

The HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study

A Snapshot of the Current
Living Situation of Original
Residents from Eight Sites



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Executive Summary

The HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study represents the first systematic look at what has happened to original residents of distressed public housing developments targeted for revitalization under the HOPE VI program. It provides a snapshot of the living conditions and well-being of former residents of eight properties as of the spring of 2001—between two and seven years after the PHA was awarded a HOPE VI grant. At that time, the redevelopment process was still under way in six of the eight study sites, so the results describe a “work in progress.”

Created by Congress in 1992, the HOPE VI Program represents the federal government’s most ambitious effort to date to address the problem of severely distressed public housing. The goals of the program are to improve the living environment for residents of distressed public housing, to revitalize the site and contribute to improvements in the surrounding neighborhood, to decrease (or avoid) the concentration of very low-income households, and to build sustainable communities. To achieve these goals, the program combines physical revitalization with management improvements and supportive services for the public housing residents. As the program has evolved, it has increased its emphasis on providing mixed-income housing, leveraging HOPE VI money to raise other funding, and broadening the focus of revitalization beyond the original public housing site to incorporate neighborhood revitalization goals. Between 1993 and 2001, a total of 165 revitalization grants were funded, representing \$4.5 billion in HOPE VI funds for redevelopment and supportive service activities.

This study focuses on a single aspect of the HOPE VI experience: What has happened to original residents of eight HOPE VI properties since revitalization got under way and how their living situations have changed. The study includes some residents who have returned to the HOPE VI sites and some who are living in other locations, either as a temporary or permanent relocation.

The study findings are based on a survey of 818 residents who lived in one of eight study developments at the time of the HOPE VI award. While the eight study sites were selected to reflect a range of HOPE VI initiatives and relocation strategies, they are not expected to be representative of the program as a whole. Moreover, since each HOPE VI site is unique in some respects, a major focus of this report is on understanding the survey results in the context of the individual sites, their revitalization strategies, and the local housing market. Although this summary focuses on cross-site findings, readers are encouraged to delve into the individual case studies, which provide a rich source of information about the current situation of original HOPE VI residents at each site.

Summary of Major Findings

The findings of this study fall into three broad domains: the type and quality of housing now occupied by the original HOPE VI residents; their current neighborhood and social

environments; and their employment, material hardship, and health. The living conditions of former HOPE VI residents are of interest because of the program's goals of improving conditions for public housing residents of severely distressed public housing regardless of where they choose to relocate. Indeed, the results indicate that different housing environments offer relocatees different opportunities and challenges.

Housing Type and Household Characteristics

At the time of the resident survey in the spring of 2001, two of the eight study sites were completed and fully reoccupied, four of the sites were partially reoccupied, and two sites were in the midst of on-site construction and had not yet begun reoccupying the site. At this point, we do not know how many residents in the eight study sites may ultimately return to the HOPE VI property or what additional changes in their housing situation they may make before the redevelopment programs are completed. This study reflects their housing assistance status and living conditions as of the spring of 2001.

- Of the 818 households in our sample, 19 percent now live in a revitalized HOPE VI development, 29 percent live in other public housing properties, 33 percent are renting units using housing vouchers, and 18 percent have left assisted housing altogether. Nationally, a larger share of original residents relocated to other public housing developments (37 percent) or are using a housing voucher (35 percent) than in this study sample, and a smaller share now live in a revitalized HOPE VI development (14 percent) or have left assisted housing altogether (14 percent).¹
- At the two completed sites and one nearly completed property, more than 40 percent of the original residents had returned to a unit in the revitalized development. All three of these sites had conditions that may have led to a high return rate: San Francisco's Hayes Valley had an extremely tight and expensive housing market in the city, and Newark's Walsh Homes and Denver's Quigg Newton developed the new housing in stages so residents could move directly from their original public housing units into the revitalized housing.

Overall, a number of factors may affect the number of residents who return to the revitalized development, including resident preferences for the greater flexibility and anonymity of voucher assistance, the condition of other public housing developments where residents may relocate, the availability of decent affordable housing in the private market, the length of time between relocation and reoccupancy, the extent to which public housing authorities (PHAs) track original residents and inform them of the option to move back, resident perceptions of the desirability of the revitalized housing, and the strictness of the screening criteria. (Strict screening can have both negative and positive effects on the return rate: some original residents will be ineligible to move back, but others may choose to return because they think the screening has made the development a safer or better place to live.)

¹ In addition, at the end of March 2002, 15,770 original residents from 1993 to 2000 sites had not yet been relocated and still lived in a distressed public housing development scheduled for HOPE VI demolition. All national figures are from HUD (2002, p. 64).

Our findings, although preliminary, suggest that household characteristics also play some role in determining which housing option residents selected.

- HOPE VI returnees and those who relocated to other public housing units tend to be older and to have fewer children than voucher users or unsubsidized households. The decision to relocate to other public housing also appears to be influenced by the condition of the local public housing stock and may represent a trade-off between the greater flexibility and anonymity of a voucher subsidy and the social networks and housing stability offered by public housing.
- The unsubsidized households in our sample tend to have higher incomes, higher employment rates, and more education than those still receiving housing assistance. These households are also more likely than other households to be married and in their prime earning years (ages 35 to 49). Nevertheless, the majority of these households still have extremely low incomes, with approximately two-thirds reporting incomes below 30 percent of the area median.
- Voucher users are similar to unsubsidized households in that they are younger, more educated, and have children. However, they are similar to public housing households in that single females head most households and almost all have incomes below 30 percent of the area median.

Housing Conditions

HOPE VI families came from severely distressed developments. Relocating to revitalized units, other public housing, or the private market is expected to improve their housing conditions. Our findings suggest that, in fact, a majority of the original residents in our sample have experienced the expected improvement in housing quality. Nearly two-thirds of residents (63 percent) reported that their housing unit is in good or excellent condition, and most (85 percent) said that their current unit is in the same or better condition as their public housing unit prior to revitalization.

- Overall, 56 percent of respondents reported their current housing unit is in better condition than their original public housing unit; 29 percent reported it is in about the same condition; and 15 percent reported it is in worse condition.

The level of improvement in housing quality varies by housing assistance status.

- HOPE VI returnees, who are living in newly revitalized developments, reported significantly better housing conditions than other respondents in our sample. However, while 76 percent of HOPE VI returnees reported that their current unit was in better condition than their original public housing unit, a surprising share of returnees reported their housing was in similar (14 percent) or worse condition (10 percent). We cannot fully explain this finding, but it appears that a number of returnees to the Quigg Newton site in Denver (the only site in the study where units were rehabilitated as opposed to newly constructed) did not perceive a major change in the condition of their unit as a result of the program. In addition, about half the

returnees who rated their unit in worse condition also reported unit-specific problems (such as broken plumbing) that might have led to their negative rating.

- About two-thirds of those who relocated to other public housing developments described their housing units in good or excellent physical condition. In Tucson, where many former residents of Connie Chambers now live in scattered-site public housing, almost all the relocatees in public housing rated the condition of their unit favorably. In addition, in some other cities original residents appear to have been offered public housing units in desirable developments, although the pattern varies from site to site.
- Voucher users are less satisfied with their housing than other groups, and nearly half reported their unit is in fair or poor condition. Only 46 percent of voucher users reported that their current unit is in better condition than their original public housing unit. Voucher users from Albany's Edwin Corning are particularly likely to say that their former public housing unit was better than their current voucher unit. This may reflect the fact that, while outdated in many respects, Edwin Corning appears to have been in fairly good physical shape at the time of the HOPE VI grant. San Francisco and Paterson, which both have tight, expensive housing markets, also have low rates of satisfaction for voucher users. By contrast, voucher users in Louisville and Springfield reported good housing conditions. The quality of housing that voucher holders have obtained is presumably related to the tightness of the local housing market, the quality of the housing stock, the extent of discrimination faced by minorities (especially former public housing residents), and aspects of the counseling and relocation process that may have affected their housing search.

In a small number of in-depth interviews with original residents who chose to relocate with a voucher, respondents who complained about their housing still said they preferred a voucher to public housing. Their main reasons were the increased flexibility in choosing where to live and the greater privacy or anonymity inherent in a private market unit compared with a public housing development.

Neighborhood Environment

One of the goals of the HOPE VI program is to deconcentrate (or avoid concentrating) very low-income households and to contribute to the improvement of the original public housing neighborhood. Our findings indicate that original residents who are in private housing—voucher users, unsubsidized renters, or homeowners—are not clustered in a few communities but are dispersed across a range of neighborhoods. We also find that most original residents are living in areas with substantially lower poverty rates than the neighborhood around the original public housing development.

- About 40 percent of non-returnees (those who have not returned to the original HOPE VI site) now live in low-poverty census tracts with poverty rates of less than 20 percent. None of the residents started out in low-poverty areas, so the 40 percent share in low poverty areas is a net improvement and represents substantial

progress. However, 40 percent of non-returnees still live in neighborhoods where more than 30 percent of the residents are poor.

- Change in racial segregation is more modest. Original residents at two sites now live in substantially less-segregated neighborhoods, while at five sites the current neighborhood is slightly less segregated.
- While neighborhood conditions have improved for original residents at seven of the eight study sites, at one site original residents now live in census tracts that are, on average, slightly poorer and more segregated than their original public housing neighborhood. This site (Albany's Edwin Corning) is unique among the study sites because the original public housing neighborhood had a relatively low level of poverty (22 percent) and was diverse (45 percent minority). Hence, even though original residents relocated to higher-poverty and less diverse neighborhoods on average, the new neighborhoods still have a relatively low average poverty rate (25 percent) and are diverse (54 percent minority).

Policymakers hope that by assisting households to move to lower-poverty areas, they will experience a reduction in exposure to crime and disorder and thus improve their overall well-being. Because we lack baseline data, we cannot assess whether original residents perceive their current neighborhoods to be substantially safer than their original public housing developments. However, our data indicate that many public housing residents and voucher holders continue to live in areas that they perceive as having problems related to crime.²

- Overall, about 40 percent of the respondents reported “big problems” with drug trafficking and gang activity in their current neighborhood, and just fewer than 20 percent reported big problems with violent crime. Unsubsidized households were the least likely to report big problems with drug trafficking and gang activity, while returning HOPE VI residents were the most likely to report big problems.
- Perceptions of crime vary considerably across sites: Less than a quarter of original residents from Denver's Quigg Newton, Springfield's John Hay Homes, and Tucson's Connie Chambers reported problems with drug trafficking in their current neighborhood, compared with relatively high fractions at San Francisco's Hayes Valley and Newark's Archbishop Walsh.

Our findings regarding perceptions of crime for current residents of HOPE VI sites should not be taken as indicative of HOPE VI sites overall. The study includes only three sites with a substantial number of reoccupied HOPE VI units, including two sites with unusually serious crime problems in the HOPE VI neighborhood and one with low levels of perceived crime. At the two sites where residents reported continued problems with drugs and crime, PHA staff acknowledge the situations and have been working to address them. Other research on the HOPE VI program (Holin et al. 2001) indicates that crime has decreased at many HOPE VI sites, based both on resident perceptions of crime and on official crime statistics.

² As discussed in Chapter 4, our information about levels of crime is based exclusively on respondent perceptions.

Social Environment

“Collective efficacy” is an indicator of neighborhood health that has been found to be associated with lower neighborhood crime rates and better health outcomes for residents. Our survey included two measures of collective efficacy, neighborhood social cohesion (e.g., helpful neighbors) and social control (e.g., neighborhood monitoring of the behavior of children and youth).

- Unsubsidized households in our sample reported significantly higher levels of collective efficacy than those living in public housing or using vouchers. This finding is consistent with the fact that these households reported the lowest levels of crime of any group. However, one of the HOPE VI sites where residents reported high levels of problems with crime—Newark’s Archbishop Walsh—also reported high levels of collective efficacy. It may be that the high level of social organization at that site can support efforts to reduce crime in the future.

One of the premises of the HOPE VI program is that deconcentrating poverty and creating mixed-income communities will benefit the poor. Low-income families will interact with neighbors in their new communities, forming new social networks. These networks are hypothesized to offer a range of benefits for original residents, including positive role models for adults and children, access to information about economic opportunities, and peer groups for children and youth that are less likely to support delinquent activity. However, survey respondents reported fairly low levels of social interaction with neighbors.

- About half the respondents in our sample reported having friends in their current neighborhood, and slightly fewer reported having family in the area. Relatively few respondents reported having more than limited interactions with their current neighbors.
- Unsubsidized households and voucher holders are less likely than public housing residents to report having friends and family in the area and reported the lowest levels of interaction with their neighbors. Our in-depth interviews suggest that the low levels of interaction are associated with a number of factors, including lack of opportunity (e.g., respondents or neighbors are not around during the day), language or cultural barriers, and personal preferences for keeping social distance from neighbors.

Employment, Hardship, and Health

Employment. One of the main goals of HOPE VI’s community and supportive services is to enhance the self-sufficiency of original residents. Because these communities have been so distressed, the assumption is that many residents lack work experience or labor force connections and that the combination of improved neighborhood conditions and supportive services can help many residents find work. Our findings suggest a complex picture, with more residents than expected in the labor force, as well as some residents facing significant barriers that keep them out of the labor force.

- Half of our non-elderly respondents reported being employed full- or part-time at the time of the survey, and 64 percent reported having at least one wage earner in the household. But while employment levels were relatively high, respondents' wages were very low, with 82 percent of the non-elderly households reporting incomes below 30 percent of the area median. Our in-depth interviews also indicate that many work in lower paying jobs such as home-care assistants, retail and fast food clerks, janitors, hotel service workers, and school bus drivers.
- About a third of the non-elderly households reported receiving disability-related benefits, and 30 percent receive welfare. Unsubsidized households were significantly less likely to report receiving welfare, while receipt of disability-related benefits does not vary much by housing assistance type.
- Many working-age respondents face barriers that make attaining self-sufficiency challenging. The most common barrier cited (40 percent) was a lack of jobs in the neighborhood. Other obstacles frequently mentioned included lack of job experience, having a disability, lack of child care, and transportation problems. Nearly half the respondents identified multiple barriers to employment. The multiple barriers, combined with the generally low education and skill levels, point to the challenge of promoting self-sufficiency of residents from distressed public housing.

Material Hardship. The disruption of relocation, even if temporary, and the challenges of renting in the private market could present extremely low-income households with increased difficulties meeting their financial obligations and providing for their households. Overall, 40 percent of our sample reported problems paying rent and utilities, and about half reported having difficulty affording enough food.

- Private-market renters in our sample reported the highest levels of housing hardship: 59 percent of voucher users said that they had had difficulty paying rent or utilities in the past year, as did 52 percent of unsubsidized households.
- Unsubsidized households were more likely than public housing residents or voucher users to report doubling up with other families (13 versus 4 percent) and to report multiple moves since relocating.

Some of the reported problems may be the result of the unprecedented spike in utility costs that affected cities across the nation in the winter of 2000–01. However, other factors may have contributed to these problems as well, including poor insulation in affordable private market housing, which causes utility bills to exceed the utility allowances used in the voucher program; residents' inexperience in managing their utility expenses; and residents' generally low wages, which make it difficult to deal with unexpected costs.

We do not know whether the difficulties reported by voucher users meeting their housing costs are typical of all families using vouchers or are more likely to be experienced or perceived by our group of respondents, all of whom used to live in public housing.

Health. Health problems are a major issue for the former residents of distressed public housing. We do not have baseline measures of health, so we do not know how much health conditions have changed since the start of HOPE VI. However, problems reported during the survey point to the potential role health care could play in helping residents become self-sufficient and improve their quality of life.

- Thirty-nine percent of adults reported that their health was fair or poor, and thirty-five percent said someone in their household suffers from asthma. HOPE VI returnees are most likely to report bad health (52 percent), and unsubsidized and voucher households are least likely (32 percent).
- In the in-depth interviews, 23 out of 24 respondents mentioned a health problem for either themselves or one of the family members living with them. Interestingly, several respondents answered a direct question on their health status by saying they were fine, but later in the interview, the person would talk about health problems. Because they were not ill at the time of the interview, some people responded narrowly to a direct question on health. This reporting pattern suggests that health problems may be an even larger problem than indicated by the survey responses.

Conclusion

The findings from the HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study suggest that many relocated residents live in a new housing environment that is an improvement over their original distressed public housing. A majority of the original residents in our study sample are living in decent housing in neighborhoods that have lower poverty rates than their original public housing developments, and most are satisfied with their current living situation. Nevertheless, a substantial proportion of public housing residents and voucher users reported problems with drug trafficking and violent crime in their neighborhood, and about half of those in the private market—voucher users and unsubsidized households—reported having problems meeting housing expenses. Overall, however, there is no evidence that as a group original residents are worse off as a result of HOPE VI, and indeed most are considerably better off as a result of the changes associated with leaving distressed public housing.

While this study represents the first systematic examination of what has happened to original residents of eight distressed developments targeted for HOPE VI, it has several limitations that need to be kept in mind. First, as noted at the outset, the eight sites included in the study do not capture the entire range of HOPE VI scenarios and cannot be considered representative of the program as a whole. Second, this study started two to seven years after the public housing developments were slated for redevelopment. The timing means we have no information on resident perceptions of their living conditions or economic struggles prior to HOPE VI, so we cannot compare their current and pre-HOPE VI perceptions. Third, since we did not collect information during the relocation period, we do not know the specific relocation and supportive services utilized by residents, so we cannot tie variations in outcomes at a site to the types of services used.

Given its limitations, the HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study provides only a starting point for understanding how HOPE VI affects original residents of targeted developments. Additional research will help provide a more complete picture. A wide range of research on the HOPE VI program is under way, including local site-specific evaluations, and national studies focusing on the physical revitalization of the sites, the effects of HOPE VI on neighborhoods, and the effects of the program on residents. Lessons and questions from the current study are already being incorporated into some of these ongoing research projects. Together, this body of research should provide a comprehensive and long-term analysis of how HOPE VI affects residents' lives and how it impacts the communities where it has been implemented.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This report describes the results of the HOPE VI Tracking study, an examination of the current living conditions of original residents from eight public housing developments awarded HOPE VI grants between 1993 and 1998. Based primarily on the results of a survey of original residents, the report assesses how the residents' situations have changed since they relocated from a HOPE VI site.

Since 1995, HUD has sponsored research on the transformation that is taking place at HOPE VI sites across the country. The focus of this ongoing research is on the physical, social, and economic changes that have occurred at the sites and in the surrounding neighborhoods. It includes examination of the living situation of current HOPE VI residents (including returning original residents) and neighborhood residents, but not the original residents who did not return to the development. Meanwhile, policymakers and housing practitioners have become increasingly interested in learning how the original residents fared, particularly those that did not return to the HOPE VI site after redevelopment. HUD's objective in sponsoring the HOPE VI Tracking study is to obtain systematic information on the post-relocation housing conditions and overall well-being of original residents. More generally, there is an interest in finding out how the housing situations and lives of original residents have improved and what kinds of problems they may be experiencing.

Because construction is still under way at most HOPE VI sites in the study, and relatively few have reached the stage of complete (or substantial) reoccupancy, this study is not intended to provide information on outcomes for original residents at the end of the revitalization process or to determine the numbers of residents that will return to redeveloped sites. The study is also limited in that we have no in-depth information about these households prior to relocation. In addition, because we often started with outdated address information, we were not able to track all the households targeted for the survey.

The study shows that a majority of the 818 former residents of distressed public housing who were surveyed are living in better housing and neighborhoods than before their developments were targeted for HOPE VI, and that most are satisfied with their current living situation. However, most original residents still have extremely low incomes, and some are facing new challenges in the private market and living in difficult circumstances. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that as a group they are worse off as a result of HOPE VI. indeed, many are better off owing to the changes associated with leaving distressed public housing.

This report is organized into six chapters. Following this introductory chapter on the HOPE VI program and research design, Chapter 2 provides brief case studies of the eight study sites, including a discussion of the major survey findings for each and how specific circumstances at a site may have affected outcomes.

Chapters 3 through 5 explore findings across sites, including issues related to Housing Assistance and Housing Conditions (Chapter 3), Neighborhood Conditions (Chapter 4), and Employment, Health, and Material Hardship (Chapter 5). The cross-site chapters focus on

the current living situation of four groups of original residents: households who live in a revitalized HOPE VI site, households who reside in other public housing, households who live in private housing using a voucher, and households living in private housing without housing assistance.

Chapter 6 presents conclusions and recommendations.

1.1 The HOPE VI Program

Created by Congress in 1992, the HOPE VI Program represents the federal government's most ambitious effort to date to address the problems of severely distressed public housing. Its major objectives are to

- 1) improve the living environment for residents of severely distressed public housing through the demolition, rehabilitation, reconfiguration, or replacement of obsolete projects (or portions thereof);
- 2) revitalize sites on which such public housing projects are located and contribute to the improvement of the surrounding neighborhood;
- 3) provide housing that will avoid or decrease the concentration of very low-income families; and
- 4) build sustainable communities.³

HOPE VI was a direct outgrowth of the work of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing. The Commission was established by Congress in 1989 and charged with identifying "severely distressed" public housing developments, assessing strategies to improve conditions at those developments, and preparing a national action plan for dealing with this problem. Based on 18 months of research, during which time the Commission visited public housing developments in 25 cities and talked with residents, boards, PHA staffs, and industry leaders, the Commission concluded that roughly 86,000 of the 1.3 million public housing units in the nation met the definition of severe distress and that a new and comprehensive approach would be required to address the range of problems existing at these developments.

HOPE VI provided this approach, combining physical revitalization with management improvements and supportive services to promote resident self-sufficiency. Initially, PHAs were allowed to propose a plan covering up to 500 units with grant awards of up to \$50 million. Options for physical improvements included rehabilitation, reconfiguration, demolition with some type of replacement housing (on-site, off-site, or tenant-based Section 8/Housing Choice Vouchers), or use of grant money to leverage private capital to build additional low-income or market-rate housing. To achieve the goal of simultaneously investing in sites, buildings, and people, up to 20 percent of the grant funds awarded in 1993

³ Section 24 of the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended by Section 535 of the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998 (P.L. 105-276)

could be allocated to supportive services, such as literacy training, job training, day care, or youth activities.

In successive Notice of Funding Availabilities (NOFAs) and grant years, HOPE VI evolved significantly. For example, a number of the early round projects focused essentially on rehabilitating existing public housing units. Most of the other HOPE VI plans through 1995 were focused on replacing existing public housing with new public housing units and creating a broader range of incomes by increasing the share of working public housing residents. Beginning in 1996, the emphasis began to shift to the use of mixed-finance tools and the development of mixed-income communities that blended public housing units with tax credit and market rate units. Other themes also emerged. For example, in 1996 an emphasis on “new urbanism” and broader neighborhood-wide redevelopment strategies emerged and was followed by increased emphasis on partnerships and leveraging and the provision of affordable homeownership opportunities. Some early grantees later revised their plans to incorporate income mixing and broader neighborhood goals. Over time, grant amounts have become smaller, leveraging has increased, and the program has been opened up to smaller PHAs and smaller developments.⁴

On the supportive services side, program evolution has included increasing recognition of the need to manage relocation carefully (and to track service provision to former residents), a focus on detailed implementation planning, and coordinated case management and self-sufficiency programs. The scope of supportive services also expanded to require that services follow original residents wherever they move and to encourage sustainability of supportive services beyond the life of the grant. Finally, the emphasis on local partnerships and leveraging has increased, while the maximum amount allowable for community and supportive services has decreased from 20 percent to 15 percent, consistent with the overall expected increase in local leverage and partnerships.

Between 1993 and 2001, a total of 165 revitalization grants were funded, representing \$4.5 billion for redevelopment and supportive services activities. In addition, 35 planning grants were awarded for a total of \$14 million, and \$293 million was provided for additional demolition activities. According to HUD (2002), 71,902 units were proposed for demolition under HOPE VI revitalization grants awarded from 1993 to 2000, of which 51,388 units have already been demolished.⁵ Among the units planned for demolition, 29 percent (21,485) were vacant at the time of the grant application. HUD (2002) reports that a majority of the vacant units that were uninhabitable, only a small number were vacant because of turnover. All 50,417 occupied units scheduled for demolition under the revitalization program will be replaced either by new or rehabilitated public housing units (41,505) or by new Housing Choice Vouchers (16,455). In addition, approximately 15,000 other affordable housing units

⁴ The original funding round in 1993–94 was open only to PHAs serving the 40 largest U.S. cities or those designated “troubled” by HUD.

⁵ Other public housing units were planned for demolition during this time period through either the HOPE VI demolition grants or other programs. HUD (2002, p.v) states: “With the repeal of one-for-one replacement, the passing of Section 202 Mandatory Conversion, and improved HUD processing in the Special Applications Center, the Department, as of June 2, 2002 has approved the demolition of approximately 140,000 units. Of those units approved, nearly 82,000 have actually been demolished and physically removed from the inventory.”

(tax credit rental units or subsidized homeownership units) are planned for either on- or off-site development as part of the revitalization process. A similar number of market-rate units are also planned.

1.2 Study Background

While many distressed public housing properties are being replaced by new, mixed-income developments that will provide a rich array of supportive services, it is clear that not all of the original residents will return to the revitalized sites. For example, HUD program data from early 2002 indicates that 9.1 percent of original residents had returned to a development revitalized under a 1993 to 2000 HOPE VI grant.⁶ However, only 15 of the 145 HOPE VI revitalization efforts were completed by early 2002, so most HOPE VI redevelopment projects had not yet started being reoccupied or were only partially occupied.⁷ A series of case studies (Holin et al., 2001) of completed or nearly completed HOPE VI projects from 1993 and 1994 indicates that the return rate varies considerably across projects, from a few percent to approximately half the original residents.

Thus, it is too early to tell how many of the original residents will ultimately return to HOPE VI sites. At the same time, there are numerous reasons why some original residents may never live in a redeveloped HOPE VI project. For example:

- Residents who have relocated with vouchers or to different public housing may be satisfied with their new housing and location or may simply not want to move again.
- Former residents of public housing may decide that they prefer the flexibility of the Housing Choice Voucher.
- Housing authorities, particularly early grantees, may not have tracked all the original residents after relocation and thus are unable to contact them to offer an opportunity to return.
- Some original residents may be skeptical that conditions will improve after redevelopment and thus are reluctant to move back.
- Housing authorities may have instituted new conditions for occupancy that some original residents may be unable or unwilling to meet (e.g., more extensive criminal background checks or participation in a Family Self-Sufficiency program).⁸
- Some original residents may no longer qualify for housing assistance, either because they are no longer income eligible or because they violated the program rules.

⁶ See HUD (2002, p. 64).

⁷ Indeed, HUD (2002, p. 64) reports that 15,770 residents are still living in the original distressed development and will have to relocate or move directly to the revitalized development (if demolition and construction are being done in stages).

⁸ HUD encourages housing authorities to engage residents in defining return criteria. Although the degree to which residents are legitimately and substantively engaged varies across housing authorities, residents are involved in defining return criteria at many sites.

Ultimately, the goal of HOPE VI is to improve the lives of public housing residents. This can be achieved by providing original residents the opportunity to return to new, healthier communities on former distressed public housing sites *or* by assisting their relocation to better housing and neighborhoods.

At the same time, it is apparent that these original residents, because of their own complex situations, could face special challenges in making a transition to a new development or the private market. Residents of severely distressed public housing include some of the nation's most disadvantaged families—many of them single-female-headed families with young children. Many lack formal education, work experience, or marketable skills. In addition, there is evidence that a significant proportion of residents in the worst developments have suffered from substance abuse, mental illness, domestic violence, and trauma from long-term exposure to violent crime.⁹ Furthermore, their experience living in a distressed public housing environment—which is often accompanied by poor management oversight, little enforcement of community rules, and sporadic rent collection—may contribute to the challenge of moving to private housing or less distressed public housing.

Given the significant potential benefits and risks for original residents, it is critical to understand what has happened to these households since their developments were targeted for revitalization. The HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study represents the first systematic effort to address this issue and provide information to housing authorities, policymakers, and researchers about the current living situations of families that resided in developments prior to revitalization under HOPE VI.

1.3 Research Objectives and Methods

The study examines the outcomes for original HOPE VI residents across a range of measures including physical environment (housing and neighborhood conditions), social environment (community and neighbors), economic opportunity, and physical health. Specific research questions include the following:

- Are original residents living in public housing, in the private market with vouchers, or in private housing without rental assistance?
- How do the economic and demographic characteristics of families that moved back to the revitalized development compare with those of the families that have not returned?
- How many times have the original residents moved since the HOPE VI revitalization began?
- How do residents rate the condition of their current housing units?
- Did they relocate to the surrounding neighborhood or further away?
- Did residents relocate to low- or high-poverty neighborhoods? Neighborhoods with smaller or larger concentrations of minorities than their original neighborhoods?

⁹ See Popkin, Buron, Levy, and Cunningham (2000).

- Are original residents socially integrated into their new communities?
- Are original residents employed?
- Has welfare receipt among original residents decreased?
- Have original residents experienced material hardship (food or housing) in the previous year?
- How are the health and well-being of original residents?

Limitations of this Research

While the study provides an important snapshot of what has happened to original residents from a sample of HOPE VI sites, it has some important limitations:

- First, the eight study sites represent a variety of different types of HOPE VI initiatives and relocation strategies, but do not capture the entire range of possible scenarios. For example, the three sites in our sample that are fully redeveloped—or close to it—are all older grantees that focused solely on redevelopment of the site rather than on broader neighborhood revitalization goals. Targeting only the public housing site in a distressed neighborhood may not address some of the broader neighborhood problems, such as high crime rates and lack of retail development. By contrast, many HOPE VI sites across the country are located in neighborhoods that are targeted for economic development, and virtually all newer sites are intended to be mixed income.
- Second, the study is retrospective; that is, we do not have pre-move information about how respondents were faring before relocation. As a result, we must rely on HUD administrative data, information from housing authority staff, and respondents' memories of what conditions were like before they left public housing.
- Third, because of the retrospective design, the survey respondents appear to underrepresent the unsubsidized households.¹⁰ Since we did not have pre-move data or household contact information, we could only survey those households that we were able to locate through HUD or PHA databases and through other types of public records (the National Change of Address database, credit bureaus, etc.). Thus, we were more likely to find those residents still living in public housing or using vouchers than those who no longer received assistance. The only information we have on non-respondents is from Multifamily Tenant Characteristics (MTCS) data, which contains demographic and income information on households living in the distressed development during the year the HOPE VI grant was awarded.¹¹ According to MTCS data, the demographic and economic characteristics (the observable characteristics) of respondents and non-respondents are very similar. Because the respondents and non-respondents are

¹⁰ See Appendix A for a detailed comparison of respondents and nonrespondents.

¹¹ Available demographic information included the age and race/ethnicity of the household head, the number of children in the household, and the number of years the head of household had lived in public housing. The income information included both total household income and sources of income.

similar on MTCS demographic and economic characteristics, there are no conjectures we can make about how the outcomes of non-respondents might be different than respondents based on observable characteristics. However, respondents may differ from non-respondents in unobservable characteristics (e.g., motivation, health problems, or support networks) that may affect their current living situation and thus their responses to the survey questions. In general, the most difficult people to find in such a tracking effort are those who move frequently, double up with another family, do not have a usual place to live (i.e., are homeless), or those who moved out of the area. Many of these “harder to find and survey” groups tend to experience more hardships than the “easier to find and survey” groups; hence to the extent the former group is underrepresented, our survey results may underestimate the level of hardship of all original residents. Nevertheless, the study achieved a 66 percent response rate, indicating that the results are representative of most original residents at the study sites.

- Fourth, because relocation occurred at most of these sites some time ago, we have limited information about the relocation process and no information about the particular services provided to individual residents.

Selection of the Study Sites

The eight sites included in the study were purposively selected to represent a range of HOPE VI programs, but they are not expected to be representative of all 165 sites awarded HOPE VI implementation grants. In selecting the sites, we were aiming to include an even distribution of sites across Census regions, a mix of developments in mid-size and large cities, a range of PHAs in terms of size and HUD public housing management assessment scores, and a combination of early and more recent awardees. We selected four sites awarded grants between 1993 and 1995 that had started or completed reoccupancy and four 1996 to 1998 sites that had finished relocating original residents. To be included in the study, sites also had to meet some basic eligibility requirements, including availability of archived MTCS data so that we could identify the residents who lived in the development prior to the HOPE VI award.¹² The selected sites are:

- Quigg Newton (Denver, CO);
- Archbishop Walsh (Newark, NJ);
- John Hay Homes (Springfield, IL);
- Hayes Valley (San Francisco, CA);
- Cotter and Lang (Louisville, KY);
- Connie Chambers (Tucson, AZ);
- Christopher Columbus (Paterson, NJ); and
- Edwin Corning (Albany, NY).

Together, the eight sites represent a diverse set of sites awarded HOPE VI grants between 1993 and 1998. Exhibit 1-1 shows the status of each site as of January 2001.

Data Collection

Information about original residents was collected through visits to the eight study sites, a survey of 818 original residents, and in-depth interviews with 24 residents. The data collection activities are summarized below and described in detail in Appendix A.

¹² Our site selection procedures are described in detail in Appendix A.

Exhibit 1-1: Status of the HOPE VI Revitalization Efforts

Development	Award Year	Total Original Units	Year Relocation Completed	On-Site Reoccupancy as of January 2001			When Completely Reoccupied?
				None	Partial	Complete	
Quigg Newton in Denver, CO	1994	400	1995			▶	2000
Archbishop Walsh in Newark, NJ	1994	630	1996		▶		Litigation-estimate unavailable
John Hay Homes in Springfield, IL	1994	599	1997		▶		2001 (estimated)
Hayes Valley in San Francisco, CA	1995	294	1996			▶	1999
Cotter & Lang in Louisville, KY	1996	1,116	1997		▶		2003 (estimated)
Connie Chambers in Tucson, AZ	1996	200	1999		▶		2002 (estimated)
Christopher Columbus in Paterson, NJ	1997	498	1999	▶			2002 (estimated)
Edwin Corning in Albany, NY	1998	292	1999	▶			2002 (estimated)

Source: PHA staff interviews (December 2000 to February 2001).

Site Visits. Research staff conducted one-day site visits to gather information about the current location of original residents and to discuss the HOPE VI redevelopment with PHA staff and—when it could be arranged—with resident leaders. The site visits took place between December 2000 and February 2001. In addition to contact information, the information that was gathered on-site included:

- status of the redevelopment and a timing of key milestones (e.g., start and end of relocation);
- relocation processes and issues;
- types of supportive services offered to residents;
- reoccupancy progress and any issues in reoccupancy; and
- screening and occupancy standards at the new development.

Resident Survey. A survey of original residents was conducted between January and April 2001, two to seven years after HOPE VI grants were awarded at the eight study sites. The responses to the survey form the backbone of this report. Approximately 100 residents from each of the study sites completed the survey, resulting in 818 completed surveys and a 66 percent response rate.

The survey collected information on a variety of topics related to the current living situation of original residents and residents' experiences since being relocated from their HOPE VI development. Specific survey topics included

- current housing assistance status;
- perceptions of the quality of their unit;
- perceptions of problems and amenities in their neighborhood;
- employment and job training;
- economic hardships;
- welfare use;
- health status; and
- demographic and income information.

A copy of the final survey instrument is included as Appendix B.

In-Depth Resident Interviews. Between five and seven original residents from each of the four 1996-1998 sites (Cotter and Lang, Connie Chambers, Christopher Columbus, and Edwin Corning) were randomly selected and interviewed in-depth in May and June 2001.¹³ A total of 24 in-depth interviews were conducted. The information from these interviews helped provide context for some of the survey findings. For example, the in-depth interviews provided an opportunity to explore the reasons why some residents were satisfied and other residents dissatisfied with their current housing situation. Since none of the 1996-1998 sites are completely reoccupied, the interview also explored whether or not the respondent planned to move back to the development and the factors affecting this decision.

¹³ For cost reasons, we only interviewed original residents from the four study sites awarded grants between 1996 and 1998 (the four most recent grantees in the study). We chose these sites because we expected that more recent relocatees would be better able to recall their relocation experiences and thus be able to offer more vivid comparisons between their current living situation and their former public housing unit.

Chapter 2: Case Studies of Eight HOPE VI Sites

This chapter describes the HOPE VI development process at each of the eight study sites and highlights major survey findings for each. These are not full-fledged case studies, since the data gathered from housing authorities about the HOPE VI developments and their relocation efforts was limited. However, because each HOPE VI development is in some sense unique—as are the experiences of the original residents—this chapter examines the sites separately. Subsequent chapters will synthesize the survey findings across the eight sites, focusing on the residents' housing situations, neighborhood conditions, and economic and health status, respectively. The case studies below are presented in order by grant year, from the oldest of the HOPE VI grants to the most recent.

2.1 Quigg Newton, Denver, Colorado (1994)

Quigg Newton Homes in Denver, Colorado, is the only site in this study—and one of the few HOPE VI sites overall—where the original development was rehabilitated rather than demolished and replaced. With just 20 units demolished to make room for a new community center, almost all of the original development was preserved. The revitalized Quigg Newton remains entirely public housing, but with several new community services on-site. Located in a modest, relatively low-poverty Latino neighborhood, the development is one of two sites in the study that serves a largely Hispanic population.

Quigg Newton is also one of just two study sites where the HOPE VI initiative was completed and the development fully reoccupied as of the time of our survey (the other is Hayes Valley in San Francisco). Because there was so little demolition at Quigg Newton, and the rehabilitation was completed in phases, most residents could be relocated within the development and were able to move back to their rehabilitated unit within two to three months. As a result, a large share (49 percent) of the original residents still lived in Quigg Newton as of the time of our survey (spring 2001).

Another, distinguishing feature of Quigg Newton's HOPE VI is that a comparatively high proportion of the development's original residents (16 percent, based on our sample) have become homeowners since the HOPE VI process started. The Denver Housing Authority (DHA) operates a homeownership-training program that could have contributed to this outcome, but local researchers told us that they knew of only three original Quigg Newton residents who bought a home through this program.¹⁴ The relatively high homeownership rate among original HOPE VI residents in Denver remains unexplained.

Most of the original Quigg Newton residents—both those who stayed in the development and those who did not—are satisfied with their current housing and reported that it is in excellent or good condition. Problems with crime are reported at low rates by these households. Although almost all of the original Quigg Newton residents remain poor, they

¹⁴ E-mail from Maria Santiago on March 22, 2002.

appear to be having less difficulty making ends meet than are families in other cities in the study, possibly because of the robust array of supportive services available on-site.

Quigg Newton Background

Prior to redevelopment, Quigg Newton consisted of 400 units of family public housing in two-story brick buildings. According to DHA staff, by the early 1990s, the development had become severely deteriorated. Inside the units, floors and walls were in disrepair, and bathrooms had severe mold problems. The development's heating, plumbing, and electrical systems were outdated. Finally, gang activity and drug trafficking were major problems prior to redevelopment. Many residents were afraid to go outside at night.¹⁵

The Quigg Newton Homes were built in 1954 in the Sunnyside neighborhood of Denver, a low-income Latino community located a few miles northwest of downtown. Even though the neighborhood is low income, it had the second lowest 1990 poverty rate (27 percent) of the eight sites included in the study (only the Edwin Corning neighborhood in Albany was lower). The neighborhood consists of modest single-family homes and a few apartment buildings. As at several other sites in this study, the revitalization effort at Quigg Newton was limited to the property itself and did not include any off-site development.

The Denver Housing Authority, which oversaw the revitalization of the site, is a well-managed housing authority, with perfect scores of 100 on HUD's rating systems for the public housing program (Public Housing Management Assessment Program [PHMAP]) and for the voucher program (Section 8 Management Assessment Program [SEMAP]). However, it is operating in an increasingly challenging rental market, with a vacancy rate of just 4.9 percent, according to the 2000 Census.¹⁶ Housing costs in Denver have been rising rapidly, and the National Low-Income Housing Coalition (2001) estimates that the 2001 "housing wage" for Denver (the hourly wage that would be needed to rent a two-bedroom unit at the fair market rent)¹⁷ is now \$17.17, an increase of 16.7 percent from 2000.

Quigg Newton Redevelopment

DHA's goals for Quigg Newton were to provide both comprehensive physical improvements and coordinated and sustained supportive services. On the physical side, the units were gutted and remodeled, but the size of the units and footprint of the buildings were unchanged. All received new kitchens, reconfigured to allow room for a table and chairs. Vanities, sinks, and tub surrounds were replaced in all bathrooms, and walls were repaired and repainted. The DHA also updated the electrical, heating, and plumbing systems, replaced water mains, and added amenities such as playgrounds, individual patios for each unit, new concrete walks, and wrought-iron fencing.

¹⁵ Stewart (2000).

¹⁶ 2000 Census, Profile of General Demographic Characteristics, 2000: Quick Tables.

¹⁷ Assuming 30 percent of this wage is spent on housing.

Supportive services were a major focus of the HOPE VI program at Quigg Newton. The DHA constructed several on-site service centers to serve both residents of the development and families from the surrounding community.

Exhibit 2-1: Quigg Newton HOPE VI Revitalization Effort

HOPE VI award	\$26 million in 1994
Development prior to HOPE VI	400 units in two-story apartment buildings Neighborhood poverty rate: 27%
Development after revitalization	380 rehabbed public housing units
Off-site housing	None
Status of HOPE VI revitalization in January 2001	Completed and fully reoccupied by March 2000.

Sources: Neighborhood poverty rate is from 1990 Census for the census tract containing Quigg Newton. Other information is from interviews with housing authority staff (January 2001).

Quigg Newton Relocation

As noted previously, DHA planned the construction effort to minimize disruption for residents. The housing authority set aside a number of units to serve as temporary housing, and groups of families moved to these units for periods of between 8 to 12 weeks while their units were being renovated. The process was staggered, so that 5 to 10 families moved each week. The first group of residents was relocated in October 1995, and the entire process continued through the beginning of 2000. Only 18 households moved outside the development as part of the relocation effort.

No new screening procedures were implemented at Quigg Newton. Original residents were not re-screened, and new applicants for units at Quigg Newton are subject only to DHA's general policy requiring criminal background and credit checks.

