

Responsible Redevelopment

**RELOCATION
ROAD MAP**

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The Annie E. Casey Foundation is a private charitable organization dedicated to helping build better futures for disadvantaged children in the United States. It was established in 1948 by Jim Casey, one of the founders of UPS, and his siblings, who named the Foundation in honor of their mother. The primary mission of the Foundation is to foster public policies, human-service reforms, and community supports that more effectively meet the needs of today's vulnerable children and families. In pursuit of this goal, the Foundation makes grants that help states, cities, and neighborhoods fashion more innovative, cost-effective responses to these needs. For more information, visit the Foundation's website at www.aecf.org.

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Foreword:

THE CONTEXT AND

CHALLENGE OF

URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

The American urban landscape is a restless place, continuously shaped by market forces, public policies, and the decisions and desires of innumerable private actors. People are always on the move, sometimes of their own volition, sometimes not. For much of the past century, urban areas sprawled outward into the countryside, fed by cheap land and energy, supportive federal policies, and the allure of the American suburban dream. As the suburbs grew, many central cities, especially those in the industrial Northeast and Midwest, were wracked by job losses, increased crime, and racial turmoil. So-called "urban renewal" efforts

razed working-class neighborhoods to make way for expressways, civic centers, sports stadiums, and public housing. Residents, jobs, and capital fled, creating vast tracts of distressed neighborhoods with large numbers of vacant buildings, high concentrations of poverty, and limited opportunities for their mostly minority residents. In response to disinvestment, a community development industry evolved to organize and improve these neighborhoods. However, these organizations struggled to keep pace with the scale and intensity of change, as well as the ambivalence of market forces.

In recent decades, shifts in the national and global economy, changes in demography and housing preferences, and a growing recognition of the costs and congestion of sprawl have led to new interest and investment in distressed neighborhoods in many central cities. This return to the center is referred to variously as "redevelopment," "revitalization," or "gentrification." The dominant subject of the current redevelopment conversation has been the transformation of physical places. Made obsolete by the shift to a post-industrial economy, factories and warehouses are adaptively reused for high-end housing and high-tech office space; obsolete transportation facilities are reborn as festival marketplaces and upscale hotels; and vacant tenements are rehabbed into luxury condominiums.

The return of market interest to communities long-starved of private investment is certainly a positive development for revenue-strapped cities. Yet, the people side of the redevelopment equation has itself been underdeveloped. Until recently, relatively little attention has focused on what happens to the mostly minority, lower-income residents of distressed neighborhoods that experience redevelopment. In many cases, redevelopment activities displace residents directly or eventually raise housing and living costs beyond what families can afford. Those residents who do remain rarely are able to access the new housing, jobs, schools, and other amenities created by redevelopment.

It is the contention of the Annie E. Casey Foundation that redevelopment activities need to focus not only on improving places, but also on improving choices, opportunities, and outcomes for the families who live in these neighborhoods. We call this integration of human capital and physical development “Responsible Redevelopment.” Goals of this approach include:

- The creation of diverse, mixed-income communities that provide quality affordable housing, better jobs, and improved educational opportunities for lower-income families;
- The use of Community Benefits Agreements to empower residents to determine the opportunities that development projects can deliver for their communities;
- The promotion of ownership opportunities to build assets for low-income individuals, their families, and their broader communities;
- The preservation of affordable rental and homeownership options to meet the diverse needs of lower-income families;
- The expansion of opportunities for lower-income families to move to communities of choice located throughout the region in which they live;
- The encouragement of activities by hospitals, universities, and other anchor institutions to become active catalysts and sustainable investors in the redevelopment of the neighborhoods in which they are located; and
- The implementation of a more responsible approach to relocation that not only seeks to limit the traumas and burdens of involuntary displacement, but also to create opportunities for families to improve their lives.

The paths to achieving the goals of Responsible Redevelopment are long, complex, and full of roadblocks and detours. This Responsible Redevelopment: Relocation Road Map is the first in a series of guides that the Casey Foundation will produce to help navigate this challenging terrain.

This guide outlines some of the key issues faced in filling in the gaps between existing policy and better practice, and suggests some minimum standards to be followed in instances of involuntary relocation caused by projects that are not covered by statute and regulations. It focuses exclusively on matters relating to the relocation of residential households as a result of redevelopment activities.

WHAT IS

Responsible Relocation

AND WHY IS IT NEEDED?

Geographic, if not social, mobility is a signature feature of American life. Many of us have moved in our lives. We move because of the promise or requirements of a job, a military deployment, an interest in a bigger or smaller residence, the desire to be located in a specific school district, or any number of other reasons that make us a highly mobile society.

Many of us, then, have experienced the hassles and headaches that accompany a move, even if moving is by choice and promises greater opportunity. You probably remember it well—having to find a new residence

that suits your needs and fits your income; transferring utilities and changing addresses for all communications; packing up and moving out; leaving behind neighbors, friends, and the hard-won familiarity with the community that only comes with time; getting the new residence ready, unpacking, and identifying essential resources and connections in our new community; and trying to settle into a routine in a strange place. We know from personal experience that moving is one of life's more stressful experiences.

