

**Third National Conference on Housing Mobility  
Bibliography of Housing Mobility Resources (1997 – 2004)**

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**1. Socioeconomic Benefits of Housing Mobility**

Aaronson, Daniel, "Using Sibling Data to Estimate the Impact of Neighborhoods on Children's Educational Outcomes," *Journal of Human Resources* 33:4 (1998), pp. 915-946.

[abstract provided by author] Studies that attempt to measure the impact of neighborhoods on children's outcomes are susceptible to bias because families choose where to live. As a result, the effect of family unobservables, such as the importance parents place on their children's welfare, and other unobservables that are common to geographically clustered households, may be mistakenly attributed to neighborhoods influences. Previous studies that attempt to correct for this selection bias have used questionable instrumental variables.

This paper introduces an approach based on the observation that the latent factors associated with neighborhoods choice do not vary across siblings. Therefore, family residential changes provide a source of neighborhood background variation that is free of the family-specific heterogeneity biases associated with neighborhood selection. Using a sample of multichild families whose children are separated in age by at least three years, I estimate family fixed effect equations of children's educational outcomes. The fixed effect results suggest that the impact of neighborhoods may exist even when family-specific unobservables are controlled. This finding is robust to many changes to estimation techniques, outcome measures, variable definitions, and samples but is sensitive to the exact formulation of the neighborhood measure.

Acevedo-Garcia, Dolores, Theresa L. Osypuk, Rebecca E. Werbel, Ellen R. Meara, David M. Cutler and Lisa F. Berkman, "Does Housing Mobility Policy Improve Health?" *Housing Policy Debate* 15:1 (2004), pp. 49-89.

[Abstract provided by author] This article summarizes past housing mobility policies as a potential measure of improved health outcomes. There are three main pathways between housing and health: 1. Housing units as a direct source of health problems (e.g., lead); 2. Housing as an indicator of socioeconomic status; 3. The location of housing, both in terms of quality of unit and quality of neighborhood. The authors, however, focus on housing vouchers, because it appears to be the one housing policy that has been empirically evaluated for its effects on health (whereas homeownership and anti-discrimination laws have not), and since rental assistance programs have the largest monetary base and are the most politically viable solution in addressing low-income housing. Although housing mobility programs were intended for the purpose of deconcentrating poverty and desegregating metropolitan areas, they also have had an unintended positive impact on the health of those moving to lower-poverty areas. Five residential mobility programs were discussed: the MTO experiment, the Gautreaux program, the Yonkers scattered-site public housing program, the Section 8 program, and the Cincinnati Special Mobility Program. This article summarized each mobility program and their evidence in showing the relationship between housing and health. Although each had substantial methodological flaws, particularly with selection bias, they all appear to have had a positive impact on the overall health of individuals and a decrease in health disparities. Two of the MTO sites, in Boston and New York, have the most persuasive empirical evidence, since they were

randomized and methodologically sound. While these two case studies are not necessarily generalizable to other cities, there is enough evidence to justify further research. Some of these suggestions include: building a strong conceptual framework in current research on housing mobility; examining how health outcomes might eventually lead to long-term improvements in economic outcomes; testing whether health improves with individual housing units or neighborhoods or both; using biomedical measures of health distress in certain environments (e.g., biomarkers: stress hormone cortisol in saliva samples); and discussing urban space (e.g., sidewalks, bicycle lanes, grocery stores). Although the housing mobility programs were not intended to improve the health status of voucher recipients, the unintended effects bode well for experimental HUD initiatives and housing policies infused with social policies.

Anderson, Laurie M., Joseph St. Charles, Mindy Fullilove, Susan Scrimshaw, Jonathan Fielding, Jacques Normand, and the Task Force on Community Preventive Services, "Providing Affordable Family Housing and Reducing Residential Segregation by Income: A Systematic Review," *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 24:3S (2003), pp. 47-58.

[Abstract provided by the authors.] The inadequate supply of affordable housing for low-income families and the increasing spatial segregation of some households by income, race, ethnicity, or social class into unsafe neighborhoods are among the most prevalent community health concerns related to family housing. When affordable housing is not available to low-income households, family resources needed for food, medical or dental care, and other necessities are diverted to housing costs. Two housing programs intended to provide affordable housing and, concurrently, reduce the residential segregation of low-income families into unsafe neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, are reviewed: the creation of mixed-income housing developments and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Section 8 rental voucher program. The effectiveness of mixed-income housing developments could not be ascertained by this systematic review because of a lack of comparative research. Scientific evidence was sufficient to conclude that rental voucher programs improve household safety as measured by reduced exposure to crimes against person and property and decreased neighborhood social disorder. Effectiveness of rental voucher programs on youth health risk behaviors, mental health status, and physical health status could not be determined because too few studies of adequate design and execution reported these outcomes.

Benson, Michael L. and Greer Litton Fox, "Economic Distress, Community Context and Intimate Violence: An Application and Extension of Social Disorganization Theory," National Institute of Justice (September 2004).

Benson and Fox examine data from the U.S. Census and the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) and conclude that factors such as job instability (distinct from unemployment), poor neighborhoods and general economic stress contribute to higher rates and greater severity of domestic abuse. The most corrosive impacts were observed in women living in disadvantaged areas whose partners experienced sustained periods of job instability or unemployment. In contrast, those whose partners maintained stable jobs and lived in more advantaged neighborhoods experienced the lowest rates of intimate partner violence. African-American women are disproportionately affected, as they are more likely than white women to suffer from economic distress and live in disadvantaged neighborhoods. By shifting the research on intimate partner violence from the personality characteristics of the individuals involved to macro-level socioeconomic factors the authors seek to aid in the creation of targeted prevention and intervention programs capable of more fully addressing domestic abuse.

Briggs, Xavier de Souza, "Moving Up versus Moving Out: Neighborhood Effects in Housing Mobility Programs," *Housing Policy Debate* 8:1 (1997), pp. 195-234.

This article suggests ways to better design, conduct, and interpret evaluations of the effects of housing mobility programs on participants, with emphasis on how to isolate neighborhood effects. It reviews earlier critiques of research on neighborhood effects and discusses the key assumptions of housing mobility programs—about the benefits of affluent neighbors, the spatial organization of opportunity for the urban poor, and the meanings of “neighborhood” to residents, researchers, and policy makers. Studying the contexts in which mobility takes place, especially in suburban areas, offers special challenges to researchers. Ethnographic data, in particular, would enhance the validity of the quantitative data that now dominate studies of neighborhood effects. Adding substantially to what we know about the processes and mechanisms—the “how” of neighborhood effects—mixed-method approaches would also make research much more useful to policy makers and program managers.

Briggs, Xavier de Souza, “Brown Kids in White Suburbs: Housing Mobility and the Many Faces of Social Capital,” *Housing Policy Debate* 9:1 (1998), pp. 177-221.

[Abstract provided by author] Social capital has many faces in the geography of urban opportunity, and as such, particular housing policies might have positive effects on some forms of social capital and negative effects on others. The author defines *social support* and *social leverage* as two key dimensions of social capital that can be accessed by individuals. A sample of 132 low-income African-American and Latino adolescents is used to examine the early impacts of a Yonkers, NY, housing mobility program on social capital. Overall, program participants (“movers”) appear to be no more cut off from social support than a control group of “stayer” youth. On the other hand, movers are also no more likely to report access to good sources of job information or school advice—to *leverage* that might enhance opportunity. Adding just one steadily employed adult to an adolescent’s circle of significant ties has dramatic effects on perceived access to such leverage.

Cattell, Vicky, "Poor People, Poor Places, and Poor Health: The Mediating Role of Social Networks and Social Capital," *Social Science and Medicine* 52:10 (2001), pp. 1501-1516.

This paper explores the dynamics between poverty and exclusion; health and well being; and health by considering the role of social networks and social capital. It is based on qualitative research from two economically and socially deprived areas, and on in-depth interviews with residents. This study documented neighborhood influences on networks and social capital, network typologies reflecting structural and cultural aspects of individual’s networks, and pathways leading to health effects. The three factors influencing social networks and social capital are: 1. neighborhood characteristics and perceptions, 2. poverty and social exclusion, and 3. social consciousness. Perceptions of inequality could both be a source of social capital and demoralization. Different network structures-dense and weak, homogeneous and heterogeneous- influenced social capital accumulation and health status. Although participation in organizations was confirmed to be beneficial, it is suggested that today’s heterogeneous neighborhoods also require regenerated local work opportunities to develop bridging ties necessary for creating inclusive social capital and better health. Coping, enjoyment of life and hope are some of the benefits of social capital and networks. Despite the capacity of social capital to buffer its harsher effects, the concept is not wholly adequate for explaining the deleterious effects of poverty on health and well-being.

Del Conte, Alessandra and Jeffrey Kling, "A Synthesis of MTO Research on Self-Sufficiency, Safety and

Health, and Behavior and Delinquency," *Poverty Research News* 5:1 (January-February 2001), pp. 3-6.

MTO provided a unique opportunity to study the relationship between residential neighborhoods and well-being of its residents. As one of the early assessments of MTO, Del Conte and Kling examine the outcomes on economic self-sufficiency, youth delinquency and behavior problems, safety, and adult and child health. Although moving to low-poverty areas has the potential to expose new residents to greater social capital, jobs and transportation, it is difficult to produce any conclusive evidence on the impact moving has on economic self-sufficiency when research on welfare, employment and income has been inconsistent among the five different MTO sites (Baltimore, Los Angeles, Boston, New York and Chicago). In addition, the research was headed by different researchers using different methods in each of the cities. Yet, there were some decreases in welfare receipt among the experimental group, particularly in Boston and New York. Since families face as many disruptions as they do benefits when moving, the effect of living in lower-poverty neighborhoods on the transition from welfare-to-work is not well-understood. On the other hand, improvements in housing, both in unit and neighborhood, have positively impacted the safety and health of children and parents. There is strong evidence of reduced victimization, exposure to violence and health risks among all of the MTO sites. The stress levels dropped for both children and parents, improving the emotional well-being and decreasing levels of depression and anxiety. Living in low-poverty areas also had significant effects on decreasing delinquency and arrests for boys. There is, however, a gender gap when measuring behavior problems; they declined overall for children in the experimental group, but it was more statistically significant for boys than for girls. The short-term impacts of MTO on improvements in safety, child and parent physical and mental health, as well as youth delinquency and behavior problem provide intriguing hypotheses for future research on long-term effects and on the mechanism through which the impacts of neighborhoods may occur.