Exhibit 2-2: Quigg Newton Relocation

Relocation period	October 1995 to December 1999
Number of households relocated	18 off-site and the rest on-site
Type of relocation	Primarily on-site
Characteristics of residents prior to relocation	86% Hispanic 18% elderly
Income of households prior to relocation	95% less than 30 percent of area median 50% receiving welfare 15% with employment income

Sources: Relocation information from interviews with housing authority staff (February 2001). Racial characteristics and household type are from April 1995 MTCS data.

Highlights of Quigg Newton Survey Findings

Among the original residents surveyed at Quigg Newton, 86 percent are Hispanic. Just under a quarter (23 percent) are married, a higher rate than at most other sites in the study. There are also more older and childless adults among original Quigg Newton residents: 17 percent are over 62, and 44 percent say they have no children under 18 living in their household. At the same time, there are a substantial number of large families: 26 percent had three or more children.

At the time of our survey (spring 2001), about half the respondents lived in the revitalized development, 10 percent lived in other public housing developments, and just 7 percent were using vouchers. About a third reported that they lived in unsubsidized housing; half of these were homeowners. These homeowners are typically under 50 years old (85 percent), are married (53 percent), and have children (76 percent). By contrast, the majority of residents in our sample who live in the revitalized Quigg Newton Homes are older (27 percent age 62 or older), childless adults (59 percent).

Housing Satisfaction. Most original Quigg Newton residents are satisfied with their current housing situation. Virtually all the homeowners and unsubsidized renters (86 percent) reported being very or somewhat satisfied with their current housing, as do 71 percent of those who still live at Quigg Newton. Similarly, 80 percent of unsubsidized households said their housing is in excellent or good condition, as did 68 percent of Quigg Newton residents. The only housing problem cited as “some problem” or a “big problem” by substantial numbers of respondents—20 percent of unsubsidized households and 33 percent of current Quigg Newton residents—is walls with peeling paint or cracked plaster. This problem is likely due to poor air circulation in the bathrooms, which residents reported leads to paint blistering and peeling.

A somewhat surprising finding is that, even though current Quigg Newton residents and those living in unsubsidized units are satisfied with their housing and reported that it is in good or excellent condition, only 44 percent of the original residents said their housing is in better condition than their original public housing unit. Most of the other residents reported that their current housing is in similar condition, and approximately 15 percent reported that it is in worse condition. Among original residents who still live in the development, 53 percent indicated that their housing was in better condition, 31 percent said it was about the same, and 16 percent reported that it was in worse condition. These assessments would seem to conflict with the demonstrably improved physical condition of the property following gut rehab. While there is no clear explanation for these opinions, it seems that some residents do not perceive the rehabilitation effort as a major change.

Neighborhood Conditions. Most households in our survey who no longer live at Quigg Newton have moved out of the immediate neighborhood—about half have moved at least a mile away, and 40 percent have moved more than five miles. Map 2-1 shows that these former residents are scattered across a range of Denver neighborhoods, and a few have even moved to suburban communities. Those who have left have generally moved to lower-poverty areas: Almost two-thirds of unsubsidized households now live in neighborhoods with a poverty rate of less than 20 percent.

Exhibit 2-3: Key Survey Findings for Original Quigg Newton Residents

Characteristic	Percent
Current housing assistance status	
Unsubsidized homeowners and renters	34%
Housing Choice Voucher	7%
Public housing: HOPE VI	49%
Other public housing	10%
Report housing unit in good or excellent condition	71%
Comparison of current unit to Pre-HOPE VI public housing unit	
Current unit better	44%
About the same	38%
Former public housing unit better	19%
Sources of Income	
Employment ^a	59%
Welfare ^b	10%
Report difficulty paying rent or utilities in past year	12%
Perceive drug selling as a big problem in their neighborhood	26%
Perceive shooting and violence as a big problem in their neighborhood	5%
Live in neighborhood with less than 20 percent poverty rate	26%
Sample size (# of households)	101

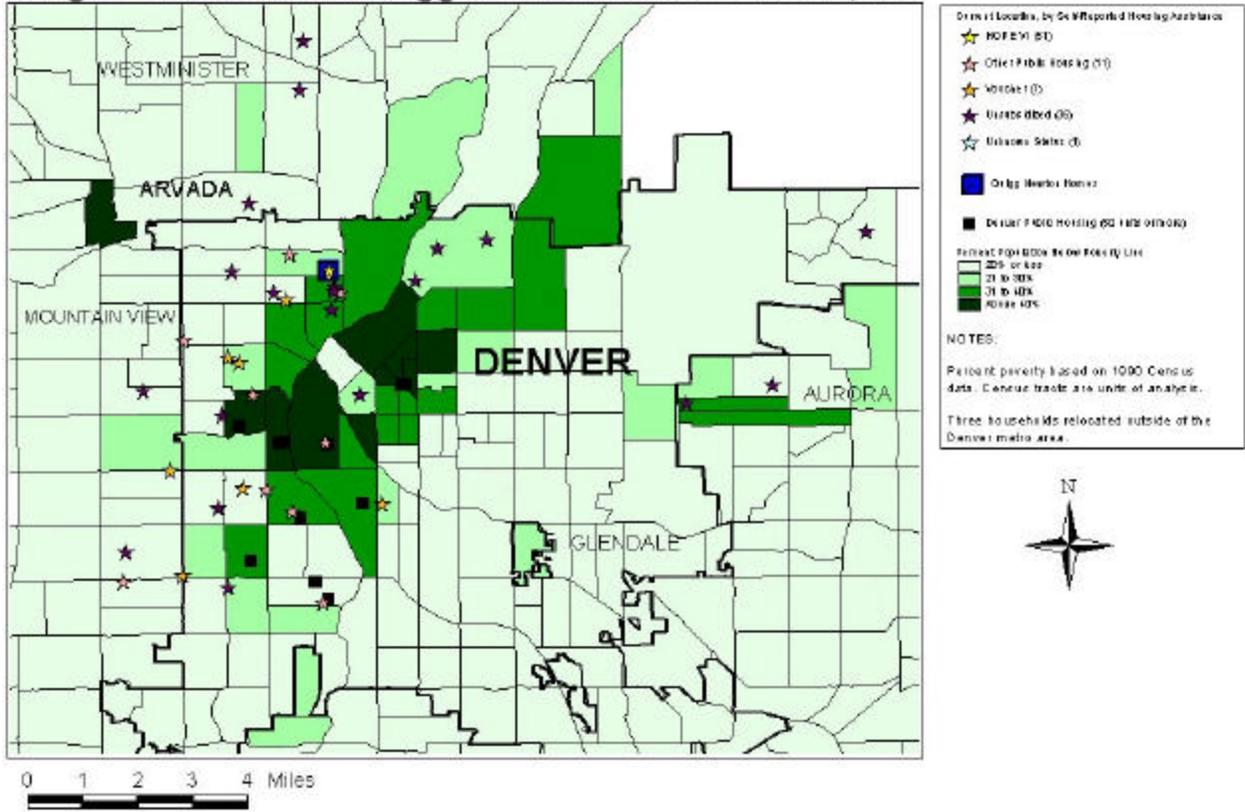
Sources: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001), except the neighborhood poverty rate, which is from the 1990 Census for the census tract of their housing unit at the time of the survey.

^a Survey respondent reports that someone in household currently works for pay.

^b Survey respondent reports that someone in the household received AFDC or TANF income within the past 12 months.

Although crime was a problem prior to redevelopment, relatively few of the original Quigg Newton residents in our sample reported that drug trafficking or violent crime is a serious problem in their current neighborhood. Compared with the other study sites, survey respondents in Denver reported among the lowest levels of problems with drug selling in their neighborhood and the lowest level of problems with violent crime. Overall, just a quarter reported drug selling as a “big problem” in their neighborhood. Almost no respondents thought that shooting and violence were a big problem in their communities. Although we have no baseline information from residents to rigorously assess how big a change this is from the pre-HOPE VI Quigg Newton, other research has documented an improvement in sense of safety since the start of the HOPE VI revitalization. Based on interviews with local service providers and focus groups with residents, Stewart (2000) reports that there is much less gang activity and that drug dealing and drug use have dramatically decreased. Prior to HOPE VI, the development had open-air drug markets, but fewer people are reportedly involved with drugs now, and they are more discreet. One important factor in the crime reduction is the partnership between DHA and the Denver Police Department. The DHA pays the salary of several police officers so that they are assigned exclusively to the property.

Map 2-1
Original Residents of Quigg Newton Homes: Denver, CO



Employment and Hardship. Not surprisingly, the unsubsidized households in our sample—which are generally younger and more likely to be married—reported higher levels of employment and income than households still living at Quigg Newton. Ninety percent of the unsubsidized tenants reported that someone in the household was employed, as compared with just 43 percent of current Quigg Newton residents (many of whom are elderly or reported disability income), voucher holders, and other public housing residents.

Original residents of Quigg Newton reported relatively low levels of hardship in the spring of 2001. As at other sites, respondents living in private market units were most likely to report difficulty with housing costs. About a third of the unsubsidized tenants and voucher holders in the Denver sample said that they had problems paying their rent or utility bills in the past year. However, very few respondents, regardless of the type of housing they occupied, said that they had lost phone service or worried that they would not have enough food. We cannot determine from this study why original Quigg Newton respondents, the great majority of whom continue to have extremely low incomes (81 percent) and who live in a relatively expensive rental market, reported so much less hardship than respondents at other sites. This may be attributable to local costs for food and utilities, to the presence of on-site supportive services,¹⁸ or to the fact that so many respondents in our sample have become homeowners and may be somewhat better off economically in ways that we did not measure directly.

2.2 Archbishop Walsh, Newark, New Jersey (1994)

Like Denver's Quigg Newton, the Archbishop Walsh Homes in Newark will remain entirely public housing after revitalization. Unlike Quigg Newton, however, the original structures have been demolished, and the new development will be substantially smaller and less dense. As of the time of our survey, almost three quarters of the new development had been completed and reoccupied.

A large fraction of the original residents (44 percent) were still living in the development at the time of our survey. Most Archbishop Walsh residents, both those who returned to the redeveloped site and those who did not, are African American. Among those who chose to return, relatively high proportions are older, childless adults.

Households that returned to the redeveloped units are extremely satisfied with their current housing. (Those that did not return also reported that their housing is an improvement over the original Archbishop Walsh.) However, historically, Archbishop Walsh has been plagued with drug trafficking and associated problems, due in large part to its location on a very isolated site and with easy access from the highway. These problems do not appear to have abated substantially as a result of the redevelopment of the site. As of the spring of 2001, returning residents still reported serious problems with drug sales and violent crime in their neighborhood.

¹⁸ Current Quigg Newton residents rated the on-site Food Bank and Health Clinic as the most important supportive services, and the clinic's services are also the most heavily utilized (Stewart 2000). Three-quarters of the current residents receive monthly USDA food commodities from the Food Bank, and approximately 160 visit the Food Bank for ad hoc needs every week.

Archbishop Walsh Background

Archbishop Walsh is located in the North Ward of Newark on a site bordered by industry on two sides and a highway and railroad tracks on the other two sides. The only nearby residential area is up a hill and separated from the development by the railroad tracks. The City of Newark has plans for commercial development on a major thoroughfare two blocks north of Archbishop Walsh, and several community development corporations have expressed interest in developing additional affordable housing nearby. Thus far, however, neighborhood revitalization efforts have been limited to the HOPE VI site.

Built in 1952, Archbishop Walsh originally consisted of 12 residential buildings: 9 eight-story high rises and 3 three-story low rises. By the early 1990s, the buildings were deteriorating, and the site was 60 percent vacant. Walsh also suffered from severe social problems, including high unemployment levels and criminal activity related to drug trafficking. The only street through the development is an exit from a highway, which provided nonresidents convenient access to the site for buying and selling drugs.

Overall, the Newark Housing Authority (NHA) public housing stock is very deteriorated. More than three-quarters (79 percent) of its units are in developments that received a failing score (below 60) on HUD's Real Estate Assessment Center's (REAC) physical inspection measure. However, the NHA ranks high on management, with a recent PHMAP score of 96.3.¹⁹ Newark's voucher program also appears to be well managed. A SEMAP score of 91 puts it in the high performer range.

Newark is a poor, industrial city that was not revived to any great extent by the economic boom of the late 1990s. According to the 2000 Census, more than a quarter (26.5 percent) of Newark residents have incomes below the poverty level—a figure virtually unchanged from 1990.²⁰ A high proportion of the total housing stock is subsidized. Despite its proximity to New York City, the rental market in Newark is relatively loose, with a vacancy rate of 8.7 percent.²¹ However, private market housing in Newark is still quite expensive by national standards. The National Low Income Housing Coalition puts the “housing wage” for Newark at \$17.56, or more than three times the national minimum wage.²²

Archbishop Walsh Redevelopment

NHA received its HOPE VI award for Archbishop Walsh in November 1993 (FY 1994). The original plan for the site called for rehabilitation of the existing high-rise buildings, but a

¹⁹ At the time of the HOPE VI award, Newark had a PHMAP score of 70.3 and an authority-wide vacancy rate of 30 percent. The 1993 PHMAP score is from Abt Associates (1996). The most recent score is from <http://www-domino.hud.gov/pih>, March 5, 2001.

²⁰ Profile of Selected Economic Characteristics: 2000, Census 2000 Supplement; Income and Poverty Status in 1989, Census 1990 Summary Tape File 3.

²¹ 2000 Census, Profile of General Demographic Characteristics, 2000: Quick Tables.

²² See NLIHC (2001). The “housing wage” is the hourly wage that would be needed for one full-time worker to spend 30 percent of income on a rental unit at the two-bedroom fair market rent.

revised plan, which HUD approved in 1995, called for full demolition and reconstruction. The work was structured to occur in phases in order to accommodate residents who wanted to relocate within the development and reoccupy the new units as soon as construction was completed.²³

While Archbishop Walsh will be entirely public housing after revitalization, the new development will be less than half the size of the original (273 versus 630 units). The high-rise structures are being replaced with townhouses, and the new design draws on principles of new urbanism and “defensible space” with the goal of reducing problems of crime and drug trafficking.

Exhibit 2-4: Archbishop Walsh HOPE VI Revitalization Effort

HOPE VI award	\$50 million in FY1994
Development prior to HOPE VI	630 units, primarily in high rises Neighborhood poverty rate: 38%
Development after revitalization	273 public housing units in town-homes
Off-site housing	143 public housing units ^a
Status of HOPE VI revitalization in January 2001	198 on-site units (72%) rebuilt and occupied. Off-site units under construction, but not ready for occupancy. Completion of the redevelopment was stalled in 2001 because of litigation.

^a The off-site units are being built on the site of the former Otto Kretchmer Homes, a 358-unit family development on the opposite side of the city from Walsh. The original residents of the Kretchmer homes were not included in this study.

Sources: Neighborhood poverty rate is from the 1990 Census for the census tract where Archbishop Walsh was located. Other information is from telephone interviews with housing authority staff (various dates 2001).

Supportive services at Archbishop Walsh focus primarily on economic self-sufficiency. For example, the Newark Center for Families and Communities of Rutgers University offers case management and life-skills courses, including household budgeting and “workplace survival” skills.

As of the time of the survey, nearly three-fourths of the on-site units (198 of a planned 273) were complete and had been reoccupied. The off-site public housing units were under construction, but not ready for occupancy.

Archbishop Walsh Relocation

As noted earlier, original residents who wanted to return to the new development were temporarily relocated to other units on site. A majority of residents (55 percent) chose this option. NHA did not introduce any new screening criteria or requirements either for returning residents or for new applicants at Archbishop Walsh.

Original residents who chose not to return either received a voucher or moved to other NHA developments. Because of the staged relocation and the lack of new screening criteria, most of the completed units are occupied by returnees, and according to NHA, few new residents live at Archbishop Walsh at this time.

²³ We were unable to arrange a site visit with the NHA. Therefore, our information about the site is based on what we could learn from public documents and phone conversations with NHA staff.

Exhibit 2-5: Archbishop Walsh Relocation

Relocation period	August 1996 to September 1998
Number of households relocated	240
Type of relocation	Approximately 55 percent relocated within the site, 20 percent relocated with a voucher, and the rest either moved to other public housing or left on their own.
Characteristics of residents prior to relocation	93% African American 22% elderly
Income of households prior to relocation	92% less than 30 percent of area median 52% receiving welfare 24% with employment income

Sources: Relocation information from telephone conversations with housing authority staff (various dates in 2001). Racial characteristics and household type are from April 1995 MTCS data.

Highlights of Archbishop Walsh Survey Findings

Overall, we found 44 percent of the original Walsh residents in our sample living in the revitalized development. Another third are living in other public housing developments, 15 percent have vouchers, and 6 percent (a small number compared with other sites) are unsubsidized. In general, Walsh residents were more likely than households at other sites to be elderly (20 percent, compared with 13 percent at the other sites in the study). Virtually all of the elderly respondents are now living either in the revitalized Walsh Homes or in other public housing. Younger adults with children are more likely to be using vouchers.

Housing Satisfaction. Regardless of the type of housing they currently occupy, respondents in our sample have positive reports about their current housing. Virtually all said they are very satisfied or somewhat satisfied with their housing. Similarly, all residents living in Walsh or in other public housing developments said their housing is in excellent or good condition, as do 75 percent of voucher holders. About 90 percent of residents in all types of housing (and virtually all of those who live in the revitalized Archbishop Walsh) said that their current housing is in better condition than their original public housing unit. Very few respondents reported any problems such as broken plumbing, mold, or peeling paint, with their housing. These results suggest that Walsh residents have experienced a real and substantial improvement in the physical quality of their housing as a result of the HOPE VI initiative.

Exhibit 2-6: Key Survey Findings for Original Archbishop Walsh Residents

Characteristic	Percent
Current housing assistance status	
Unsubsidized	6%
Housing Choice Voucher	15%
Public housing: HOPE VI	44%
Other public housing	33%
Report housing unit in good or excellent condition	91%
Comparison of current unit to pre-HOPE VI public housing unit	
Current unit better	90%
About the same	6%
Former public housing unit better	5%
Sources of income	
Employment ^a	50%
Welfare ^b	34%
Report difficulty paying rent or utilities in past year	18%
Perceive drug selling as a big problem in their neighborhood	58%
Perceive shooting and violence as a big problem in their neighborhood	19%
Live in neighborhood with less than 20 percent poverty rate	17%
Sample size (# of households)	109

Sources: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001), except neighborhood poverty rate, which is from the 1990 Census for the census tract of residents' housing units at the time of the survey.

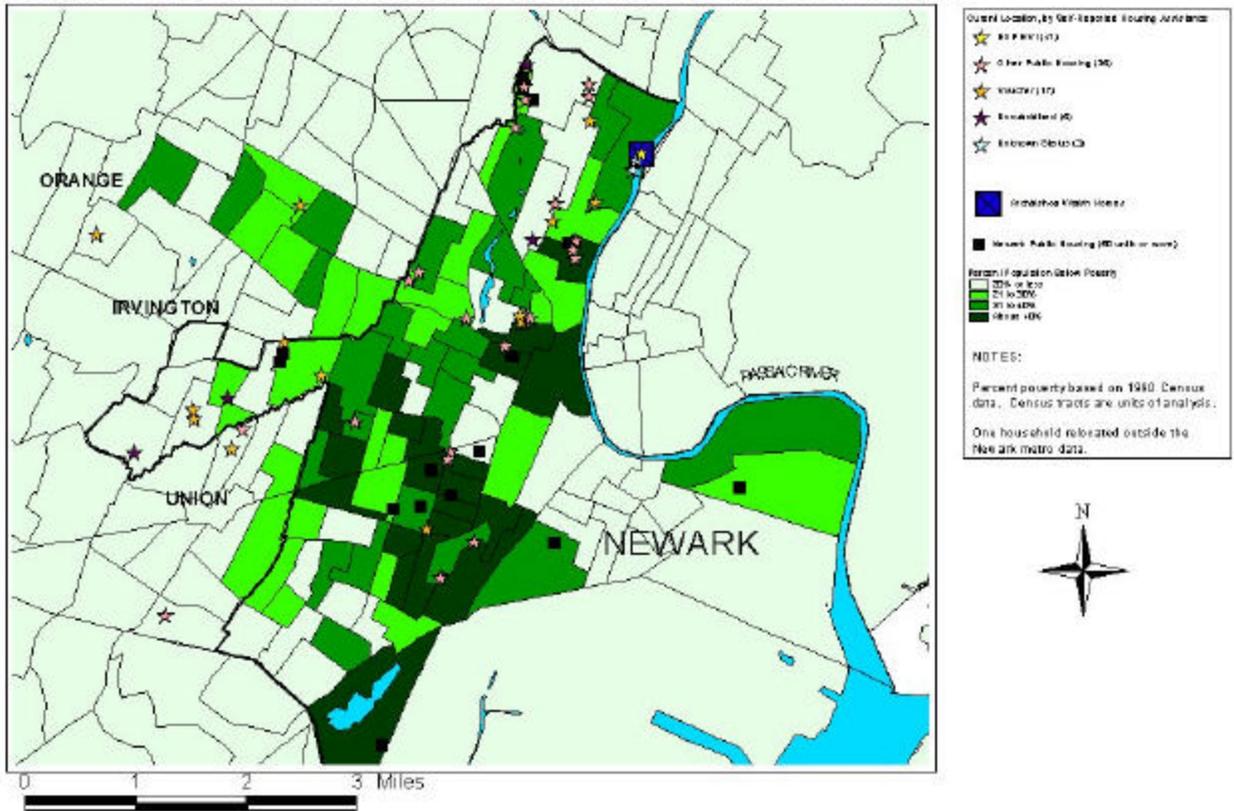
^a Survey respondent reports that someone in household currently works for pay.

^b Survey respondent reports that someone in the household received AFDC or TANF income within the past 12 months.

Neighborhood Conditions. Given the poverty level of the Newark area as a whole (26.5 percent), it is not surprising that most of the original residents in our sample continue to live in high-poverty neighborhoods. As Map 2-2 shows, the Walsh area, where almost half our respondents live, has a high poverty rate (38 percent in 1990). Poverty rates from the 2000 Census are not yet available at the tract level, but it is likely that the area would still show a high poverty rate. Of those who have moved to other public housing, 44 percent live in tracts with more than a 30 percent poverty rate, as do 23 percent of those who have received vouchers.

Map 2-2

Original Residents of Archbishop Walsh Homes: Newark, NJ



As might be expected given its isolated site, Walsh is the only development in the study where the majority of current residents reported having to travel more than 15 minutes to public transportation and shopping. The site's isolation and its location off a highway are also factors in continued drug and crime problems. Current Walsh residents continue to perceive drug trafficking and crime as major issues: 85 percent said drug sales and drug use were a "big problem" in their neighborhood, 80 percent reported big problems with loiterers, 61 percent reported that attacks and robberies were a big problem, and 24 percent reported big problems with violent crime. Original residents who had relocated elsewhere—including those who moved to other public housing—were considerably less likely to report problems with crime in their neighborhood.

Because no residential area borders the development, Walsh residents' perceptions almost certainly refer to problems on-site rather than in a surrounding community. Indeed, in phone conversations after our data collection was completed, NHA staff acknowledged the severity of the problems with drug trafficking and described two strategies they were using to combat crime at the development. First, the NHA had partnered with the Newark Police Department to increase police visibility at the site. Second, the housing authority evicted a longtime resident who was involved in drug dealing. NHA staff said that they hoped this eviction would send a message to other residents that the housing authority is serious about ridding the development of crime and that, as a result, residents would be more willing to become involved in crime prevention efforts.

Interestingly, despite their concerns about drug trafficking and crime, original residents that have returned to the revitalized development appear to have relatively positive views about the community. For example, 60 percent agreed that "this is a close-knit neighborhood," 68 percent said that "people get along with each other," 50 percent agree that "people in this neighborhood can be trusted," and nearly all believe that residents would take action if they saw children engaged in delinquent activity. This seemingly contradictory finding—residents of high-crime neighborhoods usually reported low levels on these measures of social cohesion and trust of their neighbors—may stem from the fact that so many current Walsh tenants are longtime residents. Those who have chosen to return may feel comfortable with their fellow residents, even though some are involved in drugs and crime. Nearly all (93 percent) of current Walsh residents in our survey reported having at least some friends in the community.

Employment and Hardship. Just 46 percent of current, non-elderly Walsh households have income from employment, and only 14 percent reported a full-time worker. Those who have moved to other public housing are only slightly more likely to be employed. In contrast, voucher holders, who tend to be younger, are the most likely to report employment (75 percent). It appears that a substantial barrier to employment for those who returned to Walsh is a lack of prior work experience. Despite the employment-related services provided by NHA on-site, at the time of the survey, a quarter of non-elderly respondents living at Walsh reported that they had never worked.

As is the case at other sites in the study, original Walsh residents using housing vouchers are the most likely to report difficulties paying their rent or utilities.²⁴ Roughly a third of voucher holders reported these problems, compared with just 15 percent of public housing residents.

2.3 John Hay Homes, Springfield, Illinois (1994)

The HOPE VI revitalization effort at John Hay Homes will convert Springfield's only large public housing development (599 units) into a mixed-income community with a combination of public housing, tax credit, and homeownership units. Density will be significantly reduced, from 599 units to 194 new duplexes and triplexes on site. In addition, the housing authority will develop 35 homes for low-income buyers in the surrounding neighborhood. The redevelopment effort is part of a broader strategy by the housing authority to revitalize the entire neighborhood, which aside from John Hay Homes consists of modest single family homes, many dilapidated and in need of repair.

As a result of litigation, implementation of the HOPE VI grant in Springfield was delayed for several years. During this period, the vacancy rate at John Jay Homes grew from 46 percent in 1992 to 76 percent in 1994, and it had jumped to 95 percent when formal relocation began in 1997. By the time of our survey in early 2001, construction had been completed and the units were in the very early stages of reoccupancy. Only one of our survey respondents lived in the new development at that time. The other original John Hay residents were evenly split between those living in public housing, those using a voucher, and those living in private market housing without a rental subsidy.

Overall, the majority of former John Hay residents reported that they are satisfied with the condition of their current housing. Voucher holders reported that their housing was in better condition and reported higher levels of satisfaction than either public housing or unsubsidized households.

John Hay Background

Built in 1941 to serve low-income working families at the end of the Depression, John Hay Homes consisted of 599 units in dense row house buildings covering 33 acres on Springfield's east side. The development's deterioration accelerated in the 1980s with the crack cocaine epidemic and the exodus of many working and moderate-income households. In a 1999 press release, the Springfield Housing Authority (SHA) described the original John Hay Homes as a "drug and violence plagued development" that was "Springfield's most visible ghetto during its final decades."

SHA staff reported that the John Hay buildings were structurally sound at the time of redevelopment, but did not meet modern housing market standards and did not meet Housing and Quality standards because of hazardous materials (asbestos and lead paint) in the building systems and finishes. The units suffered from vandalism and deterioration

²⁴ Unsubsidized renters reported similar levels of hardship to voucher holders; however, the sample size for this group (n=6) is extremely small.

during long vacancy periods, the site offered almost no green space, and the buildings needed to be raised because they were below the storm drainage line.

At the time of the HOPE VI award, SHA's public housing program was considered "management-troubled" according to HUD's measurement of management performance, PHMAP. SHA scored 57.6 out of 100 points on this measure; a score below 60 places a PHA in the troubled category. Rental collections and vacancy turn arounds illustrate SHA's problems: 26 percent of Springfield public housing tenants were delinquent in their rent payment, and it took SHA 150 days to turn around a vacant unit.

SHA's public housing management has improved since the early 1990s, and SHA's most recent PHMAP score is 80, considered within the standard performance range. SHA also did well on HUD's most recent physical inspection of its public housing developments. Nearly three-quarters of the units are in developments that scored at least 90 out of 100 possible points on REAC's physical inspection scale, and none of the developments had a failing grade. Nationwide, the median score is 84.

John Hay Redevelopment

SHA used its \$19.8 million HOPE VI award to leverage tax credit, city, and county funds, for a total of \$35 million to support revitalization efforts. New on-site development will include 50 public housing units, 100 tax credit units, and 44 homeownership units. Another 90 scattered-site public housing units are planned. Overall, there will be a net reduction of 459 public housing units in Springfield as a result of the redevelopment. However, SHA's public housing waiting list is quite short, and applicants generally only wait a few months for a unit to become available. As is the case for other HOPE VI awardees, SHA received an allocation of housing vouchers both to assist in relocation and to replace units lost as a result of the redevelopment.

Because the John Hay neighborhood contains some of the poorest housing in Springfield, the designers of the new development did not try to imitate the surrounding architecture. However, they did work to "disguise" the new duplexes and triplexes to look like detached single-family homes (the more common housing type in Springfield) by strategically placing the entrances and by varying the heights and architecture of the buildings to avoid a "public housing" look.

Exhibit 2-7: John Hay Homes HOPE VI Revitalization Effort

HOPE VI award	\$17.8 million in 1994
Development prior to HOPE VI	599 units in row house buildings Neighborhood poverty rate: 42%
Development after revitalization	Mixed-income development with 50 public housing, 100 tax credit, and 44 homeownership units.
Off-site housing	90 scattered-site public housing units and 35 affordable homeownership units ^a
Status of HOPE VI revitalization in January 2001	On-site housing complete and partially reoccupied Off-site work not yet started.

^a Off-site plan was under review at time of site visit (January 2001), so final plans may have changed.

Sources: Neighborhood poverty rate is from 1990 Census for the census tract where John Hay Homes were located. Other information is from interviews with housing authority staff (January 2001).

The SHA is trying to convince the City to undertake broader housing rehabilitation efforts in the neighborhood, but no definitive plans have emerged yet. SHA also set aside 1.3 acres of land on the western boundary of the development for retail development. At the time of the site visit, SHA had not identified retail tenants for the land, but the eventual placement of retail stores in this area would provide a real boost to the neighborhood.

At the start of the survey in the spring of 2001, 69 of the 194 new units were occupied. Off-site construction had not yet started, but a nonprofit affiliate of the housing authority had acquired 28 of the 35 parcels of land needed for homeownership units in the neighborhood.

John Hay Relocation

At the time formal relocation began, only 31 families lived in the John Hay development. Relocation took only two months, with most families choosing to move to private market housing using a voucher. Even though only a few households were formally relocated, SHA and HUD agreed that all residents who had lived in the development at the time of the HOPE VI award would be eligible for HOPE VI community and supportive services and would have the highest preference for occupying the revitalized public housing units.

Original residents who want to move back to the revitalized John Hay development have to meet the same screening requirements as new residents. These include a two-year rental history check and a criminal background check for all family members over 18 years of age. To be eligible, all adult family members must have no criminal history within the last three years and no felonies within the last ten years. Given the descriptions of the original development, the strict criminal background screening may mean a substantial number of the former John Hay residents are ineligible to return to the revitalized site. Both new and returning residents are “strongly encouraged,” but not required, to participate in SHA’s Family Self-Sufficiency program.²⁵

Exhibit 2-8: John Hay Homes Relocation

Relocation period	October to December 1997
Number of households relocated	31
Type of relocation	Primarily Section 8 (now called Housing Choice Voucher)
Characteristics of residents prior to relocation	97% African American, 6% elderly
Income of households prior to relocation	Not available

Sources: Relocation information from interviews with housing authority staff (February 2001). Racial characteristics and household type are from March 1994 MTCS data.

²⁵ The eligibility criteria for the tax credit and homeownership units are even stricter. In addition to the criminal background and rental history check, tax credit and homeownership applicants need to have a two-year work history. Homeownership applicants also have to meet minimum income requirements and pass an intensive homeownership training course provided by the Urban League.

Highlights of John Hay Survey Findings

Among original John Hay residents, our survey found just over a third (39 percent) living in other public housing units, another third (33 percent) using vouchers, and the remainder (27 percent) living in private market housing without a subsidy. John Hay residents have a relatively high proportion of households (28 percent) headed by a married couple—only Connie Chambers in Tucson has a higher rate. Overall, unsubsidized households tended to be younger and more likely to be married and have children than households living in public housing or using vouchers. Voucher holders and public housing households are similar in characteristics, except that voucher holders are more likely to be headed by a younger person (between 18- and 34-years-old).

Housing Satisfaction. A majority of the original John Hay Home residents reported that they are satisfied with the condition of their current housing. More than half (58 percent) reported that it is in good or excellent condition, and 86 percent said it is in the same or better condition than their original John Hay housing. Very few (between 5 and 10 percent) reported big problems with any of the specific housing issues we asked about, such as broken plumbing or walls with peeling paint.

Voucher holders reported slightly better housing conditions than unsubsidized or public housing households. Two-thirds of voucher holders reported their housing is in excellent or good condition, compared with 58 percent of unsubsidized households and 53 percent of public housing households. Furthermore, nearly all the voucher holders (88 percent) reported they are somewhat or very satisfied with their housing, compared with approximately two-thirds of the other residents. This pattern is different from some of the other sites where voucher holders were less satisfied with their housing than households that relocated to other public housing developments or were living in unsubsidized private market housing.

The favorable results for voucher users in Springfield may be associated with a relatively loose and affordable housing market. Springfield's rental vacancy rate reported by the Census for 2000 is 9.5 percent, and the "housing wage," at \$10.42 per hour, is the lowest of any of the cities in this study.²⁶ These results may also reflect the process by which those living at John Hay Homes as of 1994 found alternative housing. They did so slowly, over the long period of time during which the redevelopment was stalled, and until October 1997 without any formal relocation assistance. This slow process may have enabled John Hay residents to access vouchers gradually and to use them to find housing units where they really wanted to live.

Neighborhood Conditions. Most of the original residents (84 percent) relocated to neighborhoods with lower poverty rates than the John Hay neighborhood, which was the only part of Springfield with a 1990 poverty rate over 40 percent. Almost a third of the residents (32 percent) now live in a neighborhood with a poverty rate under 20 percent.

²⁶ The "housing wage" is the hourly wage rate a full-time worker would need to be able to pay no more than 30 percent of his or her earnings for a unit at the two-bedroom fair market rent. See NLIHC (2001).

However, as can be seen in Map 2-3, a majority of the residents still live in Springfield's most concentrated poverty areas.

Exhibit 2-9: Key Survey Findings for Original John Hay Residents

Characteristic	Percent
Current housing assistance status	
Unsubsidized	27%
Housing Choice Voucher	33%
Public housing: HOPE VI	1%
Other public housing	39%
Report housing unit in good or excellent condition	58%
Comparison of current unit to pre-HOPE VI public housing unit	
Current unit better	52%
About the same	34%
Former public housing unit better	14%
Sources of Income	
Employment ^a	61%
Welfare ^b	19%
Report difficulty paying rent or utilities in past year	57%
Perceive drug selling as a big problem in their neighborhood	22%
Perceive shooting and violence as a big problem in their neighborhood	8%
Live in neighborhood with less than 20 percent poverty rate	32%
Sample Size (# of households)	97

Sources: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001) except neighborhood poverty rate is from the 1990 Census for the census tract of their housing unit at the time of the survey.

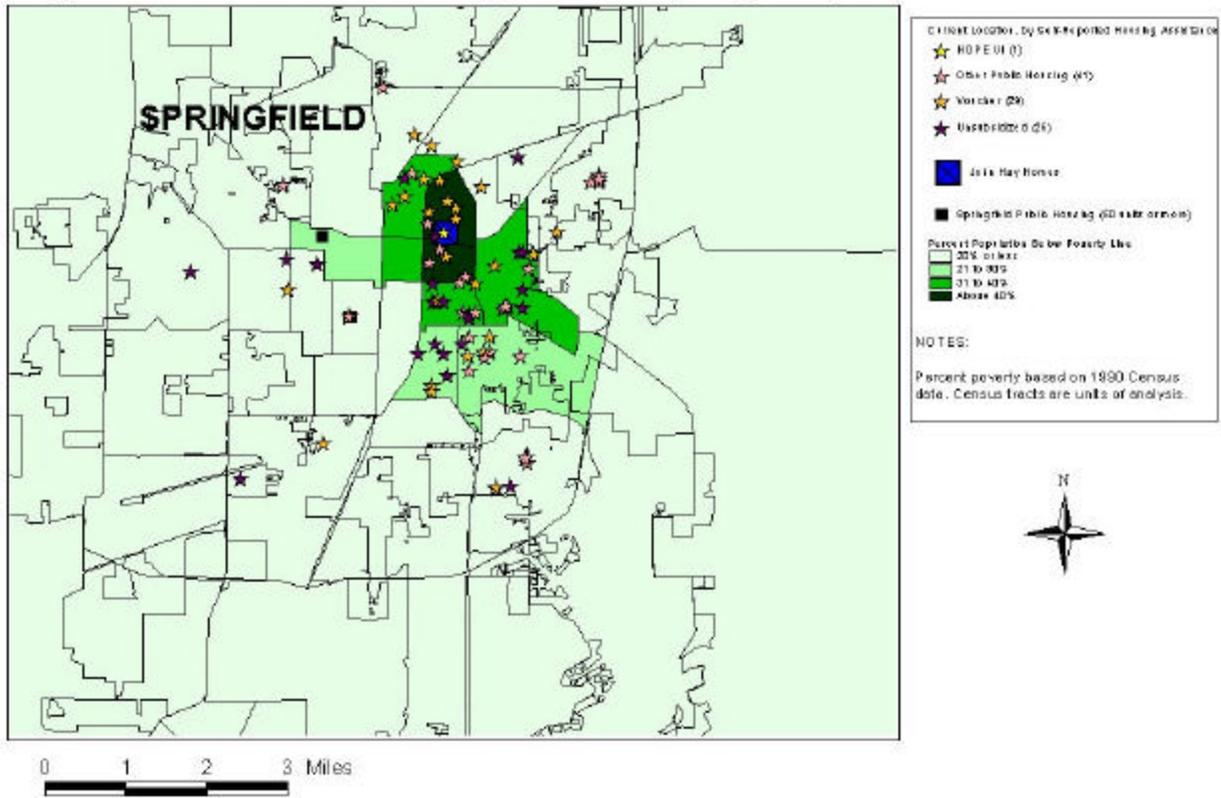
^a Survey respondent reports that someone in household currently works for pay.

^b Survey respondent reports that someone in the household received AFDC or TANF income within the past 12 months.

More than half (52 percent) live in a neighborhood with a poverty rate greater than 30 percent, while the average poverty rate in Springfield is 12 percent. Neighborhood poverty rates do not vary much by housing assistance type, although public housing residents are slightly more likely to live in high-poverty neighborhoods than the other groups.

Respondents in Springfield do not perceive drug trafficking and violent crime as big problems in their current neighborhoods. Only 13 percent of residents report robberies as a big problem, and 8 percent report shooting and violence as a big problem. Voucher holders reported the fewest problems with violence in their neighborhoods, public housing residents reported the most, and unsubsidized households report levels in between. Even so, more than 80 percent of public housing residents reported no problem with violence in their neighborhood. Complaints about drug trafficking and drug use were somewhat more common, but the proportion of respondents reporting problems was small compared with that at the other study sites.

Map 2-3
Original Residents of John Hay Homes: Springfield, IL



Employment and Hardship. About two-thirds of non-elderly households in our Springfield sample reported employment income. Only 19 percent reported receiving welfare. Nevertheless, nearly all of the residents (97 percent) had incomes below 30 percent of the area median, and overall, the John Hay residents are the poorest across all of the study sites.

Supplementary Security Income (SSI) is an important source of income for many of these families: 42 percent of non-elderly households reported receiving SSI. This finding suggests that disabilities may make it difficult for some people to work, and indeed 30 percent of residents who reported that a disability was a major barrier to their finding or maintaining employment. It appears that the extremely low incomes of former John Hay residents reflect a combination of low-paying jobs, lack of full-time employment, and disabilities that make it difficult or impossible for some residents to work.

Consistent with their having extremely low incomes, John Hay residents reported high levels of material hardship. As in the other study sites, residents in private market housing (both voucher holders and unsubsidized) reported more difficulties paying their rent and utilities in the past year (68 percent) than public housing households (40 percent). Voucher holders reported higher levels of food insecurity than the other groups, but unsubsidized households were more likely to have had their phone service cut off because of nonpayment than the other households. Overall, 37 percent of all former John Hay residents reported that their phone service had been disconnected at some time during the previous year, and approximately 20 percent reported various levels of food insecurity. The hardship levels reported by the original John Hay residents are among the highest of the study sites.

2.4 Hayes Valley, San Francisco, California (1995)

Hayes Valley in San Francisco is one of only two sites in this study where the HOPE VI redevelopment was complete and the new units fully occupied by the start of the survey (Quigg Newton in Denver is the other). Hayes Valley is unique among the study sites to the extent that residents played an active role in management and screening for the new development. The resident organization's efforts, along with the extremely tight San Francisco housing market, have resulted in a large proportion (44 percent) of original residents returning to Hayes Valley.

Prior to HOPE VI, Hayes Valley was an extremely dangerous public housing development, with serious problems of drug trafficking and violent crime. After the HOPE VI initiative was completed, housing authority officials reported that the development itself was safer, but acknowledged that problems with drug trafficking adjacent to the development had not abated. Given the continuing problems in the surrounding community, it is not surprising that residents who have returned to the revitalized Hayes Valley perceive relatively high levels of drug trafficking, disorder, and violent crime in their neighborhood. Residents of only one other site—Archbishop Walsh in Newark—reported similar levels of problems with drug use and drug trafficking. However, Newark households reported lower levels of problems with violent crime and indicators of physical disorder such as graffiti and trash.

Hayes Valley Background

The original Hayes Valley consisted of 294 units in two sections, divided by two city blocks. Nicknamed “Death Valley” because of its reputation for violent crime, Hayes Valley was one of the San Francisco Housing Authority’s (SFHA) most distressed developments. By the early 1990s, the buildings had deteriorated sharply, with problems that included rotting balconies and stairways, asbestos, roach infestation, and mildew.

Located near Haight-Ashbury, the neighborhood was a mixture of young professionals and working-class households. However, the area closest to the development had a long history of problems with drug trafficking. In particular, the park across the street from the development was known as a center for criminal activity. The park was rehabilitated in 2000 (with non-HOPE VI funding) and was reportedly much safer after it reopened. Even with this effort, however, SFHA staff said they are still working with police to address problems, particularly drug dealing on a nearby street corner.