Now, imagine what it would be like to move if you:

- Had a very limited income that prevented you from saving up for something as big as a move;
- Had vulnerabilities or special needs that made it more difficult to move and more necessary to maintain health care or social services in a transition;
- Had uncertainties about what the future holds because the move was not something that you wanted or had a say in determining; and
- Had been told to move by the city or your landlord to make way for redevelopment.

Not having a choice in the decision to move intensifies the stresses and strains of the relocation process. Large numbers of people are displaced involuntarily every year. While households of different income levels can be affected, low-income minority residents of economically distressed communities are more likely to be relocated involuntarily.¹ In 2005, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development estimated that at least half a million poor households were displaced involuntarily by the exercise of eminent domain, the conversion of public housing projects into HOPE VI communities, and the expiration of federal affordable housing subsidy arrangements. These figures do not include people who were displaced indirectly as redevelopment and speculation made housing in formerly distressed and disinvested neighborhoods unaffordable to current and future low-income residents.

Displaced low-income residents, and especially residents of color, often have limited choices about where to move and receive little or no help in dealing with the traumas of relocation. In addition to imposing financial and other burdens on families, involuntary displacement disrupts social support networks and creates intense psychological stress.² Families with teenage boys; ill, elderly, disabled, substance-abusing, and/or formerly incarcerated members; and multiple generations living under one roof face especially serious hardships as a result of relocation.³ Without adequate planning and support, vulnerable families are likely to “fall through the cracks”⁴ during the relocation process and end up worse off as a result. Involuntary relocation often intensifies the challenges and risks faced by already vulnerable families.

The negative impact of relocation extends beyond individual families to wider communities. Without assistance, displaced low-income residents are likely to move to other distressed neighborhoods, which increases the concentration of poverty and reinforces disinvestment in these areas, and requires increased public and private spending to implement interventions for preventable problems.

Because residents with the least are asked to sacrifice the most for the “greater good”—their homes, neighborhoods, and networks—they should have as many opportunities as possible to be better off as a result of relocation. This is where the idea of Responsible Relocation comes in.

Responsible Relocation is an approach that takes into account the hardships and challenges faced by residents who are forced to relocate due to redevelopment activities. It seeks to limit the negative effects of involuntary displacement and help residents be better off in the course of relocation.

Responsible Relocation cannot eliminate the traumas of being forced to move, but it can help to mitigate them and create new opportunities and choices that allow families to improve their quality of life. Without efforts like Responsible Relocation, social costs will rise for families affected by involuntary relocation, their larger communities, and society as a whole. Such costs include the inability of children to learn and thrive in healthy communities, families being thrust deeper into poverty without their former social networks to mitigate tough times, and repetition in the cycle of neighborhood disinvestment, despair, redevelopment, and gentrification.

Existing federal, state, and local regulations set necessary, but often insufficient, standards for good relocation practice in projects that are funded, in part or in whole, with public funds. However, no such uniform standards exist to protect the large numbers of low-income and vulnerable families who are displaced each year by solely private actions.

The Annie E. Casey Foundation's

**INTEREST IN
RESPONSIBLE RELOCATION**

The mission of the Annie E. Casey Foundation is to help disadvantaged children and families. Over the years, we have done a lot of things to advance that goal: providing direct services to vulnerable children; funding effective nonprofit programs; engaging in reform efforts to improve public education, child welfare, juvenile justice, and related systems; and advocating for better public policies aimed at vulnerable children and families.

In the mid-1990s, the Foundation recognized that direct services and system reforms were not enough to improve outcomes for children and families living in distressed communities. We decided we had to become a meaningful player, contributor, catalyst, and investor in neighborhood change. Over the past decade, Casey has undertaken several efforts toward these ends—the Rebuilding Communities Initiative, the Community Change Initiative, the Civic Site work in Baltimore and Atlanta—and has played a key role in the Living Cities collaborative (formerly known as the National Community Development Initiative). In 2005, Casey created a dedicated Neighborhood Development Unit to coordinate the Foundation's efforts to learn about, promote, and implement approaches that ensure that low-income families living in distressed neighborhoods benefit from efforts to revitalize their communities.

In the course of working to change the future of distressed neighborhoods, Casey has developed a keen interest, and a certain amount of experience, in how to undertake relocation in a responsible manner.

Our experience began in our hometown. Since moving our headquarters to Baltimore in 1994, the distressed neighborhoods surrounding the East Baltimore campus of the Johns Hopkins University have been a focus of Casey's direct services and community strengthening work. In 2001, the City of Baltimore announced a project to build a Life Sciences Park and new mixed-income community on 88 acres immediately to the north of the Hopkins campus in a neighborhood called "Middle East." It was estimated that several hundred households would need to be relocated for this project. Residents of the area—who had not been involved in the development of the plan—were deeply angered and concerned. They argued that the original plan for relocation was inadequate to meet their needs and would leave them worse off and more vulnerable as a result.