Devine, Deborah J., Robert W. Gray, Lester Rubin, and Lydia B. Taghavi, *Housing Voucher Location Patterns: Implications for Participants and Neighborhood Welfare* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Housing And Urban Development, 2002).

This study analyzes data for the fifty most populous metropolitan areas in the United States to determine the use and impact of HUD's Housing Choice Voucher Program (HCV). The findings cover four broad themes:

- 1) **The location of housing choice vouchers in relation to the availability of affordable housing.** Affordable housing units (rents at or below the Fair Market Rent) were present in virtually all of the central city and suburban neighborhoods encompassed by the study, and families with vouchers were dispersed across 83 percent of these neighborhoods. However, voucher distribution differed dramatically based on race. Black and Hispanic households constituted a majority of all voucher users in central city neighborhoods, whereas White households were the majority in suburban areas.
- 2) **The distribution of voucher families in neighborhoods with different poverty levels.** Roughly half of the voucher families were living in neighborhoods with poverty concentrations between 10 and 30 percent. The remainder were split between neighborhoods with poverty rates of less than 10 percent (28.4 percent of households) and neighborhoods with poverty rates exceeding 30 percent (22.2 percent of households). Central city families were more likely than suburban families to live in neighborhoods with poverty rates in excess of 30 percent, and Black voucher holders were over three times more likely than their White counterparts to reside in such high-poverty areas.
- 3) **Employment status, income level, and TANF assistance among voucher families in neighborhoods with different poverty levels.** Household heads living in lower-poverty

neighborhoods (below 20 percent poverty concentration) tended to work more often, earn higher wages, and receive less welfare assistance than their counterparts in higher-poverty areas. Neighborhood effects were less pronounced for White households than for Black or Hispanic ones, due in part to the fact that very few White families lived in neighborhoods with poverty concentrations above 30 percent.

- 4) **Neighborhood welfare and the presence of housing choice vouchers.** A direct correlation was found between the proportion of minority families in a neighborhood and the share of households using vouchers. There was no comparable relationship between rent levels and the proportion of voucher holders in the neighborhoods studied, although in a handful of areas voucher use seemed to be associated with higher rents.

Duncan, Greg J. and Jens Ludwig, "Can Housing Vouchers Help Poor Children?" The Brookings Institution Children's Roundtable No.3, (July 2000).

Census tracts show an increase in the number of people living in high-poverty areas (defined as those with poverty rates of 40% or more). Living in areas of poverty concentration is both a product of race and social class, and if high poverty areas negatively affect child development, minority children are disproportionately affected. The central question posed in this article is whether neighborhoods or families play a more significant role in developmental outcomes for children. While determining the deciding role of neighborhoods is complex and certainly not an exclusive factor, there is enough supporting evidence to show that lower-poverty areas provide better circumstances for children, i.e. peers, role models and safety. The Gautreaux program in Chicago, where public housing residents were relocated to other parts of the metropolitan area as part of a court decision, provided convincing evidence of the positive effects of housing mobility. The children who were part of the "experimental" group had a lower dropout rate than those who stayed (5 vs. 20 percent), and a higher rate of attending college (54 vs. 21 percent). These results helped initiate the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) project, which had three different groups: 1. The "experimental" group where families moved to low-poverty neighborhoods, and were offered counseling services; 2. Section 8 recipients; and 3. Families who continue to live in public housing. Children who belonged in the experimental group, specifically young men, had fewer criminal or behavior problems. In the MTO experiment, families were interested in relocating, regardless of their status as a recipient of mobility counseling or a Section 8 voucher holder. The authors argue, however, that vouchers should be voluntary and limited in scope, in order to prevent "clustering." Conversely, voucher programs may deplete economically disadvantaged communities of networks and do not eliminate social problems, but have the potential of improving the lives of many poor children. Thus, the question becomes less about effectiveness and more about its amount of support from political leaders and institutions.

Ellen, Ingrid Gould, "Is Segregation Bad for Your Health? The Case of Low Birth Weight," *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs* (2000), pp. 203-229.

This paper explores the relationship between racial segregation and racial disparities in the prevalence of low birth weight. The paper has two parallel motivations. First, the disparities between black and white mothers in birth outcomes are large and persistent. In 1996, 13 percent of infants born in the United States to black mothers weighed less than 2,500 grams (5.5 pounds, or low birth weight), compared with just 6.3 percent of all infants born to white mothers. And the consequences may be grave. Low birth weight is a major cause of infant mortality and is associated with greater childhood illnesses and developmental disorders, such as cerebral palsy, deafness, blindness, epilepsy, chronic lung disease, learning disabilities, and attention deficit disorder. Given the strong connection between race and residence in this country, it seems plausible that residential location may shape these differentials.

Second, this paper aims to develop a wider understanding of the costs of racial segregation by taking into account birth outcomes and behaviors like tobacco and alcohol use among pregnant mothers. The author examines Edward L. Glaeser's idea that information, ideas, and values are often transmitted through face-to-face interaction, but that segregation blocks this transfer of social capital—for example, information related to job openings or information and norms related to behavior and care during pregnancy.

Using mostly the methodology of David Cutler and Edward L. Glaeser, this study examines how levels of racial segregation affect the birth outcomes of black mothers. It examines influences on both black and nonblack mothers in order to identify the differential effects of segregation on black mothers.

Epstein, Helen, "Ghetto Miasma: Enough to Make You Sick," *New York Times* (October 12, 2003).

In an attempt to investigate the high levels of diseases and sicknesses among the urban poor, Epstein examines a modern hypothesis of "miasma." Contrary to popular opinion, it is not drug overdoses or guns that cause high rates of death, but rather chronic diseases—stroke, diabetes, kidney disease, high blood pressure, and certain types of cancer. There is a direct relationship between the conditions in which people live and their health. Ana Diez-Roux, an epidemiologist at University of Michigan, shows in her study that people who live in neighborhoods where buildings are intact are much more likely to have better health than those who live in neighborhoods where many buildings are boarded up and abandoned. The buildings themselves do not cause disease, but rather are an indicator of neighborhood deprivation and neglect—which seems to be related to poor health. It has been difficult to produce a theory for this connection, since smoking, eating, drinking and exercise habits are not enough to explain the health disparities. Access to health care and income even fall short in their explanatory power. Currently, there are two schools of thought: stress and actual deprivation. Arline Geronimus of University of Michigan and Nancy Krieger of Harvard University both argue that racism—institutionalized racism—has real detrimental effects on the body, what Geronimus calls "weathering." In addition, Bruce McEwen of Rockefeller University documents the chronic health problems caused by constant exposure to stress hormones. On the other side, George Davey Smith of University of Bristol in England, argues that the health crisis has more to do with living in a deprived environment, but concedes that stress does play a significant role and that racism is an everyday reality. A recent survey conducted in four regions of the United States found that there were three times as many bars in poor neighborhoods as in rich ones, and four times as many supermarkets in white neighborhoods as in black ones. Essentially, public health campaigns on healthful eating and exercise are futile when there are no open places to exercise, clean buildings and a barrage of cigarette and beer advertising in poor neighborhoods. Yoga and motivational classes are not enough to alleviate the stress poor minorities face everyday. George Davey Smith asserts that health problems are caused by "old-fashioned deprivation: crowding, poor nutrition, lack of exercise and exposure to dirty air, germs and vermin." The Moving to Opportunity project was an experiment to see if children would do better in school, escape crime, and if parents could climb out of poverty. Unexpectedly, a major advantage of moving was health improvement. Most notably, there were fewer asthma attacks and less depression and anxiety among the families who moved. Epstein conducts her own survey with families who moved and found that almost every family experienced better health after moving. In the end, Epstein argues that it is both stress and deprivation that caused poor health; a deprived environment causes stress. The concentration of poverty only proliferates health problems. The history of each neighborhood also tells the history of the patterns of disease: when public services are cut, catastrophic changes occur. There needs to be better housing, decent wages, better working conditions and improved nutrition. Improving

individual units will help, but ultimately, the entire neighborhoods needs to change. Section 8 is the only hope people have in getting out of neighborhoods, but with federal cuts, vouchers are becoming less and less available. The legacy of the segregation of America's cities has lead to the concentration of the poor, as well as the "miasma" among the minority poor.

Freeman, Lance and Hilary Botein, "Subsidized Housing and Neighborhood Impacts: A Theoretical Discussion and Review of the Evidence," *Journal of Planning Literature* 16:3 (2002), pp. 359-378.

This review evaluates the perception that subsidized housing results in negative neighborhood impacts by considering four commonly studied putative impacts of subsidized housing location: property values, racial transition, poverty concentration, and crime. The authors assess theoretical and methodological bases for measuring the four impacts and determine which study results inspire confidence. Research reveals a relationship between the presence of subsidized housing and both property values and crime in certain circumstances, with both positive and negative impacts, and suggests that the presence of subsidized housing does not lead to racial transition. Research on the impact of subsidized housing on poverty concentration is too flawed methodologically to permit conclusions. Future research must control for variability of impacts across types of neighborhoods, use data that distinguish between residents of subsidized and nonsubsidized housing, and take into account changing attitudes as well as the context in which housing is proposed.

Glaeser, Edward L., "Places, People, Policies," *Harvard Magazine* (November-December 2000), pp. 34-35.

