Whites, African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians." Forthcoming paper. (2012).

Abstract: A topic of long-standing interest in social science scholarship on race is whites' strong support for general principles of racial equality, on one hand, coupled with their intransigence on policies designed to redress inequality, on the other. Much has been written on possible explanations of this "principle-policy gap" and what the gap reveals about the state of contemporary American race relations. Using nationally representative survey data, this study, first, examines the neighborhood racial residential preferences of whites as an exemplar of the discrepancy between principle and policy—whites have long endorsed the principle of neighborhood integration while simultaneously resisting policies to achieve it; second, compares whites' housing preferences with the less frequently examined preferences of African Americans, Asians, and Hispanics; and third, analyzes a range of demographic, socioeconomic, social psychological, and structural factors expected to shape the housing preferences of members of each of these racial-ethnic groups

Van Zant, Shannon, and Pratik Mhatre. “The Effect of Housing Choice Voucher Households on Neighborhood Crime: Longitudinal Evidence from Dallas.” Working Paper 09-01, Sustainable Housing Research Unit (SHRU), College of Architecture, Texas A&M University. (2009).

Abstract: Tenant-based housing assistance is designed to provide access for low-income households to a wider range of housing options, de-concentrating poverty and reducing the exposure of these households to negative conditions. Yet an observed coincidence of crime and subsidized households indicates that something is going wrong. Either households are constrained in their choices and are settling in high-crime neighborhoods, or these households bring crime with them, using vouchers to penetrate otherwise low-crime neighborhoods.

We use longitudinal data from Dallas to assess whether changes in the number of HCV households are related to changes in crime, not just whether HCV households are present in high-crime neighborhoods. The evidence supports the hypothesis that observed relationships between crime and HCV households results from a lack of units that accept vouchers in areas that have lower levels of crime. The hypothesis that voucher holders are the cause of increases in neighborhood crime is not supported.

Zuberi, Anita. “Limited Exposure: Children’s Activities and Neighborhood Effects in the Gautreaux Two Housing Mobility Program.” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 32.4 (2010): 405-423.

Abstract: Housing mobility programs intend to improve the well-being of low-income families by changing the neighborhood environment in which they live, and thereby creating access to a new set of opportunities and resources. Using data collected in a study of the Gautreaux Two (G2) Housing Mobility program, which offered housing vouchers to public housing residents in Chicago to move to lower-poverty and less segregated “opportunity” neighborhoods, this article explores families’ access to programs and services for their children in the neighborhoods where they move. The analysis is based on a sample of 46 families who moved through the G2 program. Qualitative in-depth interviews were conducted with mothers in four waves, which started when the family still lived in public housing. The results show that almost three-quarters of the families utilized activities for their children in the baseline neighborhoods, but mothers also expressed concerns about the safety and lack of program variety available in these disadvantaged neighborhoods. After moving through the G2 program, only one-third of the children in these families are using activities. The decline in activity participation is especially steep for children in families that move to areas outside of the city. Although few mothers are concerned with safety or the variety of programs available, several report barriers to activities for children in the new neighborhood, including fewer programs for low-income children, high cost, transportation difficulties, and issues finding daycare or preschool for younger children. Some children continue to use activities in the old neighborhood and some families end up making subsequent moves to nonqualifying neighborhoods. These findings suggest that activity participation is important for many low-income families, and losing access to these activities upon moving through the G2 program may limit children's exposure to the new neighborhood and contribute to subsequent moves.

Books, Articles, and Reports on Housing Mobility prior to 2009
(sources not included in prior annotated bibliographies from 3rd
and 4th National Conferences on Assisted Housing Mobility²)

Belsky, Eric, and Matthew Lambert. “Where Will They Live: Metropolitan Dimensions of Affordable Housing Problems.” Cambridge, MA: Harvard Joint Center on Housing Studies, 2001.