Middle East is a tough neighborhood—one of Baltimore's poorest, with high rates of unemployment, crime, drug activity, and vacant housing. But it is also tough in a positive sense—in the strength and resilience of many of its remaining residents, a significant number of whom

were homeowners who had lived there for 30, 40, even 50 years. Many renters, too, had lived there for decades. Despite the distressed conditions, many residents had a very deep and abiding attachment to their neighborhood.

We heard the concerns of residents and began to work with them, the City of Baltimore, and East Baltimore Development Incorporated (the nonprofit entity established to manage the project) to create redevelopment and relocation plans that incorporated the meaningful involvement of residents and better addressed their needs and interests.

As a first step, Casey President Douglas W. Nelson committed the Foundation to “doing whatever it takes” to ensure that the negative effects of relocation on families were minimized and that opportunities were created for residents to be better off as a result of the redevelopment of their community. Nelson joined the East Baltimore Development Incorporated (EBDI) Board and chaired a Special Committee on Relocation that convened a large, inclusive table around which the different stakeholders could gather and make informed decisions based on established research and best practice. The committee—which became a standing body that continues to oversee the process of redevelopment and relocation—drafted a set of goals and principles that acknowledged many of the concerns raised by residents. These goals and principles, together with intensive, ongoing resident input, guided the development of a relocation plan that has, as of January 2008, helped almost 400 families in the first phase of the project area to move to homes of their choice in neighborhoods with a higher standard of living and opportunity than Middle East. The same relocation protocols and benefits are being provided to residents who are relocated as part of the subsequent phase of the project, which began in January 2008.

These principles and practices pioneered in East Baltimore subsequently informed a series of relocation projects in our second “hometown” of Atlanta. In 2004, Casey staff helped assemble a “relocation rapid response team” composed of community organizations and service providers that successfully relocated 107 households from the Pittsburgh Civic League Apartments, an expiring-use low-income rental complex in a neighborhood southwest of downtown. Going beyond the broad goals of ensuring that families were better off and had the ability to return, the Atlanta work sought to make sure that families who were initially deemed ineligible for federally subsidized assistance were not made homeless. The Atlanta Housing Authority incorporated some of these principles and practices into ongoing relocations from a number of public housing projects that it is redeveloping. The Zeist Foundation also adopted several of Casey’s principles and practices in the relocation of residents from an expiring-use rental complex that it owns in the Edgewood neighborhood of Atlanta.

Casey's Goals and Principles for Responsible Relocation

It is a core belief of the Annie E. Casey Foundation that the redevelopment of "bricks and mortar" must go hand in hand with the creation of opportunities and processes for residents. Undergirding these dual aspirations is the necessity of resident engagement in the relocation process. Not having a choice about whether they must move doesn't mean that residents shouldn't have a voice in and a choice about where and how they move. Having a voice in the process is the cornerstone for being able to exercise personal responsibility and self-determination under challenging circumstances.

As relocation is inherently disruptive and traumatic for families, redevelopment activities should take all steps to avoid or minimize the involuntary displacement of residents. However, it also needs to be recognized that living in areas of concentrated poverty does not benefit residents of distressed neighborhoods either. In many instances, positive and durable changes in the status quo require redevelopment efforts of such size and scale as to justify the displacement of some residents. When such instances occur, all efforts must be made to limit the negative effects of such moves and provide choices and opportunities that lead to positive outcomes for affected residents.

Above all, Responsible Relocation means that residents are treated with respect and consideration for their unique circumstances and are provided with means to voice their needs, interests, and concerns, and exercise choice. It aims to benefit displaced residents by:

- Ensuring that the relocation plan and processes are as transparent, clearly defined, and resident-centered as possible;
- Promoting meaningful community involvement at every critical juncture;
- Providing genuine choices of quality and affordable replacement housing;
- Ensuring that residents are not discriminated against or made homeless as a result of relocation;
- Providing fair and flexible financial benefits;
- Offering counseling and support services focused on the specific needs and interests of residents before, during, and after relocation;
- Providing opportunities for residents to improve their income, assets, health, and other aspects of their overall quality of life;
- Offering residents affordable opportunities to return to the redeveloped neighborhood; and

- Tracking long-term outcomes of relocated households to assess the effectiveness of support services.

The Casey Foundation recognizes that providing all elements of Responsible Relocation may not be practical or financially feasible in every instance. Our hope is that our experience and lessons learned in East Baltimore and Atlanta can be useful to other redevelopment projects and cities.

The Casey Foundation is not alone in its efforts to promote innovative, effective, and equitable relocation practices. Other communities are also working to provide dislocated residents with better choices and better outcomes. Section V highlights one other effort—New Columbia, Oregon—that is particularly noteworthy.

Households Displaced Involuntarily **In 2005, the US Department of Housing and Urban Development estimated that at least half a million poor households were displaced involuntarily by the exercise of eminent domain, the conversion of public housing projects into HOPE VI communities, and the expiration of federal subsidy programs. These figures do not include the hundreds of thousands of other low-income families who were displaced by market-driven dynamics and the collateral effects of successful revitalization projects on adjacent neighborhoods.**

Who Is This Road Map For?