This paper argues for more political focus on the inner cities and socioeconomic policies that actually help the poor. First, the author questions whether policies should aim to improve place or the lives of the people. (For example, housing mobility is a people-based policy, and housing renovation is a place-based policy.) Second, should policies aim to help the adults or the children? People-based policies tend to be linked to policies that help children, and place-based policies benefit adults. The author believes that money should be spent on children and on people-based strategies, even though politicians like place-based policies and adults are the ones who vote. Place-based policies fail because they: 1. concentrate poverty, 2. prevent mobility, 3. raise the real estate values, making it hard for renters. Thus, policies should be directed toward housing and school vouchers; income tax credit; and acknowledgment that the poorest citizens live in the richest cities.

Goering, John, "The Impacts of New Neighborhoods on Poor Families: Evaluating the Policy Implications of the Moving to Opportunity Demonstration," *FRBNY Economic Policy Review* (June 2003), pp. 113-140.

This paper provides the first systematic overview of the design of the MTO and describes its key features. This paper also offers the first cross-site analysis of research findings and explores the MTO's relevance to social science research concerning housing and neighborhood effects. MTO shows that Section 8 vouchers can help to economically and racially desegregate, and helps families from a wider range of incomes. In addition, MTO's effects on health and well-being are extremely apparent. There are fewer behavioral problems among boys, declines in asthma and depression. One of the sites reported positive effects on educational opportunities. In his conclusion, Goering recommends a regional housing mobility effort and continued support for federal funds.

Goering, John, Judith D. Feins, and Todd M. Richardson, "A Cross-Site Analysis of Initial Moving to Opportunity Demonstration Results," *Journal of Housing Research* 13:1 (2002), pp. 1-30.

This article was the first systematic overview of the implementation and early research findings from the Moving to Opportunity demonstration, a HUD-funded research project to examine whether or

not housing environments had a positive effect on families moving from high-poverty to low-poverty neighborhoods. Although there is research on the negative impacts of high-poverty neighborhoods, less research has been done on the positive impacts of improved environments. The Gautreaux housing project in Chicago demonstrated promising results for improved academic performance rates among the children who moved, in comparison to their counterparts who lived in the inner cities. The children who moved were more likely to stay in school, attend a 4-year college and gain employment. These results, along with growing concerns of economic and racial isolation of many public housing families, led to the MTO demonstration in 1992. Participating families moved from areas with 40% or higher poverty rates to places with 10% or lower poverty rates. From 1992 to 1998 families were divided into three groups: 1. MTO treatment/experimental group (Section 8 certificates with 10% poverty restrictions, plus mobility counseling); 2. Section 8 comparison group (Section 8 certificates or vouchers without any geographic limitations, and 3. in-place control group (continued project-based assistance). This project took place in 5 cities: Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York; each city had a different analytical and methodological strategy. Among the families eligible to apply for MTO, about one-quarter chose to do so, approximately 5,300 families volunteered in the five cities. Only families with children were allowed to apply, and a majority of them cited fear of crime and victimization as principal reasons for moving. Many also reported having weak ties to their current neighborhood and lower lease-up rates. Landlords were willing to rent to voucher holders, and there was virtually no community opposition. The experimental group which lived in areas with lower black populations and crime rates had improved view of their neighborhoods compared to the other two groups. Most of the positive effects on the children were: fewer behavioral problems (Boston), educational improvements (Baltimore), and less juvenile crime (Baltimore). Physical and mental health status improved for adults as well. Simply moving, however, was not enough to improve welfare status and high-paying job opportunities, because of many other factors (i.e., discrimination, transportation and limited human capital skills). There are two important limitations to this study: the selection bias and the incomparability of the data across sites. Nonetheless, it is clear that it is possible to successfully run rental assistance programs in different metropolitan areas. Preliminary research shows mobility programs having statistically significant benefits for families who move within 2 to 4 years of moving and improved educational opportunities for children. Further research is needed on longitudinal effects, causal influences responsible for adult or children outcomes, potential impacts on receiving communities, and the broader question of mobility efforts amidst failed community development to revitalize deeply poor communities.

Hendrickson, Cara, "Racial Desegregation and Income Deconcentration in Public Housing," *Georgetown Journal on Poverty Law & Policy* 9 (Winter 2002), pp. 35-88.

Part I of this article describes the history of public housing, the creation of racially segregated public housing projects, and the debate over income requirements for public housing residents. It also reviews the current state of housing assistance for the poor and finds that public housing remains poor, segregated, scarce, and lacking in political support. Part II describes mobility programs and their successes. Compared to both the unmodified Section 8 voucher program and the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program, mobility programs show that race-conscious counseling and a regional approach to desegregation are essential to success. Part III describes the HUD Rule to Deconcentrate Poverty and Promote Integration in Public Housing and compares it to mobility programs. It concludes that the Rule adopts a theory of income deconcentration that is unproven and potentially harmful to the poor, and that its use of income as a proxy for race is deficient, and does not adequately promote fair housing, and may harm minorities. In Part IV, the article concludes that the use of income as a proxy for race masks the important issue of race and does not



sufficiently address the problem of racial segregation. Finally, it urges that the federal government should not abandon its commitment to racial desegregation and public housing for the poor.

Katz, Lawrence, Jeffrey R. Kling, and Jeffrey B. Liebman, "Moving to Opportunity in Boston: Early Results of a Randomized Mobility Experiment," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 116:2 (2001), pp. 607-654.

This study examines the short-run impacts of changes in residential neighborhoods, with heavy academic language and statistical formulas to back their arguments. Because the MTO project was randomized, the authors were able to conduct a comprehensive evaluation of the early impacts of MTO on family well-being at the Boston site. (The randomized sampling and control group validate their analysis.) The first half of the paper discusses the importance of residential neighborhoods on physical and mental health, social capital, school quality, and safety from crime. The Gautreaux litigation in Chicago showed a positive relationship between moving and educational attainment, labor market outcomes, and modestly improved employment rates for mothers. Although many families in the Gautreaux case cited access to better education as a reason for moving, the primary reason for families in the MTO project was fear of crime. The researchers noted that families were more likely to end up in suburban, low-poverty areas if they were placed in the experimental group, where they received vouchers and counseling. At the same time, however, those in the Section 8 group were least likely to remain in areas with 40% poverty levels. The restrictions for the experimental group sometimes made it difficult to move, since many of the areas were far away from support networks and required longer commutes. Yet, there were several benefits, particularly in health areas, associated with moving. Using the National Health Interview Survey and the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth Children's Supplement, the authors concluded that child problem behaviors decreased because their general well-being improved. Patterns of child health and behaviors are associated with chronic exposure to sleep disturbances, traumatic events, and aggression, and the number of accidents, injuries, and asthma cases are much higher in the inner city, where safe areas for children to play are scarce or inadequate. While the overall immediate and important result of the moves was the overall improvement in general physical and mental health, MTO did not affect the employment rates, earnings, or welfare usage in a statistically significant way.

Kling, Jeffrey R., Jeffrey B. Liebman, and Lawrence F. Katz, "Bullets Don't Got No Name: Consequences of Fear in the Ghetto," presentation, Mixed Methods in the Study of Childhood and Family Life Conference (January 2001).

[abstract provided by authors] To understand the impact of high-poverty neighborhoods on families, we collected data from participants at the Boston site of HUD's Moving To Opportunity (MTO) demonstration. MTO randomly assigned housing vouchers to applicants living in high-poverty public housing projects. The vouchers allowed families to move to private apartments, typically in lower-poverty neighborhoods. This paper reports the results of our qualitative fieldwork, which included observation of the operation of MTO in Boston and in-depth interviews with participants. This qualitative work had a profound impact on our MTO research. First, it caused us to refocus our quantitative data collection on a substantially different set of outcomes, primarily in the domains of safety and health. In our subsequent quantitative work, we found the largest program effects in the domains suggested by the qualitative interviews. Second, our qualitative work led us to develop an overall conceptual framework for thinking about the impacts of high-poverty neighborhoods on families and the way in which moves to lower-poverty neighborhoods might affect these families. We observed that fear of random violence appears to cause parents in ghetto families was reduced among families offered housing vouchers. We further hypothesized that the need to live life on the watch may have broad implications for the future prospects of these families—including potential impacts on children's development and on the mothers' ability to engage in activities that would lead

them to become economically self-sufficient, although sufficient data to assess this hypothesis are not yet available. Third, our fieldwork gave us a deeper understanding of the institutional details of the MTO program. This understanding has helped us to make judgments concerning the external validity of our MTO findings, and has prevented us from making some significant errors in interpreting our quantitative results. Fourth, by listening to MTO families talk about their lives, we learned a series of lessons that have important implications for housing policies. For many of the things we learned, it is hard to imagine any other data collection strategy that would have led us to these insights.

LaFree, Gary and Richard Arum, "Educational Resources, Racial Isolation and Adult Imprisonment Risk among US Birth Cohorts since 1910," *National Institute of Justice Grant Number 2000-IJ-CX-0025*.

LaFree and Arum examine the role of state-level educational resources (measured as student/teacher ratios) and racial isolation (measured as proportion of white students) in assessing incarceration risks for people of color. Using previously unreleased census data that include prison inmates, the authors conclude that, in contrast to models which contend that the propensity to commit criminal acts is determined at an early age, increasing educational spending in high schools lowered incarceration risks in adults - especially so among graduates. While increasing educational resources may lower the aggregate risk for students in a particular area, the authors find that a subset of individuals, which they term "educational failures," may be at an increased risk of incarceration. Therefore, public policy should not focus solely on increasing resources and potential educational successes, but rather must place extra attention on those students subject to educational failure. The authors also found a strong correlation between racial isolation and black imprisonment. In schools where less than 30% of their classmates were white, black students experienced far higher incarceration rates. In short, characteristics of state-level educational systems have important implications for individual incarceration rates even when those individuals move outside the state.

Leventhal, Tama and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, "Moving to Better Neighborhoods Improves Health and Family Life among New York Families," *Poverty Research News* 5:1 (January-February 2001), pp. 11-12.