Summary: This article seeks to draw attention to the metropolitan dimensions of solving affordable housing shortages: specifically, the need for building affordable housing that accounts for current patterns of economic and population growth. Trends in the 1990s indicate a shift from high-density patterns of residential and commercial settlement toward low-density, suburban, dispersed patterns of growth. While wealth is increasingly clustered in suburban communities, zoning restrictions limit the ability of low-income families to find affordable housing in these areas. The lack of affordable housing and transportation housing in suburban areas have led to an increasingly segregated housing landscape, in which urban areas are populated by large concentrations of low-income African Americans and suburban areas are significantly whiter and more affluent. The paper explores obstacles to creating larger supplies of desegregated and affordable housing, including the “CAVE” (Citizens Against Virtually Everything) phenomenon, and discusses a variety of regionally-based solutions for improving affordable housing access.

Choi, Seok Joon, Jan Ondrich, and John Yinger. “Do rental agents discriminate against minority customers? Evidence from the 2000 Housing Discrimination Study.” *Journal of Housing Economics* 14.1 (2005): 1-26.

Abstract: This study examines the incidence and causes of housing discrimination in qualitative treatment by rental agents, using national audit data from the 2000 Housing Discrimination Study. Using the fixed-effects logit method described by [Review of Economic Studies 47(1) (1980) 225–238], we control for unobservable factors that are shared by audit teammates and conduct hypothesis tests for the incidence and causes of discrimination. We find evidence that rental housing discrimination has declined since 1989 but continues to exist in several important types of housing agent behavior. We also find evidence that this discrimination is caused by agents’ own prejudice and by their response to the prejudice of white clients.

Comey, Jennifer. “Hope VI’d and On the Move.” Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2007.
Available at: http://www.urban.org/uploadedpdf/311485_hopevi_mobility.pdf

Summary: This briefing provides an analysis of Congress’s Hope VI public housing program and its record in transforming low-income housing projects into revitalized mixed-income communities and helping families move to improved neighborhoods. A panel survey of residents from 5 substandard HOPE VI public housing developments revealed a low return rate for revitalized HOPE VI housing sites. This low return rate can be traced back to more stringent renter requirements for the mixed-income sites, a decrease in overall levels of available housing and a lack of confidence in the quality of improvements to the site. The majority of residents surveyed used vouchers to relocate from their original neighborhood. Those who remained at the

² <http://www.prrac.org/projects/housingmobility.php>

original HOPE VI sites cited financial obstacles to relocation and a lack of confidence in their ability to find higher-quality housing. Rates of successful relocation varied widely according to MSA – individuals in higher-cost areas, including Washington D.C., reported very low mobility rates. While a majority of survey respondents experienced improvements in housing and neighborhood quality, a significant minority continued to live in communities that were only marginally better than their original HOPE VI housing site.

Comey, Jennifer, Xavier de Sousa Briggs, and Gretchen Weismann. “Struggling to Stay Out of High-Poverty Neighborhoods: Lessons from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment.” Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2008. Available at: <http://www.urban.org/publications/411635.html>

Abstract: MTO offered families living in concentrated poverty the chance to move to lower poverty areas, away from the high unemployment and high crime rates areas with the challenges and risks they present. This brief looks at whether the program was successful in helping families move away from those neighborhoods and stay away from them, noting both the reasons for subsequent moves and the characteristics of the neighborhoods to which they made those moves.

Freeman, Lance, and Frank Braconi. “Gentrification and displacement.” *The Urban Prospect* 8.1 (2002).

Summary: In New York City, growing housing pressure has some affluent New Yorkers to move to neighborhoods that were formerly considered forbidding. With many affluent professionals moving in, however, communities became increasingly concerned that rising rents would push existing residents out of their neighborhoods. Secondary displacement has become a significant community concern in revitalizing urban communities across the country. To examine the relationship between residential mobility and neighborhood gentrification, this paper looks at HVS data on 55 subborough areas, geographic units which correspond closely to the city’s community board districts.

Goering, John, and Judith Feins. “Social Science, Housing Policy, and the Harmful Effects of Poverty.” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 30.2 (2008): 139-148.