San Francisco has one of the tightest and most expensive rental housing markets in the country. According to the 2000 Census, the vacancy rate (4.9 percent) was approximately half the national average.²⁷ In 2001, the National Low-Income Housing Coalition (2001) declared San Francisco the most expensive market in the country, estimating that a wage earner paying 30 percent of income for rent would need to earn \$33.60 an hour in order to afford a two-bedroom unit at the HUD fair market rent.

Exacerbating problems faced by Housing Choice voucher holders in such a tight housing market is SFHA’s history of serious management problems, many involving its Housing Choice Voucher program. In 1996, HUD sent staff on-site to address these problems and even took steps to find a private contractor to manage the voucher program. For the public housing program, SFHA’s most recent PHMAP score was 83.9 (standard), but it was 69.3 in the early 1990s just before the Hayes Valley HOPE VI grant was awarded.²⁸ Roughly 55 percent of SHA’s public housing units are in developments that have REAC physical inspection scores below 60, which is considered a failing grade.

Hayes Valley Redevelopment

The HOPE VI program at Hayes Valley replaced the 294 original public housing units with a mixed-income development, including 117 public housing and 78 LIHTC units. The reconfigured site plan attempts to create more defensible space and to reduce the isolation of the development from the surrounding neighborhood. The buildings now face the street, and each unit has its own entrance and a security alarm system. In addition, the style and size of the buildings (three-to-four-story townhouses) are now more consistent with the surrounding neighborhood. A new through street was added to both portions of the development to break up the public housing “superblocks.”

²⁷ 2000 Census, Profile of General Demographic Characteristics, 2000: Quick Tables.

²⁸ 1993 PHMAP score is from Abt Associates (1996). The most recent score is from <http://www-domino.hud.gov/pih>, March 5, 2001.

Construction at Hayes Homes was completed in 1999. All HOPE VI units were available for occupancy by March of that year.

Exhibit 2-10: Hayes Valley HOPE VI Revitalization Effort

HOPE VI Award	\$22.4 million in 1995
Development prior to HOPE VI	294 units in three-story walk-up apartments Neighborhood poverty rate: 31%
Development after revitalization	Mixed-income development with 117 public housing and 78 LIHTC units.
Off-site housing	None
Status of HOPE VI revitalization in January 2001	Completed. All units were ready for reoccupancy in March 1999.

Sources: Neighborhood poverty rate is from 1990 Census for the census tract where Hayes Valley was located. Other information is from interviews with housing authority staff (February 2001).

Hayes Valley Relocation

All of the original Hayes Valley residents were relocated during construction. According to SFHA staff, most residents (60 percent) relocated to other public housing developments, while the remaining 40 percent moved to private market housing with Section 8 vouchers (now called Housing Choice Vouchers). The housing authority employed relocation specialists to help residents with their housing choices, as well as six “tenant advocates,” tenants who helped other residents find housing with their vouchers and served as liaisons during the redevelopment process.

Exhibit 2-11: Hayes Valley Relocation

Relocation period	November 1995 to May 1996
Number of households relocated	294
Type of relocation	60% to other public housing 40% moved with Section 8 voucher (now called Housing Choice voucher)
Characteristics of households prior to relocation	87% African American 18% elderly
Income of households prior to relocation	94% below 30 percent of area median 64% receiving welfare 16% with employment income

Source: Relocation information from interviews with housing authority staff (February 2001). Household characteristics are from December 1995 MTCS data.

Highlights of Hayes Valley Survey Findings

A relatively large proportion of original residents of Hayes Valley have returned to the redeveloped site. The SFHA estimated that 35 percent of tenants returned; in our survey, we found 44 percent living in the revitalized Hayes Valley. Approximately 11 percent of our sample are living in other SFHA public housing, 30 percent are renting units using housing vouchers, and 12 percent are no longer receiving a housing subsidy.

The difficulty in finding affordable alternatives in the San Francisco housing market is clearly one factor that made returning to Hayes Valley attractive to former residents. Another factor that likely contributed to the large number of returning residents is the influence of the

resident organization, which plays a role in screening prospective tenants. According to SFHA staff, the resident management organization received extensive legal support through a city program that promotes representation of low-income tenants and was instrumental in setting policies that would accommodate as many original residents as possible in the new development. For example, at the time of the site visit, the development had no “one-strike” policy and explicitly permitted residents with histories of substance abuse and drug trafficking to return, as long as the drug offenses occurred more than two-and-a-half years ago. However, residents who want to return must enroll in the Family Self-Sufficiency (FSS) program and must pass a criminal background check (for violent crime and drug offenses within the past two-and-a-half years) and a credit check.

The majority of the respondents in our sample who have returned to the HOPE VI site are relatively young: 42 percent are between 18- and 34-years-old and another 37 percent are 35 to 49. Most of remaining younger residents are either living in other public housing or have received vouchers. The few households in our sample with elderly heads are most likely to live in other public housing. Altogether about 12 percent of the respondents live in unsubsidized units.

Housing Satisfaction. Overall, the majority (70 percent) of original Hayes Valley residents in our survey are somewhat satisfied or very satisfied with their housing, and 74 percent reported that their housing is in better condition than their original public housing unit. However, voucher holders are substantially less satisfied than other households—just 50 percent reported they are very or somewhat satisfied with their housing. Likewise, while 66 percent of respondents living in the revitalized development and virtually all of the households living in other public housing reported that their housing is in excellent or good condition, this is the case for only 44 percent of voucher holders.

Finally, although about a third of all groups, including those in the revitalized development, reported having problems with peeling paint or plaster, voucher holders and unsubsidized renters are more likely to report other, more serious types of problems with their housing (broken plumbing, infestations of roaches and vermin, broken heat). The low levels of housing satisfaction among private market renters in this sample are probably related to the nature of the housing market. With such great demand for housing, landlords have little incentive to rent to voucher holders or low-income tenants, meaning that these families have difficulty competing for better units. Management problems in San Francisco’s voucher program may also play a role if, for example, the program’s poor reputation further limits the supply of willing landlords or Housing Quality Standards (HQS) requirements are not properly enforced.

Neighborhood Conditions. Map 2-4 shows the location of the respondents in our sample. Nearly three-fourths (72 percent) are living within a half-mile of the original development. This figure reflects the fact that a large number of respondents are living in the revitalized development. But, as the map shows, many of those who have either moved to other public housing or received vouchers also live near the Hayes Valley site. This pattern could be related to the use of tenant advocates to help families locate housing, since public housing residents may not be familiar with a broad range of housing locations or may have encouraged Hayes Valley residents to stay in the neighborhood.

A few voucher holders and unsubsidized renters have moved across the bay to Oakland. The 1990 Census tract-level poverty rate for the Hayes Valley site was 31 percent. More than one-third of our respondents now live in low-poverty neighborhoods where the poverty rate is 20 percent or lower. However, because so many households live at or near the original site, 55 percent of our sample still lives in tracts where the poverty rate is 30 percent or greater (as of 1990).

Respondents' perceptions of crime and disorder in San Francisco are consistent with living in distressed, high-poverty neighborhoods. Overall, 60 percent reported big problems with drug selling in their neighborhood, 36 percent reported "big problems" with shootings and violence, and 29 percent reported big problems with physical disorder (e.g., trash and junk in public areas).

Among original Hayes Valley residents, those who have returned to the development reported the highest levels of disorder and crime. For example, 72 percent of respondents living in Hayes Valley said they thought that people selling drugs was a big problem in their neighborhood, and 54 percent said they thought shootings and violence were a big problem. The figures for voucher holders and other public housing residents are much lower, with 54 percent reporting that drug trafficking is a big problem and 33 percent reporting that shooting and violence are a big problem.

Similarly, Hayes Valley respondents tend to rate their neighborhoods lower on social cohesion and social control than residents of other public housing developments or voucher holders. This response is consistent with how we might expect residents living in a neighborhood with significant criminal activity to respond. It differs, however, from responses in Archbishop Walsh in Newark, where residents living in a HOPE VI site with high levels of criminal activity nonetheless report high social cohesion.

Several factors may account for respondents' perceptions of the severity of problems with crime and drugs in their community. First, as noted earlier, SFHA officials described a major "drug corner" near the development and reported that police efforts to address this situation so far had been unsuccessful. Second, because of the influence of the resident management association, original residents have been allowed to return to the site, even if they had been convicted of possessing or selling drugs in the past. Finally, while improving the Hayes Valley site, the HOPE VI scope did not include a neighborhood component and so did not address the neighborhood problems that continue to affect the development.

Exhibit 2-12: Key Survey Findings for Original Hayes Valley Residents

Characteristic	Percent
Current housing assistance status	
Unsubsidized	12%
Housing Choice Voucher	30%
Public housing: HOPE VI	44%
Other public housing	11%
Report housing unit in good or excellent condition	61%
Comparison of current unit to pre-HOPE VI public housing unit	
Current unit better	74%
About the same	15%
Former public housing unit better	10%
Sources of Income	
Employment ^a	56%
Welfare ^b	43%
Report difficulty paying rent or utilities in past year	51%
Perceive drug selling as a big problem in their neighborhood	60%
Perceive shooting and violence as a big problem in their neighborhood	36%
Live in neighborhood with less than 20 percent poverty rate	35%
Sample size (# of households)	101

Sources: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001), except for neighborhood poverty rate, which is from the 1990 Census for the census tract of their housing unit at the time of the survey.

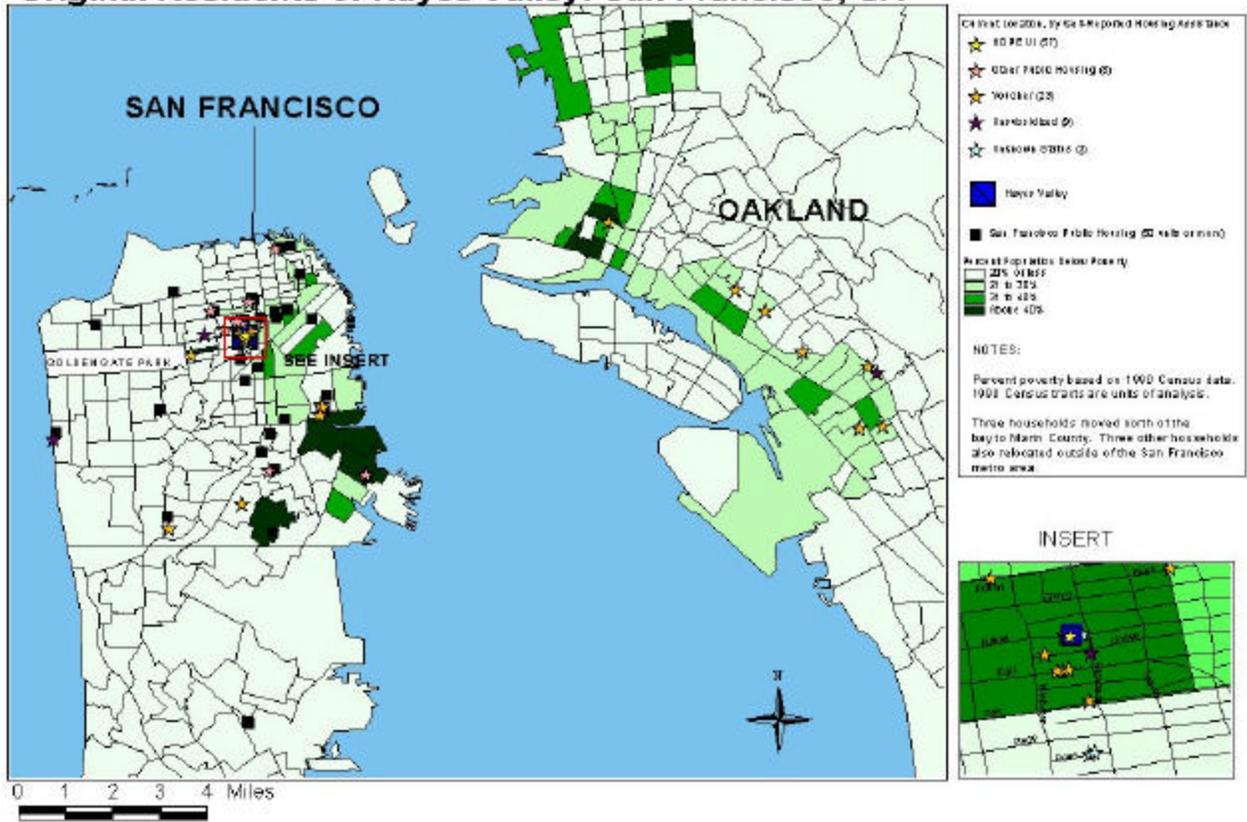
^a Survey respondent reports that someone in household currently works for pay.

^b Survey respondent reports that someone in the household received AFDC or TANF income within the past 12 months.

Employment and Hardship. Employment rates were low among respondents in San Francisco: Only about a third of working-age respondents reported being employed full-time at the time of the survey, and another 20 percent reported working part-time. Voucher holders were the most likely to report being employed full-time (41 percent). Even though all working-age Hayes Valley residents are required to enroll in the FSS program, only 28 percent of the respondents who lived there said they were working full-time. Respondents also reported a higher level of dependence on welfare than at the other study sites: 43 percent reported receiving welfare benefits in the past year. Overall, most residents (85 percent) reported extremely low incomes (below 30 percent of the area median). Because of their higher levels of full-time employment, the voucher holders in our sample were more likely to report having an income above 30 percent of the area median.

Like respondents from other sites in the study, those from Hayes Valley reported problems with housing costs. More than half (51 percent) of all respondents in the sample reported having trouble paying their rent or utilities, and about half said they were often or sometimes worried that their food would run out. Private market renters were more likely to report problems: 66 percent of voucher holders and unsubsidized renters said they had problems with paying rent and utilities, compared with 50 percent of those who had returned to the revitalized development and almost none of those living in other public housing.

Map 2-4
Original Residents of Hayes Valley: San Francisco, CA



2.5 Cotter and Lang Homes, Louisville, Kentucky (1996)

Between October 1996 and June 1998, 1,100 families (the largest number in any of the study sites) were relocated from Cotter Homes and Lang Homes, two sprawling public housing developments in the Park DuValle neighborhood of Louisville. Cotter and Lang are being replaced by mixed-income housing, with more than one-third of the new units designated for homeownership.

Approximately 436 of more than 1,063 planned new units had been completed at the time of our survey, and the Housing Authority of Louisville (HAL) reported that 59 (about 5 percent) of the original residents had returned to the property. While HAL reports that the original relocation process placed many residents in other public housing, our survey found that by early 2001 almost half were living in private housing using vouchers. Only about a quarter were living in other public housing, and another quarter were now living in unsubsidized housing.

Louisville is one of the five cities in this study where former residents of a HOPE VI development are making heavy use of housing vouchers. However, unlike respondents in Albany, Paterson, and San Francisco, voucher users in Louisville reported high rates of satisfaction with their current housing and are more satisfied than original residents of Cotter and Lang who now are living in other public housing developments. This higher satisfaction rate may reflect a relatively long relocation period and a relatively inexpensive housing market. It may also reflect strong administration of the overall voucher program.

Cotter and Lang Background

Built in the 1950s, Cotter and Lang Homes contained a total of 1,116 units located on contiguous sites in the western portion of the City of Louisville. Originally developed as segregated housing, with one development for whites and the other for African Americans, by the 1990s both portions of Cotter and Lang were occupied primarily by African Americans (96 percent). The Park DuValle neighborhood was an area of extreme poverty, with a 1990 poverty rate of 78 percent.

Consisting of 118 two-story barracks-like buildings, the original developments dominated the Park DuValle neighborhood. The configuration of the buildings—with blank concrete and brick facades facing the street and enclosing common spaces—contributed to a sense of insecurity. In addition, the age and condition of the structures led to very high maintenance costs, which in turn drained the resources of the housing authority. For many years HAL spent time and money repairing Cotter and Lang Homes, including adding peaked roofs to the Lang Homes buildings. Finally, however, the agency conducted a detailed repair-versus-replace cost analysis and decided that the money being spent on upkeep at Cotter and Lang would be better spent on redeveloping the property and the Park DuValle neighborhood.

Cotter and Lang Redevelopment

HAL was awarded a \$20 million HOPE VI grant from the 1996 funding round. The redevelopment will produce 450 homeownership units and 613 rental units (a mix of public

housing, tax credit, and market rate rentals) at the former site and on underutilized land acquired by the housing authority in the surrounding neighborhood. In addition, the project includes 150 public housing units to be built off-site.

Exhibit 2-13: Cotter and Lang HOPE VI Revitalization Effort

HOPE VI award	\$20 million in 1996
Development prior to HOPE VI	1,116 units in two-story buildings Neighborhood poverty rate: 78%
Development after revitalization	Mixed-income development with 295 public housing, 152 LIHTC, and 166 market rate rental units, plus 450 homeownership units
Off-site housing	150 public housing units
Status of HOPE VI revitalization in January 2001	Partially reoccupied, expected to be completed in late 2003

Sources: Neighborhood poverty rate is from the 1990 Census for the census tract where Cotter and Lang were located. Other information is from interviews with housing authority staff (February 2001).

Demolition of Cotter and Lang Homes began in 1998. As of the spring of 2001, 436 on-site units had been completed. They include 313 rental units, divided among public housing units, tax credit units, and market rate rentals, as well as 123 homeownership units.

Cotter and Lang Relocation

Housing authority staff reported that many Cotter and Lang residents relocated to Beecher Terrace, a public housing development in downtown Louisville. One issue that arose in the process was that Beecher Terrace is far enough away from Cotter and Lang that children would be required to attend school in a different school district, or “cluster.” To reduce the disruption caused by this change, HAL tried to relocate families with children during the summer.

Other residents received Section 8 vouchers (now called Housing Choice vouchers). HAL reports that, during relocation, staff worked with each family to ensure that they received appropriate housing. Services included assisting residents in calculating rent, helping them find neighborhoods in which to look for homes, and providing lists of available homes and apartments where families could use their vouchers.

To qualify to live in the revitalized HOPE VI development, former residents of Cotter and Lang and new applicants for units have to be employed, be in job training, or be in a self-sufficiency program;²⁹ have a history of paying their rent on time; and have a clean police report. In addition, potential residents had to pass housekeeping inspections and credit checks. HAL staff reported that, while 200 former residents are known to have applied to return, many of these families did not meet the requirements. According to HAL staff, only 59 former Cotter and Lang residents (approximately 5 percent of the original residents) were living in the new Park DuValle or other revitalized units as of early 2001.

²⁹ HAL offers the Family Self-Sufficiency program and Individual Development Accounts through in-home case management, and former Cotter and Lang residents get priority for enrolling in these programs.

Exhibit 2-14: Cotter and Lang Relocation

Relocation period	October 1996 to June 1998
Number of households relocated	1,100
Type of relocation	Most moved to other public housing
Racial characteristics of residents prior to relocation	96% African American 4% elderly
Income of households prior to relocation	91% below 30 percent of area median 54% receiving welfare benefits 25% with employment income

Sources: Relocation information from interviews with housing authority staff (February 2001). Racial characteristics and household type are from December 1996 MTCS data.

Highlights of Cotter and Lang Survey Findings

Our survey of original Cotter and Lang residents found only three households (3 percent of survey respondents) living at the revitalized development at this stage of reoccupancy (approximately 40 percent reoccupied). Another 25 percent were in other public housing, 46 percent were using vouchers, and 26 percent were in unsubsidized rental housing or living in units they had purchased. Cotter and Lang residents have the smallest share of elderly persons in the study (3 percent) and the largest share of families with three or more children (40 percent).

Housing Satisfaction. Most former Cotter and Lang residents (71 percent) are satisfied with their current housing, and 53 percent rate its condition as excellent or good. These figures are similar to rates of housing satisfaction across all types of housing in the other study sites. However, voucher users in Louisville are more satisfied with their current housing than respondents in the three other sites where a large fraction of original residents of HOPE VI developments are now using vouchers (Albany, Paterson, and San Francisco). For example, 46 percent of voucher users in Louisville said that they were very satisfied with their current housing, compared with just 29 percent for voucher users across all cities. Only 15 percent said that they were dissatisfied with their voucher units, compared with 27 percent of voucher users across all sites. In Louisville, families using vouchers are more satisfied with their housing than are families that are now living in other public housing developments. Only 20 percent of those living in other public housing in Louisville reported that they were very satisfied, less than half the rate of voucher users.

Exhibit 2-15: Key Survey Findings for Original Cotter and Lang Residents

Characteristic	Percent
Current housing assistance status	
Unsubsidized	26%
Housing Choice voucher	46%
Public housing: HOPE VI	3%
Other public housing	25%
Report housing unit in good or excellent condition	53%
Comparison of current unit to pre-HOPE VI public housing unit	
Current unit better	58%
About the same	29%
Former public housing unit better	13%
Sources of Income	
Employment ^a	62%
Welfare ^b	20%
Report difficulty paying rent or utilities in past year	64%
Perceive drug selling as a big problem in their neighborhood	51%
Perceive shooting and violence as a big problem in their neighborhood	24%
Live in neighborhood with less than 20 percent poverty rate	12%
Sample size (# of households)	100

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001), except for the neighborhood poverty rates, which is from the 1990 Census for the census tract of their housing unit at the time of the survey.

^a Survey respondent reports that someone in household currently works for pay.

^b Survey respondent reports that someone in the household received AFDC or TANF income within the past 12 months.

The positive result for voucher holders in Louisville may reflect the relatively long relocation period for Cotter and Lang residents (about 20 months). Another consideration is that two-thirds of the original Cotter and Lang residents now using vouchers said that they have moved more than once since leaving the development, a high rate compared with that in the other cities.³⁰ It is possible that some families like their current housing better than the housing they first moved to at the beginning of the relocation process.³¹

It also appears that the voucher program in Louisville does not suffer from the severe management difficulties evident at some other sites or face the challenges of a very tight housing market. HAL has 99 percent of its vouchers under lease. While HUD has not yet reported a SEMAP score for Louisville, a high lease-up rate usually is associated with a well-managed program. Furthermore, the rental vacancy rate for Louisville was a moderate 8.1 percent (compared with national average of 9 percent), according to the 2000 Census.

³⁰ The in-depth interview respondents from Cotter and Lang (n=7) said that the large influx of relocatees looking for housing at the same time made it difficult to find a suitable unit. Thus, the high level of satisfaction with their current unit among Cotter and Lang voucher holders combined with relatively frequent moves may reflect a strategy of settling for a lesser unit in their first relocation move, then moving to a more suitable unit in a subsequent move.

³¹ The first unit to which some of these current voucher holders moved may have been other public housing. The Louisville Housing Authority reports that a smaller number of households used vouchers at the original time of relocation and a larger number moved to other public housing, compared with the results of our survey.

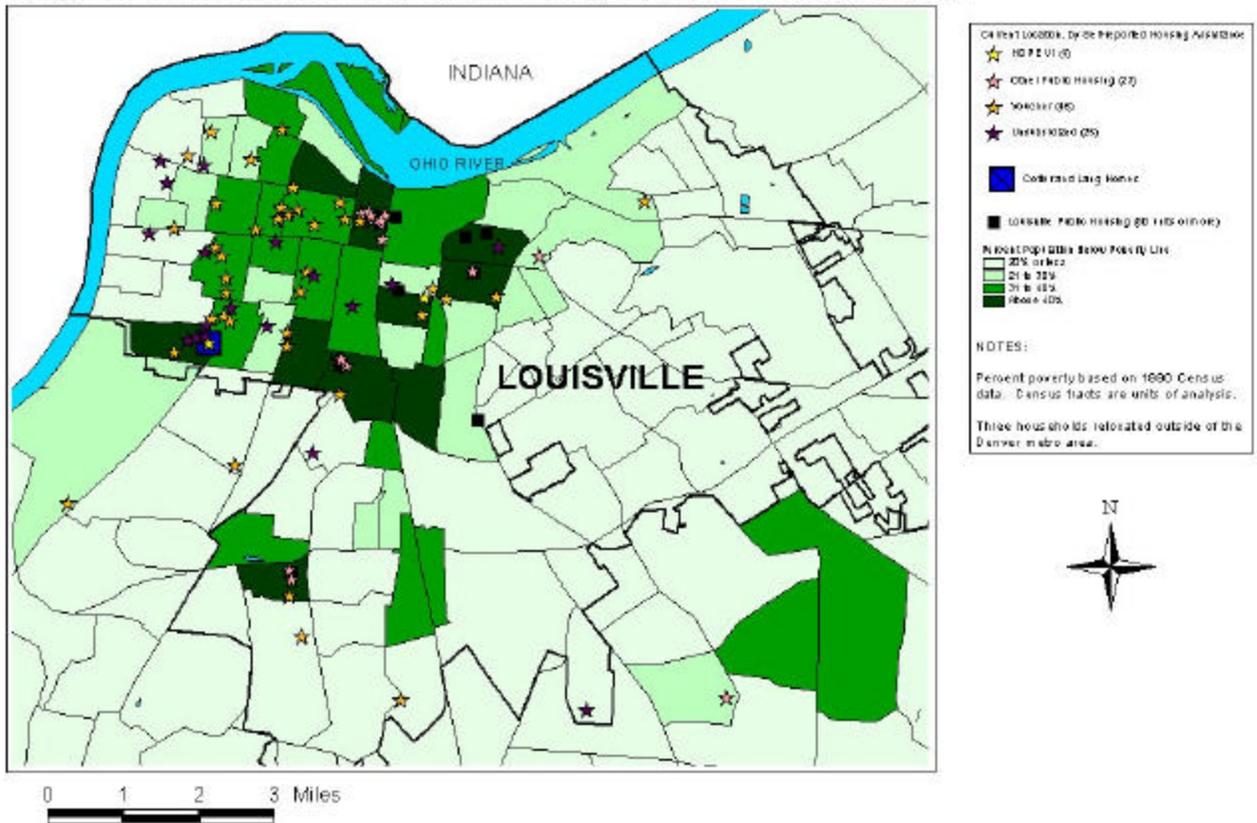
Neighborhood Conditions. Given the extraordinarily high poverty rate of the old Cotter and Lang neighborhood (78 percent poor in 1990), it is not surprising that most households now live in census tracts with lower poverty rates. However, Louisville has many high-poverty neighborhoods, as shown by Map 2-5. The city as a whole has a poverty rate of 23 percent, the second highest of the cities in this study (only Newark is higher). Despite their high levels of satisfaction, the former Cotter and Lang residents we surveyed were more likely than households in other cities in the study to live in neighborhoods with high concentrations of the poor. Of the surveyed households using vouchers, 70 percent live in census tracts with 1990 poverty rates greater than 30 percent, as do 90 percent of those now living in other public housing.

Given the poverty rates of the neighborhoods in which most former Cotter and Lang residents currently live, it is not surprising that they reported indicators of social distress, such as drug use, drug dealing, shooting, and violence at high rates. For example, 51 percent reported a “big problem” with people selling drugs in their neighborhood, and 24 percent said that shooting and violence are a big problem. On the other hand, given the poverty rates typical of the neighborhoods of voucher users in Louisville, one might have expected that they would report social distress at higher rates than voucher users in other cities. In fact, they do not. For example, 44 percent of voucher users in Louisville reported big problems with drug selling in the neighborhood, the same percentage as those using vouchers in Paterson and lower than those in Albany and San Francisco (48 percent in both cases). In contrast, four-fifths of those now living in other public housing reported that selling and using drugs is a big problem (79 percent), a higher rate than for any other city in the study.

The relatively low rates of housing satisfaction and high rates of neighborhood distress for those now living in other public housing in Louisville may reflect the fact that many families moved to other *distressed* public housing developments in the city. Beecher Terrace, to which many families moved, is a 763-unit family public housing development in downtown Louisville. Beecher Terrace was modernized in 1997-1998 and has received a physical inspection rating from HUD’s REAC that does not suggest extreme physical distress (the rating is right at the median for all public housing in the nation). However, the development is in a census tract with a poverty rate that, at 84 percent, is even higher than the 1990 poverty rate for Cotter and Lang.

Material Hardship. As is the case in other cities, many voucher users and unsubsidized households reported difficulty paying rent and utility bills. But in Louisville, households now living in other public housing developments reported such problems at equally high rates.

Map 2-5
Original Residents of Cotter and Lang Homes: Louisville, KY



2.6 Connie Chambers, Tucson, Arizona (1996)

Connie Chambers is the smallest development in the study (200 units), but the HOPE VI project is part of an ambitious community-wide revitalization effort to transform a distressed neighborhood into an economically diverse community. The scale and architectural style of 120 units of new housing on the HOPE VI site (half public housing and half tax credit units) are designed to blend in with the adobe-style housing in the rest of the traditional low-income Hispanic neighborhood close to downtown Tucson and the University of Arizona. Sixty new affordable homeownership units will be added elsewhere in the neighborhood.

The first units in the revitalized development were just becoming available for occupancy at the time of our survey, and most of the original residents were living off-site, in scattered-site public housing, using vouchers, or in unsubsidized private market housing. Across the board, those relocated from Connie Chambers reported very high levels of satisfaction with their current housing and low levels of crime in their current neighborhood. Tucson's HOPE VI effort appears to have improved the living conditions of most of the original Connie Chambers residents even before residents have had an opportunity to move back. A key to these positive outcomes appears to be the scattered-site character of Tucson's public housing stock, which enabled many Connie Chambers residents to move to good housing in low poverty neighborhoods.

Connie Chambers Background

Built in 1967, Connie Chambers is located in Santa Rosio, one of the oldest neighborhoods in Tucson. Like Connie Chambers itself, Santa Rosio has primarily Hispanic residents with extremely low-incomes. The neighborhood poverty rate of 65 percent is the second highest of the eight study sites. (Only Cotter and Lang in Louisville had a higher neighborhood poverty rate in 1990.)

The neighborhood contains many vacant lots, including a 13-acre parcel of land across the street from Connie Chambers. This site has been vacant since 1983, when Tucson's only other large family public housing development, La Reforma, was demolished. A highway is a few blocks west of Connie Chambers, and a busy thoroughfare is on the south border, but Connie Chambers is not isolated. It is in the midst of a low-income, but stable, residential neighborhood filled with modest adobe-style houses. The sprawling, cinder block Connie Chambers development did not blend in with the neighborhood in either scale or style.

The housing authority in Tucson is very well managed. It is considered a high performer in both public housing, with a PHMAP score of 94.3, and the housing voucher program, with a SEMAP score of 100. The housing authority is part of the city's Community Services Department and serves as both the housing and the community development agency for Tucson. This dual role benefited the HOPE VI project because the agency already had experience in developing tax credit projects.

Connie Chambers Redevelopment

Tucson was awarded a \$14.6 million HOPE VI grant in 1996 to demolish Connie Chambers and replace it with a smaller mixed-income development containing 60 public housing and

60 LIHTC units. Even with the reduction from 200 to 60 public housing units on-site, the revitalized development will be the largest concentration of public housing units for families in Tucson. New scattered-site public housing spread throughout Tucson will replace the 140 public housing units not rebuilt on site.

The HOPE VI effort is part of broader \$64 million dollar effort to revitalize the Santa Rosa neighborhood that includes infill development, improvements to public infrastructure and services, and economic development activities.

The new Connie Chambers will be renamed Posadas Sentinel and consist of duplexes and triplexes. The units will vary in height and color and will be in an adobe –style, similar to units in the rest of the neighborhood. No two street facades will look the same, so the development will not stand out as multifamily housing. Additional through streets are being added, so all the units face the street and the traditional neighborhood street grid is no longer cut off by the development. Neighborhood residents were concerned about gentrification during the redevelopment process. Despite the poverty and the vacant lots in the neighborhood, residents reportedly believed urban pioneers were encroaching on them, attracted by the convenient access to downtown and the university as well as the small, but attractive adobe homes. To ensure that affordable housing was retained in the neighborhood, the housing agency changed its original plan to spread the affordable homeownership units across unaffected areas of the city and instead decided to build all 60 in the Santa Rosa neighborhood. The City also established a property tax refund program so that low-income homeowners could stay in the neighborhood even if the value of their houses increased.

Exhibit 2-16: Connie Chambers HOPE VI Revitalization Effort

HOPE VI award	\$14.6 million in 1996
Development prior to HOPE VI	200 units Neighborhood poverty rate: 65%
Development after revitalization	Mixed-income development with 60 public housing and 60 LIHTC units
Off-site housing	60 affordable homeownership units in surrounding neighborhood and 140 scattered-site public housing units throughout the city ^a
Status of HOPE VI revitalization in January 2001	Started reoccupying in January 2001 and scheduled to be fully reoccupied in spring 2002

^a A 30-unit Section 202 development is also being built in the surrounding neighborhood as part of the broader revitalization effort.

Sources: Neighborhood poverty rate is from the 1990 Census for the census tract where Connie Chambers were located. Other information is from interviews with housing authority staff (January 2001).

Original Connie Chambers residents were offered a host of job training and educational activities during the redevelopment period. Supportive services will be sustained for future residents of Posadas Sentinel through expansion of the agency’s Family Self-Sufficiency program. A learning and child development center is being built across the street, next to a new magnet school that was built as part of the neighborhood revitalization effort.

Demolition of Connie Chambers began in February 1999 and the first new units were available for occupancy in January 2001, just before the start of the resident survey.

Connie Chambers Relocation

Residents were able to choose whether they wanted to stay on-site during the redevelopment, relocate to scattered-site public housing, or use a voucher in private market housing. Those who wanted to stay were moved to the center of the development so that demolition and construction could proceed in the other sections. At first, 48 households elected to stay on-site, but by January 2001, only 17 households remained. The on-site households received the highest priority for moving into the new units.

The housing authority provided personalized assistance to those who wanted to move to scattered-site public housing, the type of housing choice of most of those who moved off-site. Residents were first asked for their geographic preferences and bedroom size needs. As scattered-site units became vacant or were added to Tucson's public housing stock as part of the off-site replacement housing, eligible people were notified. If they were interested, the housing authority took them out to view the unit and make a decision. The off-site relocation of approximately 140 residents took more than a year, because many residents were unsure whether to move and where to move. Relocation counselors had one-on-one sessions to discuss the merits of various neighborhoods. Some of the first residents to move spread the word about how much they liked their new housing, and this positive feedback helped others overcome fears of moving.

Exhibit 2-17: Connie Chambers Relocation

Relocation period	December 1997 to January 1999 ^a
Number of households relocated	189 (including 48 that relocated within the site)
Type of relocation	About two-thirds scattered-site public housing, but some relocated within site and some took Section 8 (now called Housing Choice Voucher).
Characteristics of residents prior to relocation	70% Hispanic 13% elderly
Income of households prior to relocation	85% less than 30 percent of area median 57% receive welfare 28% with employment income

^a Some residents who initially chose to relocate within the site later relocated off-site, so relocation may have continued past this date.

Sources: Relocation information is from interviews with housing authority staff (February 2001). Racial characteristics and household type are from December 1996 MTCS data.

Original Connie Chambers' residents who choose to move back to the Posadas Sentinel will not have to meet any new screening criteria, nor will they have to participate in the housing authority's expanded Family Self-Sufficiency program, which is required of the other new residents.

Highlights of Connie Chambers Survey Findings

At the time of the resident survey in spring 2001, new units at the HOPE VI site were just starting to become available for occupancy and both original Connie Chambers' units and revitalized Posadas Sentinel units were occupied at the time. Eleven percent of the survey

respondents lived on site—some still in original units and some in revitalized units.³² Nearly half the original Connie Chambers' residents (47 percent) lived in other public housing. Some had moved to multifamily public housing developments for the elderly, but most were in the scattered site units that are typical of Tucson's public housing stock. Connie Chambers is the only site where a substantial number of survey respondents were in scattered-site public housing. One-quarter of the respondents reported they no longer lived in subsidized housing, while only 10 percent were using housing vouchers. As can be seen on Map 2-6, original Connie Chambers' residents are dispersed throughout the city, and this seems to reflect the dispersal of scattered-site public housing in Tucson.

Connie Chambers is one of two sites (Quigg Newton is the other) where a majority of the original residents we surveyed are Hispanic. It is also the most racially and ethnically diverse site, because the 30 percent who are not Hispanic are divided roughly equally among African Americans, Native Americans, and non-Hispanic whites. A married couple heads one-third of the original Connie Chambers households, the highest rate of the study sites; 38 percent have three or more children, also one of the highest rates in the study.

Housing Satisfaction. Former Connie Chambers' residents appear to be extremely happy with their current housing. A larger proportion of Connie Chambers' residents (56 percent) reported they are very satisfied with their housing than at any other site. The share reporting that their housing is in good or excellent condition (69 percent) is exceeded only in the two sites (Archbishop Walsh and Quigg Newton) in which a substantial number of surveyed households are living in revitalized HOPE VI units.

Residents who relocated to public housing units reported the best housing conditions. Those residents in private market housing (subsidized and unsubsidized) provided lower ratings.

³² This is the only study site where old and new units coexisted at the time of the study. Our data collection procedures did not enable us to determine whether a respondent was living in a new unit or an old unit. From the responses to their questions on the quality of their housing, it appears that half or more of the surveyed households found at Connie Chambers addresses were in old units, but we do not know for sure. Because we could not reliably identify the Connie Chambers residents in original and revitalized units on the same site, we did not include HOPE VI returnees from Connie Chambers in the calculations by current housing assistance type shown in this report. However, we did utilize the Connie Chambers' data from all other original residents.

Map 2-6
Original Residents of Connie Chambers: Tucson, AZ

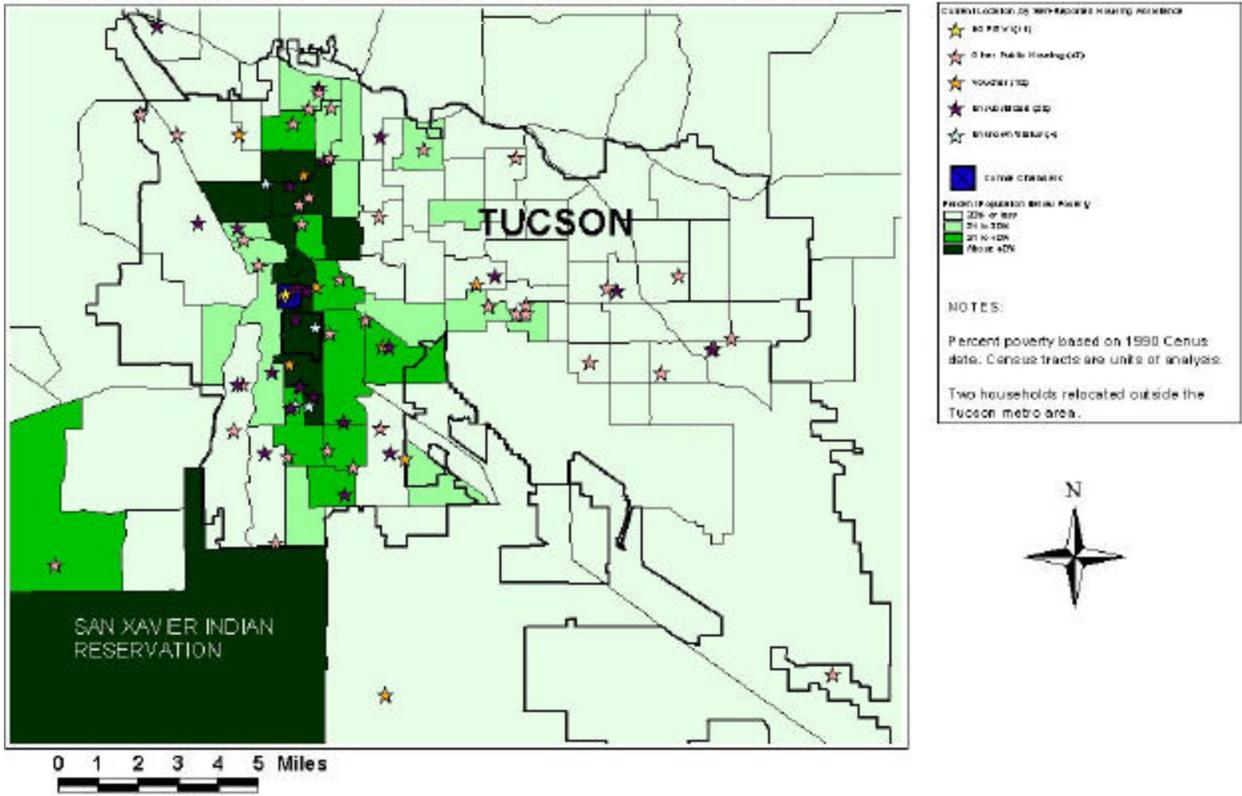


Exhibit 2-18: Key Survey Findings for Original Connie Chambers' Residents

Characteristic	Percent
Current housing assistance status	
Unsubsidized	28%
Housing Choice Voucher	9%
Public housing: HOPE VI ^c	11%
Other public housing	47%
Report housing unit in good or excellent condition	69%
Comparison of current unit to pre-HOPE VI public housing unit	
Current unit better	47%
About the same	40%
Former public housing unit better	13%
Sources of income	
Employment ^a	57%
Welfare ^b	30%
Report difficulty paying rent or utilities in past year	31%
Perceive drug selling as a big problem in their neighborhood	12%
Perceive shooting and violence as a big problem in their neighborhood	6%
Live in neighborhood with less than 20 percent poverty rate	36%
Sample size (# of households)	100

Sources: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001), except for the neighborhood poverty rate, which is from the 1990 Census for the census tract of their housing unit at the time of the survey.

^a Survey respondent reports that someone in household currently works for pay.

^b Survey respondent reports that someone in the household received AFDC or TANF income within the past 12 months.

^c This is the only site where old (original) and new units coexisted at the time of the study. Our data collection procedures did not enable us to determine whether a respondent was living in a new or old unit. From the responses to their questions on the quality of their housing, it appears that half or more of the surveyed households found at Connie Chambers addresses were in old units, but we do not know for sure.