Researchers who evaluated the Moving to Opportunity Project in New York found several improvements among families in the experimental group (those given vouchers and required to move to lower-poverty neighborhoods), and in some cases among the Section 8 group (those given vouchers with no restrictions). Although many of the families who participated in this study were also the ones with most disadvantages, the improvements in their living and economic situations were still a positive result of their moves. Employment rates increased among all three groups participating in the MTO project, but the increase was steeper (10% more) among the experimental and Section 8 groups. In terms of health, however, the families belonging to the experimental group experienced far more improvements in their mental and physical health than the Section 8 or control groups. Mothers in the experimental group were 15% less likely to report depression symptoms and anxiety than mothers in the control group. Only 30% of the children in the experimental group reported feeling unhappy, sad, or depressed in comparison to 35% among the Section 8 group and 53% among the control group. This study tentatively suggested improved parenting and increased school involvement. Children in the experimental group were more optimistic about their future graduation, employment and college opportunities. Juvenile delinquency and crime rates were also studied, but there was no apparent decrease in delinquency. The authors conclude that MTO improved parental employment, welfare use, and income. Health and well-being improved, although delinquency did not decline. Improved health among children, however, could have a positive effect on their development. Lastly, patterns of moving suggest that unless families are required to move to lower-poverty neighborhoods, they were unlikely to move on their own.

Ludwig, Jens, Greg J. Duncan and Paul Hirschfield, "Urban Poverty and Juvenile Crime: Evidence From a Randomized Housing-Mobility Experiment," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 116:2 (2001), pp. 655-679.

The authors examined data on educational achievement among 1,243 children whose parents participated in the MTO research project in Baltimore, and found positive results when relocating families from public housing units to low-poverty neighborhoods. One of the most important results was an improved achievement rate among elementary school children, although the effects on teens were somewhat unclear. Moving to better neighborhoods can improve education by providing access to better schools and increasing the number of higher-achieving peers. It can improve the health and safety of children, allowing them to concentrate on school rather than on other environmental stressors. Moving can also improve the mental and physical health of parents, improving the overall status of the family. In the short term, students who move to better schools may face higher academic standards, different standards of behavior, and feelings of exclusion. To measure achievement, the authors used scores from two standardized tests: the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills and the Maryland Functional Test. Participation in the MTO program increased the rate of grade retention, perhaps due to higher standards or greater vigilance by teachers. Reading and math scores improved most noticeably among the experimental group; children ages 5-11 were twice as likely to pass the MFT reading test. In general, children's scores improved as they settle into their new environment. In addition, in-school interventions seem to have a greater effect on math scores, while home and other out-of-school factors have a greater effect on reading. The positive effects suggest that it is not only schools that matter. For teens, the results were mixed. There were increased rates of retention among the experimental and Section 8 groups, either because there are different academic standards and more academic and behavioral problems, or discrimination on the part of teachers and administrators. There did not seem to be a difference between boys and girls within the teen group. Overall, mobility has a positive effect upon elementary school kids, but is inconclusive for teens. Reaching kids when they are young, however, will most likely positively impact their teenage years as well. MTO sufficiently shows that residential strategies are good for educational achievement among young children. These results support a more economically efficient educational policy: moving kids out of urban schools is more cost-effective than reducing the classroom size in urban schools.

Ludwig, Jens, Greg Duncan, and Helen Ladd, "The Effect of MTO on Baltimore Children's Educational Outcomes," *Poverty Research News* 5:1 (January-February 2001), pp. 13-15.

This paper uses data from the MTO project in Baltimore to study the effects of relocating families from high- to low-poverty neighborhoods on juvenile crime. The authors use mathematical formulas to justify how MTO and the Maryland Department of Juvenile Justice measure data and obtain numbers. Essentially, this article establishes the legitimacy of the three groups: Experimental, Section 8 and Control in an effort to strengthen the findings in the discussion. The study is premised on the idea that criminal activity may be higher in high-poverty areas because the social penalties and probability of arrest may be lower than in other neighborhoods. Neighborhood poverty may affect access to quality schools, jobs, and positive role models. By comparing the outcome measures from juvenile arrest records taken from government administrative data, the authors find that changes in criminal offending are responsible for the observed reductions in violent-crime arrests compared with the apparent increase in property arrests for experimental teens. The authors hypothesize that moving disrupts teen involvement in peer groups involved in criminal behavior, leading to a decrease in crimes. Findings seem to suggest that providing families with the opportunity to move to lower-poverty neighborhoods reduces violent criminal behavior among teens. In addition, results from the

Boston MTO site were similar to Baltimore. This parallel finding dispels the notion that families predisposed to better outcomes self-select to move, and suggests that moving has a positive effect on children's behavior.

Ludwig, Jens, Helen F. Ladd, and Greg J. Duncan, "The Effects of Urban Poverty on Educational Outcomes: Evidence from a Randomized Experiment," Georgetown Public Policy Institute (January 2001).

[Abstract provided by authors] Using data from a randomized housing-mobility experiment, this paper examines the effects of neighborhood poverty on the educational outcomes of children as reported in school administrative records. We find that the opportunity for public housing residents to move from high-poverty to low-poverty neighborhoods improves reading and math scores for young children by about one-quarter of a standard deviation compared to their control group counterparts. The opportunity for residents of public housing to move using traditional Section 8 housing vouchers generates similar impacts on reading but not math scores. While teens who relocate to lower-poverty areas experience more grade retention and disciplinary actions than those who do not, this difference appears to be due at least in part to differences in standards between schools in high- and low-poverty areas.

Moore, Kristin Anderson, Sharon Vandivere, and Jennifer Ehrle, "Turbulence and Child Well-Being," The Urban Institute Series B, No. B-16 (June 2000).

This paper analyses the results of the 1997 National Survey of America's Families that assessed the degree of turbulence of stability in a child's life. Possible signs of turbulence included: moving from one state to another; moving to a different home; moving with another family; two or more changes in employment by either a parent or a parent's spouse; two or more school changes; and a significant decline in the health of the child, parent or parent's spouse. The results show that turbulence is more apparent among poor families with low incomes, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps, and one parent. Children who experienced turbulence were less engaged in school and had higher levels of emotional and behavioral problems. There were also differences across states; Florida had a higher percentage above average, while states such as Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and Wisconsin had lower rates. Time limits on welfare receipt most likely induce more stress, and welfare reform changes may have had a negative impact on family stability as well. Children are clearly being affected by these policy changes.

National Housing Law Project, *HUD Releases Moving to Opportunity Study Interim Results: Final Results May Shape National Housing Policy* (January 2004), pp. 12-13.

One lesson that can be drawn from these interim results is that the placement of families based strictly on regional poverty rate may be too simplistic a measurement to determine long-term well-being and growth. Residential neighborhoods are multi-dimensional and complex and no single factor, such as poverty concentration, can capture all of the attributes necessary to succeed in life. Further, the report states that, while some problems do appear to be environmental, it cannot conclude that physical health, education performance, employment, earnings and welfare dependence are amenable to housing policies that simply change families' physical environment. If this trend is borne out in the final report, it suggests that policies designed to deal directly with these problems themselves, such as educational improvements, employment and job training, and welfare-to-work initiatives, might be more effective long-term solutions than simply environmental change and poverty deconcentration.

Office of Policy Development and Research, *Voucher Recipients Enjoy Much Greater Choice About Where to Live Than Residents of Public Housing and Are Less Likely to be Concentrated in Distressed Neighborhoods*: Issue Brief No. 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2000).

This paper compares the housing choice voucher (Section 8 tenant-based) and public housing assistance programs in terms of their ability to provide access to housing in lower-poverty neighborhoods. Using data from the Multifamily Tenant Characteristics System (MTCS), we find that the housing choice voucher program offers tenants greater opportunity to live in less economically distressed neighborhoods as measured by median family incomes and poverty rates. Controlling for economic and demographic characteristics of public housing and Section 8 tenant-based households does not substantially change these results. For example, public housing households that are welfare recipients are more likely to live in concentrated poverty than Section 8 households on welfare. The same situation holds for employed households with children.

Oliver, J. Eric, "Mental Life and the Metropolis in Suburban America: The Psychological Correlates of Metropolitan Place Characteristics," *Urban Affairs Review* 39: 2 (November 2003).

[Abstract provided by author] Many critics argue that America's suburbs foster depression and mental distress, but researchers have not sufficiently tested whether the characteristics that actually distinguish metropolitan places (both cities and suburbs) correspond to any differences in psychological well-being. Looking beyond inaccurate city-suburb dichotomies, the author examines the relationship between site characteristics of metropolitan places (population size, density, racial composition, affluence, age, and land use) and a variety of indicators of mental health, including depression, life satisfaction, self-efficacy, and esteem. Findings from multilevel data constructed from the Americans' Changing Lives Survey and the Census indicate that two characteristics of metropolitan areas relate to psychological health: population density and affluence. Residents of denser places are more likely to report depressed mood and dissatisfaction with their neighborhoods; those in more affluent places are more likely to be depressed, be less satisfied with life, and feel lower levels of self-efficacy and esteem.

Orr, Larry, Judith D. Feins, Robin Jacob, and Erik Beecroft, *Moving to Opportunity for Fair Housing Demonstration Program* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2003).

In 2000, 3.5 million poor people across the United States lived in neighborhoods with poverty concentrations in excess of 40 percent. A growing social science literature suggests that such concentration has a variety of detrimental effects on the residents of these areas in terms of both their current well-being and their future opportunities. The harmful effects of high-poverty areas are thought to be especially severe for children whose behavior and prospects may be particularly susceptible to a number of neighborhood characteristics, such as peer group influences, school quality, and the availability of supervised after-school activities.

Less has been written about whether or not neighborhood environments exert positive influences on behavior and life changes. They cite Ellen and Turner's study (1997) to summarize the literature in this area, citing various theories about the mechanisms by which middle-class (often predominantly white) neighborhoods shape or reshape the lives of their residents.