Abstract: The history of housing policy in the United States reveals a longstanding debate about the correct mix of person- and place-based initiatives. Prof. David Imbroscio (hereafter David) has written an analysis and critique of one part of the analytic puzzle of how we can move toward a more balanced, carefully evaluated, and effective set of options for doing both types of initiatives to help house the poor of this country. After briefly describing David’s issues, we offer two preparatory comments followed by our reactions to the six specific issues that he suggests illustrate the shortcomings of the dispersal group that he feels now dominates the domestic policy space for housing programs. We end by agreeing that housing policy should, to use his words, “facilitate mobility as well as to make cities more livable.”

Greenbaum, Susan, Wendy Hathaway, Cheryl Rodriguez, Ashley Spalding, and Beverly Ward. “Deconcentration and Social Capital: Contradictions of a Poverty Alleviation Policy.” *Journal of Poverty* 12.2 (2008).

Abstract: Deconcentration is a policy aimed at reducing poverty by relocating residents of distressed public housing complexes into private mixed income neighborhoods. This change is presumed to offer new social opportunities and better public facilities that can facilitate improved economic status. HOPE VI is a federal U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) program, which has effected this policy in a large number of U.S. cities. This paper reports the findings from research in two relocation sites (high and low poverty) in Tampa, Florida, based on interviews with HOPE VI relocatees and their homeowners. Results indicate that relocation does not enhance social capital for former public housing residents. Social networks are diminished in comparison with prior conditions in public housing. There is very little interaction with homeowners in relocation sites, and considerable resistance by homeowners. Relocatee satisfaction with housing is greater in the low poverty site, but social networks are not different across sites.

Holzer, Harry J., Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, Greg J. Duncan, and Jens Ludwig. “The Economic Costs of Poverty in the United States: Subsequent Effects of Children Growing up Poor.” Washington, DC: Center for American Progress, 2007.

Abstract: This paper attempts to estimate the aggregate annual costs of child poverty to the US economy. It begins with a review of rigorous research studies that estimate the statistical association between children growing up in poverty and their earnings, propensity to commit crime, and quality of health later in life. We also review estimates of the costs that crime and poor health impose on the economy. Then we aggregate all of these average costs per poor child across the total number of children growing up in poverty in the United States to obtain our estimate of the aggregate costs of the conditions associated with childhood poverty to the US economy. Our results suggest that these costs total about \$500 billion per year, or the equivalent of nearly 4% of gross domestic product (GDP). More specifically, we estimate that childhood poverty each year: (1) reduces productivity and economic output by an amount equal to 1.3% of GDP, (2) raises the costs of crime by 1.3% of GDP, and (3) raises health expenditures and reduces the value of health by 1.2% of GDP.

Johnson, Michael P. “Spatial decision support for assisted housing mobility counseling.” *Decision Support System* 41.1 (2005): 296 – 312.

Abstract: This paper presents a prototype spatial decision support system (SDSS) that enables clients in the Housing Choice Voucher Program to make better decisions about neighborhoods in which to search for housing and specific units to evaluate for occupancy. Application requirements are based on field research establishing limitations of housing counselors to provide detailed assistance to clients, and the capability of clients to use a spatial decision support system. Decision opportunities are identified using value-focused thinking and spatial analysis. Specific destination alternatives are ranked using a destination choice algorithm based on multicriteria decision models that incorporates alternative relocation strategies.

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 (2008): 305-352.

Abstract: Data from the Gautreaux residential mobility program, which relocated low-income African American families from high poverty, segregated inner-city, Chicago neighborhoods into mostly European American, suburban neighborhoods, and mostly European American or mostly African American neighborhoods within Chicago, are used to assess whether children's later involvement with the Illinois criminal justice system is associated with the characteristics of their placement neighborhoods. I find 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.

Kling, Jeffrey R., Jeffrey B. Liebman, Lawrence F. Katz, and Lisa Sanbonmatsu. "Moving to Opportunity and Tranquility: Neighborhood Effects on Adult Economic Self-Sufficiency and Health from a Randomized Housing Voucher Experiment." KSG Working Paper No. RWP04-035. (August 2004).