Are you a community association or a CDC serving a distressed neighborhood that is experiencing redevelopment and relocation pressures? If so, you are likely to have questions like:

- How can we work to ensure that the revitalization of the neighborhood benefits existing residents and/or provides them with the opportunity to move to high-quality neighborhoods of choice?
- To what extent is relocation a necessary part of redevelopment?
- How can the community organize and operate to ensure that the interests of residents are served?
- What does a viable and robust community engagement process look like?
- What challenges will we face?

Are you a city or state agency in redevelopment or social services work? If so, you are likely to have questions like:

- What is Responsible Relocation?
- Why do we need to adopt responsible practices of relocation? Aren't existing relocation policies enough?
- With whom do we need to work? How can we engage effectively with the community?
- What are the standards of responsible practice?
- What resources and capacities are necessary to do this work?
- What challenges will we face?

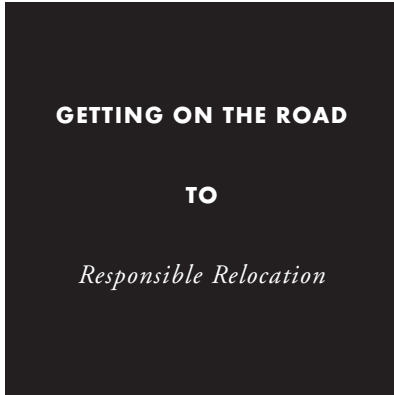
Are you a for-profit developer seeking to build or rehab housing in disinvested neighborhoods who will need to displace existing residents? If so, you are likely to have questions like:

- What is Responsible Relocation?
- Why should we adopt Responsible Relocation practices?
- With whom do we need to work? How can we engage effectively with the community?
- How will this affect our bottom line?
- What challenges will we face?

Are you a community foundation or philanthropy with close ties to, or interests in, a disinvested neighborhood? If so, you are likely to have questions like:

- What is Responsible Relocation, and why is it necessary?
- What roles can our organization play in the process?
- What challenges will we face?

If you are in any of these situations, or have been concerned about any of these questions, this Road Map is for you.



Everyone wants the best for their families. That's as true during relocation as at any other time. Relocation can be done either without care for displaced families or with their circumstances in mind. This guide recommends the latter and takes you through that process. There is nothing neat or easy about doing Responsible Relocation. It requires vision, stamina, resources, a capacity for reflection, an openness to change, and a willingness to take risks and rewrite the rules to ensure that displaced residents have the opportunity to be better off. It is not "business as usual."

This Road Map outlines some of the major issues and challenges of Responsible Relocation. In it you'll find:

- **The On-Ramps** to Responsible Relocation. Beyond identifying the kinds of projects that can trigger the need for Responsible Relocation, this section covers project management, and guidance for cost estimates and resource needs.
- **Drivers**, the important allies and partners that must be brought on board and the kinds of technical assistance and communications that can produce effective community engagement.
- **Rules of the Road**, a brief guide for navigating federal, state, and local regulations pertaining to relocation.
- **The Landscape** of community needs that can be identified through a Community Needs Survey. A list of items will be provided that a survey should cover.
- **The Route** is the biggest part of the Road Map. Here you'll find concrete ideas for creating a community-involved Responsible Relocation Plan, including how to address issues of service provision; family needs assessment; specific issues facing homeowners, renters, families with school-age children, and the "hard to house"; as well as facilitating the right to return.
- **Mile Markers** that can give you regular feedback about how things are working. Suggestions will be provided for processes and instruments for monitoring, tracking, and evaluation.

In short, this guide is an important tool as you move toward the goal of Responsible Relocation. The process may not be easy, or free from considerable tension, rancor, and conflict. But once you've gotten through it, you will have produced greater choice and opportunity for low-income families instead of increased vulnerability.

The On-Ramps

The kinds of projects that trigger the need for responsible relocation

A wide range of activities can require the involuntary relocation of residents, including:

- Large-scale publicly financed projects involving the acquisition of privately owned land via eminent domain or other means (e.g., urban renewal, highway construction, airport expansion);
- HOPE VI projects or other conversions of public housing, led by a local housing authority in partnership with private developers;
- The demolition or conversion of subsidized housing following expiration of its subsidy period (e.g., project-based Section 8 vouchers or Section 236);
- The demolition or rehabilitation of individual buildings;
- Landlords opting out of Section 8 voucher arrangements.

All of these activities pose a core set of similar problems and challenges to be addressed in the course of relocation—finding replacement housing, providing counseling and advocacy, connecting residents with services and supports, offering choices, and increasing opportunities for enhanced self-sufficiency, economic success, and other qualities of life. There are also significant differences created by a wide range of contextual factors, especially the kinds of applicable statutory guidelines and regulation. Unlike the other examples listed above, large-scale urban renewal projects involve the relocation of homeowners as well as renters, which pose a separate set of challenges to be addressed and will be discussed in later sections. This guide focuses on issues and challenges that are common to relocation in the first three examples noted above—eminent domain, HOPE VI, and expiring-use.