Neighborhood Conditions. The survey found more than half of the original Connie Chambers residents lived in neighborhoods with poverty rates below 30 percent, including 36 percent who live in neighborhoods with a poverty rate below the citywide average of 20 percent. According to the original Connie Chambers' residents, serious problems with crime in their current neighborhoods are rare. Only 12 percent reported big problems with drug trafficking, and only 6 percent reported big problems with shootings and violence. The percentage of Connie Chambers' residents reporting "big problems" with criminal activities is the lowest of any site in the study, and for most survey questions on crime, only one-fourth as high as the average for the eight study sites combined.

Employment and Hardship. As expected, unsubsidized households are more likely to have income from employment and less likely to be on welfare than public housing or voucher households. As in other sites, despite their somewhat better economic conditions, many (in this case, almost half) have income below 30 percent of the area median.

Compared with the other study sites, the original Connie Chambers' residents have about average employment levels and welfare use. The share of residents with median income greater than 30 percent of the area median is the second highest (after Edwin Corning in Albany) at 27 percent. However, this may simply reflect the relatively low overall incomes in Tucson compared with other areas of the country.

Less than one-third of the residents (31 percent) reported difficulty paying their rent and utilities in the past year, one of the lower shares across the study sites. As in the other sites, the households in private-market housing (unsubsidized and voucher holders) are substantially more likely to report these housing-related hardships (40 percent) than the public housing households (25 percent). An unusually high number of residents (31 percent) reported being without telephone service for at least a day because they could not afford to pay their telephone bill. Less than half as many (15 percent) reported worrying about not having enough money for food, and voucher holders were least likely to report food hardships.

2.7 Christopher Columbus Homes, Paterson, New Jersey (1997)

The redevelopment of Christopher Columbus Homes in Paterson is an ambitious attempt to create mixed-income communities in an older, distressed city that has lost its industrial base. One of the newest of the HOPE VI sites in this study, it represents the evolution of the HOPE VI program away from on-site redevelopment of units that continue to be public housing and, instead, is building units at various levels of affordability both on-site and elsewhere in the city.

Paterson is one of the five cities in this study in which a large number of the former residents of the HOPE VI development are now using housing vouchers and one of the three where voucher holders are often not satisfied with their current housing. Problems with the use of vouchers in Paterson may be related to a difficult private housing market. While Paterson is a distressed city, it has a low rental vacancy rate, the entire northern New Jersey area has high rents, and (according to news reports) private landlords are reluctant to accept voucher holders. The problems encountered by voucher users could also be related to overall weaknesses in the administration of the Housing Choice Voucher program in Paterson.

The original Christopher Columbus residents now in other public housing also are not very satisfied with their current housing. Although a few surveyed households are living in replacement housing built as part of the HOPE VI plan, most public housing in Paterson remains in poor condition, and the survey responses appear to reflect this fact.

Christopher Columbus Background

Christopher Columbus Homes (CCH) was situated across the Passaic River from downtown Paterson. Built in 1960, CCH had four 16-story high-rise buildings and three low-rise buildings, with a total of 498 units. The development was located in an isolated neighborhood characterized by dilapidated housing and poverty, with a dearth of commercial activity and social services. With a high crime rate and extensive need for repairs, CCH had the highest vacancy rate of any public housing in the city of Paterson. Only 63 percent of the units were occupied as of 1996.

CCH was one of five family public housing developments in Paterson. In 1996, the Paterson Housing Authority (PHA) applied for HOPE VI funds to demolish Dean McNulty without rebuilding and to demolish and revitalize CCH. At that time, only the Dean McNulty demolition was funded, although approval to demolish was granted for both sites.

Christopher Columbus Redevelopment

In 1997, the Housing Authority again applied for HOPE VI funds for CCH and was awarded \$21.6 million. This funding was combined with nearly \$60 million from other sources to form the Christopher Columbus Homes HOPE VI project.

The HOPE VI project seeks to respond to the economic and racial isolation that has accompanied Paterson's economic decline. Paterson is a racially and ethnically diverse city, with large numbers of both African Americans and Hispanics. The citywide poverty rate in 1990 was 18.5 percent, and the homeownership rate was only 30 percent. The developers hope that the revitalized property will attract more working families and in turn bring back commercial vibrancy. The redeveloped site will have 100 tax credit units and 34 units of public housing. The design of the new mixed-income housing is intended to restore the urban street grid and create a "front porch" feel. The off-site development that is a major component of the CCH HOPE VI plan includes 103 new public housing units, 76 tax credit units, and 30 affordable homeownership units.

Exhibit 2-19: Christopher Columbus Homes HOPE VI Revitalization Effort

HOPE VI Award	\$21.6 million in 1997
Development prior to HOPE VI	498 units Neighborhood poverty rate: 42%
Development after revitalization	Mixed-income with 34 public housing and 100 LIHTC units
Off-site Housing	103 public housing, 76 LIHTC, and 30 affordable homeownership units
Status of HOPE VI revitalization in January 2001	No on-site development completed, but 179 off-site units complete and occupied

Sources: Neighborhood poverty rate is from the 1990 Census for the census tract where Christopher Columbus Homes were located. Other information is from interviews with housing authority staff (February 2001).

Christopher Columbus Relocation

The relocation of residents from CCH began in August 1997. Relocation was voluntary at first, and then PHA began to require residents to leave on a building-by-building basis as required by the construction schedule. PHA staff reported that they relocated 360 residents. Most residents received vouchers, while 56 households moved to other public housing sites in Paterson. Staff members believe that most of the households choosing public housing went to two family developments, Alexander Hamilton and Riverside Terrace.

The PHA staff reports that a relocation counselor and tenant advisor provided assistance with housing searches. Using realtor and newspaper listings to identify neighborhoods and available apartments, the relocation counselor took each family around to look at potential housing units and to help complete rental applications. Relocation took just over two years and was completed in October 1999.

At the time of the survey in the spring of 2001, the 179 off-site public housing and tax credit units had been completed and occupied. There were no units available for occupancy on the old CCH site. For the completed units, the PHA held briefings and then mailed packages with applications to all former CCH residents who attended the briefings. Eligibility requirements for the new units include no history of disruptive or illegal behavior,

no criminal history that would adversely affect the community, and a satisfactory credit history. Altogether, 180 former residents responded, of whom 44 were deemed eligible and, as of September 2000, were occupying off-site units.

Exhibit 2-20: Christopher Columbus Homes Relocation

Relocation period	August 1997 to October 1999
Number of households relocated	360
Type of relocation	80% Section 8 (now called Housing Choice Voucher) and 20% public housing
Characteristics of residents prior to relocation	96% African American 13% elderly
Income of households prior to relocation	86% below 30% of area median 51% receiving welfare 24% with employment income

Sources: Relocation information is from interviews with housing authority staff (February 2001). Racial characteristics and household type are from October 1997 MTCS data.

Highlights of Christopher Columbus Survey Findings

Almost two-thirds of the 360 families relocated from Christopher Columbus Homes reported that they now are using housing vouchers, and just under a third are living in public housing.³³ Only 4 percent are in private, unsubsidized units, the lowest percentage of any of the study sites. The small number of original CCH residents living in unsubsidized private market units could be related to the area's relatively tight market for rental housing, with a 5.2 percent vacancy rate reported by the 2000 Census, and to the high cost of housing in northern New Jersey.³⁴

As is the case for many other sites in the study, those living in other public housing are more likely to be elderly than those using vouchers (28 percent versus 10 percent) and more likely to have no children (47 percent versus 19 percent).

Housing Satisfaction. Overall satisfaction with their current housing among former CCH residents is low. Twenty-nine percent of those surveyed said they are somewhat or very dissatisfied with their current housing, among the highest rates in the study (Edwin Corning in Albany is higher and Hayes Valley in San Francisco almost as high). Fifty-two percent rate the physical condition of their current housing unit as fair or poor.

³³ Characterization of the current housing occupied by original CCH residents is complicated by the occupancy of the off-site units. While we have been able to identify up to 10 survey respondents as living at addresses that match these new units, the survey asks households to describe whether they now live in the same public housing development as before, live in a different public housing development, use a voucher, or are unsubsidized. Most would be expected to identify these off-site units as "other public housing," but some respondents said they were using vouchers, and one claimed to be unsubsidized. These answers could all be accurate, because vouchers can be used in tax credit units, and those living in tax credit units without a voucher may now report themselves as "unsubsidized" because their rent does not depend on their income.

³⁴ The "housing wage" for Passaic County, in which Paterson is located, is \$20.19 per hour, second only to San Francisco among our study sites.

Satisfaction rates are similar between those using vouchers and those living in other public housing, but public housing families are less likely than voucher holders to describe the physical condition of their unit as fair or poor. On the other hand, public housing residents are somewhat more likely to report big problems with specific physical deficiencies such as peeling paint and malfunctioning plumbing and heat. Paterson's public housing overall is in very poor physical condition. Ninety-two percent of Paterson's public housing units are in projects rated below 60 by HUD's REAC physical inspectors. Less than 15 percent of all public housing in America is rated that poorly.

The poor quality of housing accessed by former residents of Christopher Columbus Homes now using vouchers may reflect a voucher program with management problems. The voucher program in Paterson received a SEMAP rating of 64. When a program has a rating below 60, it receives a "troubled" designation, and HUD will consider seeking an alternative administrator for the vouchers.

Neighborhood Conditions. Christopher Columbus Homes was in a census tract with a 1990 poverty rate of 42 percent. Residents of Christopher Columbus Homes were 93 percent African American and 7 percent Hispanic, whereas half of the population of Paterson characterized itself as Hispanic or Latino in the 2000 Census.

As Map 2-7 shows, Paterson had several census tracts in 1990 with either extremely high poverty concentrations (more than 40 percent persons in poverty) or high poverty concentrations (31 to 40 percent poor). However, as the map shows, both original CCH residents using vouchers and those in public housing are widely dispersed, and many are living in census tracts with poverty rates of 20 percent or less. Well over half of those using vouchers (58 percent) are in such relatively low poverty census tracts, as are 46 percent of those living in other public housing.

Only 4 percent of all relocated households now live in census tracts with more than 40 percent persons in poverty. This lack of concentration in the highest poverty locations is a characteristic of public housing in Paterson. HUD data on the public housing inventory in Paterson show that 69 percent of all public housing units are in census tracts with poverty rates of 20 percent or less.

Exhibit 2-21: Key Survey Findings for Original Christopher Columbus Residents

Characteristic	Percent
Current housing assistance status	
Unsubsidized	4%
Housing Choice Voucher	65%
Public housing: HOPE VI	0%
Other public housing	30%
Report housing unit in good or excellent condition	48%
Comparison of current unit to Pre-HOPE VI public housing unit	
Current unit better	50%
About the same	33%
Former public housing unit better	16%
Sources of Income	
Employment ^a	40%
Welfare ^b	37%
Report difficulty paying rent or utilities in past year	41%
Perceive drug selling as a big problem in their neighborhood	46%
Perceive shooting and violence as a big problem in their neighborhood	21%
Live in neighborhood with less than 20 percent poverty rate	54%
Sample size (# of households)	105%

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001), except for the neighborhood poverty rate, which is from the 1990 Census for the census tract of their housing unit at the time of the survey.

^a Survey respondent reports that someone in household currently works for pay.

^b Survey respondent reports that someone in the household received AFDC or TANF income within the past 12 months.

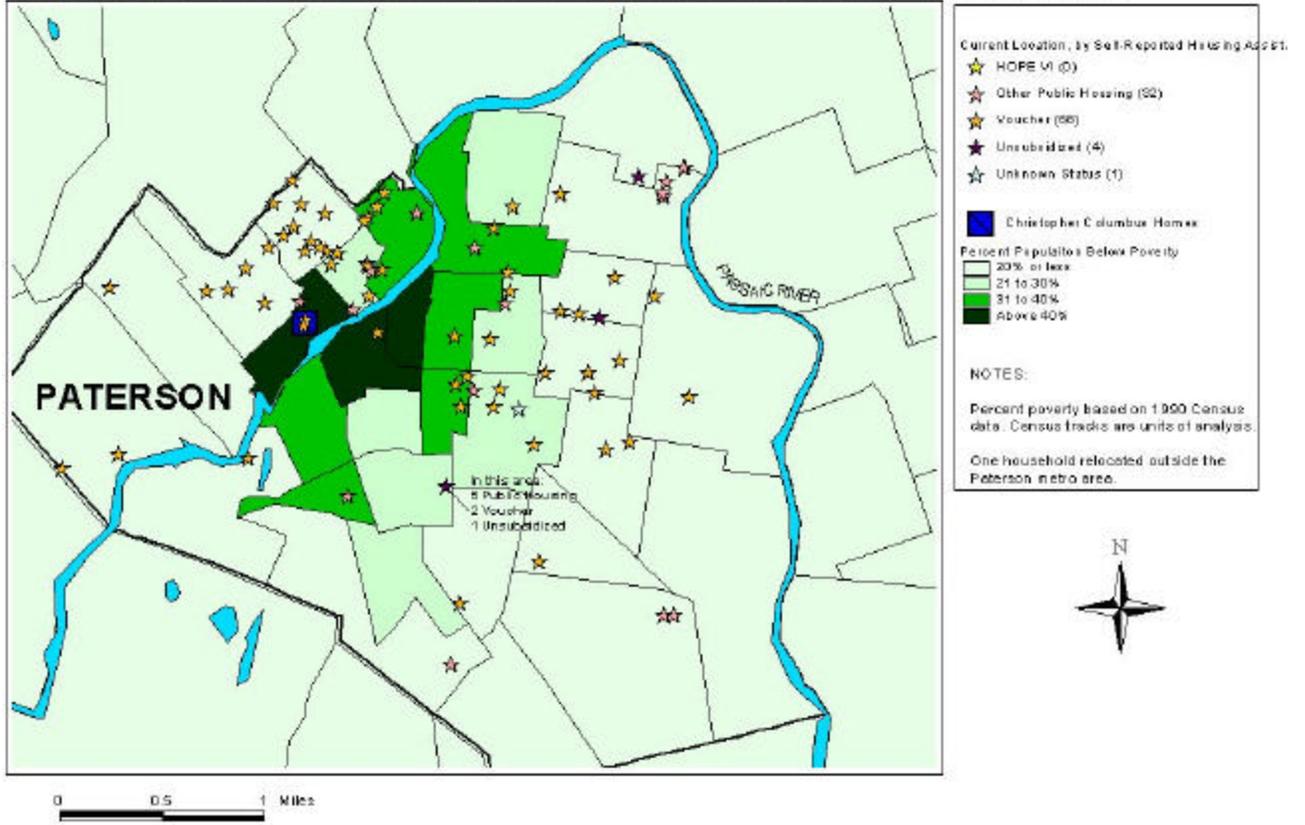
Despite the relatively low-poverty rates of the census tracts in which former Christopher Columbus residents live, respondents reported that drug use and drug trafficking is a “big problem” at rates similar to the rates reported by families across all cities in this study, many of which are located in much higher poverty neighborhoods. Furthermore, Paterson public housing residents reported a big problem with groups of people “just hanging out,” a euphemism for gang activity, and reported some problem with shooting and violence at higher rates than is typical for those living in public housing across all cities in the study. Two-thirds of those in public housing in Paterson reported at least some problem with shooting and violence.

Thus, the location of former Christopher Columbus residents in relatively low-poverty neighborhoods does not seem to have removed them from the drug epidemic or from the violent behavior associated with it.

Employment and Hardship. Original CCH residents have the lowest rates of employment of any of the sites in the study. Only a third reported that they are working at all, and only 17 percent are working full time. More than two-thirds (37 percent) have welfare income, second only to Hayes Valley in San Francisco.

Map 2-7

Original Residents of Christopher Columbus Homes: Paterson, NJ



As in other cities in this study, households using vouchers in Paterson reported that they were having difficulty meeting housing costs during 2001. Half of those using vouchers (and half of the very small number of those now living in private market housing without housing assistance) reported that they had difficulty paying their rent and utilities bills. However, voucher holders in Paterson reported such difficulties at considerably lower rates than voucher holders in Albany or Louisville, other cities with extensive use of vouchers. In these cities, more than two-thirds of families using vouchers reported problems with meeting housing costs despite voucher assistance.

2.8 Edwin Corning, Albany, New York (1998)

Edwin Corning is the most recent HOPE VI award site in the study and thus the only site where none of the off-site or on-site units were completed and ready for occupancy at the time of the resident survey in spring 2001. Edwin Corning is also unique among the study sites in that the original neighborhood was relatively low poverty (22 percent) and racially diverse. Most Edwin Corning residents were African American (79 percent), but a majority of the residents in the surrounding neighborhood were non-Hispanic whites (61 percent).³⁵

Prior to revitalization, Edwin Corning's barracks-style, multifamily structures were considered an eyesore, and the development had a reputation as a source of crime. The new development will contain duplexes designed to blend in with the single-family housing in the rest of the neighborhood. Most redeveloped units will continue to be public housing, but the overall size of the development will be reduced from 292 to 160 units. An additional 220 affordable rental (including 108 public housing units) and homeownership units will be built in other parts of the city, resulting in a net increase in the amount of affordable housing available in Albany.

At the time of the resident survey, the original residents of Edwin Corning are less satisfied with their current housing than original residents in the other seven study sites. Only 30 percent reported that their current unit is better than their former unit in a distressed public housing development, compared with 62 percent of original residents from the other seven sites.

Albany is one of the five cities in this study (along with Louisville, Paterson, San Francisco, and Springfield) in which at least 30 percent of the original residents are now using a voucher in private market housing. Original Edwin Corning residents using vouchers are less satisfied with their current housing than voucher holders in the other study sites. They also reported problems with their current housing at higher rates than other original Edwin Corning residents who relocated to public housing. Twenty-eight percent of Edwin Corning voucher holders reported that they are very dissatisfied with their current housing, and 41 percent express some level of dissatisfaction. The dissatisfaction of former Edwin Corning residents using vouchers could reflect a range of factors, including a foreshortened relocation process, recent administrative problems experienced by the Albany Housing Authority (AHA), the apparently good physical shape of Edwin Corning compared with other

³⁵ Springfield's John Hay Homes was also mainly populated by African-American residents within a majority white neighborhood, but the neighborhood had an extremely high poverty rate (42 percent).

complexes and its location in a relatively stable neighborhood, or simply the fact that relocation is still quite recent.

Edwin Corning Background

Edwin Corning Homes was a 292-unit public housing development built as temporary housing for veterans of the Korean War. The apartments covered 30 acres. By the late 1990s, the development reportedly suffered from physical deterioration, small unit sizes, outdated layouts, and drainage problems caused by the severe slope of the site. The development had a reputation for drug use and drug dealing.

Edwin Corning had been given a score of 89 of 100 possible points on the physical inspection conducted by HUD’s REAC. While the precision of REAC scores is the subject of some controversy, the scores nonetheless provide a general sense of the physical condition of housing developments. A rating of 89 put Edwin Corning just below the top quarter of all public housing developments in the country. The high occupancy rate (91 percent) is consistent with reports that Edwin Corning was in relatively good physical condition at the time of the HOPE VI award.

Edwin Corning Redevelopment

AHA received its HOPE VI grant of \$28.8 million in 1998. The redevelopment plan called for the demolition of all existing buildings and reduction in density to 160 units, including 26 tax credit units and 134 public housing units.

In order to help the new development blend into the neighborhood, it will not have a name. Each unit will have a private driveway and yard, and a new street grid will replace the “race track” design of the previous development. As part of the HOPE VI plan, AHA will construct 108 off-site public housing units and 112 other units with various levels of affordability.

Exhibit 2-22: Edwin Corning HOPE VI Revitalization Effort

HOPE VI award	\$28.8 million in 1998
Development prior to HOPE VI	292 units in low-rise buildings Neighborhood poverty rate: 22 %
Development after revitalization	134 public housing units and 26 LIHTC units
Off-site housing	Building 108 off-site public housing units, 50 tax credit units, 42 units for households with incomes between 60 and 80 percent of area median income, and 20 affordable homeownership units
Status of HOPE VI revitalization in January 2001	No units reoccupied on-site. All on-site units are expected to be completed in 2002

Sources: Neighborhood poverty rate is from the 1990 Census for the census tract where Edwin Corning was located. Other information is from interviews with housing authority staff (January 2001).

As of the time of the survey, construction on the former Edwin Corning site had just begun. Completion of the first phase of 40 units was targeted for June of 2001.

Edwin Corning Relocation

Relocation at Edwin Corning was started in June of 1999 and was completed within six months. Residents were given a choice between receiving a voucher and relocating to available vacant units in other public housing developments. Of the 267 households in Edwin Corning at the start of relocation, AHA staff reported that more than half took Section 8 vouchers (now called Housing Choice Vouchers), while about one-third moved into another Albany public housing development. The remaining 18 households left the development without telling the AHA where they were going.

Exhibit 2-23: Edwin Corning Relocation

Relocation period	June-November 1999
Number of households relocated	267
Type of relocation	Split between Section 8 (now called Housing Choice Vouchers) and other public housing.
Characteristics of households prior to relocation	78% African American 7% elderly
Income of households prior to relocation	83% below 30 percent of area median 35% receiving welfare 21% with employment income

Sources: Relocation information is from interviews with housing authority staff (January 2001). Racial characteristics and household type are from November 1998 MTCS data.

AHA staff reports that residents who chose vouchers were given lists of available units, provided financial help for security deposits and utility hookups, and assisted with the physical move. Housing authority staff also reported conducting outreach to new landlords through apartment associations, but staff believe that most voucher holders moved to the Pine Hill and Arbor Hill neighborhoods, a few miles from the HOPE VI site and closer to downtown Albany. These neighborhoods have a high concentration of multifamily rental buildings.

As of spring 2001, AHA staff said that 110 households had expressed an interest in moving back to the development. Previous residents will be given a preference for the new units, but a lease addendum (in development at the time of the study) will require families to be engaged in self-sufficiency activities, such as job training and working.

Highlights of Edwin Corning Survey Findings

Our survey confirmed that more than half of former Edwin Corning residents are using a voucher (55 percent), a third are living in other public housing (36 percent), and just under 10 percent are living in private market rental housing without a subsidy or in homeownership units.

Perhaps because the survey occurred less than two years after the relocation period, virtually all households reported that they still live in the unit to which they relocated initially (93 percent), a higher rate than at other sites with heavy use of vouchers. Given that about half the original Edwin Corning residents have shown interest in returning to the development, many of these families may view their current housing as temporary, and it is possible that this perspective negatively affected their responses to survey questions.

Housing Satisfaction. Overall, original Edwin Corning residents express lower levels of satisfaction with their current housing than original residents from the other study sites. For example, 60 percent of original Edwin Corning residents reported that they were very or somewhat satisfied with their current place, compared with 76 percent of residents at the other seven sites. Households using vouchers in Albany reported problems at a higher rate than voucher users in other cities, and they are less satisfied than original Edwin Corning residents who relocated to other public housing.

Only one-quarter of the families using vouchers and a third of those in public housing rate their current housing unit as better than their former unit at Edwin Corning. This finding may be attributable to the relatively sound condition of the Edwin Corning units before redevelopment and the low poverty rate of the surrounding neighborhood.

The high rates of dissatisfaction expressed by Edwin Corning voucher holders may also be related to larger problems the AHA has recently had in carrying out its voucher program. Current AHA staff reported that there have been problems making housing assistance payments to owners on or near the first of the month and in timely scheduling of housing quality inspections. These sorts of administrative problems often make it difficult to persuade owners of good quality housing units in desirable locations to accept households with vouchers.

Exhibit 2-24: Key Survey Findings for Original Edwin Corning Residents

Characteristic	Percent
Current housing assistance status	
Unsubsidized	9%
Housing Choice Voucher	55%
Public housing: HOPE VI	0%
Other public housing	36%
Report housing unit in good or excellent condition	56%
Comparison of current unit to pre-HOPE VI public housing unit	
Current unit better	30%
About the same	42%
Former public housing unit better	28%
Sources of income	
Employment ^a	77%
Welfare ^b	24%
Report difficulty paying rent or utilities in past year	55%
Perceive drug selling as a big problem in their neighborhood	49%
Perceive shootings and violence as a big problem in their neighborhood	28%
Live in neighborhood with less than 20 percent poverty rate	42%
Sample size (# of households)	106

Sources: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001), except for the neighborhood poverty rate, which is from the 1990 Census for the census tract of their housing unit at the time of the survey.

^a Survey respondent reports that someone in household currently works for pay.

^b Survey respondent reports that someone in the household received AFDC or TANF income within the past 12 months.

Another factor contributing to dissatisfaction is that the relocation of Edwin Corning residents took place over a relatively short period, less than a year after the HOPE VI grant award and during a period lasting only six months. AHA staff reported that owners of private market units were skeptical about renting to families from Edwin Corning, given the development's poor reputation. Relocation staff reported that they reached out to owners of rental housing, assuring them that they would be able to screen potential renters who had been living in Edwin Corning. Nonetheless, the quick pace of the relocation, coupled with landlord concerns about the program and the tenants, probably had some impact on the quality of units families were able to rent.

Map 2-8 shows a somewhat greater dispersal of voucher users than expected, given AHA staff reports that most families with vouchers moved to the Pine Hill and Arbor Hill sections of Albany. In fact, the poverty rates in the neighborhoods where voucher holders from Edwin Corning live is virtually identical to that of all AHA's voucher users (see Exhibit 2-25). This pattern suggests that the outreach to landlords AHA made on behalf of Edwin Corning residents was not successful in accessing neighborhoods not accustomed to Housing Choice Vouchers.

Exhibit 2-25: Poverty Concentrations of Voucher Users in Albany

Poverty Rate of Census Tract	All Albany Voucher Users	Original Edwin Corning Residents
20 percent or lower	42%	39%
21-30 percent	28%	30%
Above 30 percent	30%	31%

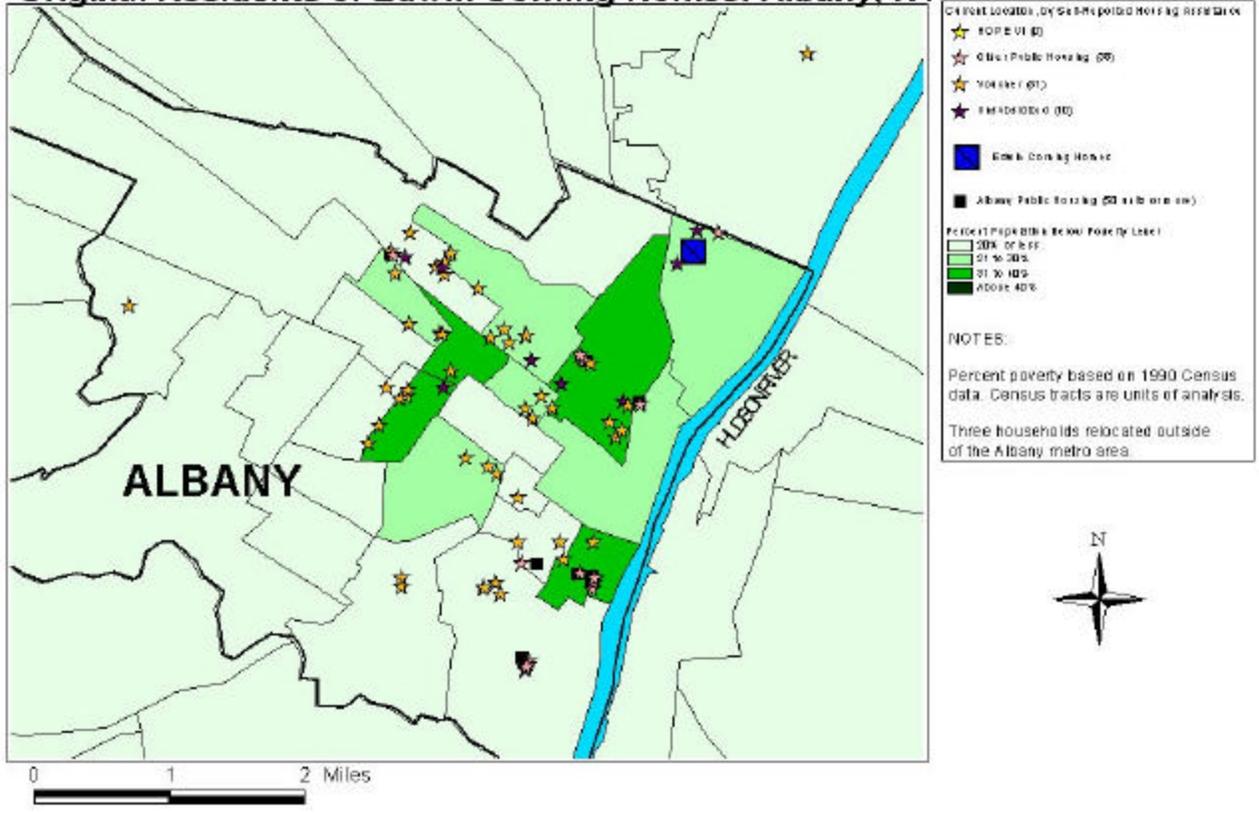
Sources: Albany Housing Authority administrative data (MTCS records), provided by HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research.

Note: Poverty rate is based on 1990 Census data.

Neighborhood Conditions. Original Edwin Corning residents now living in other public housing developments are in areas with lower concentrations of both poverty and minorities, compared with those using vouchers. The survey data show that 41 percent of voucher holders live in census tracts where more than half the population is African American, and 31 percent live in census tracts with poverty rates greater than 30 percent. By contrast, only 29 percent of those in public housing are in high minority census tracts, and 26 percent are in census tracts with poverty rates greater than 30 percent. Thus, it appears that those Edwin Corning residents who chose to be relocated to other public housing had a broader choice of housing locations than did those using vouchers.³⁶

³⁶ Albany has two public housing developments, Robert Whalen and Ida Yarborough, located in census tracts with poverty rates just at 40 percent. Together these developments have 461 units or 32 percent of Albany's remaining public housing. In addition to their location in neighborhoods likely to have high crime and other elements of distress, both developments appear to be in poor condition. Judging from our survey data, few former Edwin Corning households are living in these developments.

Map 2-8
Original Residents of Edwin Corning Homes: Albany, NY



A substantial number of former Edwin Corning residents report crime problems in their current neighborhood. Half the survey respondents using vouchers and just over half of those living in public housing said that the sale and use of drugs is a big problem in their neighborhood, among the highest rates for any city in the study. Voucher households were somewhat more likely than public housing residents to say that shooting and violence were a big problem (29 versus 21 percent). In contrast, in most of the cities in the survey, voucher holders were less likely than those living in other public housing to report big problems with shooting and violence.

Employment and Hardship

Most original Edwin Corning residents are poor. However, they are less likely to have incomes below 30 percent of area median income than original residents from the other HOPE VI developments in this study. About 67 percent of survey respondents reported incomes below 30 percent of area median income, compared with an average rate of 83 percent for all original residents in this study. Former Edwin Corning residents reported relatively little difficulty affording food or phone service. However, these residents reported especially high rates of difficulty paying rent or utility bills within the past 12 months. Fifty-five percent of former Edwin Corning residents reported this problem, compared with forty-two percent for all households in the study. Problems with housing costs were reported at particularly high rates for voucher holders (67 percent) and for households now living in unsubsidized rental housing (70 percent). Albany's cold climate may have contributed to this problem for those living in private rental housing (and perhaps in units in which heat is not included in the rent) during a period that saw a spike in utilities costs.

Chapter 3: Housing Assistance and Housing Conditions

Beginning with Chapter 3, our report shifts from a discussion of individual sites to a discussion of the findings across all study sites. The cross-site chapters are based on the survey of 818 households and in-depth interviews with 24 residents. In general, the survey results are presented according to the *current* housing assistance status of original residents: public housing residents at the revitalized HOPE VI site, residents at other public housing developments, voucher users renting private housing, and unsubsidized renters and homeowners.

A primary objective of the HOPE VI program is to replace severely distressed public housing developments by either rehabilitating the distressed housing or demolishing it and building new housing. Housing conditions for original residents could improve either because they return to the revitalized development or because they relocate to less distressed public or private-market housing. This chapter reports findings on original residents' current housing assistance and their perceptions of their current housing situation in spring 2001—two to seven years after the award of a HOPE VI grant to revitalize their development.

3.1 Housing Assistance Status after HOPE VI Award

Across all eight sites, 80 percent of the survey respondents were still receiving housing assistance in spring 2001. Nearly half were living in public housing (HOPE VI or other public housing), another 33 percent were using vouchers in the private market, 13 percent were renting units without a subsidy, and 5 percent reported that they had purchased a home. Housing assistance status by site and degree of reoccupancy (completely reoccupied, partially reoccupied, or unoccupied) is shown in Exhibit 3-1.

Share of Original Residents Who Returned to HOPE VI Public Housing³⁷

Because of differences in award years and the pace of implementation, the eight participating sites were at different stages of redevelopment at the time of the study. Two sites were completely finished and reoccupied, four sites were partially reoccupied, and two had not yet started reoccupying the original site. Hence, some residents at the six unfinished sites are still in the “temporarily relocated” stage and may move back to the revitalized development when it is completed.

³⁷ This category includes residents who live in a public housing unit on the site of the original development. Residents who live in off-site units created as part of HOPE VI or in on-site units that are not public housing (e.g., tax credit units) are not in this category.

Exhibit 3-1: Housing Assistance Status in Spring 2001 by Site and Reoccupancy Status

Type of Housing Unit	Completely Reoccupied		Partially Reoccupied				Unoccupied		All Sites (n=818)
	Quigg Newton in Denver, CO (n=101)	Hayes Valley in San Francisco, CA (n=100)	Archbishop Walsh in Newark, NJ (n=109)	Cotter and Lang in Louisville, KY (n=100)	John Hay Homes in Springfield, IL (n=97)	Connie Chambers in Tucson, AZ (n=99)	Christopher Columbus in Paterson, NJ (n=105)	Edwin Corning in Albany, NY (n=106)	
Homeownership unit	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Unsubsidized rental unit	16%	1%	2%	6%	6%	5%	2%	2%	5%
Housing Choice Voucher	18%	10%	4%	20%	21%	23%	2%	8%	13%
HOPE VI public housing	7%	30%	16%	46%	33%	10%	65%	55%	33%
Other public housing	49%	44%	43%	3%	1%	11%	NA	NA	19%
Other or missing housing assistance status	10%	10%	33%	25%	39%	47%	30%	36%	29%
	1%	4%	3%	0%	0%	4%	1%	0%	2%

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001).

Notes: Reoccupancy status refers to the on-site public housing units at the start of the resident survey in January 2001. The partially reoccupied sites had the following estimated reoccupancy rates: 72 percent at Archbishop Walsh, 41 percent at Cotter and Lang, 32 percent at John Hay Homes, and less than 5 percent at Connie Chambers. Unrevitalized and revitalized units coexisted in Connie Chambers during the survey period, so some of the on-site residents are not in the revitalized units (but the share of revitalized units available for occupancy does not include the unrevitalized units).

* Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of other groups at 5 percent significance level (chi-square test).

At the two completed sites, more than 40 percent of the original residents live in the revitalized HOPE VI development. Several factors contributed to a high return rate at these two sites. Denver's Quigg Newton was rehabilitated in stages, so most residents temporarily relocated within the site and were able to move back to their original unit within 8 to 12 weeks. A second factor that may have led to a high return rate is that the screening requirements for Quigg Newton did not change with the redevelopment, so all original residents were eligible to return. San Francisco's Hayes Valley residents, who also have a high return rate, did have to pass a criminal background check and enroll in the Family Self-Sufficiency program to move back to the revitalized development. However, the resident management organization at that site was instrumental in ensuring that as many residents as possible were able to move back. In addition, San Francisco has one of the tightest and most expensive housing markets in the nation. The difficulty of finding affordable housing elsewhere may have increased resident interest in returning to the development.

At the four partially reoccupied sites, the share of original residents who had returned by the spring of 2001 varied widely. This variation reflects the differences in how far along the sites are in reoccupancy, in the nature of the revitalization efforts, and in local housing market conditions. Archbishop Walsh in Newark, where 44 percent of the original residents have returned, is three-fourths reoccupied. Like Quigg Newton, all the original Walsh residents are eligible to live in the new development, and the redevelopment effort is being conducted in stages, so residents can live on-site until a revitalized unit is available.

The John Hay Homes in Springfield, where only 1 percent of the original residents have returned, is only one-third reoccupied. While the final number of returning John Hay residents will not be known until the development is fully reoccupied, the return rate might be lower at this site than at others for several reasons. First, John Hay residents moved out of the development between 1993 and 1997, 2.5 to 6.5 years before the first new unit was available. During this lengthy period, original residents had time to find satisfactory housing and to adjust to new living arrangements. Second, the Springfield housing market is considered one of the most affordable in the nation, and the vacancy rate is above the national average. Thus, voucher holders and unsubsidized households have more housing options than they would have in tighter housing markets. Third, none of Springfield's other public housing developments are distressed, so that residents who relocated to other public housing developments may not see a need to move again. Finally, the housing authority has implemented strict criminal background screening for the new development to exclude residents who might be destructive to the rebuilding of the community. At least some of the original residents probably will not be eligible to return. However, the strict criminal background checks could also make the new development more attractive to eligible original residents.

In-depth interviews with 24 original residents shed light on the reasons why people are or are not interested in returning to a revitalized development. While our sample is too small to draw definitive conclusions about how many original residents want to return, respondents' explanations about living preferences are informative. None of the individuals

interviewed had returned to the HOPE VI site, and most were not interested in moving back.³⁸

Respondents who now have housing vouchers (roughly half the 24 respondents) were quite clear that they preferred this form of assistance because of its flexibility (they can move when they choose) and its anonymity (no one knows they receive housing assistance). Returning to the development would require them to forfeit their housing voucher. One respondent reports:

I wouldn't mind returning if they let me use my Section 8. They said if we move over there [to the revitalized site], we lose our Section 8. I don't think that's right....I don't want to lose my Section 8, because with Section 8, you can go anywhere...[The Housing Authority] already asked me a few times. I told them, 'you let me keep my Section 8; if not, I'm not moving.' (Original Edwin Corning Resident, July 2001)

Respondents also reported that they did not want to return to the HOPE VI site because their current homes are more convenient to stores, schools, or doctors' offices. Finally, a few respondents mentioned that, even though they had not seen a revitalized unit, they were concerned about their design or construction. Some expressed concern about the size of the units (too small) while others predicted that the units would be of low quality because they were being constructed quickly. Whether or not these perceptions are accurate, they are influencing the decisions of some original residents about returning to the site.

At least one person from each site, however, was interested in returning to the HOPE VI development. Design, location, resident screening, and cost were among the reasons why people said they would like to return. In contrast to respondents who said that the new units were too small, other respondents commented on the spaciousness and attractiveness of the units. Careful screening of potential residents to prohibit the return of problem tenants was another important positive factor for some who wanted to return. (Several people cited the possibility of poor screening as a reason *not* to return.) A few respondents said that they were interested in returning in order to reduce housing costs—believing they would not have to pay utility bills in the HOPE VI development.

Share of Original Residents Who Live in Other Public Housing

Between 10 and 47 percent of the original residents at each site (and 29 percent overall) live in a non-HOPE VI public housing unit. Connie Chambers in Tucson has the highest share of residents in other public housing (47 percent). Tucson's public housing stock is predominately scattered-site, and it is dispersed throughout the city. A resident of scattered-site housing in Tucson obtains benefits typically associated with vouchers—a wider range of neighborhood options and more anonymity as an assisted household—without having to face the challenges of dealing with private landlords and the housing market.

³⁸ We conducted five to seven in-depth interviews with original residents at each of the four study sites awarded grants between 1996 and 1998: Louisville's Cotter and Lang, Tucson's Connie Chambers, Paterson's Christopher Columbus, and Albany's Edwin Corning. Two of these sites had not started reoccupying the HOPE VI site and two were in the early stages of reoccupancy.

The condition of a PHA's public housing stock also appears to play a role in how many residents choose to relocate to public housing. For example, in Springfield, the only city in the study where a majority of the public housing units received a REAC physical inspection score above 90, 39 percent of the original residents of John Hay Homes are living in public housing. In contrast, two of the three sites with the lowest shares of residents in other public housing (11 percent or less) had a majority of their public housing units in developments rated in extremely poor condition (Hayes Valley in San Francisco and Archbishop Walsh in Newark). These findings suggest that original residents are considering their options and making a choice about the best option in their local markets.

Share of Original Residents Using Vouchers in Private Housing

At five of the study sites, at least 30 percent of the original residents live in private housing using a voucher. Original residents of Paterson's Christopher Columbus and Albany's Edwin Corning are the most likely to be using a voucher. Residents of Denver's Quigg Newton and Tucson's Connie Chambers are least likely to be using a voucher.

Previous research has shown that the tighter the housing market, the harder it is for a voucher recipient to successfully lease a unit meeting the voucher program's requirements.³⁹ However, a comparison of vacancy rates and voucher usage among original residents does not indicate a clear relationship between the tightness of the rental housing market and whether HOPE VI residents are using vouchers (see Exhibit 32). Paterson has one of the tighter housing markets in the study, but the former Christopher Columbus residents have the highest share of voucher usage. At the same time, however, Paterson's public housing is in the worst condition of all the study sites (according to REAC scores), so it may not be viewed as a good alternative to using a voucher in the private market.⁴⁰

³⁹ Finkel and Buron (2001).

⁴⁰ In Paterson, 92 percent of the public housing units are in developments with a REAC score below 60 (extremely poor condition).

Exhibit 3-2: Percent of Voucher Users by Site and Market Tightness

Site	City Vacancy Rate in 2000	Percent of Original Residents That Were Voucher Users in Spring 2001
Hayes Valley (San Francisco)	4.9%	30%
Quigg Newton (Denver)	4.9%	7%
Christopher Columbus (Paterson)	5.2%	65%
Connie Chambers (Tucson)	8.0%	9%
Cotter and Lang (Louisville)	8.1%	46%
Archbishop Walsh (Newark)	8.7%	15%
John Hay Homes (Springfield)	9.5%	33%
Edwin Corning (Albany)	10.1%	55%

Sources: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001) and 2000 Census (Profiles of General Demographic Characteristics, 2000: Quick Tables).