This study reports interim results from a major federal initiative to explore whether living in better neighborhoods can improve the lives of low-income parents and children. That initiative is the

Moving to Opportunity for Fair Housing Demonstration, originally mandated by Congress and carried out by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

Pettit, Becky and Sarah McLanahan, "Social Dimensions of Moving to Opportunity," *Poverty Research News* 5:1 (January-February 2001), pp. 7-10.

This article explores whether or not families who move to non-poor neighborhoods acquire or lose social capital. Although most analysts would agree that moving would increase social capital on the community level—better schools and less crime, there is less agreement on the effects of moving on social capital at the individual level. Some argue that moving breaks family and friend networks, which may negatively impact educational achievement and other social safety nets. The researchers analyzed data from three of the MTO sites: Boston, Los Angeles and New York. Indicators of social capital fell into two domains: direct social interaction with other individuals and participation and involvement in organizations and institutions. All three sites show that the MTO program increased neighborhood quality: lower rates of poverty, welfare receipt, and female kinship, higher rates of employment and education, and higher percentages of managerial and professional workers. In general, the experimental group fared better than both the Section 8 and control group in terms of constructing social capital. On the individual level, however, social capital produces little positive effects. In Boston, girls in the MTO experimental group were less likely to have a friend in the neighborhood than those in the control group. The effects were more ambivalent among adults; parents in the experimental group were more likely to attend church than those in the control group. There are clear benefits in neighborhood quality for both MTO experimental and Section 8 participants, and moving does not lead to social isolation. In the short term, the effects are expected to be more negative than in the long term. Yet, further research is needed on how much of a role neighbors/social connections play in life chances. On the one hand, building social ties might be difficult for experimental families, but on the other hand, it could be easier because of increased safety and strong presence of existing social institutions. Longitudinal information is needed to understand if social capital helps to achieve economic self-sufficiency.

Rosenbaum, Emily, "The Social Context of New Neighborhoods among MTO Chicago Families," *Poverty Research News* 5:1 (January-February 2001), pp. 16-19.

Living in good neighborhoods and among socially and economically advantaged neighbors has positive influences on a range of behaviors and outcomes for children and youth. Many studies, however, have been criticized for methodological reasons, e.g., self-selection bias. Thus, the MTO demonstration project is an opportunity for researchers to study the effects of neighborhoods on families within a controlled experimental design. Furthermore, MTO can provide insights into long-term effects of neighborhoods. This study is only focused on the Chicago site, and the authors ask two main questions: 1. Does MTO allow families in the experimental and Section 8 group move to new neighborhoods? 2. Does a family's experience differ depending on what group they were assigned to? One of the main theoretical premises for the relationship between neighborhoods and family well being is social organization, the social processes and relationships that reflect shared norms, formal and informal networks, the ability to enforce norms of acceptable behavior and standards. When there is crime, violence, joblessness, poverty and racism, however, neighborhoods become less socially organized and relationships break down. In the baseline survey, there was a high degree of social disorganization in the original neighborhoods. Mothers did not feel safe walking near the local school, at home alone at night and on the streets during the day and at night. According to a post-move survey, mothers in both the experimental and comparison group were significantly more likely to report feeling "safe," although those in the experimental group were far more likely to report feeling "very safe." Similar findings emerged for reported problems with social

and physical disorder. Families in the experimental group fared better than those in the comparison group because they perceived having more social control and access to social networks. This study states that MTO has helped families gain access to neighborhoods that possibly enhance family well-being and the future chances of youth.

Rosenbaum, James E, "Black Pioneers—Do Their Moves to the Suburbs Increase Economic Opportunity for Mothers and Children?," *Housing Policy Debate* 2:4 (1991)

This paper examines whether housing vouchers help poor people improve their education and employment. The Gautreaux program uses housing certificates and counseling to help poor people move to white suburbs and to black urban areas. The people who move to suburbs face different opportunities and challenges than those moving within the city, so it is not certain which groups will have better employment and education. We find that compared with city movers, the adult suburban movers have greatly improved employment, even after controls, but they have no different pay or hours worked. Among children, suburban movers are more likely than city movers to be: (1) in school, (2) in college-track programs, (3) in four-year colleges, (4) in jobs, (5) in better-paying jobs, and (6) in jobs with benefits. Just by moving people and without providing additional services, this program has uncovered capabilities of these low-income people that were not evident in the city. Policy implications of this program are considered herein.

Shroder, Mark, "Moving to Opportunity: An Experiment in Social and Geographic Mobility," *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development Research* 5:2 (2001), pp. 57-67.

Poverty in the United States has become increasingly concentrated in high-poverty areas. These concentrated high-poverty, usually urban, and frequently segregated neighborhoods are widely thought to deny their residents opportunities by denying them access to good schools, safe streets, successful role models, and good places to work. Three possible solutions to the problem of concentration are:

1. To enable families living in such neighborhoods to move to neighborhoods with low rates of poverty.
2. To help families living in such neighborhoods to link to jobs in areas with economic opportunity.
3. To help promote the revitalization of distressed inner-city neighborhoods.

HUD is pursuing research and policy initiatives on all three of these approaches; MTO is designed to measure the value of the first one.

We do not know the extent to which moving the poor out of concentrated poverty neighborhoods, in fact, increases their life chances. Poor people who live in concentrated poverty may differ from other poor people both in ways that can be observed, like race or age, and in ways that may not be observed, like aspiration or persistence. Any differences in people's outcomes that seem to be associated with the neighborhoods in which they reside might be caused by those neighborhoods—or might be caused by unobserved factors that also affect the sorting of people into different neighborhoods. Only an experiment in which neighborhoods are allocated randomly can answer this question.

Turner, Margery Austin, Susan Popkin and Mary Cunningham, "Section 8 Mobility and Neighborhood Health: Emerging Issues and Policy Challenges," The Urban Institute's Symposium on Section 8 Mobility and Neighborhood Health (October 1999).

This report draws on the existing research literature and the symposium discussion to summarize the current state of knowledge and debate on the issues of Section 8 mobility and neighborhood health. The federal government uses the Section 8 program as its primary mechanism for meeting the housing needs of low-income people. While the concern for the clustering of assisted households in one place is exaggerated, it should not be ignored at the same time. A full range of recommendations were made at the conference and one of the conclusions was that HUD should work with local housing authorities to improve practices and strengthen program operations. Local housing agencies were recommended to partner with other non-profits in order to increase the types of services offered to the client and ensure a smoother and permanent move. Several suggested actions or reforms were offered in response to the 5 main policy challenges identified at the conference: 1. recipient behavior, 2. landlord behavior, 3. supply constraints, 4. demand constraints, 5. public housing relocation.

Varady, David P. and Carole Walker, "Housing Vouchers and Residential Mobility," *Journal of Planning Literature* 18:1 (August 2003), pp. 17-30.

[Abstract provided by authors] This article argues that it is a mistake to develop a "one-size-fits-all" voucher policy. Chicago residents experienced considerable difficulty moving to suburban neighborhoods, but it was a different situation for those in Alameda County, California. Essentially, there should be important changes made in the Section 8 program to help people make good moves, but it does not mean that everyone should move to the suburbs. For some, having the owner bring the dwelling unit up to quality housing standards is the best option. The key to housing mobility is choice.

When families with Section 8 housing vouchers move from inner-city communities to the suburbs, are they more likely to perceive difficulties and to be dissatisfied with their search for housing than families who make local moves or families who first move to the suburbs but then return to the central city? Both bivariate cross-tabular and logistic regression analysis are applied to a telephone interview sample of 300 Section 8 voucher recipients in Oakland and Berkeley, California. Although many of the movers experienced difficulty in carrying out the housing search, a vast majority were satisfied with their search. Suburban-bound movers were not more likely to perceive difficulties or to be dissatisfied with their search than were members of the two other mover groups when other background characteristics were controlled. The implications of these results for the Section 8 housing voucher program are discussed.

## **2. Housing Mobility Administration**

Basolo, Victoria, "Local Response to Federal Changes in the Housing Voucher Program: A Case Study of Intraregional Cooperation," *Housing Policy Debate* 14: 1 and 2 (2003), pp. 143-168.

[Abstract provided by author] The desire to increase residential choice for Section 8 voucher clients resulted in the adoption of portability by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Portability allows voucher holders to move between the jurisdiction of local housing authorities (HAs). InterHA cooperation could ease the administrative and financial burdens imposed by portability and improve service to voucher recipients. However, voluntary regional cooperation is rare.



This article presents a case study of a successful, voluntary, intraregional cooperative agreement among HAs. [Orange County, CA] Theoretical and empirical analyses suggest that a cooperative agreement is more likely to develop voluntarily if two conditions are present: rational self-interest and shared norms and trust among the managers. Agreements can ease the burdens associated with portability, but it is important for the parties to regularly assess implementation issues to ensure the agreement's continuing effectiveness. The article concludes with policy implications based on the findings from this research.

Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, "Regional Opportunity Counseling (ROC): Realizing the Promise of Section 8 Mobility," (Washington, DC: August 7, 1998).

This is an issue brief in support of full funding for the ROC program in 1999. It lays out the advantages of ROC as an inexpensive way of expanding opportunities for certificate and voucher holders, de-concentrating poverty, and helping families move from welfare to work. By allowing families to rent in the private market, the chances of relocating to communities with better education and employment opportunities are greater. Children of families who move are more likely to go to college and receive higher wages. It also assists disabled renters because of intensive counseling set locally by the PHAs; fosters region-wide cooperation among PHAs, since partnerships aid in recruiting landlords and administrative savings; and improves the quality of the housing secured with existing Section 8 subsidies.