Issues and challenges in initiating responsible relocation projects

It is as easy to underestimate the many challenges to doing relocation in a responsible manner as it is difficult—for even the most well-intentioned outsider—to appreciate the stresses and strains placed on displaced residents.

But here's some guidance to get you started. The following questions need to be addressed early on:

Who's responsible for managing relocation to ensure better outcomes for displaced residents?

Responsible Relocation requires a responsible entity to articulate goals, get buy-in from a diverse array of interest groups, move the project forward, track results, and be held accountable for accomplishing desired outcomes. This entity, which can be public, private, or a public-private partnership, needs to have both internal capacity and credibility with diverse audiences and stakeholders to achieve its goals. Publicly funded relocation projects have a clearly defined "relocating entity" or "agency."

Regardless of whether a project is set in motion by public or private initiative, all projects will require the coordination of different public and private sector actors: multiple city and state departments and agencies, private service providers, local elected officials, residents, community organizations, developers, and local institutions.

Such coordination does not happen spontaneously, especially when it calls for a new way of doing business. Nor is it something that can be sustained over time without active cultivation and management. One way of accomplishing this is to create an oversight or managing body to determine goals and to be accountable for the design and implementation of the plans and processes for redevelopment and relocation. This group will need to meet regularly and have representatives from the different stakeholders involved, especially representatives from the community. Work groups can be formed to tackle specific tasks, such as the drafting and approval of a relocation plan, coordination and financing of service provision, the collection and use of data, etc.

Maintaining alignment between stakeholders becomes increasingly challenging as the project shifts from abstract principles to concrete implementation. Given differences of interest and perception, different stakeholders will not always, or even often, agree about how goals should be turned into policies and practices. For example, all partners are likely to agree that displaced residents need to be treated fairly, but community groups, city officials, and

East Baltimore Redevelopment Project **In the East Baltimore Redevelopment Project, one of the first acts in the creation of a Responsible Relocation plan was the formation of a Housing and Relocation Committee. Composed of public, private, community, and resident stakeholders, it developed goals and principles and oversaw the drafting, implementation, and progress of the relocation process. Other committees were formed to address policy changes, data collection, and other issues.**

developers (to name only three) may have different ideas of what fair means in practice. Hence, the need for a clear process that:

- defines the roles and rules of engagement among stakeholders;
- outlines how decisions are to be made;
- maintains a clear record of what has been agreed to; and
- acknowledges and constructively addresses the tensions and conflicts that will inevitably arise among project stakeholders.

What is necessary to ensure that residents have the opportunity to be better off?

Responsible Relocation requires dedicated service providers with various types of expertise to meet the diverse needs of relocating residents—e.g., housing stability, job training, credit counseling, substance abuse, mental health. Partners in this effort should examine their existing organizational practices to ensure that they will not unintentionally undermine the goals and practices of Responsible Relocation. If conflicting practices are identified, partners should take steps to reconcile those practices with the stated goals and values.

Do the resources and capacity exist to relocate residents responsibly and how can gaps be filled?

While larger-scale projects—those affecting more than 100 households at a time—are more likely to assemble the resources necessary for Responsible Relocation than smaller-scale projects, they still pose a particular challenge to be addressed: Does the existing capacity of city agencies and nonprofit service providers allow for completion of their respective tasks within the timeline of the project? For example, a project may provide relocation counseling for families, but the pace of relocation may be limited by a relatively small number of personnel handling acquisition. It's therefore important to scope out potential bottlenecks where staff capacity may be limited or non-existent.

All involved in the relocation process will benefit from a sober self-assessment or “gut check” of their capacities in light of the expected demands of the project.

Guidance about cost estimates and resource needs

Estimating the cost of Responsible Relocation is, in many respects, more an art than a science. You will need to factor in:

- the robustness of the local housing market;

- the level of benefits set by applicable regulations;
- the capacity and efficacy of local social service providers; and
- the number of families requiring intensive case management and supportive services.

Beyond these factors, you will need to be mindful of the following variables that can impact the estimate of resource needs:

- Under the federal Uniform Relocation Act, replacement housing for relocated families must be decent, safe, and sanitary as well as comparable to original housing in size and function. Even in weak market cities, the cost of comparable replacement housing, especially for homeowners, is likely to be significantly more than the fair market value of the original home.
- Market conditions and housing prices can swing dramatically between the announcement and enactment of a redevelopment project, significantly increasing replacement housing costs.
- Multiple redevelopment projects occurring simultaneously may increase the demand for affordable housing at the same time that the supply is being reduced.
- The cost of providing support services for relocating families will depend on the capacity of existing service providers and the range and intensity of family needs. The best way to estimate the extent and cost of these services is through a coordinated assessment conducted by representatives of public agencies, public and private institutions, community-based organizations, and nonprofit service providers.

How can it be funded?

Responsible Relocation requires a creative approach to financing that blends multiple streams of funding. HUD's HOPE VI program has been the best known source of federal funds for relocating residents of distressed public housing projects and providing post-relocation supportive services. Future authorizations of this program are highly uncertain, however. The Section 108 Loan Program is another source of federal funds that cities can use for acquisition, relocation, and demolition of privately owned properties. Various kinds of state resources are available as well. At the city level, Tax Increment Financing bonds can be used. Philanthropic and corporate contributions also provide supplemental funding for relocation efforts, especially in the area of supportive services.