Abstract: An examination of adult economic and health outcomes in the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) demonstration, a randomized housing mobility experiment in which families living in high-poverty U.S. public housing projects in five cities were given vouchers to help them move to private housing units in lower-poverty neighborhoods. An experimental group was offered vouchers valid only in a low-poverty neighborhood; a Section 8 group was offered traditional housing vouchers without geographic restriction; a control group was not offered vouchers. Our sample consists largely of black and Hispanic female household heads with children. Five years after random assignment, the families offered housing vouchers through MTO lived in safer neighborhoods that had significantly lower poverty rates than those of the control group not offered vouchers. No significant overall effects on adult employment, earnings, or public assistance receipt were found - though sample sizes were not sufficiently large to rule out moderate effects in either direction. In contrast, there were significant mental health benefits of the MTO intervention for the experimental group. There were also demonstrations of a more general pattern for the mental health results using both voucher groups of systematically larger effect sizes for groups experiencing larger changes in neighborhood poverty rates. In an analysis of physical health outcomes, findings displayed significant reduction in obesity for the experimental group, but no significant effects on four other aspects of physical health (general health, asthma, physical limitations, and hypertension) or on summary measures of physical health.

Krysan, Maria. "Does race matter in the search for housing? An exploratory study of search strategies, experiences, and locations." *Social Science Research* 37.2 (2008): 581-603.

Abstract: In a departure from most studies of the causes of racial residential segregation that focus on the three main factors of economics, preferences, and discrimination, this paper examines one of the mechanisms through which segregation may be perpetuated: the housing

search process itself. Data come from a 2004 face-to-face survey of an area probability sample of African American and white householders living in the three counties of the Detroit metropolitan area ($n = 734$). These data are used to address three research questions: (1) What are the strategies people use to find housing, and are there racial differences in those strategies? (2) Do whites and African Americans report similar or different experiences in the search for housing? (3) Do the locations in which people search for housing vary by race? Results show that once controlling for the type of search and background characteristics, the search strategies are generally similar for whites and blacks, though more so for buyers than renters: for example, black renters use more informal strategies and networks than do white renters. Analyses that look at the features of these strategies, however, reveal some significant racial differences. Search experiences are similar in terms of length and number of homes inspected, but other objective and subjective questions about the search show blacks at a disadvantage compared to whites: African Americans submit more offers/applications for homes, report more difficulties, and are much more likely to feel they were taken advantage of during the search. The racial characteristics of the communities in which blacks and whites search are quite different: whites mainly search in white communities, while African Americans search in communities with a variety of racial compositions. The paper concludes with a call for further research on housing search strategies, with particular attention to the role of social networks.

Lipman, Pauline. "Mixed-income schools and housing: advancing the neoliberal urban agenda." *Journal of Education Policy* 23.2 (2008): 119-134.

Abstract: This article uses a social justice framework to problematize national and local policies in housing and education which propose to reduce poverty and improve educational performance of low-income students through mixed-income strategies. Drawing on research on Chicago, the article argues mixed-income strategies are part of the neoliberal restructuring of cities which has at its nexus capital accumulation and racial containment and exclusion through gentrification, de-democratization and privatization of public institutions, and displacement of low-income people of color. The ideological basis for these policies lies in racialized cultural deficit theories that negate the cultural and intellectual strengths and undermine the self-determination of low-income communities of color. Neoliberal mixed-income policies are unlikely to reduce inequality in education and housing. They fail to address root causes of poverty and unequal opportunity to learn and may exacerbate spatial exclusion and marginalization of people of color in urban areas. Building on Nancy Fraser's model for social justice, the article concludes with suggestions toward a framework for just housing and education policy centered on economic redistribution (economic restructuring), cultural recognition (cultural transformation), and parity of political representation.

Ludwig, Jens, Greg J. Duncan, and Joshua C. Pinkston. "Housing mobility programs and economic self-sufficiency: Evidence from a randomized experiment." *Journal of Public Economics* 89.1 (2005): 131-156.

Abstract: This paper examines the effects of a randomized housing-voucher program on individual economic outcomes. Public housing residents who are offered relocation counseling together with housing vouchers that can only be redeemed in low-poverty areas experience a reduction in welfare receipt of between 11% and 16% compared to controls. These effects are not accompanied by changes in earnings or employment rates as measured by unemployment

insurance records. Offering families unrestricted housing vouchers without additional counseling appears to have little effect on economic outcomes.