Chicago Area Fair Housing Alliance, "Putting the 'Choice' in Housing Choice Vouchers, Part 3," (Chicago: July 2004)

This is the third in a series of reports by the Chicago Area Fair Housing Alliance (CAFHA) documenting the history and continuing problems of segregation in the operation of public housing and the Housing Choice Voucher program in the Chicago metropolitan region. These reports are part of a CAFHA advocacy project organized to improve fair housing performance by area housing authorities responsible for administration of both programs. This report focuses on the distribution of voucher recipients throughout the Chicago metropolitan region, including the City of Chicago and Cook, DuPage, Kane, Lake, McHenry and Will Counties.

In its conclusion, CAFHA finds a relative lack of affordable housing throughout the region and severe racial segregation. The way the voucher program is administered contributes to the continued segregation of voucher recipients. Public housing authorities should be held accountable for their fair housing performance, and voucher programs should be recognized as the primary housing assistance program in the country and funding cuts should be resisted. Political, business and community leaders need to join advocates and low-income families to address racial and economic barriers in Chicago.

Feins, Judith D., et al. *State and Metropolitan Administration of Section 8: Current Models and Potential Resources: Final Report* (Washington, DC: Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1997).

This 119-page report presents the results of an exploratory study of state and metropolitan administration of the Section 8 program. This study used telephone interviews with 42 program administrators in various types of agencies to gather information on how administrative arrangements in urban areas affect the ability of households to enter the program or move to the location of their choice, the ease with which private landlords can rent housing to program participants, and the ability of agencies to administer the program efficiently.

The motivation behind the study was the recognition that although most Section 8 programs are administered by local housing agencies (HAs), urban housing and labor markets are metropolitan in scope. A variety of problems may be created by this geographic mismatch. First, families may encounter difficulty in gaining access to the program or moving across program boundaries. Particularly for households seeking to improve their living situations by moving to low-poverty locations, moves across jurisdictional lines may be frustrated by the fragmented nature of program administration. A system of "portability," which allows families to take assistance across HA lines, was begun in 1984 and has grown substantially since 1991. While this has improved the chances for participating families who wish to move, the system is complex both for participants and for administering agencies. The fragmented nature of Section 8 administration in metropolitan areas may also cause difficulties for landlords, if they rent to tenants receiving subsidies from different agencies with different policies, or if they own rental property in different jurisdictions. Given these issues, the current study focuses on agencies that administer Section 8 over broader geographic areas (metropolitan areas or states), in an effort to see what can be learned from their different administrative approaches. The study also gathered administrators' perspectives on recent policy developments affecting Section 8, including changes intended to improve program effectiveness and changes intended to lower the cost of the program to the federal government.

Finkel, Mary and Larry Buron. *Study on Section 8 Voucher Success Rates: Volume I Quantitative Study of Success Rates in Metropolitan Areas* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Housing And Urban Development, 2001).

The Section 8 tenant-based voucher program is the largest subsidized housing program in the U.S. In 2000, it subsidized rents for more than 1.5 million low-income households and cost the Federal Government approximately \$8 billion. Under the voucher program, participants must find and lease qualifying units in the private rental market within the time allowed by the program. The household's rent is then subsidized by HUD. Not every family or individual that receives a Section 8 tenant-based voucher succeeds in finding a qualifying unit.

The primary objectives of this study are: 1) to provide a national estimate of the success rate for Section 8 voucher holders in metropolitan areas and to compare success rates by demographic groups and type of voucher issued; 2) to examine the role the tightness of a local housing market plays in success rates and in the time it takes successful voucher holders to lease a unit, and; 3) to examine the role specific PHA policies and procedures play in success rates. These policies and procedures include applicant screening criteria, the level at which the PHA sets the payment standard compared with HUD's published Fair Market Rents (FMRs), and assistance provided to voucher holders searching for housing.

The study's estimates of success rates are based on a sample of more than 2,600 households that received vouchers from 48 PHAs across the country. The sample is representative of all voucher holders in metropolitan PHAs that administer programs with more than 800 units. (The study universe includes about 60 percent of all vouchers). Data collection on the issuance of vouchers to households in the sample began in the spring of 2000, and collection of information on search outcomes continued through early 2001. Thus, the estimates of success and other study findings reflect the situation for large metropolitan PHAs in 2000.

Holin, Mary Joel and Amy Jones, "Community Relations and the Housing Choice Voucher Program," *Housing and Community Revitalization Strategies* 5:1 (Spring 2002), pp. 1, 5.

Mary Joel Holin and Amy Jones focus on a case study in Lynn, Massachusetts, where Housing Choice Voucher Program administrators faced community opposition and challenges. During the 1980s, Lynn experienced drug-related crime and general neighborhood nuisances during the same time HCVP was being administered. Families using the voucher program were blamed for driving up rents, increasing the number of low-income families in the community, and causing the sudden increase in community problems. Although the Lynn Housing Authority proved that many of the families thought to be causing the problems were not assisted by HCVP, community opposition continued to exist. When the state legislature became involved in the 1990s, LHA began a series of community efforts to address community concerns, including a Housing Integrity program to investigate complaints and prevent fraud and collaborative approaches with other agencies in the city to further public education efforts within the community. These administrative responses improved the quality of Lynn's neighborhoods and increased the community acceptance of the voucher program. Research shows that community opposition typically occurs in moderately priced rental housing neighborhoods, in areas of HCVP participant concentration and in areas with a small number of new HCVP families in traditionally high-rent neighborhoods. Accusations are often unfounded or due to poor administration of housing assistance programs. The authors highlight the HUD guidebook *Tools and Strategies for Improving Community Relations in the Housing Choice Voucher Program* to share how administrators in eight different sites have implemented strategies that were successful in addressing community resistance and concerns.

Johnson, Michael P. and Arthur P. Hurter, "Decision Support for a Housing Mobility Program Using a Multiobjective Optimization Model," *Management Science* 46:12 (December 2000), pp. 1569-1584.

[Abstract provided by authors] As result of public housing reform and welfare reform, the operating environment of public housing authorities has changed significantly. Given these policy initiatives, housing mobility programs represent viable strategies for providing public housing residents with access to economically healthy, integrated neighborhoods.

In this paper we present a decision support methodology to assist the design of housing mobility programs. This methodology incorporates economic models for estimating dollar-valued impacts associated with tenant relocation, and a multiobjective optimizations model for generating alternative relocation schemes associated with various objective function weights. Using data for Lake County, Illinois and Chicago, we demonstrate that nondominated allocations represent significant trade-offs between dollar-valued and non-dollar-valued policy objectives; existing distributions of subsidized housing represent suboptimal solutions to the housing relocation problem; and increases in available rental housing can result in housing dispersion schemes that have positive net economic benefits relative to the status quo.

Maney, Brian and Sheila Crowley, *Scarcity and Success: Perspectives on Assisted Housing* (Washington, DC: Meeting America's Housing Needs, 1999).

Part I of this paper describes the history, varieties, and operation of vouchers. Part II outlines the state of knowledge of the successful use of vouchers, observing that the bulk of the published literature appeared before 1990, and that the practical understanding of vouchers among stakeholders is uninformed by historical lessons and out of date, in part because voucher stakeholders are not sufficiently organized as an interest group. Part III presents the design and results of the Experimental Housing Allowance Program (EHAP), an eleven-year study of assisted housing overseen by HUD and the single largest source of data on assisted housing. Part IV analyzes the most recent comprehensive information, based on a general survey issued in 1994 and a more limited

one in 1997, and amplifies selected points by reference to reports that, while narrower in scope, sought to reform the voucher program through selective adjustments to its management.

Part V gathers studies by community groups, press reports, and other localized sources and finds the experience of voucher holders who seek housing to be one of housing scarcity, inability to escape high-poverty areas, and discrimination, whether by race, status as voucher holder, or for other reasons. This section also examines the practices of administrators, and notes their efforts to employ new technologies, promote positive images of the section 8 program, and to reduce transaction costs. Part VI briefly looks at courts and fair housing, examining HUD's fair housing enforcement record with respect to vouchers. Part VII presents a taxonomy of mobility, with descriptions of two well-known programs, Gautreaux and Moving to Opportunity.

The available literature describes the means to devise a national housing voucher program that is responsive to local needs. The report concludes with several recommendations focused on HUD and its relationship with PHAs.

Popkin, Susan J. and Mary K. Cunningham, *CHAC Relocation Counseling Assessment Interim Report* (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 2002).

Public housing in Chicago, as in many cities across the nation, is currently undergoing a dramatic transformation. In 1998, nearly 19,000 of the CHA's units failed viability inspection, meaning that, under federal law, the CHA was required to demolish the units within a five-year period. As a result, the city put forth a plan to "transform" the CHA's enormous high-rise buildings into smaller mixed-income communities of townhomes and low-rise buildings. The *CHA Transformation Plan* calls for the demolition of 51 gallery high-rise buildings, as well as several thousand mid-rise and low-rise units. The CHA will redevelop or rehabilitate 25,000 units of public housing; however, the plan calls for a substantial reduction in family public housing units (a net loss of 14,000 units). As a result of the reduction in the number of public housing units available, over the next six years as many as 6,000 families currently living in CHA developments will receive Housing Choice Vouchers (Section 8 vouchers). This plan, including relocation and revitalization, is estimated to cost \$1.5 billion over 10 years.

In 1999, the CHA began implementing a housing search program to provide relocatees with assistance that will help them find housing in a broader range of neighborhoods. These programs also provide a range of training programs (e.g., workshops on tenant rights and responsibilities, budgeting, and housekeeping) and supportive services (generally, case management) intended to help relocatees become successful private market tenants. The overarching goals of CHA's relocation services were to: 1) help participants make a successful transition to the private market and 2) help prevent the creation of clusters of relocatees. During the first year of relocation, the CHA's counseling services were targeted to residents of buildings slated for closing and demolition who indicated that Section 8 was their first choice for replacement housing.

Popkin, Susan J. and Mary K. Cunningham, *CHAC Section 8 Program: Barriers to Successful Leasing Up* (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, April 1999).