Drivers

Identification of some important stakeholders and allies in the community

Responsible Relocation is responsive to the needs and interests of the residents that are being relocated. If the residents' past history with officials has been rocky, such a history must be understood and repaired. Too often, public officials and private developers may do only what is minimally required under the law—perhaps a public meeting or two where the plan is announced, with minimal opportunity for input by the community. Such a lack of civic engagement is sure to create and intensify anger, suspicion, and opposition from residents and other community members. If a given community has experienced years of empty promises, governmental neglect, and disinvestment, significant barriers to trust and cooperation will need to be surmounted. Responsible Relocation acknowledges this difficult history when it exists and seeks to create the conditions for constructive community involvement.

Public meetings provide important forums for presenting information and soliciting community input. But direct involvement of community members in the decision-making process about relocation and redevelopment is critical as well. How are the interests of residents and other community stakeholders to be represented in this process? The “community” is not a monolithic entity, and consists of a variety of groups—owner occupants, renters, absentee landlords, religious congregations, local business people—with different needs, interests, agendas, and levels of influence. While local elected officials represent the community in a formal sense, they may not be perceived by all community members as standing up for their interests. Grassroots organizations provide vehicles for residents to speak up for themselves, but may not be “anointed” by the power structure nor have places at the tables where decisions are made.

Distressed communities vary in their level of organization and capacity. They may have strong and inclusive resident associations, multiple (and even rival) community organizations, or none. Homeowners may be disproportionately represented in some neighborhood organizations, businesses in others. In some communities, churches may play a key organizing role; in others, they may have limited ties or engagement with current residents (if most of their congregants live outside of the area).

Like other neighborhoods, distressed communities may be fragmented places, divided by block, family, political affiliation, and, often, between owners and renters. But neighborhoods facing redevelopment and relocation can least afford the consequences of this fragmentation. Frequently, one neighborhood may be served by a number of different community organizations that ignore, or are outright antagonistic, to each other. While there might be some very valid reasons for mutual bad feelings, such fragmentation facilitates the use of divide-and-rule tactics by outsiders. Residents should belong to community-based organizations, create new

ones if these don't exist or are not relevant to the task at hand, and, above all, seek out and partner with other groups that share their interests and concerns.

The kinds of technical assistance that can produce effective community engagement

Even in communities with robust community organizations, small staff or unfamiliarity with technical issues of relocation and redevelopment make for a highly uneven playing field for meaningful community involvement. The availability of technical assistance can help to level the playing field.

Technical assistance can play a key role in strengthening leadership within communities and building resident understanding of:

- relocation regulations and policy;
- real estate finance; and
- other issues that enable them to participate in a more informed way.

Communities are not the only parties that may require technical assistance. City governments may also need capacity to:

- interact effectively with residents;
- estimate the scope and cost factors for providing comprehensive supportive services to affected residents;
- assess the existing capacities of public and private sector service providers and identify gaps and unmet needs;
- draft and review Requests for Qualifications (RFQs) for providers of case management services and/or providers of direct services;
- identify potential replacement housing resources; and
- assess and recommend school and preschool options for relocated children.

Private foundations can play a key role in providing or subsidizing the technical assistance needed by both communities and city governments.

The importance of effective, ongoing communications with affected residents

Effective communication builds credibility and trust. This cannot be overemphasized. Information and important messages need to be delivered continuously and consistently, and through a variety of means. Communication needs to go beyond a monologue from the relocating entity to the community or a litany of complaints from anxious residents. It should be a dialogue involving not only residents and elected officials, but also other stakeholders, including local religious institutions, community-based organizations, and businesses. Newsletters, websites, and lists of frequently asked questions are effective at getting the word out. However, they are not effective means of receiving input. Community forums, focus groups, workshops, convenient office hours, and the willing, open ears of staff and resident leaders are essential to establishing a two-way flow of information. It is critical that residents receive clear, timely, and responsive answers to the questions that they ask. Honest and open conversations, even when they lead to disagreement, can help to build rapport and more effective collaborations.

Different stakeholders have developed their own particular jargons that work for those in the know, but they make it difficult for outsiders. The bureaucratic language that governmental regulations about relocation are written in is, at times, mystifying even to lawyers and other specialists.

It is absolutely essential that the relocation plan and all applicable governmental regulations be presented in a non-technical way that makes sense to all stakeholders, especially residents. Organized sessions to explain relocation benefits and the relocation process for homeowners, renters, and other specific populations are also helpful. Regularly updated lists of frequently asked questions, which are widely distributed, are also helpful in maintaining a good flow of information. In many instances, this may also require that the information is provided in multiple languages.

The complexity and possible contentiousness of involuntary relocation calls for the highest possible clarity of and consistency in policy and practice. However, clarity and consistency alone will not be enough to overcome any long-standing perceptions of disrespect and distrust.