Share of Original Residents Who Are Unsubsidized Renters and Homeowners

Eighteen percent of the original residents reported that they were not currently living in a public housing unit and not using a housing voucher. The sites are evenly split between those with a substantial share of unsubsidized households and those with a small share. At four of the sites, at least 25 percent of the residents are unsubsidized, while at the other four sites fewer than 12 percent are unsubsidized. Most of the unsubsidized households are renters, but there is a surprisingly high share of homeowners (16 percent) among the original Quigg Newton residents. No more than 6 percent of the residents reported being a homeowner at the other sites. The Denver Housing Authority has a homeownership training program, but local researchers told us that they knew of only three Quigg Newton residents who bought a home through this program.⁴¹

One might surmise that the older HOPE VI sites would have higher shares of unsubsidized households simply because the original residents at these sites have had more time for their economic and housing situation to change. The data do not fully bear out this conjecture (see Exhibit 3-3). Of the four older sites, two (Denver’s Quigg Newton and Springfield’s John Hay) have among the highest shares of unsubsidized households (34 and 27 percent, respectively). However, the other two older sites (Newark’s Archbishop Walsh and San Francisco’s Hayes Valley) have relatively few unsubsidized households (6 and 12 percent, respectively). Local factors may help to explain these figures. In San Francisco, the expensive housing market might explain the low level of unsubsidized households. At Archbishop Walsh, a large percentage of original residents (71 percent) had lived in public

⁴¹ E-mail from Maria Santiago on March 22, 2002.

housing for 10 years or more by the time of the HOPE VI award. This group may have characteristics that make them more likely to continue to depend on housing subsidies.

Exhibit 3-3: Percent of Unsubsidized Households by Time Since HOPE VI Award

Site	Year of HOPE VI Award (FY)	Percent of Original Residents That Were Unsubsidized in Spring 2001
Quigg Newton (Denver)	1994	34%
John Hay Homes (Springfield)	1994	27%
Archbishop Walsh (Newark)	1994	6%
Hayes Valley (San Francisco)	1995	12%
Connie Chambers (Tucson)	1996	28%
Cotter and Lang (Louisville)	1996	26%
Christopher Columbus (Paterson)	1997	4%
Edwin Corning (Albany)	1998	10%

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001).

The two sites with the most recent awards (Christopher Columbus, a 1997 award, and Edwin Corning, a 1998 award) have among the lowest shares of original residents now living in unsubsidized housing (4 and 10 percent, respectively). However, the other two sites with more recent awards (Connie Chambers and Cotter and Lang in 1996) have rates of unsubsidized households (28 and 26 percent, respectively) similar to the two 1994 sites with high rates of unsubsidized households. Thus, there is no consistent link between the year of grant award and the share of original residents who are now unsubsidized.

3.2 Resident Characteristics

In this section, we compare the demographic and economic characteristics of households by housing assistance status. The results are summarized in Exhibit 3-4.

The most striking finding is the differences between unsubsidized and subsidized households. Of the unsubsidized households, 41 percent are headed by a married couple, compared with about 15 percent of the public housing (HOPE VI and other) and voucher households.⁴² There is also a large difference between the subsidized and unsubsidized

⁴² The number of homeowners (n=40) is small and dominated by residents from one site (40 percent are from Quigg Newton), so we grouped them with unsubsidized renters. The characteristics of the groups are similar in terms of income and other characteristics, except the homeowners are more likely to be headed by a married couple than unsubsidized renters (60 percent versus 33 percent).

households regarding the percentage of households with two or more employed people. Unsubsidized households are five times as likely to have two employed household members as the other groups (35 percent versus 7 percent). Overall, 82 percent of the unsubsidized households have at least one person working for pay, compared with 58 percent of voucher holders and 48 percent of HOPE VI and other public housing households.

Exhibit 3-4: Characteristics of the Household by Housing Assistance Status

Characteristics of Households	Homeownership or Unsubsidized Rental (n=146)	Housing Choice Voucher (n=268)	HOPE VI Public Housing (n=155)	Other Public Housing (n=236)	All (n=818)
Age of HH head	*	*	*	*	
18-34	35%	48%	21%	25%	33%
35-49	51%	33%	34%	37%	38%
50-61	8%	12%	26%	18%	16%
62 or older	6%	7%	20%	19%	13%
Non-elderly, disabled^a	29%	30%	39%	32%	32%
Household type	*	*			
Married couple	41%	14%	15%	15%	19%
Single female head	52%	79%	78%	77%	74%
Single male head	7%	6%	7%	8%	7%
Number of children	*	*	*	*	
None	22%	23%	41%	37%	31%
1 or 2 children	40%	42%	36%	33%	38%
3 or more children	37%	35%	23%	30%	31%
Race/ethnicity	*	*	*		
Black, non-Hispanic	55%	84%	58%	70%	69%
Hispanic	35%	10%	37%	22%	24%
White, non-Hispanic	5%	2%	3%	3%	3%
Other	4%	4%	2%	4%	4%
High school graduate	56%	53%	42%	45%	49%
Annual HH income relative to area median	*				
< = 30%	67%	85%	89%	87%	83%
31 to 50%	28%	13%	8%	11%	14%
> 50%	6%	2%	3%	2%	3%
Work for pay	*	*	*	*	
One person works	47%	52%	39%	43%	46%
2 or more people work	35%	7%	8%	6%	12%
Nobody works	18%	42%	52%	52%	42%

^a Disabled is defined as share of non-elderly households that disability-related income benefits (e.g., SSI, veteran's disability).

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001).

Notes: HH = household. Thirteen records are missing data on housing assistance status, but are included in total column.

* Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of other groups at 5 percent significance level (chi-square test).

As might be expected given their higher employment rates, the unsubsidized households have higher incomes than the subsidized households. However two-thirds of the unsubsidized households have extremely low incomes and are still income-eligible for subsidized housing. We do not know why these extremely low-income families are no longer in public housing or using a voucher. Former public housing families leave subsidized housing for a variety of reasons, involuntary and voluntary, that are not associated with growth in income. They can be evicted for cause or they may choose to leave because their personal situation changes or they prefer housing options that are available without subsidy. Housing authority staff at the study sites report that few original residents were evicted and that most residents who no longer receive a subsidy left without giving an explanation.

In looking at households who have continued to reside in public housing, we find that the original residents who returned to public housing units at the HOPE VI site have demographic and economic characteristics similar to the residents who relocated to other public housing units. Compared with voucher users and unsubsidized households, both public housing groups are older, less likely to have children living with them, and more likely to be headed by a single female with less than a high school education. The largest difference is in the share of elderly residents. Roughly 20 percent of the original residents now in public housing (HOPE VI or other) are over age 62, compared with approximately 7 percent of the residents in private housing. Louisville's Cotter and Lang is the only study site where the redeveloped HOPE VI site includes an elderly-only building, so almost all of the older residents returning to the HOPE VI sites are living in family developments.

Among HOPE VI relocatees, voucher users tend to have some characteristics in common with unsubsidized households and some in common with public housing households. They are similar to unsubsidized households in age, education, and the presence of children in their household. However, they are similar to public housing households in the marital status of the household head (79 percent single-female) and income (89 percent extremely low income).

3.3 Housing Conditions

Respondents were asked to rate the condition of their current unit and compare it to the public housing development prior to redevelopment. The results are shown in Exhibit 3-5.⁴³ Nearly two-thirds of the original residents reported their unit was in excellent or good condition. The remaining residents reported their unit was in fair or poor condition. Overall, 85 percent reported their current unit was in similar or better condition than their public housing unit prior to redevelopment.

⁴³ We also asked survey respondents about their satisfaction with the place they currently live. We do not focus on satisfaction in this section, because it is a broader question and thus not clearly a measure of housing conditions alone. Nevertheless, it is an indicator of how respondents feel about their current housing condition. Overall, 74 percent of the original residents reported they were very or somewhat satisfied with their current housing. HOPE VI returnees were the most satisfied and voucher users the least satisfied.

Exhibit 3-5: Resident Perceptions of Current Housing Conditions by Housing Assistance Status

Condition of Housing Unit	Homeownerships or Unsubsidized Rental (n=146)	Housing Choice Voucher (n=268)	HOPE VI Public Housing (n=155)	Other Public Housing (n=236)	All (n=818)
<i>Condition of the place you live now:</i>					
Excellent	33%	*	*	22%	24%
Good	34%	33%	49%	45%	39%
Fair	25%	36%	19%	23%	28%
Poor	8%	12%	3%	9%	9%
<i>Condition of place you live now compared with the HOPE VI development prior to revitalization:</i>					
Current place in better condition	50%	*	*	60%	56%
Current place in about the same condition	33%	37%	14%	25%	29%
Current place in worse condition	17%	16%	10%	15%	15%
<i>Percent reporting big problems with:</i>					
Walls with peeling paint or broken plaster	10%	11%	14%	12%	10%
Plumbing that does not work properly	8%	9%	6%	10%	9%
Rats or mice in unit	2% *	10% *	1% *	8%	6%
Cockroaches or other bugs	5%	9%	4%	7%	7%
Broken door locks	6%	8%	6%	6%	7%
Heat not working for more than 24 hours	19%	8%	4%	7%	7%

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001).

Notes: 13 records are missing data on housing assistance status, but are included in total column. Tucson's Connie Chambers' residents not included in HOPE VI column in this table because an unknown number lived in pre-revitalized unit at time of survey. They are included in totals. * Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of other groups at 5 percent significance level (chi-square test).

While at least half the respondents from each housing assistance type report their unit was in good or excellent condition, Exhibit 3-5 shows that residents in certain types of housing report better conditions than others. HOPE VI returnees are the most likely to report their housing was in good or excellent condition (78 percent), followed by other public housing residents and unsubsidized households (67 percent). Voucher holders were least likely to report their housing is in good or excellent condition (51 percent). When asked to compare the condition of their current housing to their pre-HOPE VI public housing, 76 percent of the HOPE VI returnees reported that it was in better condition, compared with only 46 percent of the voucher holders. While the HOPE VI returnees reported substantially better housing conditions than the other original residents, 10 percent reported their housing was in worse

condition, and 14 percent reported it was in similar condition compared with their original public housing development. We explore this finding later in this section.

In addition to overall ratings of unit condition, we asked questions about heating and plumbing systems, paint and plaster on the walls, door locks, and the presence of cockroaches, rats or mice. The questions about specific housing conditions are similar to those asked in the American Housing Survey to determine whether respondents live in substandard housing. Overall, very few specific problems were reported. Peeling paint and broken plaster was the most commonly reported problem, but this was only reported by 12 percent of respondents. No other specific condition was reported to be a big problem by more than 9 percent of the respondents.

Variations in ratings of housing conditions across housing assistance groups may be driven by differences across sites or by differences in the demographic characteristics of the groups. For example, if households with children are less likely to rate the condition of their housing as good or excellent than households without children given the same housing conditions, then it might appear that voucher users (who have more children than public housing residents) have worse housing conditions, when in fact they are the same. Similarly, voucher users in our sample could be clustered in cities where the housing stock is in worse condition than in the other cities, a pattern that could distort findings aggregated across sites.

To control for factors that may be influencing differences across housing assistance groups, we conducted additional analyses. First, we did site-by-site comparisons to see if there is a consistent pattern at the site level by housing assistance status. Second, we conducted multivariate analysis to explore whether housing conditions vary by housing assistance type after controlling for site and demographic factors. We used a logistic regression model to predict the responses of “good or excellent housing condition” compared with other responses to this question. We also predicted the response that “current place is in better condition” than the original public housing development. We controlled for site, age, education, marital status, number of children, income, disability status, and housing assistance status. The results of this analysis for HOPE VI returnees and voucher users are discussed below.

Housing Conditions Reported by HOPE VI Returnees

At the three sites where a substantial share of residents returned to the revitalized development, HOPE VI returnees consistently reported better housing conditions than the other households. In Newark, 98 percent of the Archbishop Walsh returnees rated their housing in good or excellent condition, compared with 85 percent of the other residents. (As discussed in the Chapter 2, the original Archbishop Walsh residents, regardless of assistance status, rated the condition of their current housing higher than respondents at any other site.) In Denver, 53 percent of the returnees reported their unit was in better condition than their pre-HOPE VI unit, compared with only 35 percent of the other original Quigg Newton residents. Eighty-three percent of the HOPE VI returnees in San Francisco reported their current unit is in better condition than their pre-HOPE VI unit, compared with sixty-seven percent of the other original residents. So, after controlling for site, HOPE VI returnees still clearly rate their housing conditions higher than other respondents.

In the regression models, we controlled for *site and demographic factors*. Even after controlling for these factors, HOPE VI returnees were still statistically significantly more likely than unsubsidized households and voucher users to rate their unit in excellent or good condition and more likely to rate their housing in better condition than their original development. They were also more likely to rate their unit positively than were those living in other public housing, but the difference was not statistically significant.

Even though HOPE VI returnees generally rated the condition of their current housing more highly than other original residents, some returnees did not rate their current housing conditions better than before. We explored this issue to determine which HOPE VI returnees did not rate their current unit better than their original unit and why.⁴⁴ We found that 23 out of the 35 HOPE VI respondents who rated their unit in similar or worse condition live in Denver's Quigg Newton, and 8 of the remaining 12 live in San Francisco's Hayes Valley. Quigg Newton was the only rehabilitation site in the study, and the exteriors had been rehabilitated with modernization funds just prior to HOPE VI. Hence, the physical changes at Quigg Newton resulting from HOPE VI were not as dramatic as at the new construction sites. In addition, focus groups with Quigg Newton residents (Stewart 2000) revealed some complaints about the rehabilitated units, including too little storage space, poor ventilation in the bathrooms (which leads to paint blistering and peeling), and exterior doors that do not fit securely. Even so, many of the problems existed prior to revitalization, and the revitalization effort addressed other rehabilitation needs including replacement of aging roofs, extensive renovation of the kitchens, new bathroom vanities, repair of wall damage, and installation of a brand new heating systems. It is unclear why some Quigg Newton returnees perceive their current conditions as the same or worse than before HOPE VI given the improvements.

The only other noticeable pattern is that half (7 of 14) of the HOPE VI returnees who report their current housing was in worse condition than before also report they had at least one big problem with regard to the six specific housing items discussed earlier (e.g., broken plumbing and peeling paint/broken plaster). Thus, they may be responding to a specific current condition as opposed to overall quality.

We examined a number of respondent and household characteristics (e.g., age, household composition, income, education), but found no association between these characteristics and the rating of the unit among HOPE VI returnees. We also compared the response on this question to resident perceptions of crime in the neighborhood and other neighborhood indicators to find out if neighborhood characteristics were influencing the rating of their current unit. Again we found no pattern. Finally, we examined whether financial hardships may have affected the rating of their unit (e.g., difficulty paying rent and utilities and number of times they moved), but found no clear relationship.

Overall, we do not have a full explanation for why some HOPE VI returnees did not report improved housing conditions. It appears that several returnees to a rehabilitated site did not perceive a change in the condition of their unit and that some returnees had unit-specific

⁴⁴ We did not conduct in-depth interviews with residents from the three sites with a substantial number of HOPE VI returnees, so we do not have any insight on this question from the in-depth interviews.

problems that led them to rate their current housing condition worse, but it is not clear why other returnees did not rate their unit in better condition than their previous public housing unit.

Housing Conditions Reported by Voucher Holders

Five sites had a substantial share (at least 30 percent) of original residents using vouchers to rent housing in the private market. Voucher holders from three of these sites (Albany's Edwin Corning, Paterson's Christopher Columbus, and San Francisco's Hayes Valley) rated their housing conditions lower than the other respondents from the same site. On the other hand, voucher users from Cotter and Lang rated their current unit as high or higher than the other groups in Louisville and were the most likely to report that their current unit is in better condition than their former public housing development. Voucher users from Springfield's John Hay Homes gave mixed ratings. They rated the condition of their current unit higher than other former residents, but at the same time they were least likely to rate their unit in better condition than the pre-HOPE VI development.

In multivariate regression models controlling for site effects and demographic characteristics of the respondents, voucher users remained significantly less likely than HOPE VI and other public housing residents to say that their housing was in better condition than their unit in the pre-HOPE VI development. They were also less likely than the two public housing groups to rate their unit in good or excellent condition, but these differences were not statistically significant. No differences between voucher users and unsubsidized households were statistically significant.

Possible reasons for why a number of voucher users gave the condition of their unit low ratings were revealed during in-depth interviews. Some voucher holders in Albany felt the relocation process was rushed and they did not have information about available units in the nicer areas of the city. In Paterson, residents cited problems finding landlords who would accept Housing Choice Vouchers. In Louisville, where voucher holders reported better housing conditions than the other original Cotter and Lang residents, residents nonetheless felt they were hurt by the large number of residents relocating at the same time.

Across sites, inexperience with searching for private rental housing was mentioned often as a reason why the household did not live in a satisfactory unit. One resident said,

[Landlords] know people were coming from the projects, so some of these landlords really didn't give a damn what they were giving you and some people really didn't know what they were looking for when they go around looking for a house. (Original Cotter and Lang Resident, July 2002)

Another commonly mentioned reason for poor housing conditions was landlords who did not provide adequate maintenance. Some voucher holders reported that once they moved into their unit the landlords provided sparse or low-quality maintenance. One former Christopher Columbus resident had sewage chronically flooding his basement, and another former resident from Cotter and Lang lived with a broken front door for over a year after he had been robbed. A voucher holder from Edwin Corning reported that it took three to four months for her landlord to make repairs in her apartment.

A few residents also complained that the yearly HQS inspections that were supposed to occur once the unit was rented did not happen, or, if they did, the housing authority provided extensions and continued to pay the subsidy even though there were problems. On the other hand, some voucher holders reported that they had to relocate because their unit did not pass the routine HQS inspection, and a few residents intentionally did not report problems to the PHA to avoid moving.

Despite these issues, roughly half of the voucher users rated their units in good or excellent condition, and almost as many reported that the current units were in better condition than their prior public housing units. For example, a voucher recipient in Louisville raved about her unit.

It's the nicest house I've ever lived in. The rooms are nice sized, the ceilings are not very high, so energy [costs] won't be nearly what it was in the last house. It's a house that has been totally remodeled--new cabinets; the carpet is not brand new, but it's still in really good condition. ... I love it. It's a really nice house. (Original Cotter and Lang Resident, July 2001)

Furthermore, as we discussed earlier, many of the voucher holders who were interviewed said that despite their complaints, they preferred their voucher to returning to the HOPE VI development or another public housing development.

3.4 Conclusion

Two to seven years after the HOPE VI award, 80 percent of the original residents are still receiving housing assistance through either the public housing or voucher program. At the two completed sites, over 40 percent of the residents in our sample live in the revitalized HOPE VI development. At the partially completed sites, between 1 and 44 percent have returned to the development thus far. The return rate appears to depend on many factors, including whether or not the revitalization plan allowed temporary on-site relocation, the length of time between relocation and the availability of revitalized units, screening criteria, the condition of other public housing developments, the availability of affordable private housing, and the extent of resident preferences for housing choice vouchers.

The characteristics of residents who returned to the revitalized development and those who relocated to other public housing developments are similar. Both are older, less likely to have children living with them, and more likely to be headed by a single female who has less education than both subsidized and unsubsidized residents living in private housing. Unsubsidized households stand out because of their much higher employment rates, higher income, and higher likelihood of being headed by a married couple than the three groups of subsidized households. Nonetheless, a surprising number of unsubsidized households have extremely low incomes and, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, reported difficulty with housing costs.

Overall, two-thirds of the original residents in the study reported their current housing is in excellent or good condition. However, 15 percent reported their current housing is in worse condition than their earlier public housing unit. Residents who currently live in the revitalized

HOPE VI development are the most likely to report their housing conditions improved (76 percent) while voucher users are the least likely (46 percent). In-depth interviews with a small number of survey respondents revealed that there are a variety of possible reasons why voucher holders are less satisfied with their living conditions. Some voucher holders noted that they were required to relocate too quickly. Others noted that they had little experience in dealing with landlords and other facets of private-market housing.

Chapter 4: Neighborhood Poverty Rate and Resident Perceptions of their Current Neighborhood

The goals of the HOPE VI program include improving the living environment for public housing residents of severely distressed public housing and avoiding or reducing the concentrations of very low-income households. Conditions in the development itself could improve because of the physical revitalization and because a mix of income groups may reduce the isolation and other problems associated with concentrated poverty. Stricter screening criteria at some developments may also reduce the number of problem tenants. Original residents who receive vouchers could benefit from having a choice of neighborhoods and a chance to move to neighborhoods that offer greater opportunities. Other residents may relocate to less distressed public housing developments. On the other hand, concerns have been raised about whether some tenants who do not return to the revitalized site are worse off as result of HOPE VI. Rental market conditions, personal preferences, and lack of knowledge of neighborhoods with greater opportunities could lead some voucher users and unsubsidized households to cluster in extremely poor neighborhoods and could lead others to relocate to another distressed public housing neighborhood.

This chapter explores the current neighborhoods in which original residents live. In particular, we examine poverty rates, racial characteristics, and resident perceptions of their current neighborhood and their interactions with their neighbors, looking at differences by type of housing assistance.

4.1 Poverty Rate and Race/Ethnic Composition of Current Neighborhood Compared to Original Neighborhood

Most of the original residents in our study did not, as some observers feared, simply relocate to housing in the immediate neighborhood surrounding the distressed public housing development. Over 50 percent of each housing assistance group (other than HOPE VI returnees) moved at least one mile from the original neighborhood. Unsubsidized households tended to move the furthest away: 74 percent are living at least one mile from the original development, and 24 percent are living more than five miles away. Voucher users stayed the closest to the original development; less than half live more than a mile from the development. Overall, the original residents from each site are dispersed across many neighborhoods in their respective cities (and a few even moved outside the metropolitan area) with few apparent clusters of relocatees. Maps 2-1 to 2-8 in Chapter 2 provide a picture of how the current location of original residents is distributed across each of the eight metropolitan areas.

Consistent with the distance moved, the characteristics of the current neighborhood often differ considerably from the original neighborhood. Voucher users and unsubsidized households have generally moved to census tracts with lower levels of poverty than their

original public housing development. As Exhibit 4-1 shows, the average poverty rate for the neighborhoods in which these two groups lived dropped from 40 percent to 26 percent.⁴⁵

Neighborhood poverty rates are lower for residents now living in other public housing, probably because this category includes former residents now living in scattered-site units and in senior housing, but also because much of the other family public housing in these cities is located in lower poverty areas than the study development. The neighborhoods that include the HOPE VI sites may have had reductions in the level of poverty between 1990 and 2000, both because of a reduction in public housing units and because of income mixing at some HOPE VI developments. However, because our analyses are based on 1990 Census data, we are unable to detect these changes.

The lower poverty rates represent a real improvement for many original residents—overall, about 40 percent of the residents (excluding HOPE VI returnees) are in areas that have poverty rates of less than 20 percent. These neighborhoods are generally considered low-poverty areas. On the other hand, about the same share (40 percent) of relocatees live in neighborhoods with a poverty rate greater than 30 percent, which would generally be considered a neighborhood with concentrated poverty. Nevertheless, none of the residents started out in low-poverty areas, so the 40 percent share currently in low-poverty areas is a net improvement and represents substantial progress.⁴⁶

Changes in poverty concentration vary considerably by site (see Exhibit 4-2). At four of the sites, the average poverty rate in the current neighborhoods is at least 14 percentage points lower than in the original public housing neighborhoods. At the three sites with a substantial number of HOPE VI returnees (Denver's Quigg Newton, Newark's Archbishop Walsh, and San Francisco's Hayes Valley), the average neighborhood poverty rate decreased by a small amount. However, the current poverty rates do not reflect any reduction that may have occurred in the HOPE VI neighborhood, because the poverty rate is based on 1990 Census data. At one site, Albany's Edwin Corning, residents currently live in neighborhoods with an average poverty rate slightly higher than the original public housing neighborhood (25 versus 22 percent). As noted elsewhere in this report, the Albany neighborhood in which Edwin Corning is located had the lowest starting poverty rate (22 percent) of the sites in this study.

⁴⁵ Because of the limitations of the study design, the figures for unsubsidized households should not be viewed as conclusive. As indicated in Chapter 1, the retrospective nature of the study design meant that we had a more difficult time locating households that were no longer receiving assistance than those who were still receiving assistance. It is likely that unsubsidized households that move frequently or otherwise have unstable housing are underrepresented in our survey findings and may live in worse neighborhoods than the other unsubsidized households. However, we do not know the size of this group. Moreover, other unsubsidized households that we could not find and survey (such as people who moved out of the area) may be living in better neighborhoods than the survey respondents.

⁴⁶ The patterns of neighborhood poverty rates for all relocatees are consistent with a national analysis of Section 8/Housing Choice Voucher relocatees from HOPE VI developments (Kingsley et al. 2001).

Exhibit 4-1: Neighborhood Poverty Rate, Racial Composition, and Distance from HOPE VI Site by Housing Assistance Status

	Homeownership or Unsubsidized Rental (n=146)	Housing Choice Voucher (n=268)	HOPE VI Public Housing (n=155)	Other Public Housing (n=236)	All (n=818)
Percent who live more than one mile from original development	74%*	48%	0% ^{*b}	64%*	48%
Average poverty rate in neighborhood					
Original public housing neighborhood	48%*	43%	35%*	45%*	43%
Current neighborhood	26% ^{*+}	26% ^{*+}	35% ^{a*}	31% ⁺	29% ⁺
Distribution of current neighborhood poverty rates					
20% or lower poverty	41%	*	*	*	32%
21-30% poverty	22%	39%	0%	37%	21%
31-40% poverty	27%	23%	32%	23%	35%
Higher than 40% poverty	10%	29%	59%	21%	12%
	10%	9%	10%	19%	
Percentage of black Residents in neighborhood					
Original public housing neighborhood	39%*	63%*	32%*	49%	49%
Current neighborhood	31% ^{*+}	45% ^{*+}	32% ^{a*}	36% ⁺	37% ⁺
Percentage of Hispanic residents in neighborhood					
Original public housing neighborhood	32%*	12%*	40%*	26%	25%
Current neighborhood	28% ⁺	20% ^{*+}	40% ^{a*}	25%	28% ⁺

^a For HOPE VI returnees, current neighborhood is the same as original neighborhood, and since both current and original poverty rate and race/ethnic composition are based on 1990 data, there are no changes in those measures.

^b All respondents who returned to the on-site HOPE VI public housing development were coded as moving 0.0 miles.

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001) for housing assistance status and current location. Neighborhood poverty rate and race/ethnic composition are from 1990 Census for census tract where housing unit is located.

Notes: Samples by type of housing assistance status (n=805) do not add to total (n=818) because of missing information on housing assistance status. * Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of the other groups at the 5 percent significance level. + indicates statistically significant difference between poverty rate (or racial compositions) in current neighborhood and original public housing neighborhood at the 5 percent significance level (chi-square test).

Exhibit 4-2: City, Original, and Current Neighborhood Poverty Rates by Site

	Quigg Newton in Denver, CO (n=101)	Archbishop Walsh in Newark, NJ (n=109)	John Hay Homes in Springfield, IL (n=97)	Hayes Valley in San Francisco, CA (n=100)	Cotter and Lang in Louisville, KY (n=100)	Connie Chambers in Tucson, AZ (n=99)	Christopher Columbus in Paterson, NJ (n=105)	Edwin Corning in Albany, NY (n=106)
City poverty rate	17%	26%	13%	13%	23%	20%	19%	18%
Average poverty rate in neighborhood								
Original Public Housing Neighborhood	27%*	38%*	42%	31%*	78%*	65%*	42%	22%*
Current Neighborhood	24%*+	33%*+	28%+	26%+	48%*+	31%+	21%*+	25%*+
Distribution of current neighborhood poverty rates								
	*	*		*	*	*	*	*
20% or lower	25%	17%	32%	24%	12%	36%	54%	42%
21-30%	65%	15%	16%	13%	16%	17%	27%	29%
31-40%	8%	58%	35%	62%	32%	20%	15%	30%
Higher than 40%	2%	10%	17%	1%	40%	27%	4%	0%

Source: 1990 Census. Neighborhood defined as census tract where housing unit is located.

* Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of the other groups at the 5 percent significance level. + Indicates statistically significant difference between poverty rate in current neighborhood and original public housing neighborhood at the 5 percent significance level (chi-square test).

Exhibit 4-3: City, Original, and Current Neighborhood Racial Composition by Site

	Quigg Newton in Denver, CO (n=101)	Archbishop Walsh in Newark, NJ (n=109)	John Hay Homes in Springfield, IL (n=97)	Hayes Valley in San Francisco, CA (n=100)	Cotter and Lang in Louisville, KY (n=100)	Connie Chambers in Tucson, AZ (n=99)	Christopher Columbus in Paterson, NJ (n=105)	Edwin Corning in Albany, NY (n=106)
Race/ethnic composition of the city								
Black	13%	58%	13%	11%	30%	4%	36%	21%
Hispanic Origin	15%	26%	1%	14%	0%	29%	41%	1%
Race/ethnic composition of neighborhood								
% Black (pre-HOPE VI)	1%*	50%	46%	48%	99%*	12%*	93%*	37%*
% Black (current)	3%*	51%*	42%	37%+	77%*+	5%*+	40%+	47%*+
% Hispanic (pre-HOPE VI)	64%*	41%*	3%*	9%*	0%*	71%*	7%*	8%*
% Hispanic (current)	58%*+	37%*	1%*	16%*+	1%*+	52%*+	48%*+	7%*
% Black or Hispanic (pre-HOPE VI) ^a)	65%*	91%*	49%*	57%*	99%*	83%*	100%*	45%
% Black or Hispanic (current ^a)	61%+	88%*	43%*+	53%*	78%*	57%*	88%*	54%*

^a Combined share of blacks and Hispanics assumes that Hispanics in these neighborhoods are not black, so it likely overestimates the share of blacks and Hispanics in the neighborhood.

Source: 1990 Census. Neighborhood is defined as census tract where housing unit is located.

* Indicates statistically significant between this group and the average of the other groups at the 5 percent significance level. Hispanic origin can be of any race. + Indicates statistically significant difference between race/ethnic characteristic in current neighborhood and original public housing neighborhood at 5 percent significance level (chi-square test).

Original residents also tend to live in less-segregated neighborhoods than their original public housing development, but the improvement has been more modest than the change in the concentration of poverty (see Exhibit 4-1). On average, residents now live in neighborhoods where 37 percent of the residents are black compared with their original neighborhoods where, on average, 49 percent of the residents were black. On the other hand, the average share of Hispanics in their current neighborhood has increased slightly from 25 to 28 percent. Again, racial changes in the HOPE VI neighborhood between 1990 and 2000 would not be captured here.

Voucher users have seen the largest change in the racial composition of their neighborhoods. They not only had the largest decrease in the share of blacks in their current neighborhood (from 63 to 45 percent), but also the only increase in the share of Hispanics (from 12 to 20 percent). Unsubsidized and public housing households had smaller, but significant, declines in the share of minorities in their current neighborhood relative to their original public housing neighborhood.

Changes in racial segregation patterns vary considerably across the eight sites (see Exhibit 4-3). Respondents from two sites (Louisville's Cotter and Lang and Tucson's Connie Chambers) are now living in substantially less-segregated neighborhoods than their original public housing neighborhoods. At five sites, relocatees experienced a small decrease in the share of minorities upon moving to their current neighborhoods. One of these sites (Paterson's Christopher Columbus) had a substantial amount of relocation from a primarily black public housing neighborhood to largely Hispanic neighborhoods. The average percentage of blacks decreased from 93 percent to 40 percent, while the average percentage of Hispanics increased from 7 percent to 48 percent. This drastic change may be explained by the race/ethnicity composition of the city of Paterson. As can be seen in Exhibit 43, the share of Hispanics and blacks in the current neighborhoods of former Christopher Columbus residents much more closely mirrors the city averages than did the former public housing neighborhood. Finally, at just one site (Albany's Edwin Corning), residents moved to more-segregated neighborhoods on average. The percentage of blacks in the current neighborhood is 47 percent compared with 37 percent in the Edwin Corning neighborhood, while the average share of Hispanics remained constant.

Several factors may contribute to where original residents of HOPE VI developments relocate. In tight rental markets, it is often difficult to find affordable housing—or landlords willing to accept Housing Choice Vouchers—in low-poverty, low-minority areas. Moreover, families relocating from public housing often face additional barriers to renting a unit in the private market because of the stigma of public housing, racial discrimination, and the reluctance of landlords to rent to families with multiple children. Resident preferences are also a key determinant of where original residents relocate. Some residents are unable or unwilling to move far from their original locations because of social connections, and the need to rely on relatives or friends for routine child care or the need to care for an elderly relative. Other residents may feel more comfortable moving to areas

where most people are of the same race as them, a preference that limits their relocation options.⁴⁷ Finally, some in-depth interview respondents indicated that housing authority relocation policies and procedures might have created constraints. Respondents at several sites said that they had limited choices for replacement housing and did not have adequate time or assistance to search in better neighborhoods. For example, a former Edwin Corning resident told us:

I wasn't given time to go out here and look at a nicer area and to really choose for me and my children on what would be best for us, what area, what location would be best for me and my two children. ... I wish I really would have took the time out...to really find somewhere better than this place because I would not be here in this particular location in this area. (Original Edwin Corning resident, May 2001)

In summary, the poverty rates in the neighborhoods where original residents currently live are substantially lower than their original public housing neighborhood at four sites, and they are slightly lower at three sites. Moreover, racial segregation is substantially lower for the original residents of two sites and slightly lower for the residents of five sites. At only one site have original residents seen an increase in the average neighborhood poverty rate and the degree of racial segregation. However, residents at this site still ended up in relatively low-poverty areas on average (25 percent).

4.2 Crime and Safety

Many of the public housing developments targeted for HOPE VI revitalization suffered from high levels of drug trafficking and criminal activity. Drug trafficking and the associated social distress is often the major reason housing authorities cite in submitting applications to revitalize these developments. To enhance safety at revitalized HOPE VI sites, housing authorities design the new developments to be less conducive to criminal activity (e.g., using principles of “defensible space”), enforce screening criteria related to recent criminal activities, and enhance security procedures or their partnerships with the local police.

Residents who relocate to private housing (with or without a subsidy) may also experience improvements in safety. Early research on the participants in the Moving to Opportunity(MTO) program—which offered public housing residents an opportunity to search for private housing with a Section 8 Certificate (now called Housing Choice Voucher)—has found that the main reason that households signed up for the program was to move to a safer neighborhood.⁴⁸ Preliminary MTO studies have found that participants view their new neighborhoods as considerably safer than their original public housing

⁴⁷ See Smith (2001) and Popkin and Cunningham (2000) for more discussion of factors affecting relocation from public housing.

⁴⁸ MTO is an experimental demonstration program in which public housing residents are provided a housing voucher that must be used in a neighborhood where the poverty rate is less than 10 percent. They are provided with mobility counseling and supportive services to facilitate such a move. Their outcomes are being compared to a similar group provided a standard housing voucher (i.e., no counseling and no restrictions on where it is used) and another group that initially remained in the original public housing development. See Goering et al. (1999).

developments and that these improvements in perceived safety are correlated with decreases in adult depression and children's behavior problems (Katz, Kling, and Liebman, 2001; Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2001; Popkin, Harris, and Cunningham 2002).

Like the research on MTO, our assessment of the severity of neighborhood crime problems is based exclusively on respondent perceptions.⁴⁹ Obtaining historical crime data for this study was not possible, because the challenges of obtaining data from eight cities for all the neighborhoods where original residents relocated was beyond the scope of this research. Further, because of the lack of baseline information, we are only able to report conditions as of the time of the survey; our assessments as to whether these reported conditions represent an improvement are impressionistic and based on housing authority staff's reports regarding conditions prior to redevelopment.

As Exhibit 4-4 shows, the cross-site analysis indicates some key differences in perceptions of crime by housing assistance type. Overall, about 40 percent of original residents in our sample reported that drug trafficking or gang activity was a serious problem in their current neighborhood, and just under 20 percent reported that violent crime (assaults, shootings) was a serious problem. Unsubsidized households—some of whom are homeowners—were the least likely to report big problems with drug trafficking (23 percent) and violence (10 percent) in their neighborhood. Surprisingly, returning HOPE VI residents were the most likely to report big problems with drug trafficking (61 percent) and violence (26 percent) in their current neighborhood. As discussed later in this section, we believe two sites with unusually high post-revitalization crime problems drive this result.

⁴⁹ The measures of residents' perceptions of crime used in this study have been used in a number of other studies of community crime prevention and community policing interventions (Popkin et al. 2000; Skogan and Hartnett 1999) and are considered very reliable indicators of neighborhood conditions.

Exhibit 4-4: Perceptions of Social Disorder and Violence in Neighborhood by Housing Assistance Status: Percent Reporting "Big Problems"

	Homeownership or Unsubsidized Rental (n=146)	Housing Choice Voucher (n=268)	HOPE VI Public Housing (n=155)	Other Public Housing (n=236)	All (n=818)
Social Disorder					
People selling drugs	23%*	40%	61%*	40%	41%
People using drugs	21%*	41%	57%*	40%	40%
Groups of people just hang out	17%*	27%	48%*	30%	30%
Violent Crime					
People being attacked or robbed	11%*	18%	28%*	20%	19%
Shooting and violence	10%*	20%	26%*	18%	18%
Rape and other sexual attacks	1%*	8%	10%*	9%	9%

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001).

Notes: Samples by type of housing assistance status (n=805) do not add to total (n=818) because of missing information on housing assistance status. * Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of the other groups at the 5 percent significance level.

The differences across housing assistance types were confirmed by logistic regression analysis. We conducted an analysis predicting respondent perceptions of drug trafficking as a serious problem. The model included dummy variables for each site; housing assistance type; neighborhood poverty rates; and demographics (age, number of children, marital status, gender, disability status, income). Even when we controlled for these characteristics, respondents living in revitalized HOPE VI sites were significantly more likely than the other respondents to perceive drug trafficking as a problem, while unsubsidized households were significantly less likely to report problems. Living in a census tract with a poverty rate greater than 40 percent also increased the likelihood of perceiving drug trafficking as a major problem, as did having made multiple moves since relocation. In contrast, being over age 62, and living in Denver, Springfield, or Tucson, all *reduced* the likelihood of perceiving drug trafficking as problem.

The finding regarding current residents of HOPE VI sites requires the most explanation. As the case studies in Chapter 2 indicate, our study includes two sites where residents perceive serious crime problems at the revitalized HOPE VI development. Residents who returned to Newark’s Archbishop Walsh and San Francisco’s Hayes Valley—both developments in distressed neighborhoods—were more likely to report serious problems with drug trafficking and violence than other original residents from those sites.

Our interviews with housing authority officials indicate that staff in both San Francisco and Newark were aware of the crime problems in or around their HOPE VI sites and were attempting to address them. SFHA staff reported that the surrounding neighborhood had very high crime, but that criminal activity had been reduced through revitalization of the site

and a nearby park. As discussed in Chapter 2, a variety of factors had contributed to the ongoing problems, including a corner across the street from the development that remains a major drug-dealing center because of easy highway access for drug buyers. SFHA staff have asked the San Francisco police department to address the problem, but so far they have apparently not been successful. Further, residents have had a strong role in determining the policy for returns to the site; because of their influence, original residents have been allowed to return to the site, even if they had been convicted of possessing or selling drugs in the past.

As described in Chapter 2, the second development—Newark’s Archbishop Walsh—is very isolated and, like Hayes Valley, located near a major highway, making it attractive to drug sellers and users. In June 2001 (after the field period for the survey), the housing authority took several steps to reduce crime at the site. First, the housing authority and city police department began working together to increase police visibility at the site. Second, the housing authority evicted a long-term resident who was active in the drug trade.

The problems of these two sites should not be taken as indicative of the HOPE VI experience overall. At Quigg Newton, crime seems to have been drastically reduced as a result of HOPE VI. Prior to HOPE VI, safety and drug trafficking were a major concern at Quigg Newton, and they were the main issue original residents wanted the revitalization to address (Stewart 2000). Furthermore, case studies (Holin et al. 2001) of nine other public housing developments that have been revitalized under HOPE VI show substantial reductions in both official crime reports and resident perceptions of crime in most developments. While Archbishop Walsh and Hayes Valley are likely not the only developments where residents still perceive serious problems with drug trafficking and violent crime after the HOPE VI revitalization, the available evidence suggests that most sites experience substantial reductions in criminal activity.

When we look at residents who relocated to other public units by site, we see a clear split between sites where residents reported serious crime problems and sites where residents reported almost no crime problems. At five sites, roughly half the original residents who relocated to other public housing units reported big problems with drug trafficking, and at least 20 percent reported big problems with violence in their current neighborhood. Clearly, many of these residents relocated to other public housing developments that have serious crime problems. For example, a respondent who had relocated to a different public housing development in Paterson described the fear that her family experiences in their new neighborhood.

Last month there was a little incident out here—somebody was shooting. And it sounded like it was right here in front of the house and we [were] upstairs on the floor, hiding. And my son, he’s 11, he really [doesn’t] like violent stuff....I want to leave here. I don’t want to stay here. (Original Christopher Columbus resident, June 2001)

In contrast, original residents who relocated to other public housing in the other three sites (Denver’s Quigg Newton, Springfield’s John Hay Homes, and Tucson’s Connie Chambers) were far less likely to report serious problems with drugs or violence in their current neighborhood. At these three sites, roughly 20 percent of the residents reported big problems with drug trafficking in their neighborhood and around 5 percent reported big

problems with violence. In Tucson (the only one of these three sites where we also conducted in-depth interviews), our qualitative interviews indicated that they saw less drug activity in their new communities, saw fewer robberies, and heard fewer gunshots. Consequently, a number of people said that they feel they can now allow their children or grandchildren to play outside. A former Connie Chambers resident who relocated to a scattered-site public housing unit described how her new neighborhood is an improvement:

I like the neighborhood better than over [at Connie Chambers] a lot better. ... It's quiet. I don't have to have to be hearing those bullets, shooting. ... [I feel] a lot safer. (Original Connie Chambers resident, May 2001)

4.3 Collective Efficacy

Collective efficacy is an indicator of neighborhood health that is associated with lower crime rates and better health outcomes for residents (Morenoff 2001; Sampson et al. 1997). Researchers use a set of two scales to measure collective efficacy, one measuring social cohesion and the other social control. The social cohesion scale indicates the level of social relationships and trust among people in a neighborhood, while the social control scale measures the degree to which neighbors informally monitor behavior in the community. Respondents are presented with a series of statements about their neighbors and neighborhood and asked the extent to which they agree or disagree with each statement. The measure of social cohesion or social control is an average of the respondents' answers to these five statements.