Mueller, Elizabeth J., and J. Rosie Tighe. "Making the Case for Affordable Housing: Connecting Housing with Health and Education Outcomes." *Journal of Planning Literature* 21.4 (2007): 371-385.

Abstract: As advocates push for inclusion of affordable housing beyond the central city, siting battles have become increasingly common. Opponents often claim that affordable housing brings no net benefits to the community, and that it threatens neighborhood property values. This review considers existing evidence regarding the relationship between provision of quality affordable housing and benefits to the larger community. Evidence is considered in the areas of health and education. Given the high level of public concern with these two issues, evidence of benefits could be especially potent in public discussions of affordable housing. Future research is proposed in each area.

Rosenbaum, James and Stefanie DeLuca. "Is Housing Mobility the Key to Welfare Reform? Lessons from Chicago's Gautreaux Program." Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, 2000.

Abstract: Since 1976, the Gautreaux program in Chicago has helped thousands of inner-city low-income black families move to new neighborhoods within the city itself and in the outlying suburbs. This survey examines the extent to which neighborhood characteristics affect household reliance on welfare (AFDC) receipt. Rosenbaum and De Luca find that families who moved into communities with more-educated neighbors were much more likely to leave public assistance after the move than their counterparts in areas with less-educated residents.

Sampson, Robert J. "Moving to Inequality: Neighborhood Effects and Experiments Meet Social Structure." *American Journal of Sociology* 114.1 (2008): 189-231. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/589843>

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.

Smith, Alastair. “Mixed-Income Housing Developments: Housing and Reality.” Cambridge, MA: Harvard Joint Center on Housing Studies, 2002.

Abstract: This paper examines the rationale for mixed-income approaches to affordable housing development, as well as the record of such developments in meeting their objectives, from the perspective of housing developers and those responsible for designing housing programs and policies. The drivers of the recent, renewed emphasis on mixed-income housing projects are also examined and analyzed. The potential benefits to mixed-income approaches are summarized based on existing literature and interviews with key informants. Overall, this paper finds mixed-income approaches can have an important role in getting additional affordable units built, ensuring high-quality housing, and de-concentrating poverty. However, mixed-income housing is not a silver bullet to overcoming the difficult challenges faced by families seeking to escape from poverty or the realities of housing markets. Because mixed-income developments are complex, present unique risks, and often house fewer needy families than other types of development, mixed-income approaches must carefully consider the local housing market, the population to be served, financing options, the scale of the project, and the community context. This paper concludes by discussing the implications of these findings and suggests guiding questions for developers and policy makers considering mixed-income projects and policies.

Turney, Kristin, Susan Clampet-Lundquist, Kathryn Edin, Jeffrey R. Kling, and Greg J. Duncan. “Neighborhood Effects on Barriers to Employment: Results from a Randomized Housing Mobility Experiment.” *The Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs* (2006): 137-187. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/pss/25067430>

Abstract: The Moving To Opportunity randomized housing voucher demonstration finds virtually no significant effects on employment or earnings of adults. Using qualitative data from in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 67 participants in Baltimore, we find that although the voucher and control groups have similar rates of employment and earnings, respondents’ relationship to the labor market does differ by program group. Our analysis suggests that the voucher group did not experience employment or earnings gains in part because of human capital barriers that existed prior to moving to a low-poverty neighborhood. In addition, employed respondents in all groups were heavily concentrated in retail and health care jobs. To secure or maintain employment, they relied heavily on a particular job search strategy – informal referrals from similarly skilled and credentialed acquaintances who already held jobs in these sectors. Though experimentals were more likely to have employed neighbors, few of their neighbors held jobs in these sectors and could not provide such referrals. Thus controls had an easier time garnering such referrals. Additionally, the configuration of the metropolitan area’s public transportation routes in relationship to the locations of hospitals, nursing homes, and malls posed additional transportation challenges to experimentals as they searched for employment – challenges controls were less likely to face.