Rules Of The Road

Project stakeholders must become keenly aware of the maze of applicable federal, state, and municipal regulations that apply to relocation. These regulations are lengthy, complex, densely written, and difficult to understand, even to specialists. In some cases, state and federal

regulations overlap, intersect, or provide for different relocation standards. A key starting point of responsible practice is that all stakeholders, including residents, have an understanding of what the applicable regulations are, what they cover, and how they are to be funded and implemented.

Federal regulations

The URA: The Uniform Relocation Assistance (URA) and Real Property Acquisition Policy Act of 1970 establishes minimum standards for federally funded programs and projects that displace people from their homes.

The following HUD programs trigger the use of the URA:

- Community Development Block Grants (CDBG) Entitlement Program
- Section 108 Loan Guarantees
- CDBG HUD-Administered Small Cities Program
- State CDBG Program
- Urban Development Action Grants
- HOME Investment in Affordable Housing
- Rental Rehabilitation Loans
- Housing Opportunities for Persons with AIDS
- Supportive Housing Program
- Emergency Shelter Grants
- Transitional Housing Program
- Permanent Housing Program for Handicapped Homeless Persons
- Supplemental Assistance for Facilities to Assist the Homeless
- Shelter Plus Care
- Section 312 Rehabilitation Loans
- Special Purpose Grants

- Supportive Housing for the Elderly
- Supportive Housing for Persons with Disabilities

It is important to note that projects can trigger URA requirements even when federal funds are not used for acquisition, demolition, or rehabilitation. For example, if HUD Project HOME funds are used to construct new housing units on properties acquired and demolished with non-federal monies, the URA applies to the relocation of the residents of the acquired properties. Similarly, projects that use federal tax credit allocations can require the use of the URA. The intensive involvement of municipalities in redevelopment projects undertaken by a private developer may also trigger the URA and/or state relocation statutes.

The URA embodies some of the principles of responsible practice. It provides for relocation housing payments that will allow displaced households of all income levels to relocate to decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings that are comparable to their original homes. It also pays for moving expenses and certain advisory services.

The URA sets certain standards for:

- how and when displaced persons are notified;
- advisory services to determine the relocation needs and preferences of displaced persons, explain the available relocation assistance, provide counseling and service referral, and other assistance in finding a replacement home;
- reimbursement for moving expenses; and
- the amount of the Replacement Housing Payment that displaced persons will receive.⁶

All relocation projects that receive federal assistance must create and implement a formal Residential Anti-Displacement and Relocation Assistance Plan, which:

- identifies reasonable steps taken to minimize the displacement of residents as a result of the project; and
- details the kind and amount of relocation assistance available to households that are displaced as a direct result of the demolition of housing for the project.

For the complete text of the URA and other relocation resources provided by HUD, visit www.hud.gov/pd/library/relocation/index.cfm.

Section 104 (d): When a redevelopment project that uses federal funds demolishes low- and moderate-income rental units, it triggers Section 104 (d) of the Housing and Community Development Act. Its provisions mandate that:

- all of the low- and moderate-income rental units that are demolished are replaced; and that
- lower-income renters⁷ displaced by the project receive relocation assistance for up to 60 months following relocation (some 18 months longer than the URA). The choice of whether to use URA or Section 104(d) relocation benefits is up to the displaced person.

While the URA and Section 104 (d) embody some of the principles of responsible practice, neither requires nor provides adequately for:

- meaningful community involvement in the design and implementation of the relocation plan;
- resources for comprehensive case management and service referral/provision;
- long-term sustainable affordable housing for private market renters (replacement housing payments for renters are time-limited);
- sustained affordability challenges for relocated homeowners (increased property taxes, insurance);
- second moves;
- relocation assistance for people who are displaced temporarily (for less than 12 months);
- relocation assistance for undocumented immigrants and squatters; and
- assistance for homeowners or renters who have lived in their homes less than 90 days prior to the effective date of the project.

HOPE VI Relocation Guidance: Since 1993, under the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's HOPE VI program, residents from 165 severely distressed public housing projects in 98 cities have been relocated to make way for new mixed-income communities. The goals of the HOPE VI program are to improve living conditions for residents of public housing and deconcentrate poverty. The evaluation of HOPE VI is a work in progress and is complicated by the program's evolving nature and significant variation in the way it has been implemented. The results of HOPE VI have been mixed. Some studies of selected sites argue that "most families are considerably better off, especially as regards the qualities of replacement housing and neighborhoods."⁸ Other reports, however, indicate that many HOPE VI projects have been far from successful in relocating residents, "in part because housing

authorities failed to plan adequately for relocation or to offer sufficient support to residents during the process”⁹ and a “lack of meaningful resident participation in the planning.”¹⁰

Some of the positive, negative, and cautionary lessons from the earlier phases of HOPE VI offer assistance in developing a more responsible approach to relocation. The National Housing Law Project drafted Recommendations on Relocation Guidance that have been subsequently adopted by HUD.