The findings from these focus groups make clear that many CHAC families face significant challenges when searching for housing. Even though most seem to follow the recommended strategies and search intensively, many have difficulty finding acceptable units in good neighborhoods. Some of the barriers to successful searches are financial, e.g., dependence on public

transportation and the costs of credit checks and security deposits. However, others have more to do with searchers' family situations or personal characteristics. Lack of adequate time to search was reportedly a major problem for most focus group participants; long travel times on public transit added to the time involved in looking for housing, and personal crises (e.g., illnesses or job loss) often reduced the time available to search. Lack of time was a particularly severe problem for employed participants, many of whom were new to the labor market and had jobs with odd hours and little leave time. However, given the other problems they faced, it is not clear whether more time alone would have been sufficient for these participants to be successful.

Other findings include: unstable families and large family size as a major barrier to success; racial discrimination by white neighbors toward children living in families using Section 8 vouchers; and navigating Section 8 and CHAC programs' complex rules.

Rosenbaum, James E. and Shazia Rafiullah Miller, "Certifications and Warranties: Keys to Effective Residential Mobility Programs," *Seton Hall Law Review* 27 (1997), pp. 1426-1448.

This paper suggests that mobility programs are usually viewed as serving their clients, even though some programs must also serve other parties (landlords and neighbors) to be effective. Program screening is a key factor affecting program success; the authors argue that programs that are dependent on other people's actions for their success must strive to provide certification and warranties about their clients that persuade these groups to cooperate. Rather than screening being a quiet or informal process, this view suggests that programs should pose formal criteria and certify the favorable qualities that their clients possess.

After reporting on the outcomes of the Gautreaux Residential Mobility Program, the paper describes how the Program provided certification of clients' qualities and used that certification to persuade landlords to accept them. Next, this paper examines several other residential mobility programs. All of these programs involve mixed-income integration, and most also involve racial integration. This paper explores the ways they provided certification and warranties of their clients. Finally, this paper then turns to some very recent programs that have not placed much emphasis on certification, and this paper speculates about potential difficulties that might arise.

Turner, Margery Austin, "Moving Out of Poverty: Expanding Mobility and Choice through Tenant-Based Housing Assistance," *Housing Policy Debate* 9:2 (1998), pp. 373-394.

[Summary provided by *Housing Policy Debate*] Margery Austin Turner studies the effectiveness of federal housing programs that can be used as "mobility" strategies to reduce concentrated poverty — the Section 8 certificate and voucher programs. She argues that such tenant-based assistance gives poor families the key to accessing low-poverty neighborhoods, but that the programs do not, on their own, assure that those families will actually find appropriate housing opportunities in such neighborhoods. In fact, the Section 8 subsidies may create new concentrations of poverty in selected neighborhoods. Turner advocates taking steps to avoid clustering tenant-based assisted housing units, and also providing counseling and search assistance for Section 8 recipients to help them find housing in decent neighborhoods.

Turner, Margery Austin and Kale Williams, *Housing Mobility: Realizing the Promise, Report from the Second National Conference on Assisted Housing Mobility* (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 1998).

The authors survey 41 assisted mobility housing programs operating in metropolitan areas nationwide and provide historical information regarding their development and proliferation. In

spite of opportunities for families to relocate under Section 8 tenant-based programs, the authors argue that more specific programs have proven necessary to encourage families to move into high-opportunity localities. Turner and Williams identify five key, mutually reinforcing factors affecting all local programs: the nature of counseling services for participating families, outreach to landlords, partnerships among institutional actors, building community support, and performance measures. Though the shape of local initiatives is crucial, the article notes that the continued support of the federal government is crucial for housing mobility programs.

Office of Policy Development and Research, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Outcomes of Tenant-Based Housing Mobility Programs," *Urban Research Monitor* 6:1 (March/April 2001).

[Introduction provided by *Urban Research Monitor* webpage] The 1969 federal court case brought by Dorothy Gautreaux and 40,000 other public housing residents against the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) continues to affect the delivery of public housing assistance. The plaintiffs claimed that CHA had engaged in systematic racial discrimination by segregating low-income black people in housing projects located in Chicago's inner city, and the ruling in favor of Gautreaux directed HUD to develop and implement a mobility program to move poor black families out of public housing projects and into affordable housing throughout the Chicago metropolitan area. What became known as HUD's Gautreaux Assisted Housing Program became part of a new national housing policy that increasingly relies on subsidies to renters rather than subsidies to housing developers.

Over the years, Gautreaux has spawned numerous other tenant-based mobility programs, including HUD's Moving to Opportunity (MTO) demonstration and research project. The underlying rationale for these programs is to give low-income inner-city households the opportunity to live in safer, more integrated neighborhoods with access to better schools and employment.

Understanding the conditions under which these tenant-assisted programs can be successful is critically important for today's policymaker and the subject of two new analytical publications. *Crossing the Class and Color Lines: From Public Housing to White Suburbia*, by Leonard S. Rubinowitz and James E. Rosenbaum, examines the legacy of the Gautreaux program, which over time has helped more than 7,000 low-income black families find new homes across the Chicago metropolitan area. In "Vouchering Out Distressed Subsidized Developments: Does Moving Lead to Improvements in Housing and Neighborhood Conditions?," David P. Varady and Carole C. Walker analyze the impact of resident relocation programs implemented in connection with HUD's closing of troubled housing developments in Baltimore, Maryland; Kansas City, Missouri; Newport News, Virginia; and San Francisco, California.

Varady, David and Carole Walker, "Using Housing Vouchers to Move to the Suburbs: The Alameda County, California, Experience," *Urban Affairs Review* 39:2 (November 2003), pp. 143-180.

[Abstract provided by authors] When families with Section 8 housing vouchers move from inner-city communities to the suburbs, are they more likely to perceive difficulties and to be dissatisfied with their search for housing than families who make local moves or families who first move to the suburbs but then return to the central city? Both bivariate cross-tabular and logistic regression analysis are applied to a telephone interview sample of 300 Section 8 voucher recipients in Oakland and Berkeley, California. Although many of the movers experienced difficulty in carrying out the housing search, a vast majority were satisfied with their search. Suburban-bound movers were not more likely to perceive difficulties or to be dissatisfied with their search than were members of the

two other mover groups when other background characteristics were controlled. The implications of these results for the Section 8 housing voucher program are discussed.

This article argues that it is a mistake to develop a “one-size-fits-all” voucher policy. Chicago residents experienced considerable difficulty moving to suburban neighborhoods, but it was a different situation for those in Alameda County, California. Essentially, there should be important changes made in the Section 8 program to help people make good moves, but it does not mean that everyone should move to the suburbs. For some, having the owner bring the dwelling unit up to quality housing standards is the best option. The key to housing mobility is choice.

Warner, Charlie, *Vouchers to Nowhere: The Ever Shrinking Market for Section 8 Vouchers in Suburban Hennepin County, Minnesota* (St. Louis Park, MN: HOME Line, 2000).

In the Summer of 2000, HOME Line conducted its sixth annual survey of suburban Hennepin County rental property owners to determine their willingness to participate in the Section 8 rental subsidy program. Many callers to our hotline complain they are unable to use their Section 8 subsidy; local administrators of the Section 8 program voucher program report difficulty in getting them used.

The results of [2000's] survey document a continuing decline in choices available to voucher holders. Few units have rents that qualify for the Section 8 program or have owners that accept Section 8 tenants.

Recommendations include: production of affordable rental housing, enforcement of the Minnesota Human Rights Act, federal Low Income Housing Tax Credit program, Fair Market Rents and legislation requiring new housing developments to have a minimum percentage of rental units affordable to lower-income families and to accept voucher holders for those units.

### **3. Other Related Articles on Housing Mobility**

Fiss, Owen, "What Should be Done For Those Who Have Been Left Behind?" *Boston Review* (Summer 2000), pp. 4-9.

Fiss recounts the steady decay of urban centers marked, among other things, by the disappearance of manufacturing jobs and the flight of capital resources to the suburbs and discusses the associated consequences for those individuals and families left behind. The condition of today's cities, Fiss argues, is a direct result of blatant racial exclusionary practices that have concentrated and isolated those most disadvantaged. The culture that is created in this environment is especially corrosive and problematically, tends to be overlooked by policy makers such as the architects of Head Start or the 1996 welfare reforms. We should, therefore, pursue policies that enhance the ability of those living in such conditions to move into more positive, opportunity-rich communities. The article outlines the judicial roots of such policies in a discussion of *Hill v. Gautreaux* and its consequences.

Roisman, Florence Wagman, "Long Overdue: Desegregation Litigation and Next Steps to End Discrimination and Segregation in the Public Housing and Section 8 Existing Housing Programs," *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research* 4:3 (1999), pp. 171-196.

This article identifies racial discrimination and segregation in housing programs administered by Federal, State and local government agencies. African Americans living in public housing units or using Section 8 vouchers live primarily in poor communities with other blacks. Despite legal requirements that aim to prohibit racial discrimination, HUD has helped to create and maintain

patterns of racial segregation and economic isolation. Roisman describes desegregation lawsuits and HUD's responses and suggests how HUD's actions could be improved, enlarged and refined. Roisman discusses *Gautreaux v. Romney* and makes three suggestions for HUD: to extend relief to communities where many people would benefit; to follow through with established desegregation obligations; and promote desegregation through target MSAs.

Rosenbaum, James E. and Stefanie DeLuca, "Is Housing Mobility the Key to Welfare Reform?: Lessons from Chicago's Gautreaux Program," The Brookings Institution Survey Series (September 2000).