Overall, just over half (52 percent) of the respondents indicated that their neighborhoods had high levels of social cohesion, agreeing that their neighbors helped each other, shared the same values, trusted each other, got along, and that the neighborhood was close-knit. About the same proportion (54 percent) reported high levels of social control: that it is likely that a neighbor would do something if they saw children skipping school, painting graffiti, showing disrespect to an adult, or people fighting in front of their home. We compared these figures with those from an early study of public housing revitalization in Chicago's Henry Horner Homes. The levels of neighborhood collective efficacy reported by these original residents are slightly higher than households who were living in the Horner Homes during the early phases of revitalization, but lower than the levels reported by residents living in the community surrounding Horner (Popkin et al. 1998).

Compared with public housing residents and voucher holders, unsubsidized households reported somewhat higher levels of neighborhood social cohesion (Exhibit 4-5) and slightly higher levels of social control (Exhibit 4-6). This finding is consistent with the fact that unsubsidized households in our sample also reported lower levels of problems with crime and disorder in their neighborhoods. As noted earlier, some of these households are homeowners and some contain two earners, so they are likely living in better neighborhoods than other original residents in the sample.

Exhibit 4-5: Perceptions of Social Cohesion in Neighborhood by Housing Assistance Status: Percent Reporting “Strongly Agree” or “Somewhat Agree”

Social Cohesion Indicator^a	Homeownership or Unsubsidized Rental (n=146)	Housing Choice Vouchers (n=268)	HOPE VI Public Housing (n=155)	Other Public Housing (n=236)	All (n=818)
People in this neighborhood are willing to help neighbors	75%*	66%	71%	64%	68%
People in this neighborhood share the same values	66%*	54%	54%	54%	56%
This is a close-knit neighborhood	59%	56%	52%	52%	55%
People in this neighborhood can be trusted	60%*	49%	43%	47%	50%
People in this neighborhood get along with each other	80%	78%	70%	70%	75%

^aThe social cohesion measure is an average of each respondents’ answers to the five statements listed on this table.

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001).

Notes: Samples by type of housing assistance status (n=805) do not add to total (n=818) because of missing information on housing assistance status. Significance tests only shown for scale totals. * Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of the other groups at the 5 percent significance level.

In addition, key differences across sites highlight some interesting patterns. Original residents from San Francisco’s Hayes Valley and Edwin Corning reported the lowest levels of social cohesion and social control (about 40 percent). These measures correspond to respondents’ reports of problems with crime at these sites and are what one would expect for residents of relatively high poverty neighborhoods. However, the findings for original residents who live in Newark’s Archbishop Walsh are surprising. Although Walsh residents reported very high levels of problems with drug trafficking and violent crime, they also reported high levels of social cohesion and social control. This pattern suggests a high level of social organization in this development; indeed, many Walsh residents are older and have lived in the development for many years.

Exhibit 4-6: Perceptions of Social Control in Neighborhood by Housing Assistance Status: Percent Reporting “Very Likely” or “Likely”

Social Control Indicator ^a	Homeownership or Unsubsidized Rental (n=146)	Housing Choice Voucher (n=268)	HOPE VI Public Housing (n=155)	Other Public Housing (n=236)	All (n=818)
How likely is it that your neighbors would do something if they saw . . .					
...children skipping school and hanging out on a street corner?	57%	48%	50%	46%	50%
... children spray-painting graffiti on a local building?	73%	69%	74%	64%*	69%
... children showing disrespect to an adult?	65%	64%	62%	63%	64%
... people fighting in front of their home?	74%	69%	66%	66%	68%

^aThe measure of social control is the average of each respondent’s answers to the four questions, listed on this table.

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001).

Notes: Samples by type of housing assistance status (n=805) do not add to total (n=818) because of missing information on housing assistance status. * Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of the other groups at the 5 percent significance level.

4.4 Interactions with Neighbors

In addition to the information about the neighborhood environment, we asked respondents about their personal relationships in their neighborhoods. Overall, 50 percent of the respondents reported that they have friends who live in their current neighborhood, and 38 percent reported that they have family in their neighborhood (Exhibit 4-7).

We also asked respondents about their frequency and type of social interactions they have with their current neighbors, such as how often they have loaned or borrowed things from a neighbor, babysat a neighbor’s child, had coffee or a meal with a neighbor, or stopped to chat in the street or hallway. In general, few households reported doing any of these things with their neighbors at least once a month (from 9 to 13 percent), except for stopping to chat (50 percent).

Exhibit 4-7: Reports of Social Interaction with Neighbors by Housing Assistance Status

	Homeownership or Unsubsidized Rental (n=146)	Housing Choice Voucher (n=268)	HOPE VI Public Housing (n=155)	Other Public Housing (n=236)	All (n=818)
Has friends who live in the neighborhood ^a	36%*	44%*	72*	50%	50%
Has family who lives in neighborhood ^a	34%	35%	54%*	32%*	38%
Percent reporting the following interactions at least once a month in the past 12 months					
Loaned or borrowed things from a neighbor	6%	6%*	16%*	10%	9%
Babysat a neighbor's child	7%	8%	18%*	11%	11%
Had coffee or a meal with a neighbor	11%	10%*	23%*	11%	13%
Stopped to chat with neighbor on the street or in the hallway	43%	49%	55%	53%	50%

^aPercent reporting 'many' or 'a few' friends/family in current neighborhood.

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001)

Notes: Samples by type of housing assistance status (n=805) do not add to total (n=818) because of missing information on housing assistance status. * Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of the other groups at the 5 percent significance level.

As can be seen in Exhibit 4-7, unsubsidized households and voucher users were less likely than public housing residents to report having friends in their neighborhoods. Not surprisingly, those who have returned to revitalized HOPE VI developments and are thus likely to know many other residents were significantly more likely to report having friends in their neighborhood. In addition, respondents who had returned to revitalized HOPE VI developments were significantly more likely than other respondents to report having family who live in their neighborhood (54 percent).

Similarly, unsubsidized households and voucher recipients were the least likely to report social interactions with their neighbors. Households in the revitalized HOPE VI developments and those in other public housing were the most likely to report each of the four interactions with their neighbors; however, less than one-fourth of either group reported even regular casual interactions, with the exception of stopping to talk with a neighbor, which was reported by about half the respondents.

Former residents of Connie Chambers—who were generally very happy with their housing and neighborhoods—appear to have experienced the greatest problems with isolation. Only a small proportion reported that they had any friends or family in their neighborhood (24 percent and 14 percent, respectively). Less than one-fourth of the respondents from Connie Chambers reported any recent social interactions—only 28 percent reported that they stopped to chat with a neighbor at least once a month. Connie Chambers' families relocated throughout the city, many to scattered-site public housing. Some of these respondents are Spanish speakers and may have moved to areas that are predominantly

English-speaking. Our in-depth interview respondents in Tucson described problems with language barriers and the sense of isolation they felt in living in an area where they could not communicate easily with their neighbors. However, Connie Chambers residents, who reported some feelings of isolation in their new community, also said that they were generally happy with their new living arrangement. The improved housing conditions and safer neighborhood outweighed the isolation they felt.

Even while missing their former community, a number of those we interviewed across the four in-depth interview sites said they keep to themselves in their new communities out of choice. While they might say hello or wave to neighbors, they do not otherwise socialize together. Several respondents commented on the lack of “nosiness” among their current neighbors, something they appreciate after experiencing the opposite in public housing.

4.5 Conclusion

Overall, our findings present both a picture of substantial improvement in neighborhood conditions and continued effort needed to ensure better neighborhood outcomes for more original residents. The majority of respondents are living in census tracts with substantially lower poverty rates than their original public housing developments. Our findings on racial segregation are more modest, but still indicate that residents tend to live in less-segregated neighborhoods than their original public housing neighborhood.

Many residents living in public housing or using vouchers reported relatively high levels of problems with crime and disorder. Residents who returned to the HOPE VI site also reported surprisingly high levels of crime in their neighborhood. In the absence of baseline data, we cannot make definitive statements about whether conditions have improved or stayed the same since the HOPE VI revitalization. However, our interviews with housing authority staff at the sites with large number of returnees suggest substantial improvements at Denver’s Quigg Newton, while San Francisco’s Hayes Valley and Newark’s Archbishop Walsh continue to struggle with crime problems in the neighborhood.

When we look at the social environment, we find that about half the respondents reported having social connections (friends and family) in their current neighborhood, but respondents reported low levels of interactions with neighbors overall. Respondents who are living in the revitalized HOPE VI sites reported the highest level of interaction with neighbors. Unsubsidized households and voucher users reported lower levels of social interaction than do those who remain in public housing. This finding suggests that original residents who have left the site may have made a trade-off, gaining better neighborhood conditions while losing easy access to social networks. Some former residents may prefer reduced contact, but others may feel isolated and experience difficulties in accessing child care or other types of informal assistance.

Chapter 5: Employment, Hardship, and Health

In addition to funding a development's physical revitalization, HOPE VI provides funding for community and supportive services that could potentially have a large impact on the economic well-being and quality of life of original residents. These services include educational and job training activities as well as traditional supportive services (e.g., drug and alcohol counseling and prevention programs) to help residents overcome barriers to self-sufficiency. Some sites offer subsidized child care so single parents can work or participate in job training activities. Supportive services can also include credit counseling and budget management classes to help residents avoid financial hardships and save for living in unassisted rental housing or in a home they purchase. Finally, some housing authorities have opted for health services, such as health clinics, health fairs, or wellness programs.

In this chapter we present study findings on the overall well-being of original residents from the eight study sites. We examine their employment and income, experiences with material hardship, and health. At this point we cannot determine the extent to which the HOPE VI program has led to the results we found on well-being; thus the findings serve only to present a snapshot of current conditions for residents who lived at HOPE VI sites prior to revitalization. Furthermore, the types of questions we asked on overall well-being have rarely been asked of recipients of housing assistance, and some of the patterns observed may have broader implications than can be addressed through the HOPE VI program alone.

5.1 Employment and Other Sources of Income

Our survey respondents are drawn from resident populations that are very poor. Before redevelopment, between 83 and 95 percent of households in each study development had incomes below 30 percent of the metropolitan-area median income (Burton, Handel, and Patrabanish, 2001). Based on survey results, 83 percent of original residents continue to have incomes below 30 percent of median. In this section, we discuss the sources of income and current employment for working-age households (household head less than age 62) several years after the HOPE VI grant.

Overall, 55 percent of non-elderly residents who we surveyed are currently working (see Exhibit 5-1). Of this group, 62 percent (or 34 percent of all respondents) work more than 35 hours a week.⁵⁰ Most of those who are not presently working (45 percent), have work experience, but usually have not worked in more than a year. Only 8 percent of respondents have never been employed.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Including the elderly, 58 percent of households in the study have an employed adult.

⁵¹ We did not exclude people with disabilities from the employment analysis because our only measure of disability is based on household receipt of disability-related benefits. This measure does not identify the person in the household with a disability nor whether the nature of the disability precludes working. HUD tracks employment rates for non-elderly, nondisabled people in their HOPE VI quarterly reports, so their employment rates may be higher because of this difference.

Exhibit 5-1: Employment and Other Sources of Income for Non-elderly Households by Housing Assistance Status

	Homeownership or Unsubsidized Rental (n=137)	Housing Choice Voucher (n=251)	HOPE VI Public Housing (n=124)	Other Public Housing (n=191)	All (n=711)
Respondent Employment Status	*	*	*		
Work more than 35 hours a week	54%	37%	20%	27%	34%
Work 35 hours a week or less	16%	20%	22%	26%	21%
Last worked in the last year	6%	14%	9%	11%	11%
Last worked more than 1 year ago	15%	22%	23%	21%	20%
Never worked	7%	5%	15%	10%	8%
Retired	2%	1%	11%	5%	5%
Respondent and/or another household member is employed	85%*	62%	53%*	59%	64%
Other sources of income/benefits in last 12 months:					
Disability benefits ^a	29%	30%	39%	32%	32%
Public assistance (TANF)	17%*	31%	34%	33%	30%
Food stamps	36%*	59%*	52%	57%	57%
Household income below 30 percent of area median income	67%*	84%	88%	85%	82%

^a Disability benefits include Supplementary Security Income, Social Security Disability Income, veteran's disability, and workers compensation.

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001)

Notes: Samples by type of housing assistance status (n=703) do not add to total (n=711) because of missing information on housing assistance status. TANF=Temporary Assistance for Needy Families. * Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of the other groups at the 5 percent significance level.

We also asked the respondent if anyone else in the household was currently employed, and in total, 64 percent of non-elderly households had at least one employed person. Forty-two percent reported that at least one household member works full-time, although, based on income levels, the jobs they hold do not pay well. The in-depth interviews allowed us to gather more detailed information about residents' actual jobs. While some people with whom we spoke are employed in well-paying positions, many work in lower paying jobs, such as home-care assistants, retail and fast food clerks, janitorial staff, hotel service workers, and school bus drivers.

As discussed in Chapter 3, unsubsidized households are significantly more likely to have employment income (85 percent) than other households and are less likely to have extremely low incomes (67 percent). The three types of subsidized households have similar income and employment profiles, although those in HOPE VI housing are less likely than the

other subsidized households to have employment income (53 versus 60 percent) and slightly more likely to have extremely low incomes (88 percent versus 84 percent).

Respondents were also asked about sources of income other than employment. Thirty percent of non-elderly households reported receiving welfare, and fifty-seven percent receive Food Stamps. The unsubsidized households are the least likely to receive welfare (17 percent) or Food Stamps (36 percent). The three subsidized groups have similar rates of welfare receipt (approximately one-third) and Food Stamp receipt (over half).

Receipt of disability-related benefits is high for original residents regardless of whether or not they receive housing assistance. The percentages of household with disability income ranges from 29 percent for unsubsidized households to 39 percent for residents who returned to the HOPE VI development.⁵² The high rate of disability-income receipt among the original residents of distressed public housing developments suggests that many of these households have health problems or disabilities that will need to be addressed when trying to promote resident self-sufficiency.

Comparison of Employment and Welfare Rates to Pre-HOPE VI Period

Only 23 percent of all original households in the eight study developments had employment income at the time of the HOPE VI award.⁵³ The survey results suggest a nearly threefold increase (to 64 percent) in the share of households with employment income by the time of the survey. Furthermore, while 50 percent of all residents reported receiving welfare income at the time of the HOPE VI award, only 30 percent of the non-elderly households reported receiving welfare income in spring 2001 (see Exhibit 5-1).

To what extent can these positive outcomes be attributed to the HOPE VI program? According to nationwide MTCS data on public housing families with children, the share of households with employment income increased from 33 percent to 51 percent from 1995 to 2001, an 18 percent increase.⁵⁴ Likewise, employment increased from 38 percent to 54 percent among voucher users, a 16 percent increase. During this time period, the economy was in an extended period of expansion, and the overhaul of the welfare system was limiting the length of time able-bodied recipients could receive welfare.

On the one hand, the large increases in employment for all subsidized households suggest that economy-wide trends explain a large part of the increase in employment among the study participants. However, the nationwide increase in employment of public housing and voucher users is not as large as that of the original residents of the public housing developments in this

⁵² However, at the three sites with a substantial number of HOPE VI returnees (Denver's Quigg Newton, San Francisco's Hayes Valley, and Newark's Archbishop Walsh), the share of non-elderly households receiving disability income is almost exactly the same for those who did and did not return to the revitalized development. Hence, at these sites it does not appear that non-elderly households with disability income are more likely to return to the HOPE VI development than choose other housing options.

⁵³ Baseline information from MTCS on the study sites is reported in Buron, Handel, and Patrabanish (2001).

⁵⁴ All national numbers are from HUD (2001).

study. Even if we exclude the currently unsubsidized households, the current employment rate of subsidized households in our sample is 52 percent, 29 percentage points higher than the average at the time of HOPE VI award. The larger increase in employment rates of original residents in this study suggests that other factors may also have influenced their employment rates.

We have no way of knowing with certainty the role HOPE VI played in these differences compared with nationwide economic trends, welfare changes, and other factors that were affecting residents' lives at the same time. We also do not know how large a role differences in the comparability of data (e.g., national versus eight cities, administrative versus survey data) plays in explaining these differences.⁵⁵ However, HOPE VI could have influenced employment rates and decreased welfare dependence through at least three mechanisms. First, as part of the revitalization effort, HOPE VI funds community and supportive services for the original residents. These services included education and job training programs. Second, relocated residents could have moved to neighborhoods with better job opportunities or with stronger community norms that encouraged employment. As discussed in Chapter 4, most of the residents moved to a neighborhood with a lower poverty rate than their original neighborhood. Third, three of the sites (John Hay, Connie Chambers, and Cotter and Lang) are undergoing site revitalization efforts that also include economic development activities that may increase employment options in the original neighborhood, although it is probably too soon for these to have affected current employment rates.

Barriers to Employment

When asked about specific obstacles they may have faced in finding or retaining employment, the most common response (40 percent) was a lack of jobs in their neighborhoods. Other obstacles mentioned by approximately one-quarter of the non-elderly respondents include a lack of job experience, having a disability, lack of child care, and lack of transportation (see Exhibit 5-2).

We analyzed the respondents' reports of employment barriers to see how many identified at least one barrier, how many identified more than one, and how many did not identify any of

⁵⁵ Data issues may detract from the comparability of employment rates of original residents of eight HOPE VI developments and the average across all U.S. public housing and voucher users. First, our survey had a 66 percent response rate. Households with employed people may be overrepresented in the respondent group, because they may have been easier to locate and survey. Second, the current employment rate of the survey respondents is based on self-reported employment status. Self-reporting may show a higher employment rate than MTCS data, because respondents may be underreporting employment to the housing agencies to increase their subsidy. Third, the nationwide trends from MTCS data are not restricted to households receiving assistance in both years. That is, they include all households that receive assistance in 1995 and all households that receive assistance in 2001. By contrast, the subsidized households in our sample all lived in public housing the year of the site's HOPE VI award and were either living in public housing or using a voucher at the time of the survey (spring 2001). It is not clear whether longer-term housing assistance recipients would have a higher or lower employment rate than the average recipient. Fourth, this study only includes eight cities, and the employment and welfare trends of subsidized households in those cities may not mirror the national trends. It is not clear whether all subsidized households in these eight cities had a larger or smaller increase in employment over this time period.

the barriers we asked about. Of HOPE VI returnees, 78 percent reported one or more barriers, compared with 67 percent of other public housing residents, 73 percent of voucher holders, and 61 percent of unsubsidized households. The barriers that HOPE VI returnees were most likely to report include a lack of jobs in their neighborhood (48 percent said this was a barrier), lack of work experience (46 percent), and having a disability (43 percent).

Overall, nearly half (46 percent) of all non-elderly respondents identified more than one barrier that made it difficult for them to look for or get a job. HOPE VI returnees were most likely to report multiple barriers (60 percent) and unsubsidized respondents were least likely (34 percent). This pattern is consistent with the significant differences in employment among these groups discussed earlier. The multiple barriers, combined with the generally low education and skill levels, point to the challenge of serving former residents of distressed public housing.

Exhibit 5-2: Self-Reported Barriers to Employment for Non-elderly Households by Housing Assistance Status

	Homeownership or Unsubsidized Rental (n=137)	Housing Choice Vouchers (n=251)	HOPE VI Public Housing (n=124)	Other Public Housing (n=191)	All (n=711)
Barriers to employment (percent responding "yes")					
Lack of jobs in the neighborhood	25%*	43%	48%*	41%	40%
Having a disability	19%*	22%	43%*	26%	26%
Lack of work experience	28%	24%*	46%*	26%	29%
Lack of transportation	19%*	30%	36%	31%	29%
Lack of child care	22%	29%	36%*	22%	27%
Discrimination	12%	15%	24%*	12%	15%
Not speaking English well	9%	2%*	16%*	14%*	9%
Criminal record	5%	4%	11%*	4%	5%
Drug or alcohol problem	3%	1%*	11%*	4%	4%
Number of barriers reported	*		*		
None of above barriers	38%	28%	18%	28%	30%
1 barrier	26%	26%	19%	24%	24%
2 or more barriers	36%	46%	63%	48%	46%

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001).

Notes: Samples by type of housing assistance status (n=703) do not add to total (n=711) because of missing information on housing assistance status. * Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of the other groups at the 5 percent significance level.

People talked at length during the in-depth interviews about employment obstacles. A number of those we interviewed mentioned either the lack of child care or the need to attend to issues involving their children as a reason for why they were not working. Children's health issues, problems in school, and perceived threats to their children's safety meant either that the interviewee could not work or that she decided not to work for a while. A few people who had worked previously said that they had chosen to stay home to raise their children. In the following quote, a former Cotter and Lang describes her experience juggling jobs while coping with family issues, transportation difficulties, and low job skills. Her experience illustrates the multiple barriers that affect some households.

I worked at McDonalds... for about a year. Then I went to the one in Indiana. There's one right across the bridge and I went over there for a year. Then after ... my boyfriend [and I split up], I didn't have transportation.... So that's why I quit that job. That was like in April. Then...in May...I started working at White Castle. I was working there and Moby Dick. I was working both of those jobs. Then I ended up quitting Moby Dick because it was getting to be a little bit too much because I worked third shift at White Castle. See I didn't get home until 8 and then sometimes I had to be at Moby Dick at 9:30 or 10. I just wasn't getting enough sleep, so I ended up quitting that one.

Then my oldest son, he got real sick. ... They didn't know if he was going to make it. He was in the hospital for about a week. So I ended up quitting my [White Castle] job to be at the hospital with him because I just really didn't know what the outcome was going to be. ...[T]hat was in July when I quit that job but then before July was over with, I got a job. ...That was just a little bit too much though, because it was just me and another girl, and some days I worked there by myself, and I had never even touched a computer. ...[After two days training I was just on my own and I was messing up so much.... I ended up taking everything...out of the computer and they had to call the corporate office in Georgia. They had to put everything back in the computer from there, so that was a really big thing. So I said, 'Just take the job from me,' you know. So I just gave it up. I've been out of work since then and that was in like October.

... I just recently started looking for a job again because I was having problems with my daughter in school. ... I mean I had to go through a lot of things with her so that's the reason I hadn't been working at the time either. (Original Cotter and Lang Resident, May 2001)

5.2 Material Hardship

Most (83 percent) of our respondents are in extremely low-income households and thus are especially vulnerable when unexpected expenses occur, their income decreases,⁵⁶ or when

⁵⁶ Subsidized renters (public housing or Housing Choice Voucher) have some protection against income decreases because their portion of the rent is based on a percentage of their income, usually 30 percent.

they do not budget their money carefully. When these events occur, they have no savings as a safety net. Rather they have to make ends meet by cutting back on current discretionary spending or reaching out for assistance from friends, relatives, and community support systems. If that is not enough, they have to decide which necessities to do without or which bills to defer.

The in-depth interviews we conducted suggest that, even among people better able to meet their housing and food needs, managing their resources required great care and effort. People spoke about budgeting carefully and, at times, juggling the payment of bills in order to get by. One voucher user from Edwin Corning talked about the difficulty she has had paying a \$100 increase in rent and higher utility bills. She was getting by, but only by making tough choices and setting priorities for the use of her income.

I just budget my money and take care of what needs to be taken care of immediately and what requires more attention or what can wait until later. That's how you budget your money. You just don't pay everything because the bill has come. It's like, okay, I get a check the following week so I just have to wait to the following week to put something on the light bill. I'll just call and tell them I will make a payment the following week or something, but you have to eat. It comes first. (Original Edwin Corning Resident, May 2001).

The people who leave public housing could face increased difficulties meeting their financial obligations and providing for their households as they assume increased responsibility for covering their housing costs. In the remainder of this chapter, we explore the extent to which original residents reported experiencing hardship after relocating from a HOPE VI site. Specifically, we look at the issue of material hardship in terms of a respondents' ability to pay their housing costs, to achieve housing stability (that is, avoid multiple moves), and to provide food for their household.

Housing-Related Financial Hardships

More than half the survey respondents (58 percent) reported no difficulty in paying their monthly housing bills (defined as mortgage or rent and utility payments), during the year prior to the survey (see Exhibit 5-3). However, 42 percent did report difficulties, and 4 percent reported that they moved in with others because they could not afford their housing expenses. Nearly a quarter of survey respondents also reported being without telephone service during the previous twelve months (22 percent). These results may reflect more hardship than in a typical year, because energy costs were unusually high in the winter of 2000-01, just prior to the start of the survey. During the in-depth interviews, for example, a number of people commented that their gas or electric bills had more than doubled—an increase for which they were unprepared financially.

The reported rates of “housing hardship” suggested by the survey are slightly lower than for a national sample of former TANF recipients who left welfare between 1997 and 1999 (Loprest, 2001). In the Welfare Leavers study, 46 percent of survey respondents said they experienced a time in the previous year when they were not able to pay their mortgage, rent or utility bills, compared with 42 percent of the residents in our sample. Furthermore, more than twice as high a share of the welfare leavers moved in with someone else because of difficulty paying their housing costs.

Exhibit 5-3: Housing-Related Financial Hardship by Housing Assistance Status

	Homeownership or Unsubsidized Rental (n=146)	Housing Choice Vouchers (n=268)	HOPE VI Public Housing (n=155)	Other Public Housing (n=236)	All (n=818)
Difficulty paying rent/utility bills in past 12 months	52%*	59%*	25%*	31%*	42%
Moved in with others for at least a little while because of difficulty paying bills in past 12 months	9%*	4%	1%*	3%	4%
Share place and rent with another family ^a	13%*	3%	4%	2%*	5%
No telephone service in past 12 months	25%	24%	12%*	25%	22%

^a This does not include families (4 percent) that share a place with another family but reported paying entire rent.

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001).

Notes: Samples by type of housing assistance status (n=805) do not add to total (n=818) because of missing information on housing assistance status. * Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of the other groups at the 5 percent significance level.

In drawing comparisons between the Welfare study and HOPE VI results, it is important to keep in mind that the rate of housing-cost hardship in the HOPE VI study reflects the spike in utility costs during the winter of 2000-01, which was not the case in the TANF study conducted the previous year. If, as we suspect, there was more hardship during the study year because of the spike in utility costs, the original residents of distressed public housing developments might have fared even more favorably had the studies been completed during the same time period. At the same time, welfare leavers are probably less likely to have a housing assistance safety net than the HOPE VI respondents. We would expect our respondents to report less housing hardship.

Respondents in private housing reported more housing-related financial hardships than respondents in public housing. Voucher users were most likely to report having difficulty paying their rent and utilities sometime during the last year (59 percent), followed by unsubsidized households (52 percent). Both were approximately twice as likely to report this hardship as HOPE VI returnees (25 percent) and other public housing residents (31 percent). This result is not surprising since private housing residents (with or without a voucher) are typically responsible for paying their utility costs directly. Utility costs can vary from season to season and month-to-month, so it is more complicated to budget for these expenses when resources are limited.⁵⁷ Also, landlords in the private market can raise the rent at their discretion (so long as they believe they can find a tenant), forcing renters to either pay the higher rent or incur the costs of moving.

⁵⁷ This is true for voucher users as well as unsubsidized households. The subsidy for voucher users takes into account a utility allowance for utilities not included in the rent paid to the landlord. When utility costs exceed the allowance, the voucher user bears the cost (and vice versa, if utility costs are less than the allowance). On the other hand, public housing residents usually pay a fixed 30 percent of their income toward gross rent, regardless of the cost of utilities.

It is surprising that voucher holders are slightly more likely to report difficulties paying their rent and utilities than unsubsidized households. One would expect that the unsubsidized group would have more financial difficulties since they have no housing safety net. This is the case for other indicators of housing hardship covered by our survey. Unsubsidized households were twice as likely as voucher holders to report that all or part of their family moved in with others, at least temporarily, because they had difficulty paying their housing costs. Furthermore, unsubsidized households were three times as likely as voucher holders (13 percent versus 4 percent) to report sharing the rental cost with another family.

Unsubsidized households do have somewhat higher incomes than voucher holders: 34 percent reported incomes above 30 percent of the area median, compared with 17 percent of voucher holders. Hence, one possibility is that the difference in the reported difficulty in paying their mortgage, rent, or utility costs over the past year is related to income differences. However, when we restricted our analysis to extremely low-income households, the results did not change. Extremely low-income voucher users were still more likely than unsubsidized households to report difficulty paying their housing expenses.

Factors other than income may also influence who has difficulty paying their housing costs. For example, families with children may encounter more difficulties, because they have more needs and thus more energy and water use—i.e., more laundry, more people taking showers, greater use of lights, and more rooms to heat. There may be site effects if residents in areas with more rapidly rising rents experience more difficulties. Elderly people may be more vulnerable to increased utility costs because they spend more time at home. We investigated whether or not housing assistance type was associated with housing hardship after controlling for other factors that might affect it. In this multivariate analysis (a logistic model), we first controlled for site, demographic characteristics of the respondent and household, and housing assistance type. In other models, we replaced the site dummies with variables measuring market conditions: the vacancy rate, the two-bedroom fair market rent, and the change in the fair market rent between 2000 and 2001.⁵⁸

All variants of the model produced the same result. The difference in reported difficulty in paying housing costs between unsubsidized and voucher households was not statistically significant. That is, after controlling for other factors that might affect hardship, the difference is too small to be confident that the finding is not just sampling error rather than a true difference. In the end, we cannot explain with available data why unsubsidized households are not experiencing significantly more housing hardship on this measure than voucher households. This is an issue worth investigating in future studies to see if the pattern is consistent, and if so, to understand the underlying reasons.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ We also controlled for differences in winter temperatures across sites in case there were site effects from differential needs for heating the house in the winter.

⁵⁹ Even if the two groups had the same income levels, people who choose not to receive assistance are likely different than the people who continue to receive assistance on characteristics we did not measure. Some possible differences are that unsubsidized households may have intermittent sources of income they did not report, they may have lower expenses (housing or nonhousing), they may be renting from a friend or relative at a special rate, or they may receive more assistance from their parents than other households. Another possibility is that unsubsidized households may perceive the same circumstances as less difficult than those who continue to

The multivariate analysis did confirm that both voucher holders and unsubsidized households are significantly more likely to report having difficulty paying their housing costs than either HOPE VI returnees or other public housing households. Two other factors also consistently showed up as statistically significant (in addition to the site and housing assistance type variables). People age 62 or older were less likely to report housing hardship, and people with three or more children were significantly more likely to report housing hardship.

Number of Moves

Moving can be disruptive to a family, especially families with school-age children. In three of the study sites (Denver’s Quigg Newton, Newark’s Archbishop Walsh, and Tucson’s Connie Chambers), residents had the option of relocating within the site while revitalization activities took place in other parts of the development. While any move can be difficult, within-site moves may not be as disruptive as off-site moves because children can stay in the same school and other normal routines, such as the commute to work, do not change. In Exhibit 5-4, we show the number of times original residents reported they have moved since the start of the HOPE VI revitalization.

Approximately half the original residents in our sample reported moving only once, while most of the rest moved two or three times. Moving patterns are distinct for each housing group. HOPE VI returnees, by definition, had to move at least twice—once to relocate and a second time back to the original development. It appears that most (95 percent) of the returnees only moved twice.⁶⁰ At two of the three sites with a substantial share of returnees (more than 40 percent), residents relocated within the site, then were able to move to a revitalized unit when it became available.

Exhibit 5-4: Number of Moves Since HOPE VI Award by Housing Assistance Status

<i>Number of Reported Moves^a</i>	Homeownership or Unsubsidized Rental (n=146)	Housing Choice Voucher (n=268)	HOPE VI Public Housing (n=155)	Other Public Housing (n=236)	All (n=818)
One	* 31%	* 59%	* 0%	* 74%	49%
Two or three times	50%	34%	94%	21%	42%
Four or more times	18%	7%	5%	5%	8%

^a12 percent of respondents (n=97) have missing or invalid data on this question.

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001).

Notes: Samples by type of housing assistance status (n=805) do not add to total (n=818) because of missing information on housing assistance status. * Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of the other groups at the 5 percent significance level.

receive assistance. These are the types of reasons that would need to be investigated to try to understand this pattern.

⁶⁰ Respondents were asked to report whether they moved once, two or three times, four or five times, or more than five times. Hence, we do not know how many HOPE VI returnees moved exactly twice.

Residents who relocated to other public housing developments moved the least. Most (74 percent) appear to have relocated directly into other public housing and remained there. Unsubsidized renters moved the most. Roughly three times as many unsubsidized (18 percent) as subsidized households reported moving four or more times since the HOPE VI revitalization began. This finding may reflect the instability of renting in the private market without assistance (as suggested by their high rates of financial housing hardship).⁶¹ But unsubsidized households also reported high levels of satisfaction with their housing and neighborhood (see Chapters 3 and 4), so the multiple moves might also have been part of a series of incremental moves that ultimately improved their housing situation.

Food Hardships

About half the respondents reported some concern about having enough food for themselves and their families (see Exhibit 5-5). Almost half the respondents (49 percent) said they had been worried at least a few times during the previous year that they would run out of food, and 47 percent reported they ran out of food and did not have the money to buy more. Eighteen percent of respondents reported having skipped or cut the size of a meal in the previous 12 months because they did not have enough money for food. The rate of food hardship does not vary across housing assistance groups.

Taking the Welfare Leavers study as a comparison, HOPE VI respondents fare somewhat better in terms of food hardship than study respondents who left TANF between 1997 and 1999. Welfare study results indicated that 60 percent of respondents worried about running out of food and that 55 percent actually did run out of food and were unable to purchase more. Thirty-three percent skipped a meal because they did not have enough food.

⁶¹ Current homeowners and unsubsidized renters reported very different experiences: Only 6 percent of homeowners reported moving four or more times, whereas 22 percent of unsubsidized renters reported four or more moves. The combined average (shown in Exhibit 5-4) indicates that 18 percent of homeowners or unsubsidized renters reported moving at least four times since they were relocated.

Exhibit 5-5: Food Hardship by Housing Assistance Status

	Homeownership or Unsubsidized Rental (n=146)	Housing Choice Voucher (n=268)	HOPE VI Public Housing (n=155)	Other Public Housing (n=236)	All (n=818)
In the past 12 months, (I/we) worried whether food would run out before (I/we) got money to buy more					
Often	13%	16%	12%	15%	14%
Sometimes true	39%	36%	34%	33%	35%
Never	47%	48%	54%	52%	50%
In the past 12 months, the food that (I/we) bought just didn't last, and (I/we) didn't have money to get any more					
Often	12%	*	13%	13%	11%
Sometimes true	32%	42%	34%	34%	36%
Never	56%	51%	54%	54%	53%
In the past 12 months, did you or other adults in your family ever cut the size of your meals or skip meals because there was not enough money for food?					
Yes	20%	20%	18%	18%	18%

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001).

Notes: Samples by type of housing assistance status (n=805) do not add to total (n=818) because of missing information on housing assistance status. * Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of the other groups at the 5 percent significance level.

5.3 Health

Improved housing and neighborhood quality could potentially have a range of benefits for former residents of distressed public housing, particularly in the area of health. Living in better housing may reduce the risk or severity of asthma and potentially improve mental health. Living in lower crime neighborhoods can decrease mental stress, leading to a host of mental and physical health improvements. In the survey, we asked respondents about their health in general and about asthma in particular. We also talked about health during the in-depth interviews.

Thirty-four percent of survey respondents reported that they are in very good or excellent health, as shown in Exhibit 5-6. Thirty-nine percent of all respondents reported that their health was fair or poor. From the in-depth interviews, we gain a sense of the range of health concerns facing respondents or members of their households. People spoke of short-term problems, such as broken bones and colds, and a number of chronic ailments, such as high blood pressure, arthritis, diabetes, glaucoma, osteoporosis, and seizures. Respondents also talked about cancer and Alzheimer's disease.

Exhibit 5-6: Health by Housing Assistance Status

	Homeownership or Unsubsidized Rental (n=146)	Housing Choice Voucher (n=268)	HOPE VI Public Housing (n=155)	Other Public Housing (n=236)	All (n=818)
Would you say your health is...	*		*		
...excellent or very good?	43%	36%	22%	34%	34%
... good?	26%	30%	27%	26%	26%
... fair or poor?	30%	33%	52%	40%	39%
Who in the household has asthma?					
		*	*		
Adult(s)	16%	17%	9%	15%	15%
Child(ren)	13%	21%	9%	15%	15%
Both adult(s) and child(ren)	5%	6%	9%	3%	5%
No one	66%	56%	73%	67%	67%

Source: HOPE VI Retrospective Survey (spring 2001).

Notes: Samples by type of housing assistance status (n=805) do not add to total (n=818) because of missing information on housing assistance status. * Indicates statistically significant difference between this group and the average of the other groups at the 5 percent significance level.

Within housing assistance groups, returnees to revitalized HOPE VI developments reported the lowest rates of very good or excellent health at 22 percent. Even when we restricted the analysis to non-elderly respondents, HOPE VI returnees were the least likely to report very good or excellent health (22 percent versus 40 percent of other respondents). Respondents living in unsubsidized housing and those who receive vouchers reported better health than respondents living in public housing, though still nearly a third reported fair or poor health.

The way in which people think about their health status, as reflected in the in-depth interviews, suggests that the survey responses of good to excellent health could be overstated. During some interviews, people would respond to a direct question on health concerns by saying they were fine. Later in the interview, the person would talk about health problems or treatments they had recently experienced or knew were in their future. Because they were not ill at the time of the interview, some people responded narrowly to direct questions on health. During the course of the interviews, 23 of the 24 people interviewed talked about some type of health concern for themselves or a member of their household.

Previous research suggests that people who live in physically distressed public housing are particularly susceptible to asthma. Therefore, we included questions about asthma in our survey and found high rates of asthma among respondent households. Thirty-five percent of all households in the survey reported at least one person has or has had asthma, including a fifth that reported a child has asthma. According to the National Center for Environmental Health (1994), 7 percent of children less than 18 years of age have asthma. The asthma rate for children in the study appears to be higher than the national average, but we do not have exactly comparable data. Of the families with children, 29 percent reported that at least one child has asthma, but we do not know how many children in each

household have asthma. However, compared with studies of public housing residents and voucher recipients in Chicago (Popkin and Cunningham 2001), our respondents have lower rates of asthma. The Chicago study found that 50 percent of the respondents reported that a household member had been diagnosed with asthma.

Within housing assistance groups, rates of asthma are higher among voucher recipients compared with public housing residents and unsubsidized households. Of the respondents, 44 percent with vouchers and 36 percent of unsubsidized residents reported that someone in the household has had asthma at some point. Because the survey questions were not time specific, it is difficult to attribute differences in asthma rates to housing type.

5.4 Conclusion

Overall, we find that approximately two-thirds of households have an employed member, and one-third have welfare income. Judging by the extremely low household incomes reported by respondents (82 percent below 30 percent of the area median income) and our in-depth interviews, it appears that most of the employed residents are in low-wage jobs.

Compared with MTCS data on welfare and employment income from the year of the HOPE VI award, the share of surveyed households reporting employment income has increased threefold, and the share with welfare income has decreased by nearly half. We do not have the information needed to ascertain whether HOPE VI supportive services played a role in these dramatic changes. During the same time period, the welfare system was overhauled, and the economy was expanding rapidly leading to extremely low national unemployment rates and a large reduction in welfare receipt.

Almost half the survey respondents reported they had problems meeting their rent and utility bill payments in the past year, but only 4 percent reported they had to move in with someone else because they could not pay their housing costs. Health appears to be a major issue for original residents, even among the non-elderly. One-third of respondents under age 62 reported fair or poor health.

There are some notable differences in well-being across housing assistance groups as revealed by our survey. Respondents living in unsubsidized housing and those using vouchers fare better than people in public housing in terms of employment rates, earnings levels, and overall health. However, these same respondents (unsubsidized and voucher recipients) reported greater difficulty paying their bills and higher rates of asthma. While these findings in part reflect the fact that there are more elderly people in the HOPE VI and other public housing respondent groups, the picture emerging for nonpublic housing residents is: working poor families that are struggling to keep from slipping into more difficult circumstances.

Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusions

The HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study represents the first systematic look at what has happened to original residents of eight distressed developments targeted for revitalization. It provides a snapshot of the living conditions and well-being of former residents of the properties as of spring 2001—between two and seven years after the PHA was awarded a HOPE VI grant. At that time, the redevelopment process was still under way in six of the eight study sites, so the results describe a “work in progress.” The results may provide opportunities for housing authorities and their partners to shape future outcomes.

The study findings are based on a survey of 818 residents who lived in one of the eight study developments at the time of the HOPE VI award. We were able to locate and complete interviews with 66 percent of the original residents randomly selected for the survey. This response rate is fairly high, considering that our information about the location of original residents was often old (and in some cases conflicting) and that we did not have the advantage of “tracking” residents after they were relocated. Overall, the information collected through the survey provides a rich source of information about the original residents from the eight study sites, including their current housing status, housing quality, neighborhood conditions, employment status, financial hardships, and physical health status.

In this final chapter, we summarize the key findings from the study. Drawing on this analysis, we then discuss potential lessons. Finally, we discuss the implications of the study for future research on the impacts of HOPE VI.

6.1 Summary of Major Findings

The findings of this study fall into three broad domains: the type and quality of housing now occupied by the original HOPE VI residents; their current neighborhood and social environments; and their current employment, material hardship, and health. The living conditions of former HOPE VI residents are of interest because of the program’s goals of improving conditions for public housing residents of severely distressed public housing. Indeed, the results indicate that different housing environments offer different opportunities and issues for relocatees.