Taking off of sociologist William Julius Wilson's theory that neighborhoods with high concentrations of low-income, poorly educated individuals who lack knowledge of mainstream society and its labor markets have negative effects on their residents, Rosenbaum and DeLuca seek to answer the opposite: Do better neighborhoods reduce welfare and improve families' futures? The authors found by studying the Gautreaux program in Chicago that the place, and not the person, is a stronger determinant of poverty and dependence. Welfare reform efforts should focus on changing the social context rather than changing individuals' educational and skill levels, because certain kinds of neighborhoods make it difficult for families to escape poverty and dependence on public aid. Rosenbaum and DeLuca used the Gautreaux program in their study because the mild selective criteria forged a diverse study pool, and the relative lack of control in choosing where families got to move created a random element to the methodology. Furthermore, this study is distinct from others because it is based on administrative records and therefore elicited a better "response rate." Rosenbaum and DeLuca used the records to study the long-term effects of moves on families and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) receipt. Data analysis revealed that the poverty level of a neighborhood strongly predicted the amount of welfare receipt among families. More specifically, as the education level of the neighborhood residents increased, the less likely families received AFDC. Interviews with participants revealed that suburbs had an increased number of jobs, feelings of physical safety, more positive role models and different social norms. Welfare reform initiatives would be served better if they took into account the environment in addition to individual services. The best way to separate the effects is to randomly assign families to different types of neighborhoods, such as Moving to Opportunity. By continuing to help families move out of neighborhoods that limit their achievement, new neighborhoods could expand their opportunities.

Sinai, Todd and Joel Waldfogel, "Do Low-Income Housing Subsidies Increase Housing Consumption?" unpublished paper, The Wharton School (December 2001).

[Abstract provided by authors] A necessary condition for justifying a policy such as publicly provided or subsidized low-income housing is that it has a real effect on recipients' outcomes. In this paper, we examine one aspect of the real effect of public or subsidized housing – does it increase the housing stock? If subsidized housing raises the quantity of occupied housing per capita, either more people are finding housing or they are being housed less densely. On the other hand, if public or subsidized housing merely crowds out equivalent-quality low-income housing that otherwise would have been provided by the private sector, the housing policy may have little real effect on housing consumption. Using Census place-level data from the decennial census and from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, we ask whether places with more public and subsidized housing also have more total housing, after accounting for housing demand. We find that government-financed units raise the total numbers of units in a Census place, although on average three government-subsidized units displace two units that would otherwise have been provided by the private market. There is less crowd-out in more populous markets, and more crowd-out in places where there is less excess demand for public housing, as measured by the number of



government-financed units per eligible person. Tenant-based housing programs, such as Section 8 Certificates and Vouchers, seem to be more effective than project-based programs at targeting subsidized housing units to people.

Goering, John, "Place-based Poverty, Social Experimentation, and Child Outcomes: A Report of Mixed Effects," *Children, Youth and Environments* 13:2 (2003), pp. 1-24.

[Abstract provided by author] In the past two decades, a host of non-experimental and quasi-experimental studies have been conducted on how neighborhoods affect child and family well-being and social status. The federal Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program is the most important ongoing demonstration in American housing policy on the effects of neighborhood upon the life changes and futures of children and adults who had previously lived in low-income public housing projects. Research indicates positive impacts on the neighborhood contexts, their levels of fear and sense of security, and on a range of major behavioral outcomes. Gender differences appear significant but are currently unexplained. A new phase of qualitative research currently under way is described as the next stage in this longitudinal panel study of neighborhoods' effects on poor children.

#### **4. Local Program Reports**

Atlanta Housing Authority. *Landlord's Guide to the Housing Choice Programs: Good Neighbors Make Great Neighborhoods*, 2004.

Chicago Housing Choice Voucher Program. *Opportunity Knocks*, magazine. *Your Turn*, monthly newsletter.

Fair Housing Council (San Diego, CA). *Community Opportunities Program Final Report*, 2002.

Grand Rapids Urban League. *Cumulative Report for ROC program*, 2003. (prepared by John Gussenbauer).

Metropolitan Boston Housing Partnership. *Metropolitan Boston Housing Partnership's Community Choice Voucher Program Report*, 2003.

Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments. *Marketing and Outreach Materials for Housing Choice Voucher Programs*, 1998.

#### **5. General Fair Housing and Discrimination Articles**

Briggs, Xavier de Souza, "Housing Opportunity, Desegregation Strategy, and Policy Research: Comment on Popkin et al, 'Obstacles to Desegregating Public Housing,'" unpublished paper 2004.

This paper is a response to Popkin's article on specific lessons for housing desegregation. Briggs considers the societal context in addition to local implementation success factors. This paper raises the question whether or not desegregation efforts should be directed toward changing a person's location or toward efforts the link a person's residence with opportunities (in education, social network, etc.) By addressing these two questions, advocates, lawyers, courts, etc. can focus on what the broad strategy demands, and not simply the terms or particularities of litigation suits and policies. The goals of housing strategies must be examined when the costs of integration are questioned to be too high and affirmative equal opportunity policies are questioned.

Krzewinski, Lisa M., "Section 8's Failure to Integrate: The Interaction of Class-Based and Racial Discrimination," *Boston College Third World Law Journal* 21 (2001), pp. 315-332.

[Abstract provided by author] In his book, *As Long As They Don't Move Next Door*, Stephen Grant Meyer examines the history of housing segregation in the United States. He asserts that, while African Americans have made great advancements toward equal citizenship, the continued tendency of Whites and African Americans to live in separate neighborhoods remains a significant impediment to improving race relations in the United States. Meyer concludes that the negative perception many Whites have of African Americans is responsible for the lack of integration found in America's neighborhoods. This Book Review takes Meyer's analysis a step further and argues that in order to promote long-term change in neighborhood integration, it is also necessary to address the underlying class-based fears, grounded in the protection of their property, that cause many white Americans to discriminate against African Americans.

powell, john a., "Opportunity-Based Housing," *Journal of Affordable Housing and Community Development Law* 12 (Winter 2003), pp. 188-218.

This article argues that the goal of a regional housing strategy should be racial and economic justice, not one of choice. powell shows that housing is not a commodity in itself, but that housing is linked to other life opportunities, such as employment, good schools, childcare, transportation, etc. powell explains "opportunity-based housing" as the relationship between metropolitan areas situated in an interconnected web of opportunity structures and quality of life. In his conclusion, powell recommends that housing policies should not be focused solely on providing housing units, but also opportunity structures in residential areas. In addition, the author calls for a regional effort, better tracking of the economic and racial struggles in attaining fair housing, and adequate support before destroying existing public housing units.

powell, john a. and Marguerite L. Spencer, "Giving Them the Old 'One-Two': Gentrification and the K.O. of Impoverished Urban Dwellers of Color," *Howard Law Journal* 46 (Spring 2003), pp. 433-489.

The main premise of this article is to respond to J. Peter Byrne's defense of gentrification—that a higher number of affluent and well-educated residents are good for cities and that a higher expenditure of public moneys is enough to take care of those who cannot afford to pay market rents. powell and Spencer argue that gentrification is not good for the cities or the poor, unless the market is directed at creating integrated life opportunities for all people in all places. This article has four parts in which the authors: 1. provide a fuller picture of gentrification that includes race, class, space and time; 2. discuss choice, mobility and the costs of unmitigated gentrification; 3. criticize Byrne's measurement and evaluation of displacement; and 4. suggest regional strategies for equalizing life opportunities for all, including those that mitigate gentrification. The focus of this article is on the people, rather than the place, and on justice rather than the status quo.

Rawlings, Lynette, Laura Harris, and Margery Austin Turner with Sandra Padilla, *Neighborhood Change in Urban America* (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, March 2004).

The considerable amount of racial and ethnic changes in U.S. metropolitan areas has raised two questions: 1. Are neighborhoods achieving racial integration in spite of their initial composition? and 2. are racially mixed neighborhoods stable or is there a threshold of black representation? The authors analyze the racial composition of neighborhoods in 100 largest metropolitan areas from 1990 to 2000 and found that the overall picture is one of black-white stability; neighborhoods that originally became blacker eventually stayed the same or whiter; majority black neighborhoods are

considerably more likely to become blacker over time; suburban neighborhoods are less likely to experience racial transition than central city neighborhoods; and neighborhoods in metropolitan areas with large black populations are just as stable as those in areas with small black populations.

## 6. Selected Books and Articles Prior to 1997

Polikoff, Alexander, ed., *Housing Mobility: Promise or Illusion?* (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 1995)

This book contains two principal papers from the first mobility conference, "Housing Mobility as an Anti-Poverty Strategy," in October 1994. The book begins with George Peterson's and Kale Williams' overview of the existing mobility programs, essentially explaining the purpose of housing mobility and examines nine household-based mobility programs and nine unit-based mobility programs. The second section by, Philip Tegeler, Michael Hanley and Judith Liben, is focused on transforming section 8 into a regional housing mobility program. This section is intended to suggest ways to improve the barriers to mobility in the Section 8 program. While they do not discuss the merits of mobility, they are concerned with the racial impact of current programs and proposed reforms.

Roisman, Florence Wagman and Hilary Botein, "Housing Mobility and Life Opportunities," *Clearinghouse Review* 27 (1993).

Tegeler, Philip D., Michael L. Hanley, and Judith Liben, "Transforming Section 8: Using Federal Housing Subsidies to Promote Individual Housing Choice and Desegregation," *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review* 30 (Summer 1995), pp. 451-486.

With reference to the experiences of the Boston, Buffalo, and Rochester metropolitan areas, this article identifies a number of obstacles that low-income minority families face in obtaining and utilizing Section 8 housing vouchers. The authors also offer a series of proposals to remedy existing problems and ensure that the Section 8 program achieves its potential as a vehicle for housing mobility and desegregation. These problems and proposals include:

- 1.) Disproportionate allocation of subsidies within metropolitan areas. In highly segregated metropolitan regions, HUD subsidy allocation practices have resulted in vouchers being diverted from central city neighborhoods, where the bulk of eligible households tend to live, to suburban communities, which contain a disproportionately small share of low-income minority residents. To mitigate this trend, the article recommends that:
- 2.) HUD no longer count the inventory of public housing and other project-based housing stock against a community in determining its 'unmet need' for tenant-based subsidies;
- 3.) HUD discontinue the system of assigning minimum and maximum numbers of subsidy awards;
- 4.) Local residents not be deprived of a chance to obtain subsidies because their local housing authority is mis-managed.