Housing Type and Household Characteristics

At the time of the resident survey in spring 2001, two of the eight sites were completed and fully reoccupied, four of the sites were partially reoccupied, and two sites were in the midst of on-site construction and had not yet begun being reoccupied. At this point, we do not know how many residents in the eight study sites may ultimately return to the HOPE VI property or what additional changes in their housing situation they may make before the redevelopment programs are completed. This study reflects their housing assistance status and living conditions as of spring 2001.

- Of the 818 households in our sample, 19 percent now live in a revitalized HOPE VI development, 29 percent live in other public housing properties, 33 percent are renting units using housing vouchers, and 18 percent have left assisted housing altogether, including 5 percent who have become homeowners. Nationally, a larger share of original residents relocated to other public housing developments (37 percent) or are using a housing voucher (35 percent) than in our study sample, and a smaller share now live in a revitalized HOPE VI developments (14 percent) or have left assisted housing all together (14 percent).⁶²
- At the two completed sites and one nearly completed property, more than 40 percent of the original residents had returned to a unit in the revitalized development. All three of these sites had certain conditions that may have led to a high return rate: San Francisco's Hayes Valley had an extremely tight and expensive housing market in the city and Newark's Walsh Homes and Denver's Quigg Newton developed the new housing in stages so residents could move directly from the original public housing to the revitalized housing.

Overall, a number of factors affect the number of residents who return to the revitalized development. These include the strength of resident preferences for the greater flexibility and anonymity of voucher assistance; the condition of public housing developments where residents relocate; the availability of decent affordable housing in the private market; the length of time between relocation and reoccupancy; the extent to which PHAs track original residents and inform them of the option to move back; resident perceptions of the desirability of the revitalized housing; and the screening criteria, which can have negative effects on the return rate (original residents not eligible to move back) or positive effects (more desirable to original residents if perception is that troublemakers will not return).

Our findings, although preliminary, also suggest that household characteristics play some role in determining which housing option residents select.

- HOPE VI returnees and those who relocated to other public housing units tend to be older and have fewer children than voucher users or unsubsidized households. The condition of the local public housing stock also appears to have some influence on whether or not households choose to relocate to other public housing developments. In addition, our findings suggest that the decision on whether to move to other public housing or use a voucher may represent a trade-off between the greater flexibility and anonymity of a voucher subsidy and the social networks and housing stability offered by public housing.
- The unsubsidized households we surveyed tend to have higher incomes, higher employment rates, and more education than those still receiving housing assistance. They are also more likely to be married and in their prime earning years (ages 35 to 49) than other households. Nevertheless, the majority of these households still have

⁶² In addition, at the end of March 2002, 15,770 original residents from the 1993 to 2000 sites have not been relocated yet and still live in a distressed public housing development scheduled for HOPE VI demolition. All national figures are from HUD (2002, p.64).

extremely low incomes, with approximately two-thirds reporting incomes below 30 percent of the area median.

- Voucher users are similar to unsubsidized households in that they are younger, more educated, and have children. However, they are similar to public housing households in that single females head most households and almost all have incomes below 30 percent of the area median.

Housing Conditions

HOPE VI families came from severely distressed developments. Relocating to revitalized units or the private market is expected to improve their housing conditions. Our findings suggest that, in fact, a majority of the original residents in our sample have experienced the expected improvement in housing quality. Approximately two-thirds of residents reported their housing unit is in good or excellent condition, and most said that their current unit is in the same or better condition as their public housing unit prior to revitalization. This change in housing quality may, in the long run, have important benefits for these households in improved health and overall well-being.

- Overall, 56 percent of respondents reported their current housing unit is in better condition than their original public housing unit, 29 percent reported it is in about the same condition, and 15 percent reported it is in worse condition.

The level of improvement in housing quality varies by housing assistance status.

- HOPE VI returnees, who are living in newly revitalized developments, reported significantly better housing conditions than other respondents in our sample. However, while 76 percent of HOPE VI returnees reported that their current unit was in better condition than their original public housing unit, a surprising share of returnees reported their housing was in similar (14 percent) or worse condition (10 percent) compared with their original public housing unit. We cannot fully explain this finding, but it appears that a number of returnees to the Quigg Newton site in Denver (the only site in the study where units were rehabilitated as opposed to newly constructed) do not perceive a major change in the condition of their unit as a result of the program. In addition, about half the returnees who rated their unit in worse condition also reported unit-specific problems (such as broken plumbing) that might have led to their negative rating.
- About two-thirds of those who relocated to other public housing developments describe their housing units in good or excellent physical condition. In Tucson, where many former residents of Connie Chambers now live in scattered-site public housing, almost all the relocatees in public housing rate the condition of their unit favorably. In some other cities as well, original residents appear to have been offered public housing units in desirable developments, although the pattern varies from site to site.
- Voucher users are less satisfied with their housing than other groups, and nearly half reported their unit is in fair or poor condition. Only 46 percent of voucher users

reported their current unit is in better condition than their original public housing unit. Voucher users from Albany's Edwin Corning are particularly likely to say that their former public housing unit was better than their current voucher unit. This may be explained by the fact that, while outdated in many respects, Edwin Corning appears to have been in fairly good physical shape at the time of the HOPE VI grant. By contrast, voucher users in Albany live in housing units they rate as relatively low quality. San Francisco and Paterson, which both have tight and expensive housing markets, also have low rates of satisfaction for voucher users. This finding is in contrast to Louisville and Springfield, where those using vouchers reported good housing conditions. The quality of housing that voucher holders have obtained is presumably related to the tightness of local housing market, quality of the housing stock, the extent of discrimination faced by minorities (especially former public housing residents), and to aspects of the counseling and relocation process that may have affected their housing search.

In a small number of in-depth interviews with original residents who chose to relocate with a voucher, respondents who complained about their housing still said they preferred a voucher to public housing. Their main reasons were the increased flexibility in deciding where to live and the greater privacy or anonymity inherent in a private market unit compared with a public housing development.

Neighborhood Environment

One of the goals of the HOPE VI program is to deconcentrate (or avoid concentrating) very low-income households and to contribute to the improvement of the original public housing neighborhood. Our findings indicate that original residents who are in private housing—voucher users, unsubsidized renters, or homeowners—are not clustered in a few communities, but seem to be dispersed across a range of neighborhoods. We also find that most original residents are living in areas with substantially lower poverty rates than in the neighborhood where the original public housing development is located.

- About 40 percent of nonreturnees (those who have not returned to the original HOPE VI site) now live in low-poverty census tracts with poverty rates of less than 20 percent. None of the residents started out in low-poverty areas, so the 40 percent share in low-poverty areas is a net improvement and represents substantial progress. However, 40 percent of nonreturnees still live in high-poverty neighborhoods where more than 30 percent of the residents are poor.
- Change in racial segregation is more modest. Original residents at two sites now live in substantially less-segregated neighborhoods, while at five sites the current neighborhood is slightly less segregated.
- While neighborhood conditions have improved for original residents at seven of the eight study sites, at one site original residents now live in census tracts that are, on average, slightly poorer and more segregated than their original public housing neighborhood. This site (Albany's Edwin Corning) is unique among the study sites because the original public housing neighborhood had a relatively low level of poverty (22 percent) and was diverse (45 percent minority). Hence, even though original residents relocated to higher poverty and less-diverse neighborhoods on

average, the new neighborhoods still have a relatively low average poverty rate (25 percent) and are diverse (54 percent minority).

Policymakers hope that by assisting households to move to lower-poverty areas, they will experience a reduction in exposure to crime and disorder and thus improve their overall well-being. Because we lack baseline data, we cannot assess whether original residents perceive their current neighborhoods to be substantially safer than their original public housing developments. However, our data indicate that many public housing residents and voucher holders continue to live in areas that they perceive as having problems related to crime.⁶³

- Overall, about 40 percent of the respondents reported “big problems” with drug trafficking and gang activity in their current neighborhood, and just fewer than 20 percent reported big problems with violent crime. Unsubsidized households were the least likely to report big problems with drug trafficking and gang activity, while returning HOPE VI residents were the most likely to report big problems.
- There is considerable variation in perceptions of crime across sites: Less than a quarter of original residents from Denver’s Quigg Newton, Springfield’s John Hay Homes, and Tucson’s Connie Chambers reported problems with drug trafficking in their current neighborhood, compared with approximately half the original residents from the other five sites.

Our findings regarding perceptions of crime for current residents of HOPE VI sites should not be taken as indicative of HOPE VI sites overall. The study includes only three sites with a substantial number of reoccupied HOPE VI units, including two sites with unusually serious crime problems in the HOPE VI neighborhood. Residents who returned to Newark’s Archbishop Walsh and San Francisco’s Hayes Valley were more likely to report serious problems with drug trafficking and violence than other original residents from those sites. (In contrast, residents from the third reoccupied site, Quigg Newton, reported very low levels of problems with drug trafficking and violent crime.) Other research on the HOPE VI program (Holin et al. 2001) indicates that crime has decreased at many HOPE VI sites.

Social Environment

“Collective efficacy” is an indicator of neighborhood health that has been found to be associated with lower neighborhood crime rates and better health outcomes for residents (Morenoff 2001; Sampson et al. 1997). Our survey included two measures of collective efficacy, neighborhood social cohesion (e.g., helpful neighbors) and social control (e.g., neighborhood monitoring of the behavior of children and youth).

- Unsubsidized households in our sample reported significantly higher levels of collective efficacy than those living in public housing or using vouchers. This finding is consistent with the fact that these households reported the lowest levels of crime of any group. However, we also found high levels of collective efficacy at one of the

⁶³ As discussed in Chapter 4, our information about levels of crime is based exclusively on respondent perceptions.

HOPE VI sites—Newark’s Archbishop Walsh—where residents reported high levels of problems with crime. This finding suggests a high level of social organization at that site that may be able to support efforts to reduce crime.

One of the premises of the HOPE VI program is that deconcentrating poverty and creating mixed-income communities will benefit the poor. Low-income families will interact with neighbors in their new communities, forming new social networks. These networks are hypothesized to offer a range of benefits for original residents, including positive role models for adults and children, access to information about economic opportunities, and peer groups for children and youth that are less likely to support delinquent activity. However, survey respondents reported fairly low levels of social interaction with neighbors.

- About half the respondents in our sample reported having friends in their current neighborhood, and slightly fewer reported having family in the area. Relatively few respondents reported having more than limited interactions with their current neighbors.
- Unsubsidized households and voucher holders are less likely than public housing residents to report having friends and family in the area and reported the lowest levels of interaction with their neighbors. Our in-depth interviews suggest that the low levels of interaction are associated with a number of factors including lack of opportunity (e.g., neighbors are not around during the day), language or cultural barriers, and personal preferences for keeping social distance from neighbors.

Employment, Hardship, and Health

Employment. One of the main goals of HOPE VI’s community and supportive services is to enhance the self-sufficiency of original residents. Because these communities have been so distressed, the assumption is that many residents lack work experience or labor force connections and that the combination of improved neighborhood conditions and supportive services can help many residents to find work. Our findings suggest a complex picture, with more residents than expected in the labor force, as well as residents facing significant barriers that are keeping them out of the labor force altogether.

- Half of our non-elderly respondents reported being employed full- or part-time at the time of the survey, and 64 percent reported that there was at least one wage earner in the household. But while employment levels were relatively high, respondents’ wages were very low, with 82 percent of the non-elderly households reporting incomes below 30 percent of the area median. Our in-depth interviews also indicate that many work in lower paying jobs, such as home-care assistants, retail and fast food clerks, janitors, hotel service workers, and school bus drivers.
- About a third of the non-elderly households reported receiving disability-related benefits, and 30 percent receive welfare. Unsubsidized households were significantly less likely to report receiving welfare, while receipt of disability-related benefits does not vary much by housing assistance type.
- Many working-age respondents face barriers that make attaining self-sufficiency challenging. The most common barrier cited (40 percent) was a lack of jobs in their neighborhood. Other obstacles frequently mentioned included lack of job experience,

having a disability, a lack of child care, and transportation problems. Nearly half the respondents identified multiple barriers to employment. The multiple barriers, combined with the generally low education and skill levels, point to the challenge of promoting self-sufficiency of residents from distressed public housing.

Material Hardship. The disruption of relocation—even temporary—and the challenges of renting in the private market could present extremely low-income households with increased difficulties in meeting their financial obligations and providing for their households. Overall, 40 percent of our sample reported problems paying rent and utilities, and about half reported having difficulty affording enough food.

- Private-market renters in our sample reported the highest levels of housing hardship: 59 percent of voucher users said that they had had difficulty paying rent or utilities in the past year, as did 52 percent of unsubsidized households.
- Unsubsidized households are more likely than public housing residents or voucher users to report doubling up with other families (13 versus 4 percent) and to report moving multiple times since relocating.

Some of the reported problems may be the result of the unprecedented spike in utility costs that affected cities across the nation in the winter of 2000-01. However, other factors may have contributed to these problems as well, including poor insulation in affordable private market housing that causes utility bills to exceed the utility allowances used in the voucher program; residents' inexperience in managing their utility expenses; and residents' generally low wages, which make it difficult to deal with unexpected costs.

We do not know whether the difficulties reported by voucher users meeting their housing costs are typical of all families using vouchers or are more likely to be experienced or perceived by our group of respondents, all of whom used to live in public housing.

Health. Health problems are a major issue for the former distressed public housing residents. We do not have baseline measures of health, so we do not know how much health conditions have changed since the start of HOPE VI. However, problems reported during the survey point to the potential importance health care could play in helping residents become self-sufficient and improve their quality of life.

- Thirty-nine percent of adults reported that their health was fair or poor, and thirty-five percent said someone in their household suffers from asthma. HOPE VI returnees are most likely to report bad health (52 percent), and unsubsidized and voucher households are least likely (32 percent).
- In the in-depth interviews, 23 out of 24 respondents mentioned a health problem for either themselves or one of the family members living with them. Interestingly, several respondents answered a direct question on health status by saying that they were fine. Later in the interview, however, the person would talk about health problems. Because they were not ill at the time of the interview, some people responded narrowly to direct questions on health. This discrepancy suggests health problems may be an even larger problem than indicated by the survey responses.

6.2 Implications for Policy

The findings from the HOPE VI Resident Tracking study suggest that many, but not all, new housing environments for relocated residents are an improvement over their original distressed public housing. A majority of the original residents in our sample are living in decent housing in neighborhoods that have lower poverty rates than their original public housing developments. However, a substantial proportion of public housing residents and voucher users reported problems with drug trafficking and violent crime in their community, and more than half of those now in the private market—voucher users and unsubsidized households—reported having problems affording their housing costs. These findings suggest the need for HUD and PHAs to continue to develop new strategies that will help reduce the transition costs for original residents.

- **Relocation planning is key.** It is clear that careful, well thought-out relocation plans and procedures can help promote good outcomes for original residents. As discussed in Chapter 2, at a site where the housing agency provided the most thoughtful and individualized relocation assistance (Tucson’s Connie Chambers), neighborhood conditions improved the most for original residents, and residents were very satisfied with the condition of their housing. This agency also modified its redevelopment plans in order to accommodate residents who wanted to relocate within the site by demolishing and rebuilding the housing in stages. In contrast, at Albany’s Edwin Corning, the site where current neighborhood conditions were often worse than in the original neighborhood and residents were the least satisfied with their current housing, residents reported they did not have enough time or adequate assistance for relocating to better housing.

HUD’s required template for relocation plans recognizes the importance of good relocation planning. However, PHAs need to go beyond simply meeting the requirements by examining and addressing the needs of residents based both on individual resident needs and on local housing market conditions. In doing this, PHAs should consider options, such as staged relocation in order to avoid overwhelming the local rental market with voucher holders; one-on-one relocation counseling to ensure that households make fully informed choices about their relocation options; and, where appropriate, redevelopment in stages to minimize the disruption of moving for those who want to remain on-site. Finally, residents cannot make fully informed choices about their housing unless screening criteria for returning to the revitalized HOPE VI site are communicated prior to relocation.

- **Supportive services should be provided prior to relocation.** Housing authorities that receive HOPE VI grants need to get supportive services efforts under way quickly (prior to relocation) to help residents make a successful transition to a better living situation. At several older study sites, where the HOPE VI supportive services were not fully operational until after substantial relocation activity, it appears that relatively few original residents took advantage of them. Providing such services early appears to be particularly important for families with children, who are the most likely to enter the private market and the most likely to experience hardship.
- **Voucher recipients need early and sustained assistance when choosing neighborhoods.** Original residents who received vouchers have generally moved to

neighborhoods with lower poverty rates than in their original public housing neighborhood. Still, many live in moderate- to high-poverty areas that apparently have problems with drug-related crime. Providing counseling early in the relocation process, and continuing that assistance throughout the search process while the family is getting settled in its new location, may help more original residents access—and sustain—housing in better neighborhoods. And to take advantage of the potential for successive improvements, the counseling should also be available for a second move that voucher holders often make. This follow-up assistance may be especially important for voucher users leaving public housing with less-than-perfect criminal records or histories of lease compliance, who need to establish a good private-market rental history before landlords in lower-poverty areas will accept them as a tenant.

- **Target sources of crime as a part of revitalization.** Following the principles of defensible space or other crime prevention through environmental design techniques in redeveloping the site may make the new development less hospitable to crime, but the source of the crime still needs to be addressed. For example, if original residents are the source of crime, then occupancy and screening criteria need to be enforced to keep people who are creating an unsafe environment from returning to the development. If neighborhood residents are the source of the crime problem in and around the development, then the housing agency needs to work with the police and community groups to implement crime reduction strategies in the neighborhood. If highway access to the site or surrounding neighborhood draws outside drug users and sellers into the neighborhood, then these access points need to be redesigned to discourage drug trafficking in the neighborhood. Larger neighborhood issues (from dealing with crime to broader economic development) have increasingly been incorporated into HOPE VI plans. Within the study sites, two (Newark’s Archbishop Walsh and San Francisco’s Hayes Valley) continue to have serious problems with drug trafficking and violence in the neighborhood. In both cases, the sources of crime in and around the development do not appear to have been adequately addressed in the original revitalization effort and are the targets of ongoing efforts by agency staff.
- **Address issues related to utility costs in the voucher program.** More than half the voucher users in our study reported difficulty paying their rent and utilities in the past year. All voucher users (and public housing residents) who are responsible for their utility costs are affected by spikes in utility costs (such as that in 2000-01). Responding to such spikes is an issue for assistance programs generally, but is particularly important for relocated residents from distressed properties who may not be accustomed to paying utilities directly and do not have experience with the seasonal and cyclical trends in utility costs.

6.3 Future Research

As discussed at the outset of this report, the current study has a number of limitations that need to be kept in mind. First, the eight sites included in the study represent a variety of different types of HOPE VI initiatives and relocation strategies, but they do not capture the entire range of HOPE VI scenarios and cannot be considered representative of the program

as a whole. For example, the three sites in our sample that are fully redeveloped—or close to it—are all older grantees; their programs tended to focus on the redevelopment of the HOPE VI site alone (rather than a broader neighborhood revitalization), and only one is mixed income. Across the country, HOPE VI grantees have increasingly incorporated neighborhood revitalization goals into their programs, and virtually all newer grantees are producing mixed income communities.

Second, this study started two to seven years after the public housing developments were slated for redevelopment. This design means we have no information on resident perceptions of their living conditions or economic struggles prior to HOPE VI, so we cannot compare their pre-HOPE perceptions with their current perceptions. In addition, since we did not collect information during the relocation period, we do not know the specific relocation and supportive services utilized by residents, so we cannot tie variations in outcomes at a site to the types of services used.

Finally, we do not have a control group of similar residents in the same cities to distinguish between changes that resulted from the HOPE VI program and changes that would have occurred over time in the absence of the HOPE VI program. There were no good control groups in most of these cities, either because the development in question was the only or most distressed development or because the other distressed developments in the portfolio were also undergoing HOPE VI revitalization.

Given these limitations, the HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study provides only a starting point for understanding how HOPE VI affects original families living in the targeted developments. While this snapshot approach was intended to address pressing questions about the location and well-being of former residents, it has raised a number of new questions about resident choices and outcomes that can only be addressed by more in-depth research. It has also raised questions about the well-being of recipients of housing assistance generally and how the voucher program may (or may not) result in improved housing quality. In particular, future research should consider a variety of issues only touched on here, including:

- How do residents make choices about replacement housing? Why do so many choose not to return to the revitalized development? What information did they have when they made their choice?
- Why are older residents more likely than younger people to return to the revitalized development? Do they have stronger ties to the community? Were they more involved in the revitalization process? Are they more likely to be eligible to return? Or, do they place a lower value than younger residents on the flexibility of the voucher program?
- For the residents who move to other public housing units, how does the public housing they relocated to compare with the overall stock of public housing in the area? Are they more likely to move to scattered-site public housing, elderly-only developments, or developments in relatively lower poverty neighborhoods? Was there something about the relocation process that gave them more or better public housing choices than available to a family coming off the waiting list?

- What is it about living in the private market (with or without vouchers) that appears to have caused so many respondents in the HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study to experience material hardship? Was it simply the unusual spike in utility costs? How much do factors such as the nature of the rental market and the housing stock affect hardship? Is the utility allowance adequate? Does the general population of voucher users experience the same problems?
- Even if residents do not move to low-poverty areas, do they experience substantial improvements in neighborhood conditions?
- Why do many extremely low-income households from the distressed public housing developments no longer participate in a housing assistance program? Do they have additional resources that were not captured in household income? Do they accept higher rent burdens than voucher users? Did they choose to leave assistance, or did either the PHA or a private landlord evict them?
- How were some of the former distressed public housing residents able to purchase a home? Did they participate in a low-income homeownership program? Did their income increase because of increased employment or other sources of income? Did they get help from their family? Did their household composition change in such a way (e.g., children leave household, or newly married) that they now had the resources to purchase a home?
- How do community and supportive services affect these outcomes?

A wide range of research is under way on the HOPE VI program, ranging from local site-specific evaluations, to national studies focusing on both the physical revitalization of the sites and the effects of the program on residents. Lessons and questions from the current study are already being incorporated into some of these other, on-going research projects—particularly, the HOPE VI Panel Study funded by HUD and a consortium of philanthropic foundations. This study is tracking residents of five sites over a four-year period starting just prior to relocation. This effort—which will include surveys and in-depth interviews with residents both before and after relocation—will be better able to explore the questions raised here and will also complement the current study by providing similar data for an additional set of sites drawn from the more recent grant rounds of the HOPE VI program.

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Appendix A
Sample Selection and Data
Collection Methodology

Appendix A: Sample Selection and Data Collection

This Appendix provides a detailed description of sample selection and data collection procedures. Section A.1 describes our procedures for selecting the HOPE VI study sites. The remaining sections describe our three main data collection activities. Section A.2 describes the information gathered on the site visits. Section A.3 provides an overview of the resident survey, our procedures for selecting a sample of residents for the survey, and our data collection procedures. This section concludes with a discussion of the survey response rate and the representativeness of our survey sample. Finally, Section A.4 describes the methodology for the in-depth interviews we conducted. A copy of the resident survey is contained in Appendix B.

A.1 Selection of HOPE VI Study Sites

The selection of sites for this study was constrained in several important ways. While HOPE VI implementation grants were awarded for 103 developments between 1993 and 1998, not all were viable candidates for this study. First, HUD needed to have archived Multifamily Tenant Characteristics (MTCS) data from the year the HOPE VI grant was awarded. Without archived MTCS data, there was no consistent way to identify those who lived at the site prior to revitalization. Second, in order to ensure an adequate sample size for the resident survey, sites with fewer than 167 occupied units at the time of the award were excluded. Third, to avoid overburdening the public housing residents, developments that were known to be part of other national evaluations that included a resident survey were excluded. Finally, to be included in the study, the 1993-95 sites had to have started reoccupying completed on-site units by January 2001, and the 1996-98 sites had to have completed their resident relocation activities.

In the summer of 2000, staff from HUD's Office of Public Housing Investments and the study team met to discuss each of the HOPE VI grantees and to develop a short list of potential study sites. Sites were dropped for the following reasons:

- 30 sites did not have archived MTCS data that would identify residents living in the development prior to the HOPE VI award;
- 13 sites had fewer than 167 occupied units;
- 15 sites were part of other studies involving resident surveys (e.g., the HOPE VI Interim Assessment Study); and
- 27 sites were not far enough along in the redevelopment process to be included in the study.

After this discussion, 18 developments were identified as potential study sites. With 18 HOPE VI sites to choose from, more specific site selection criteria were developed. The criteria were

Award year. Because outcomes may vary by how long ago residents were relocated and because the nature of HOPE VI redevelopment were changing as the program matured (e.g., increased emphasis on mixed-income housing and leveraging other funding sources), the team felt it was important that the study sites include a range of HOPE VI award years. We decided to select four sites that were awarded their HOPE VI funding between 1993 and 1995 (Group 1) and four sites that were awarded their funding from 1996 to 1998 (Group 2) for the study.

Geographic diversity. To account for geographical differences in public housing programs and housing markets, the eight final sites needed to include at least one from each of the four census regions.

Mix of sites based on city population and size of PHA. The research team considered the population size of the city and the size of the PHA's assisted housing program because the impact of HOPE VI on the original residents might vary by these characteristics.

PHMAP/PHAS scores. These scores rate PHAs on the management of their public housing programs and are the most objective measurements available on the quality of the PHA's program. In running their HOPE VI program, housing authorities that run high-performing public housing programs may differ from those that run standard-performing programs.

Language(s) spoken. For cost reasons, the survey could only be translated into Spanish. Hence, only sites where most residents could complete a survey in either English or Spanish were considered for the study.

Willingness to participate. Cooperation was considered essential for this study. Sites were not considered unless they were willing to participate and assist with the study.

In October 2000, the study team contacted the HOPE VI Coordinator at 18 sites to discuss eligibility and participation in the study. Information about the status of relocation, leasing of new units, and languages spoken by the original residents was collected at this time.

Based on the criteria, we selected eight sites—four sites from Group 1 and four sites from Group 2. The initial site selection was made by Abt and Urban Institute staff, and the recommendations were submitted to HUD staff, along with a few alternative sites. HUD staff concurred with the choice of study sites. The participating sites are:

Group 1 (1993-95)

Denver, CO - Quigg Newton Homes
Newark, NJ - Archbishop Homes
Springfield, IL - John Hay Homes
San Francisco, CA - Hayes Valley

Group 2 (1996-98)

Louisville, KY - Cotter and Lang Homes
Tucson, AZ - Connie Chambers
Paterson, NJ - Christopher Columbus
Albany, NY - Edwin Corning

See Chapter 2 for a description of the study sites.

A.2 Site Visits

To gather more information on the HOPE VI program at the participating sites, Abt staff conducted site visits to discuss the HOPE VI redevelopment with PHA staff and, when it could be arranged, with resident leaders. Archbishop Walsh in Newark is an exception. Newark PHA staff reported that they were overburdened by site visitors and requested that we gather all necessary information from written materials they provided or by interviewing them over the telephone.

The nature of the HOPE VI redevelopment is likely to affect the outcomes for residents. For example, the larger the share of public housing units built back on-site, the more likely the original residents will be able to return, everything else being equal. On the other hand, stricter screening standards at the new development may result in fewer returning residents. The nature and intensity of supportive services offered through the HOPE VI program are also expected to affect resident outcomes. The purpose of the visits was to understand the activities that were or are part of the HOPE VI program that might affect resident outcomes. The information that was gathered on-site includes

- status of the redevelopment and a timing of key milestones (e.g., start and end of relocation);
- sources of funding other than HOPE VI;
- physical development, including information on the number of public housing units in the original and revitalized sites;
- relocation processes and issues;
- types of supportive services offered to residents;
- reoccupancy progress and any issues in reoccupancy;
- screening and occupancy standards at the new development;
- information on the location of former residents; and

- information pertinent to the survey effort, such as PHA and site manager contact names and any safety concerns.

Abt staff made one-day visits to speak with the HOPE VI coordinator at each site, the executive director, and supportive services staff. These meetings also served as an opportunity for PHAs to learn more about the study and to ask questions. Their support and understanding of the study was needed so they could reaffirm the legitimacy of the study if residents or site managers questioned the presence of interviewers. At the sites where it could be arranged by the PHA, we also met with the leaders of resident groups to gain their cooperation and support for the study and to learn about any major issues from the residents' perspectives.

A.3 Resident Survey

A survey of original residents was conducted between January and April 2001, two to seven years after a HOPE VI grant was awarded to revitalize their public housing development. The responses to the survey form the backbone of this report. Approximately 100 residents from each of the study sites completed the survey, resulting in a 66 percent response rate. The survey took between 20 and 25 minutes to complete.

Survey topics The survey collected information on a variety of topics related to the current living situation of residents who lived in public housing developments at the time the PHA was awarded a HOPE VI grant to revitalize the development. The survey was developed by the Urban Institute with input from Abt Associates and HUD staff. It was pretested by Abt Associates survey staff in December 2000 and further refined. A copy of the final survey instrument is included as Appendix B. The survey collected information about residents' experiences since being relocated from their HOPE VI development and included questions on:

- current housing assistance status;
- perceptions of the quality of their unit;
- perceptions of problems and amenities in their neighborhood;
- employment and job training;
- economic hardships;
- welfare use;
- health status; and
- demographic and income information.

Selection of households for the survey. A random sample of 167 heads of households was selected from each of the eight study sites from the most complete available list of residents living in the development at the time of the HOPE VI award. To identify the heads of households who lived in the development prior to revitalization, we used both archived MTCS data from the year the HOPE VI grant was awarded and PHA lists of original residents. There is no way to know if some original households are missing from both of these lists, because

there is no unambiguous source for how many households lived in the developments just prior to the HOPE VI award. Many of the developments had a substantial number of vacant units prior to applying for HOPE VI. Therefore, the number of units in the development provides an upper limit to the number of households, but not a lower limit. Because the study was retrospective, nothing could be done to address this potential shortcoming. However, it is not likely to produce a biased sample, because we have no reason to expect that households excluded from these lists are missing for any systematic reason. Therefore, any households missing from the lists should not affect the representativeness of the universe used to select the survey sample.

It is also likely that some households on the list, especially those identified only on the MTCS file, did not actually live in the development at or near the time the HOPE VI grant was awarded. The reason the MTCS list may contain families that did not live in the development at the time of the HOPE VI award is that the PHA may not have submitted an "exit" form to the MTCS when the family moved out. There was no way for us to identify these families prior to the survey. On the survey, we asked respondents a series of screening questions to find out if they lived in the HOPE VI development within a year of the HOPE VI award. Respondents who reported they did not live in the HOPE VI development at or near the time the HOPE VI grant was awarded were not surveyed. Approximately 4 percent of the people targeted for the survey (53 out of 1,365 people) failed the screener and were dropped because we could not verify that they lived in the development near the time of the HOPE VI award.

Exhibit A-1 summarizes the MTCS and PHA-provided lists of original residents used to select the survey sample. When both lists were available, a judgment had to be made as to which list provided the more complete sampling frame of original residents from which to select a sample. When it was possible to match the lists based on social security number, we used a combination of the two lists. The list or lists used to select the sample and the rationale for the decision is shown in the rightmost column of the exhibit. The judgment was made based on the completeness of the individual records (based on whether or not they included the leaseholder's name); the apparent completeness of the entire list (based on the number of records compared with the number of units in the development); and the likelihood that people on the list lived there just prior to the award (judged by whether the number of records on the list is much greater than the number of units in the development). No matter which list was used for sample selection, address information from both the MTCS and PHA list was used to try to contact and interview the residents.

Exhibit A-1
Sources for Identifying Universe of Original Residents for Sampling

<i>Site</i>	# of Units	# of MTCS Records	# on PHA List	<i>Comments</i>
Quigg Newton	400	410	278	Sample selected from MTCS data because the MTCS list appeared more complete than the PHA list.
Archbishop Walsh	630	188	250	Sample selected from PHA list because MTCS list had incomplete records (i.e., missing leaseholder name) and MTCS list appeared less complete.
John Hay Homes	599	188	150	PHA list used because most MTCS records were incomplete (i.e., missing leaseholder's name). In addition, eight nonduplicate and complete records from MTCS list were added to the PHA list for the sample resulting in a 158-person sample. PHA estimates about 175 families lived there at time of award.
Hayes Valley	294	201	Partial list provided after sampling	Sample selected from MTCS data. Very few records had a name of the household head, so had to try to find contact information (and names) based on Social Security Numbers. Because of difficulty finding contact info., added 35 from partial list provided by PHA.
Cotter & Lang	1,116	1,349	1,276	Sample selected from MTCS list, but gave higher priority to families on both lists, because both MTCS and PHA lists appear to have ineligible records.
Connie Chambers	200	316	168	Sample selected from MTCS list, but gave higher priority to families on both lists because MTCS list has ineligible records, but PHA list was incomplete.
Christopher Columbus	498	192	340	Sample selected from PHA list because it appeared more complete.
Edwin Corning	292	366	266	Sample selected from PHA list because it appeared complete and MTCS list appeared to have ineligible records.

Survey procedures. The survey was conducted in late winter and spring 2001, from January through April. Residents were interviewed over the phone or in person, based on the contact information available and by which mode enabled the survey team to reach the targeted respondent. Over two-thirds of the interviews were completed in person, the rest by telephone.

Once a respondent agreed to participate in the survey, it took 20 to 25 minutes to administer. Both telephone and in-person interviews used computer-assisted interviewing software. The interviewer entered the responses directly into the computer, which expedited the interview and reduced data-entry mistakes by automating the skip patterns and flagging invalid entries. If a field interviewer felt it was unsafe to bring a laptop computer to the interview, (s)he was instructed to fill out a paper version of the instrument, and survey staff entered the information into the database later. The paper version was used in only a handful of cases.

The field period was long (four months) for a survey of this size, because we did not have current contact information for much of the sample and needed to track down their contact information to interview them. The survey was administered concurrently with the tracking portion of the study. That is, once a resident was located—on the telephone or in person—survey staff attempted to conduct the survey. Tracking was an important component for the success of the survey. We used the following procedures to find original residents.

- We matched our survey sample with the most recent MTCS data available (May 2000) to find their current address if they were still receiving housing assistance.⁶⁴
- We obtained the most recent contact information available from the local PHA.
- We sent the best available contact information from MTCS and the PHAs to a company that confirms the current address or telephone number if accurate and appends any other addresses they have on record for that person.
- We sent updated information to a second company that has information no older than 60 days to see if it could further update the contact information.
- For the records with a useable address, we sent an advance letter telling the respondents about the study and providing a toll-free number they could call to schedule an interview or provide updated contact information. Some of the returned mail included a new forwarding address, where we tried to contact the respondents.
- If the above attempts did not lead to a current address or telephone number, field interviewers used locally available resources, including directory assistance, publicly available records from the county clerk's or tax assessor's office, and Internet

⁶⁴ There are several limitations to using MTCS data to find current contact information: (1) MTCS data only has information on households still receiving housing assistance. (2) MTCS data do not include the street address or apartment number of households in public housing developments, just the development identification number. (3) The archived MTCS data containing the list of original residents was missing names for original residents of Quigg Newton, Archbishop Walsh, John Hay Homes, and one-third of Christopher Columbus residents; thus, we could only match them with records that included Social Security Numbers. (PHA-provided lists tended to have the head of household's name, but not Social Security Number, which made it difficult to use both lists at these sites.) (5) The most recent MTCS data used for matching addresses was from May 2000, which included data entered by PHAs in the previous 18 months. Even if the address was accurate at the time the data was entered into MTCS, the household may have moved by the time of the survey. (6) The MTCS does not include telephone numbers.

searches. Social Security Numbers were also used to search credit databases to obtain contact information.

Given the difficulty of finding where the original residents of HOPE VI projects live, we needed to maximize participation of those residents we did find. Several methods were employed to maximize the response rate of potential respondents.

- A mailing was sent to all survey participants informing them of the purpose of the survey and letting them know that it was legitimate research and not a marketing call.
- We contacted resident leaders during the site visit to let them know about the study and asked them to spread the word at upcoming meetings.
- Experienced interviewers were hired and received extensive training on this survey and in refusal conversion. Furthermore, only interviewers who were familiar with the areas where former residents live and were comfortable working in these areas were hired.
- We provided a Spanish translation of the survey and employed Spanish-speaking interviewers. Spanish was the first language spoken by a number of residents in Denver's Quigg Newton and Tucson's Connie Chambers as well as by a handful of residents at other sites.
- Our telephone survey procedures included a minimum of 12 attempts to contact each respondent, including calls at various times of day and on the weekends as needed to conduct the interview. In the event that the respondent wanted to schedule a different time for the survey, staff were available to conduct surveys at any time convenient to the respondent.
- We conducted interviews over the phone or in person, to maximize use of available contact information and respondent preferences.
- Respondents were offered an incentive payment of \$20.

Response rate and representativeness of respondents. Because of the expected difficulties in tracking original residents who were relocated from their public housing unit as long as seven years ago, our goal was to achieve at least a 60 percent response rate at each site. The goal was met or exceeded in seven of the eight sites. San Francisco's Hayes Valley (a FY1995 awardee) was the exception, with a 58 percent response rate. In general, it took more time and resources to achieve the response rate goals in the older sites, since more time had passed since the resident relocated from the original development. Hayes Valley was particularly difficult because the MTCS list of original residents did not include the name of the head of household, but only the Social Security Number. Nevertheless, across the eight study sites, the response rate of 66 percent exceeded the goal. Exhibit A-2 shows the response rate for each site.

A question asked of every survey sample is how well the respondents represent the entire population eligible for the survey. That is, do the people who responded to the survey appear to be similar to those who were not surveyed? If the two groups were systematically different, the results would be biased because the respondents may have answered the survey questions differently than the nonrespondents would have answered the questions. To explore how well the survey respondents represent all original residents at the HOPE VI

study sites, we compared the characteristics of survey respondents with those for all the people identified as original residents by MTCS data. The results are shown in Exhibit A-3.

Based on MTCS data from the year the HOPE VI grant was awarded, respondents are very similar to the entire population of original residents.⁶⁵ We found no significant differences between the two groups in terms of the age of the household head, race, number of children in the household, years in public housing, and amount and type of household income. Thus, based on observable characteristics at the time of the HOPE VI award, the survey sample is representative of the population of original residents at the study sites. This finding does not rule out differences in other unobserved characteristics such as motivation and mental health, but that is always a limitation for comparing survey respondents with a population, especially when no baseline survey has gathered a greater amount of information on the characteristics of the study population prior to the intervention being studied.

⁶⁵ Original residents from Springfield's John Hay Homes and Newark's Archbishop Walsh Homes were excluded from this comparison because we did not have enough information to match the sample to the MTCS data. The sample was based on a PHA-provided list containing the name of the head of household, but no Social Security Number. MTCS data contained the Social Security Number of the head of household, but not the name.

Exhibit A-2: Survey Response Rate, by Site

<i>Heads of Households</i>	Quigg Newton in Denver, CO	Archbishop Walsh In Newark, NJ	John Hay Homes In Springfield, IL	Hayes Valley in San Francisco, CA	Cotter and Lang in Louisville, KY	Connie Chambers in Tucson, AZ	Christopher Columbus in Paterson, NJ	Edwin Corning in Albany, NY	All Sites
Number selected for survey	167	167	158 ^A	203 ^B	169	167	167	167	1,365
Number ineligible ^C	20	9	17	32	15	20	4	2	119
Number eligible	147	158	141	171	154	147	163	165	1,246
Number who completed survey	101	109	97	100	100	100	105	106	818
Response rate	69%	69%	69%	58%	65%	68%	64%	64%	66%

Source: Abt Associates Survey Records (spring 2001).

^a From the list available, we could identify only 158 original residents of John Hay Homes.

^b Extra sample was added for Hayes Valley because of the large number of ineligibles and difficulty tracking residents because of incomplete MTCS records from 1994.

^c Ineligible heads of households include people who failed the screener (53), i.e., they did not verify living in the development at time of the HOPE VI award; were deceased (51); were incapacitated, incarcerated, or could not be interviewed in English or Spanish (11); and duplicate records (4).

Exhibit A-3: Survey Respondents Compared with All Original Residents ^{1, 2, 3}

Characteristics Based on MTCS Data from Year of HOPE VI Award	Survey Respondents	All Original Residents (according to MTCS)
Unweighted sample size	453	2797
Age of household head		
18 – 24	14%	12%
25 – 44	57%	57%
45 – 61	19%	19%
62 or older	10%	12%
Mean age	39.5	40.3
Median age ⁴	36.0	37.0
Race and ethnicity of household head		
White	4%	6%
Black	66%	62%
Hispanic	29%	29%
Other	2%	2%
Number of children in household ⁵		
None	43%	46%
1 – 2	40%	35%
3 – 4	16%	16%
5 or more	2%	2%
Mean number of children	1.2	1.2
Median number of children	1.0	1.0
Years in public housing ⁵		
Less than 2 years	21%	20%
2 – 5 years	43%	41%
5 - 10 years	21%	20%
More than 10 years	15%	18%
Mean years in public housing	6.6	6.8
Median years in public housing	3.8	4.0
Primary source of household income		
Wage	20%	20%
Welfare	45%	43%
Other	33%	33%

Exhibit A-3: Survey Respondents Compared with All Original Residents ^{1, 2, 3}

(continued)

Characteristics Based on MTCS Data from Year of HOPE VI Award	Survey Respondents	All Original Residents (according to MTCS)
Total household income (adjusted to 2000 \$)		
\$ 0	3%	3%
\$ 1 - 4,999	29%	30%
\$ 5,000 – 9,999	46%	44%
\$ 10,000 - 19,999	18%	19%
\$ 20,000 or more	4%	4%
Mean household income	\$7,675	\$7,793
Median household income	\$6,082	\$6,521
Household income as percent of family size adjusted MSA median		
30% of lower	90%	89%
31 – 50%	8%	8%
51 – 80%	2%	2%
Above 80%	0%	0%
Housing assistance according to May 2000 MTCS *		
No longer receiving assistance	35%	48%
Program type among still receiving housing assistance in May 2000 ⁵		
Public housing	47%	49%
Section 8	50%	47%
Privately owned assisted housing	3%	5%

Sources: Demographics and Income: MTCS Data (Denver: 04/1995; Newark 04/1995; Springfield: 03/1994; San Francisco: 12/1995; Louisville: 12/1996; Tucson: 12/1996; Peterson: 10/1997; Albany: 11/1998). Current Housing Assistance Status: MTCS Data (05/2000).

* Significant at 5% between survey respondents and all original residents at study sites.

1. This table excludes Newark and Springfield. Newark has negligible matches with MTCS, and Springfield has matches with MTCS only for those who are still receiving assistance in May 2000.
2. Demographics and income characteristics are for the respective award years for the study sites, but current housing assistance status are for May 2000.
3. All observations are weighted such that each site has equal representation in the results reported in this exhibit. Within the survey respondent sample, respondents from the same site have the same weight. The same holds true for the all original resident sample. We used these weights for this analysis so the largest site, Cotter and Lang, would not entirely drive the results.
4. Medians are not statistically tested for the significance in the difference between groups.
5. 23% of survey respondent and 17% of all original resident samples have number of children missing on MTCS data. Similarly, 32% of survey respondent and 24% of all original resident samples have number of years in public housing at the time of award missing. Also, 13% of survey respondent and 14% of all original resident samples still receiving assistance in May 2000 have program type missing.

The only other information available on the entire population of original residents (respondents and nonrespondents) is their housing assistance status according to May 2000 MTCS data. These results are shown at the bottom of Exhibit 26. On this measure, respondents are different from the entire population of original residents. Respondents are significantly less likely than all original residents to be unsubsidized in May 2000. That is, they are more likely to be living in public housing or using a Housing Choice Voucher than all original residents. According to May 2000 MTCS data, 35 percent of survey respondents were no longer receiving a housing subsidy, and 48 percent of all original residents were no longer subsidized.⁶⁶ This result implies that our survey respondents underrepresent the unsubsidized households in the population.

We believe that the primary reason the unsubsidized residents were underrepresented in our survey is that we had fewer sources of information about their current location. Neither MTCS data nor information provided by PHAs had updated information on the location of unsubsidized households, whereas these were key sources of information for locating subsidized households. In addition, through our efforts to find the people targeted for the survey, we found out some were deceased or incarcerated, and we removed them from our survey sample. However, such information was not available for all original residents, so we were not able to exclude them from the “all original resident” group. Since they would not show up in the May 2000 MTCS records, they would be counted as unsubsidized by this analysis.

To explore the differences between unsubsidized survey respondents and the population of all unsubsidized residents, we compared the income and demographic characteristics for the original residents identified as unsubsidized by the May 2000 MTCS with the characteristics of unsubsidized residents in our survey.⁶⁷ The results are shown in Exhibit A-4. Age is the only characteristic available from MTCS data that differs between unsubsidized respondents and all currently unsubsidized original residents. Survey respondents had an average age of 37.7, compared with 39.7 for all unsubsidized original residents, a small but statistically significant difference. On all other characteristics compared— race, number of children in household, tenure in public housing, and sources and amount of income—the two groups are similar.

⁶⁶ Only 18 percent of our survey respondents reported they did not receive housing subsidies in response to survey questions, rather than the 35 percent reported here. Possible reasons for this discrepancy include: (1) The analysis excluded two sites (John Hay Homes and Archbishop Walsh) because we could not get enough information to match survey respondents to the MTCS data. (2) At the included sites, we could not match all respondents to baseline MTCS data, so some additional people were excluded from this analysis. (3) Otherwise incomplete or inaccurate MTCS data. Any record that did not match with the May 2000 MTCS data was defined as unsubsidized. If there was any missing data from the May 2000 MTCS or if the Social Security Number was inaccurate in either the baseline or May 2000 MTCS data, the person would be falsely identified as unsubsidized for the MTCS analysis. (4) There may have been incorrect self-reporting of subsidy status on the survey.

⁶⁷ The unsubsidized residents were defined as people who were residents of one of the original developments at the time of the HOPE VI award, but who could not be matched with a record on the May 2000 MTCS file.

Exhibit A-4: Characteristics of Unsubsidized Survey Respondents to All Unsubsidized Original Residents^{1, 2, 3}

Characteristics Based on MTCS Data from Year of HOPE VI Award	Unsubsidized Survey Respondents	All Unsubsidized Original Residents
Unweighted sample size	165	1,348
Age of household Head		
18 – 24	15%	10%
25 – 44	60%	62%
45 – 61	17%	17%
62 or older	8%	11%
Mean Age [*]	37.7	39.7
Median Age ⁴	35.0	36.0
Race and ethnicity of household head		
White	7%	8%
Black	60%	62%
Hispanic	31%	28%
Other	2%	3%
Number of children in household⁵		
None	49%	51%
1 – 2	38%	34%
3 – 4	10%	13%
5 or more	3%	2%
Mean number of children	1.0	1.0
Median number of children	1.0	0.0
Years in public housing⁵		
Less than 2 years	21%	20%
2 – 5 years	48%	43%
5 - 10 years	20%	21%
More than 10 years	11%	15%
Mean years in public housing	5.7	6.1
Median years in public housing	3.5	3.9
Primary source of household income		
Wage	21%	20%
Welfare	40%	42%
Other	36%	34%
Zero income	3%	3%

Exhibit A-4: Characteristics of Unsubsidized Survey Respondents to All Unsubsidized Original Residents^{1, 2, 3} (continued)

Characteristics Based on MTCS Data from Year of HOPE VI Award	Unsubsidized Survey Respondents	All Unsubsidized Original Residents
Total household income (adjusted to 2000 \$)		
\$ 0	3%	3%
\$ 1 – 4,999	25%	28%
\$ 5,000 - 9,999	46%	47%
\$ 10,000 - 19,999	21%	19%
\$ 20,000 or more	4%	4%
Mean household income	\$7,834	\$7,781
Median household income	\$6,742	\$6,699
Household income as percent of family size adjusted MSA median		
30% of lower	90%	90%
31 – 50%	9%	8%
51 – 80%	1%	2%
Above 80%	0%	0%

Sources: Demographics and Income: MTCS Data (Denver: 04/1995; Newark 04/1995; Springfield: 03/1994; San Francisco: 12/1995; Louisville: 12/1996; Tucson: 12/1996; Peterson: 10/1997; Albany: 11/1998). Current Housing Assistance Status: MTCS Data (05/2000).

* Indicates significant at 5% between unsubsidized survey respondents and all unsubsidized original residents.

1. This table excludes Newark and Springfield. Newark has negligible matches with MTCS and Springfield has matches with MTCS only for those who are still receiving assistance in May 2000.
2. Demographics and income characteristics are for the respective award years for the study sites, but current housing assistance status are for May 2000.
3. All observations are weighted such that each site has equal representation in the results reported in this exhibit. Within the survey respondent sample, respondents from the same site have the same weight. The same holds true for the all original resident sample. We used these weights for this analysis so the larger sites, such as Cotter and Lang, would not entirely drive the results.
4. Medians are not statistically tested for the significance in the difference between groups.
5. 18% of complete and 33% of all original resident samples have number of children as missing. Similarly, 16% of survey respondent and 24% of all original resident samples have number of years in public housing at the time of award as missing.

Even though the two unsubsidized groups are similar on all observable characteristics except age, there might be some differences in their unobserved characteristics. Since, by definition, we have no information on unobservable characteristics, we do not know how

they are different. We assume that the most difficult to find people are underrepresented on the survey. These people would include those who move frequently and thus are hard to track down; people without a permanent address, such as the homeless; people who left subsidized housing a long time ago, because the last known address we started with was old; people who moved outside the city or state where the original public housing development was located, which would negate some of the local sources we used to find original residents; and people who do not want to be found and so leave no forwarding address. While this may explain why some people were harder to find than others, it still leaves us without a clear idea of how unsubsidized survey respondents might respond differently to the survey or report different living conditions from the unsubsidized residents we could not find.

A.4 In-Depth Resident Interviews

Between five and seven original residents from each of the four 1996-98 sites (Cotter and Lang, Connie Chambers, Christopher Columbus, and Edwin Corning) were interviewed in-depth in May and June 2001. A total of 24 in-depth interviews were conducted. The information from these interviews helped provide context for some of the survey findings. The quotations presented in the report are the words of these respondents from tape recordings of the interviews.

For cost reasons, we interviewed original residents only from the more recent HOPE VI grantees. We chose to interview people from the more recent sites, because we expected that more recent relocatees would have more accurate recall of their relocation experiences and more vivid comparisons of their current living situation and their former public housing home. We also assumed that the more recent sites better reflect the current HOPE VI program. The in-depth interviews elicited detailed information about residents' experiences and the impact of the HOPE VI program on their lives. They covered many of the same issues as the survey, but followed a semi-structured format in order to gain detailed information on research topics and to learn of any significant issues not captured by the survey.

The in-depth interviews also provided an opportunity to explore the process that resulted in a family living where they live. The discussions included the options offered the resident and the factors that affected the residents' decision to move to the neighborhood they moved to as well as their decision to choose public housing, Section 8, or to leave housing assistance altogether. When the resident moved multiple times, the interviews also explored the reasons for those moves. Since none of the 1996-98 sites are completely reoccupied, the interview also discussed whether or not the interviewee planned to move back to the development and the factors affecting this decision.

Candidates for the in-depth interviews were selected at random from the respondents to the survey. However, it is a small sample, so we do not claim these respondents are representative of all original residents.

Appendix B
Resident Survey for HOPE VI
Tracking Study

HOPE VI RETROSPECTIVE SURVEY

January 2001

OMB Number: 2577-0236

INTRODUCTION

Hello, my name is (interviewer name) and I am calling from Abt Associates. May I please speak to (RESPONDENT NAME).

IF NEEDED:

We are conducting a study about developments renovated under the HOPE VI program and would like to speak to RESPONDENT NAME about his/her experiences.

WHEN RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE READ:

We are doing a research survey on the HOPE VI program. We need your help to understand how the HOPE VI program has affected families who use to live in (name of development). HOPE VI is the program that started fixing up (name of development) several years ago. The interview takes about 20 minutes. When we are done, you will be mailed \$20.00 to thank you for your time.

Your participation is voluntary and will in no way effect your current housing situation or benefits. You do not have to participate, but your help is greatly appreciated. All of your answers are strictly confidential. If we begin now I will move through these questions as quickly as you like. **[This call may be recorded for quality control measures.]**

C1. May we begin now?

- 1 Yes [GO TO QS2]
- 2 No [GO TO INTRO A]
- 97 REFUSAL
- 98 DON'T KNOW

INTRO A.

I appreciate you talking with me this {morning / afternoon}.

Do you have any questions about the study that I can address for you?

IF NO: LOOP TO C1

[IF NEEDED:

We need your help to evaluate the delivery of services to Hope VI to people who participated in the revitalization program. Your name will never be released and your participation will not affect any current or future benefits received by people in this or other housing programs. The interview takes about 20 minutes. When we are done, you will be

mailed \$20.00 to thank you for your time. If we begin now I will move through these questions as quickly as you like.

IF YES: LOOP TO C1]

IF YES:

To check on this study or to schedule a time to conduct the interview, please call 1-888-743-7324. Thank you.

TERMINATE TO RESULTS SCREEN

S2. You have been randomly selected to participate in this important research effort because you lived in (name of development). Is that right?

- 1 Yes → SKIP TO QS2b
- 2 No → SKIP TO QS2a

S2a. Did you or anyone in your family live at that address in the last 10 years?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO → TERMINATE TO RESULTS SCREEN
- 97 REFUSED GO TO S2B
- 98 DON'T KNOW GO TO S2B

S2b. Did you live there at any time during (Year of HOPE VI grant)?

- 1 YES [GO TO Q1a OF SURVEY]
- 2 NO GO TO S2C
- 97 REFUSED GO TO S2C
- 98 DON'T KNOW TERMINATE TO RESULTS

S2c. What years did you live there? _____

[If within a year before or after date of revitalization, GO TO Q1a of SURVEY;

If **not** within a year before or after date of revitalization, TERMINATE TO RESULTS SCREEN;

If Don't Know, GO TO S2d.]

S2d. Did you move because they were renovating (name of development)?

- 1 YES [GO TO Q1A OF SURVEY]
- 2 **NO [TERMINATE TO RESULTS SCREEN]**
- 97 REFUSED [TERMINATE TO RESULTS SCREEN]
- 98 DON'T KNOW [TERMINATE TO RESULTS SCREEN]

HOUSING STATUS

The first few questions ask about the place you live now.

1a. Overall, how satisfied are you with the place you live now? Would you say that you are:

- Very satisfied.....1
- Somewhat satisfied.....2
- Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied,.....3
- Somewhat dissatisfied, or.....4
- Very dissatisfied?.....5
- DON'T KNOW.....8
- REFUSED.....7

1b. Overall, how would you describe the condition of the place you live now? Would you say it is in:

- Excellent.....1
- Good2
- Fair, or3
- Poor condition?4
- DON'T KNOW.....8
- REFUSED.....7

2. Is the place you now live in:

- an apartment or house you rent,1 ® **SKIP TO Q2a1**
- a home or condominium you own,.....2 ® **SKIP TO Q3**
- Homeless shelter or shelter for domestic violence, or3 ® **SKIP TO Q5**
- other?4 ® **SKIP TO Q4**
- DON'T KNOW.....8 ® **SKIP TO Q4**
- REFUSED.....7 ® **SKIP TO Q4**

2a1. Is this public housing?

- YES.....1
- NO.....2 ® **SKIP TO Q2b**
- DON'T KNOW.....8 ® **SKIP TO Q2b**
- REFUSED.....7 ® **SKIP TO Q2a**

2a. Is the public housing development where you currently live:

- in the same HOPE VI public housing development you lived in before it was renovated,1 ® **SKIP TO Q3**
- in a different public housing development, or2 ® **SKIP TO Q3**
- is it a scattered-site public housing unit?.....3 ® **SKIP TO Q3**
- DON'T KNOW8 ® **SKIP TO Q3**
- REFUSED.....7 ® **SKIP TO Q3**

2b. Do you receive a Section 8 voucher to help you pay for your apartment?

- YES.....1
- NO.....2
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

3. Do you share the place you live now with other friends or family, besides your own children (and your spouse or partner)?

- YES1
- NO2 ® **SKIP TO Q4**
- DON'T KNOW8 ® **SKIP TO Q4**
- REFUSED.....7 ® **SKIP TO Q4**

3a. Are you responsible for all of the (rent/mortgage), do you share the payment with your family or friends, or are you not responsible for any of the (rent/mortgage)?

- RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL OF THE RENT1
- SHARE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RENT2
- NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR ANY OF THE RENT3
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

4. Which of the following best describes the place you live now? Is it:

- a one-family house, or1
- an apartment building?2 ® **SKIP TO 4b**
- DON'T KNOW8 ® **SKIP TO Q5**
- REFUSED.....7 ® **SKIP TO Q5**

4a. Is this one-family house:

detached from any other house, or	1	® SKIP TO Q5
attached to one or more houses?	2	® SKIP TO Q5
DON'T KNOW	8	® SKIP TO Q5
REFUSED.....	7	® SKIP TO Q5

4b. Is the building where you live now part of a development with other residential buildings?

NO (It is the only building in the development).....	1
YES (There are other buildings in the development).....	2
DON'T KNOW.....	8
REFUSED.....	7

4c. In total, approximately how many *units* are in the building you live in:

2 APARTMENTS	1
3 OR 4 APARTMENTS	2
5 TO 9 APARTMENTS	3
10 TO 19 APARTMENTS.....	4
20 TO 49 APARTMENTS, OR	5
50 OR MORE APARTMENTS?	6
DON'T KNOW	8
REFUSED.....	7

5. How many years have you lived at your current address?

(number of years).....	1-96	® SKIP TO Q6
LESS THAN ONE YEAR	97	
DON'T KNOW.....	98	® SKIP TO Q6
REFUSED.....	99	® SKIP TO Q6

5a. How many months have you lived at your current address?

(number of months).....	1-11
DON'T KNOW.....	98
REFUSED.....	99

- 6. How many years have you lived in your neighborhood?**
- | | | |
|--------------------------|------|--------------|
| (number of years)..... | 1-96 | ® SKIP TO Q7 |
| LESS THAN ONE YEAR | 97 | |
| DON'T KNOW..... | 98 | ® SKIP TO Q7 |
| REFUSED..... | 99 | ® SKIP TO Q7 |

- 6a. How many months have you lived in your neighborhood?**
- | | |
|-------------------------|------|
| (number of months)..... | 1-11 |
| DON'T KNOW..... | 98 |
| REFUSED..... | 99 |

7. When (name of development) was first renovated in around (year), did you:

- | | | |
|---|---|---------------|
| Never move out of original apartment | 1 | ® SKIP TO Q14 |
| Move to another apartment within the same development . | 2 | |
| Move out of the development | 3 | |
| DON'T KNOW..... | 8 | |
| REFUSED..... | 7 | |

7a. When you first moved out of (name of development), because renovation was starting, did you move to the place you live now?

- | | | |
|-----------------|---|---------------|
| YES | 1 | ® SKIP TO Q13 |
| NO | 2 | |
| DON'T KNOW..... | 8 | |
| REFUSED..... | 7 | |

8. When you first moved out of (name of development) , did you move to:

- | | | |
|--|---|----------------|
| an apartment or house that you rented, | 1 | ® SKIP TO Q8a1 |
| a house or condominium that you owned,..... | 2 | ® SKIP TO Q9 |
| a homeless shelter or shelter for domestic violence, or..... | 3 | ® SKIP TO Q11 |
| other? | 4 | ® SKIP TO Q9 |
| DON'T KNOW..... | 8 | ® SKIP TO Q9 |
| REFUSED..... | 7 | ® SKIP TO Q9 |

8a1. Was that apartment or house public housing?

- | | | |
|------------------|---|---------------|
| YES..... | 1 | |
| NO..... | 2 | ® SKIP TO Q8b |
| DON'T KNOW | 8 | ® SKIP TO Q8b |
| REFUSED..... | 7 | ® SKIP TO Q8a |

8a. Was that public housing unit:

- in the same HOPE VI public housing development you lived in before the renovation,1 ® **SKIP TO Q9**
- in a different public housing development, or2 ® **SKIP TO Q9**
- in a scattered-site public housing unit?3 ® **SKIP TO Q9**
- DON'T KNOW8 ® **SKIP TO Q9**
- REFUSED.....7 ® **SKIP TO Q9**

8b. Did you receive a Section 8 voucher to help you the rent?

- YES.....1
- NO.....2
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

9. Did you share this apartment/house with other friends or family, besides your own children (and spouse/partner)?

- YES1
- NO2 ® **SKIP TO Q10**
- DON'T KNOW8 ® **SKIP TO Q10**
- REFUSED.....7 ® **SKIP TO Q10**

9a. Were you responsible for all of the (rent/mortgage), did you share the payment with your family or friends, or were you not responsible for any of the (rent/mortgage)?

- RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL OF THE RENT1
- SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR RENT2
- NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR ANY OF THE RENT3
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

10. Which of the following best describes that first place you moved to while [name of development] was renovated? Was it:

- a one-family house, or1
- an apartment building?2 ® **SKIP TO Q10b**
- Other (specify _____) 95 ® **SKIP TO Q10b**
- DON'T KNOW98 ® **SKIP TO Q11**
- REFUSED.....97 ® **SKIP TO Q11**

10a. Was this one-family house:

- detached from any other house, or1 ® **SKIP TO Q11**
- attached to one or more houses?2 ® **SKIP TO Q11**
- DON'T KNOW8 ® **SKIP TO Q11**
- REFUSED.....7 ® **SKIP TO Q11**

10b. Was the building where you lived part of a development with other residential buildings or was it the only building in the development?

- Single building... 1
- Multiple buildings2
- DON'T KNOW.....8
- REFUSED.7

10c. In total, approximately how many units were in the building you lived in:

- 2 APARTMENTS,1
- 3 TO 4 APARTMENTS,2
- 5 TO 9 APARTMENTS,3
- 10 TO 19 APARTMENTS,4
- 20 TO 49 APARTMENTS, OR5
- 50 OR MORE APARTMENTS?6
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

**[If q7a=2, 8, or 9 AND q8b=1 GO TO Q11;
If Q7=2,8,or 9 AND Q8b=2, 8, 9 GO TO Q12]
GO TO Q13**

11. You indicated that you no longer live in the place where you *first* moved when (name of development) was revitalized. Why did you move out of that first place?

- Because you wanted to,1→ **SKIP TO Q13**
- Because your apartment failed inspection,2→ **SKIP TO Q13**
- Because you were evicted, or.....3→ **SKIP TO Q13**
- For some other reason? (specify: _____) 4 → **SKIP TO Q13**
- DON'T KNOW8→ **SKIP TO Q13**
- REFUSED.....7→ **SKIP TO Q13**

12. You have said that you no longer live in the place where you first moved when (name of development) was revitalized. Why did you move out of that first place?

- Because you wanted to,1
- Because you were evicted, or.....2
- For some other reason? (specify: _____)95
- DON'T KNOW.....98
- REFUSED.....97

13. How many times have you moved since (name of development) was being renovated? [Does this include the time you moved because (name of development) was being renovated?]

- ONCE.....1
- 2-3.....2
- 4-5.....3
- MORE THAN 5 TIMES.....5
- DON'T KNOW.....8
- REFUSED.....7

14. Now, I would like to ask about various services you may have received when you first moved from (name of development) . Some housing authorities offer several of these services, while others only offer a few. [Did you receive help with any of the following from the housing authority or an agency working with the housing authority?]

(READ LIST)

Did you receive assistance with ...

<u>REF</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	
a. Calculating how much you can pay for rent?1	2	8	7	
b. Finding neighborhoods to search in?1	2	8	7	
c. Finding listings of available apartments?1	2	8	7	
d. Transportation to possible rental units?1	2	8	7	
e. Filling out rental applications and references?.....1	2	8	7	
f. Meeting with landlords?1	2	8	7	
g. Job training or help finding a job?.....1	2	8	7	
h. Social services, such as case management or counseling for personal issues?.....1	2	8	7	
i. Paying the security deposit?.....1	2	8	7	

j. Financial assistance to help pay moving costs?	1	2	8	7
k. Paying for utility hook-ups?.....	1	2	8	7
l. Reimbursement for apartment application fees?	1	2	8	7
m. Budget Management and credit counseling?	1	2	8	7

15. No Question #15.

16. No Question #16.

The next few questions ask about the place you live now.

17. I am going to read you a standard set of questions about housing conditions.

Please tell me if they are a big problem, some problem, or no problem at all in the place you live now.

		<u>Big problem,</u>	<u>Some problem,</u>	<u>No problem?</u>	<u>DK</u>
<u>REF</u>					
a. Walls with peeling paint or broken plaster. Would you say that's a	1	2	3	8	7
b. Plumbing that does not work properly. Would you say that's a	1	2	3	8	7
c. Rats or mice in the apartment.	1	2	3	8	7
d. Cockroaches or other bugs in the apartment.	1	2	3	8	7
e. Broken locks or no locks on the door to your unit.	1	2	3	8	7
f. Heat not working for more than 24 hours.....	1	2	3	8	7

18. We would like you to compare the place you live now to the place you lived in at (name of development). Overall, do you think that the place you live now is in better condition, about the same condition, or worse condition?

CURRENT PLACE IN BETTER CONDITION.....	1
CURRENT PLACE IN ABOUT THE SAME CONDITION	2
CURRENT PLACE IN WORSE CONDITION	3
DON'T KNOW.....	8
REFUSED.....	7

NEIGHBORS AND NEIGHBORHOOD *The next questions ask about your neighborhood.*

19. Think about the people who live in your neighborhood. Would you say that most of the people...

- have more money than you do,1
- have about the same amount of money that you do, or2
- have less money than you do?3
- DON'T KNOW.....8
- REFUSED.....7

20. How would you describe the racial/ethnic composition of your neighborhood? Would you say that your neighborhood consists almost entirely of people of the same race or ethnic background or a mixture of race and ethnic groups?

- ALMOST ENTIRELY ONE RACE OR ETHNIC GROUP1
- A MIXTURE OF RACE/ETHNIC GROUPS.....2 → SKIP TO Q20B
- DON'T KNOW.....8→ SKIP TO Q20B
- REFUSED.....7→ SKIP TO Q21

20a. What race or ethnic group are most people in your neighborhood in?

- AFRICAN-AMERICAN.....1 → SKIP TO Q21
- ASIAN.....2 → SKIP TO Q21
- HISPANIC3 → SKIP TO Q21
- WHITE.....4 → SKIP TO Q21
- OTHER.....5 → SKIP TO Q21
- DON'T KNOW.....8 → SKIP TO Q21
- REFUSED.....7 → SKIP TO Q21

20b. What are the major race and ethnic groups represented in your neighborhood?

[CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY]

- African-American1
- Asian2
- Hispanic.....3
- White.....4
- Other race/ethnic groups5
- DON'T KNOW.....8
- REFUSED.....7

21. How many of your friends live in the same neighborhood as you? Would you say none, a few, or many...

- NONE,1
- A FEW, OR2
- MANY3
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

22. How many of your family members live in the same neighborhood as you? Would you say none, a few, or many ...

- NONE1
- A FEW, OR2
- MANY3
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

23. During the past 12 months, how often have you loaned or borrowed things from a neighbor? Would you say...

- Almost every day,1
- Once a week,2
- Once a month,.....3
- A few times, or4
- Never?5
- ONCE6
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

24. During the past 12 months, how often have you babysat a neighbor's child? Would you say...

- Almost every day,1
- Once a week,2
- Once a month,.....3
- A few times, or4
- Never?5
- ONCE6
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

25. During the past 12 months, how often have you had coffee or a meal with a neighbor? Would you say...

- Almost every day,1
- Once a week,2
- Once a month,.....3
- A few times, or4
- Never?5
- ONCE6
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

26. During the past 12 months, how often have you stopped to chat with a neighbor in the street or hallway? Would you say...

- Almost every day,1
- Once a week,2
- Once a month,.....3
- A few times, or4
- Never?5
- ONCE6
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

27. How likely is it that your neighbors would do something if they saw . . .

	Very likely,	Likely,	Neither likely nor unlikely,	Unlikely,	Very unlikely?
a. Children skipping school and hanging out on a street corner? Would you say.....	1	2	3	4	5
b. Children spray-painting graffiti on a local building?	1	2	3	4	5
c. Children showing disrespect to an adult? ...	1	2	3	4	5
d. People fighting in front of their home?.....	1	2	3	4	5

**** ADDED DON'T KNOW (8) AND REFUSED (7) CATEGORIES**

28. Please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements about your neighborhood.

	<u>Strongly agree</u>	<u>Somewhat agree</u>	<u>Neither agree nor disagree</u>	<u>Somewhat disagree</u>	<u>Strongly disagree?</u>
a. People around here are willing to help their neighbors.. . . .	1	2	3	4	5
b. People in this neighborhood share the same values.....	1	2	3	4	5
c. This is a close-knit neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
d. People in this neighborhood can be trusted.	1	2	3	4	5
e. People in this neighborhood generally get along with each other.....	1	2	3	4	5

**** ADDED DON'T KNOW (8) AND REFUSED (7) CATEGORIES**

The next questions ask about services in your neighborhood.

29. How long does it take you to get to the nearest bus or train stop?

- Less than 15 minutes,.....1
- 15 to 30 minutes,2
- 31 to 45 minutes,3
- 46 minutes to one hour, or4
- More than one hour?.....5
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

30. Thinking about the grocery store you use most of the time, how long does it take you to get there?

- Less than 15 minutes,.....1
- 15 to 30 minutes,2
- 31 to 45 minutes,3
- 46 minutes to one hour, or4
- More than one hour?.....5
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

31. Thinking about the doctor, health clinic, or hospital you use most of the time, how long does it take you to get there?

- Less than 15 minutes,.....1
- 15 to 30 minutes,2
- 31 to 45 minutes,3
- 46 minutes to one hour, or4
- More than one hour?.....5
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

32. Now, please think about the area you consider your neighborhood and tell me if the following items are a big problem, some problem, or no problem at all in your neighborhood.

	<u>Big problem</u>	<u>Some problem</u>	<u>No problem at all</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Refused</u>
a. Unemployment.	1	2	3	8	7
b. Groups of people just hanging out	1	2	3	8	7
c. The number of teenage mothers	1	2	3	8	7
d. Lack of child care.	1	2	3	8	7
e. Lack of medical care such as health clinics, dental offices, or eye doctors.....	1	2	3	8	7
f. Lack of restaurants or grocery stores.....	1	2	3	8	7
g. Lack of programs for children such as recreational and tutorial programs.....	1	2	3	8	7
h. Lack of services for seniors.....	1	2	3	8	7
i. Lack of public transportation	1	2	3	8	7
j. Quality of schools.....	1	2	3	8	7
k. People <u>selling</u> drugs.....	1	2	3	8	7
l. People <u>using</u> drugs	1	2	3	8	7
m. People being attacked or robbed	1	2	3	8	7

n. Gangs.....	1	2	3	8	7
o. Police not coming when called	1	2	3	8	7
p. Graffiti, that is, writing or painting on the walls of the buildings.....	1	2	3	8	7
q. Shootings and violence.....	1	2	3	8	7
r. Rape or other sexual attacks.....	1	2	3	8	7
s. Trash and junk in the parking lots, streets, lawns, and sidewalks	1	2	3	8	7

EMPLOYMENT AND JOB TRAINING

Next, we have a few questions about work.

33. Do you currently work for pay?

YES	1	→ GO TO Q34
NO	2	→ SKIP TO Q33A
DON'T KNOW.....	8	→ SKIP TO Q37
REFUSED.....	7	→ SKIP TO Q37

33a. Are you retired?

YES	1	→ SKIP TO Q38
NO.....	2	→ SKIP TO Q37
DON'T KNOW.....	8	→ SKIP TO Q37
REFUSED.....	7	→ SKIP TO Q37

34. On average, do you work ...

less than 20 hours a week	1
between 20 and 35 hours a week.....	2
More than 35 hours a week	3
DON'T KNOW.....	8
REFUSED.....	7

35. Including part-time and full-time jobs, how many jobs do you have?

(NUMBER OF EMPLOYERS) 1-97
DON'T KNOW98
REFUSED.....99

36. Is your (main) job located in your neighborhood, in the city, in the suburbs, or somewhere else?

YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD1 → SKIP TO Q39
IN THE CITY2 → SKIP TO Q39
SUBURBS.....3 → SKIP TO Q39
SOMEWHERE ELSE4 → SKIP TO Q39
DON'T KNOW8 → SKIP TO Q39
REFUSED.....7 → SKIP TO Q39

37. Have you ever worked for pay?

YES1
NO2 → SKIP TO Q39
DON'T KNOW8 → SKIP TO Q39
REFUSED.....7 → SKIP TO Q39

38. How many months or years has it been since you were last employed full- or part-time?

(number of years).....1-96 → SKIP TO Q39
LESS THAN ONE YEAR97
DON'T KNOW98 → SKIP TO Q39
REFUSED.....99 → SKIP TO Q39

38b. How many months has it been since you were last employed?

(number of months).....1-11
DON'T KNOW.....98
REFUSED.....99

39. Does anyone else in your household currently work for pay?

YES1
NO2 → SKIP TO Q41
DON'T KNOW8 → SKIP TO Q41
REFUSED.....7 → SKIP TO Q41

40. On average, does that person work ...

- less than 20 hours a week,1
- between 20 and 35 hours a week, or2
- more than 35 hours a week?3
- DON'T KNOW.....8
- REFUSED.....7

41. [IF 33=1, SHOW "NEW"]

Have you looked for a [new] job in the past 12 months?

- YES1
- NO2
- DON'T KNOW.....8
- REFUSED.....7

42. Thinking about your own experience looking for a job or working, please tell me whether any of the following factors have made it difficult for you personally to look for, get a job, or keep a job recently.

		YES	NO	DK	REF
A	Not having work experience	1	2	8	7
B	Not having child care	1	2	8	7
C	Lack of transportation	1	2	8	7
D	Not speaking English well	1	2	8	7
E	Having a disability	1	2	8	7
F	Discrimination	1	2	8	7
G	Lack of jobs in the neighborhood	1	2	8	7
H	Having a drug or alcohol problem	1	2	8	7
I	Having a criminal record	1	2	8	7

43. Are you currently taking any classes or enrolled in any training programs?

- YES1
- NO2
- DON'T KNOW.....8
- REFUSED.....7

44. In the past 12 months, did you *complete* any classes to earn a regular high school diploma or GED?

YES1
NO2
DON'T KNOW.....8
REFUSED.....7

45. In the past 12 months, did you *complete* any college courses or programs for credit toward a college degree, such as an AA, BA, or advanced degree?

YES1
NO2
DON'T KNOW.....8
REFUSED.....7

46. In the past 12 months, did you *complete* any welfare-to-work training programs or classes?

YES1
NO2
DON'T KNOW.....8
REFUSED.....7

HARDSHIP QUESTIONS

Now I'm going to read you some statements that people have made about their food situation and their housing situation. For these statements, please tell me whether the statement was often, sometimes, or never true for (you/your family) in the last 12 months, that is, since (name of current month) of last year.

47. “(I/we) worried whether (my/our) food would run out before (I/we) got money to buy more.” Was that often, sometimes, or never true for (you/your family) in the last 12 months?

OFTEN1
SOMETIMES TRUE2
NEVER3
DON'T KNOW.....8
REFUSED.....7

48. “The food that (I/we) bought just didn’t last, and (I/we) didn’t have money to get any more.” Was that often, sometimes, or never true for (you/your family) in the last 12 months?

- OFTEN1
- SOMETIMES TRUE2
- NEVER3
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

49. In the last 12 months, since (month, year), did you or other adults in your family ever cut the size of your meals or skip meals because there was not enough money for food?

- YES1
- NO2 → SKIP TO Q50
- DON'T KNOW8 → SKIP TO Q50
- REFUSED7 → SKIP TO Q50

49a. How often did this happen? Was it ...

- almost every month,.....1
- some months, but not every month, or2
- only 1 or 2 months?3
- DON'T KNOW8
- REFUSED.....7

IF Q2b=1 insert wording about Section 8

IF Q2a1=1, 2 , 3, 8, or 9 insert wording about public housing

50. During the last 12 months, was there a time when (you/you and your family) had difficulty paying your mortgage rent, or utility bills [even with the assistance you receive from Section 8] [even with the assistance you receive from public housing]?

- YES1
- NO2 → SKIP TO Q51
- DON'T KNOW8 → SKIP TO Q51
- REFUSED7 → SKIP TO Q51

50a. Did you get any help when you were not able to pay the mortgage, rent or utility bills?

YES	1	
NO	2	→ SKIP TO Q51
DON'T KNOW	8	→ SKIP TO Q51
REFUSED	7	→ SKIP TO Q51

50b. Who did you get help from? (code all that apply)

Family or friends	1
Clergy (minister, priest, rabbi)	2
Bank, loan company, other commercial source	3
Community program	4
Housing authority	5
Government program	6
Other (specify) _____	95
DON'T KNOW	98
REFUSED	97

51. During the last 12 months, did you or your children move in with other people even for a little while because you could not afford to pay your mortgage, rent or utility bills?

YES	1
NO	2
DON'T KNOW	8
REFUSED	7

52. During the last 12 months, has your household ever been without telephone service for more than 24 hours because you could not afford to pay the telephone bill?

YES	1
NO	2
DON'T KNOW	8
REFUSED	7

SOURCES OF INCOME AND IN-KIND SUPPORT

The next questions are about types of income or benefits you may receive.

53. In the past 12 months, have you or anyone in your household received . . .

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>REF</u>
a. Cash from public assistance, including AFDC or TANF (Aid to Families with Dependent Children or Temporary Assistance to Needy Families)?.....1	2	8	7	
b. SSI (Supplemental Security Income)?1	2	8	7	
c. Other disability pay such as SSDI (Social Security Disability Income), a veteran’s disability benefit or workers compensation for a work-related injury?1	2	8	7	
d. Unemployment compensation because you were laid off from a job?1	2	8	7	
e. Income from casual work or under-the-table jobs? Please include babysitting, housecleaning, or working in exchange for food.....1	2	8	7	
f. Child support?1	2	8	7	
g. Food stamps?1	2	8	7	
h. WIC (Assistance from the Woman, Infants and Children Supplemental Nutrition Program)?1	2	8	7	

[If respondent currently receives TANF, Q53a=1, then **SKIP to Q55**]

54. Have you ever received cash assistance from the AFDC or TANF program as an adult?

YES	1	
NO	2	→ SKIP TO Q58
DON'T KNOW.....	8	→ SKIP TO Q55
REFUSED.....	7	→ SKIP TO Q58

55. How many years in total have you received public aid (AFDC or TANF) as an adult?

(number of years).....	1-96
LESS THAN ONE YEAR	97
DON'T KNOW.....	98
REFUSED.....	99

56. QUESTION OMITTED

57. QUESTION OMITTED

HEALTH QUESTIONS

The next few questions ask about your health.

58. In general, would you say your health is:

Excellent,.....	1
Very good,.....	2
Good,.....	3
Fair, or	4
Poor?.....	5
DON'T KNOW.....	8
REFUSED.....	7

59. Compared to one year ago, how would you rate your health in general now?

Better	1
About the same	2
Worse	3
DON'T KNOW.....	8
REFUSED.....	7

60. Has a doctor or other health professional ever told you that you or anyone in your household has asthma?

YES	1	
NO	2	→ SKIP TO Q61
DON'T KNOW.....	8	→ SKIP TO Q61
REFUSED.....	7	→ SKIP TO Q61

60a. Is this household member an adult or a child?

ADULT.....1
CHILD.....2
BOTH ADULT(S) AND CHILD(REN).....3
DON'T KNOW.....8
REFUSED.....7

61. During the past 6 months, have you or anyone in your household had an episode of asthma or an asthma attack?

YES.....1
NO.....2 → **SKIP TO Q62**
DON'T KNOW.....8 → **SKIP TO Q62**
REFUSED.....7 → **SKIP TO Q62**

61a. Was this household member an adult or a child?

ADULT.....1
CHILD.....2
BOTH ADULT(S) AND CHILD(REN).....3
DON'T KNOW.....8
REFUSED.....7

62. During the past 6 months, have you or anyone in your household visited the emergency room or urgent care center because of asthma?

YES.....1
NO.....2 → **SKIP TO Q63**
DON'T KNOW.....8 → **SKIP TO Q63**
REFUSED.....7 → **SKIP TO Q63**

62a. Was this household member an adult or a child?

ADULT.....1
CHILD.....2
BOTH ADULT(S) AND CHILD(REN).....3
DON'T KNOW.....8
REFUSED.....7

63. Now, I'd like to ask you some questions about yourself. For each of these statements please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements. (READ EACH STATEMENT.)

	Strongly Agree,	Somewhat Agree,	Somewhat Disagree,	Strongly Disagree?	DK	REF
a. Good luck is more important than hard work for success. Do you.....	1	2	3	4	8	7
b. Every time I try to get ahead, something stops me.....	1	2	3	4	8	7
c. When I make plans, I can usually carry them out.....	1	2	3	4	8	7
d. Planning only makes people unhappy because plans hardly ever work out anyway.	1	2	3	4	8	7

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

I'd like to end with a few background questions.

64. In what year were you born?

[ENTER 4-DIGIT YEAR] __ __ __ __ (1900-1985)
 DON'T KNOW.....9998
 REFUSED.....9997

65. I'd like you to tell me which category best estimates your total household income for the year 2000. Please include all income including money earned from jobs, public assistance, or social security. In the year 2000, what was your household income, before taxes?

Less than \$5,0001
 \$5,000 to \$9,9992
 \$10,000 to \$14,9993
 \$15,000 to \$19,9994
 \$20,000 to \$29,9995
 \$30,000 to \$39,9996
 \$40,000 or more.....7
 DON'T KNOW.....98
 REFUSED.....97

66. Do you describe your ethnicity as:

Hispanic or Latino/a	1
Non-Hispanic or non-Latino/a	2
DON'T KNOW.....	8
REFUSED.....	7

67. Do you describe your race as:

White	1
Black or African American	2
American Indian or Alaska Native	3
Asian	4
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	5
Other (SPECIFY) _____.....	6
DON'T KNOW.....	8
REFUSED	7

68. What is the highest grade or year of school that you have ever completed?

None	00
Grade School	01
Grade School	02
Grade School	03
Grade School	04
Grade School	05
Grade School	06
Grade School	07
Grade School	08
High School	09
High School	10
High School	11
High School	12
College	13
College	14
College	15
College	16
Some graduate school.....	17
Graduate or professional degree	18
DON'T KNOW.....	98
REFUSED	97

69. Are you currently . . .

married	1
not married, but living with partner	2
not married, and not living with a partner?	3
WIDOWED, DIVORCED OR SEPARATED	4
DON'T KNOW.....	8
REFUSED	7

70. Do you have a valid driver's license?

YES1
NO2
DON'T KNOW8
REFUSED7

71. Do you own or have access to a car that runs?

YES1
NO2
DON'T KNOW8
REFUSED7

72. How many adults, age 18 or older, live with you?

[ENTER NUMBER OF ADULTS] _____ adults
DON'T KNOW98
REFUSED97

73. How many children, between ages 6 and 17, live with you?

[ENTER NUMBER OF CHILDREN] _____ children
DON'T KNOW98
REFUSED97

74. How many children, under age 6, live with you?

[ENTER NUMBER OF CHILDREN] _____ children
DON'T KNOW98
REFUSED97

75. RECORD GENDER OF RESPONDENT (IF UNSURE, ASK RESPONDENT THEIR GENDER)

MALE1
FEMALE2
DON'T KNOW8
REFUSED7

**ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS FROM RESPONDENT
Are there any comments you would like to add to at this time?**

YES1 **SKIP TO COMMENTS**
NO2 **SKIP TO CLOSING**

COMMENTS:

CLOSING

I would like to confirm your address so that we can mail you your check.
CONFIRM ADDRESS WITH ADDRESS IN DATABASE

_____ (STREET ADDRESS)
_____ (APT. NUMBER)
_____ (CITY)
_____ (STATE) _____ (ZIP CODE)

Thank you for taking the time to participate in our survey.