Key principles for Hope VI relocation:

- Residents have the *right to choose where they want to live*.
- Residents have the right to reside in a *better living environment* following relocation and in areas not characterized by high-poverty and -minority concentration.
- Residents have the *right to return* to the revitalized site if they wish.
- *Resident involvement in relocation planning* is critical to success. An advisory body composed of residents is one way to ensure adequate resident involvement.
- Residents must be provided with *maximal opportunities to improve their quality of life and achieve self-sufficiency* through the provision of community and supportive services.

State Relocation Policies: State laws provide another layer of regulations regarding relocation. These vary widely across jurisdictions in terms of policies, benefits, and regulatory processes.

In some cases, state policies set a lower level for replacement housing benefits than the URA.¹¹ In other instances, state policies set more stringent requirements than the URA, not necessarily in terms of money, but in terms of appeals processes, timelines, or other requirements.¹² In Massachusetts, for example, the policy set by the state Bureau of Relocation must be strictly followed in projects that use state or local funds. For projects that use state and federal funds, both state and federal relocation requirements must be followed. When guidance differs between the two laws, the state mandates that the most advantageous provision to the displaced person should be utilized.

Assessing the requirements, intersection, overlap, and possible conflict between federal and state relocation statutes is a necessary component of responsible practice.

Local Policies: Since the 1980s, many localities around the nation have attempted to require private developers to provide replacement housing and relocation assistance to renters who are displaced by demolition, rehabilitation, or conversion. Such policies have often met with

significant legal challenges and political opposition. In Florida and Washington, state courts have overturned legislation requiring private developers to provide relocation assistance to displaced tenants, finding that these policies constituted a taking of property without compensation.¹³ Even without legal challenge, many cities that had passed legislation requiring developers to replace affordable units they removed from the market or to pay into affordable housing trust funds, such as Hartford, Connecticut, and Cincinnati, Ohio, have since rescinded these ordinances.

In recent years, some localities have experimented with voluntary approaches to encourage the provision of relocation assistance to displaced renters.

Arlington County, Virginia, has adopted relocation guidelines for developers to follow to lessen the adverse impact of displacement when tenants are displaced by demolition, rehabilitation, or conversion of their homes. The goal of the county's relocation policy is to enable displaced renters to move to decent, safe, and affordable replacement housing convenient to their place of employment and/or school. These guidelines specify that developers should:

- make every attempt possible to retain existing residents, especially low-income tenants;
- prepare an approved relocation plan;
- survey the needs and characteristics of relocated households;
- communicate clearly with tenants;
- provide tenants with at least a 120-day notice to vacate;
- provide relocation assistance, including a listing of affordable replacement housing options, transportation to visit potential replacement units, moving assistance, and timing moves for families with school-age children;
- provide a relocation payment to assist with security deposits, utility hook-ups, and other relocation costs. The amount paid varies with the size of the unit and amount of furnishings. Very-low income residents receive 50% more than the standard payment;¹⁴ and
- report regularly to county staff.

These guidelines are compulsory for projects that require county approval, but are voluntary for so-called "by-right" projects that do not involve county funds or site plan approval. Many of the projects that have taken place in Arlington County in recent years have been of the latter category.

Federal, state, and local regulations provide necessary, but not sufficient, floors for responsible practice in relocation. Replacement housing payments provided for under law may oblige low-income households to move only to other distressed neighborhoods.

Even if the benefits are sufficient to allow a move to a better community, there is little in place to help ensure that the family will be able to stay there over time. Benefits for private market renters end after 48 or 60 months, leaving the household to absorb the full cost of the new housing. Relocated homeowners face the burden of greatly increased property taxes, insurance, utilities, and other costs. If the household has not increased its income, it will be forced to move. Hence, the need for programs that can help the family increase its income, wealth, and assets to improve its self-sufficiency.

The Landscape

“Drive-by tours” or “windshield surveys” are ubiquitous features of the urban redevelopment process. Driving through many distressed neighborhoods provides a picture of abandoned and deteriorated buildings and other markers of physical decay that is offered up as a compelling argument for revitalization. However, the view through the windshield provides only a superficial glimpse of, and little insight into, the lives of residents.

How to develop a pre-relocation community survey that provides essential data for relocation planning

Some demographic and real estate information is normally compiled as part of the initial planning for a redevelopment project. However, this is based on census, property records, and other official data. Official records rarely provide an accurate and up-to-date count of vacant and occupied properties, the internal condition of these houses, and who lives inside. In addition, project boundaries may not coincide exactly with census tract or formal neighborhood designations.

A Responsible Relocation plan begins with the most fine-grained, accurate, and up-to-date information available on the number of households to be affected, their characteristics, and their needs. A community survey should be conducted in advance of relocation efforts to obtain this information and identify the potential impact of relocation activities on residents and other members of the community.

The form and content of the survey should be developed with input from residents to be surveyed and be administered by an organization or group with credibility in the community.

Basic information to be collected by a pre-relocation community survey

Residential tenure and level of occupancy:

- What is the total number of occupied and vacant residential units?
- How many residents are owner-occupants, private market renters, Housing Choice Voucher holders, or public housing tenants?
- How long have residents lived in the neighborhood and at their current address?

Household composition and characteristics:

- What is the size and composition of households?
- How many are families with school-age children, with elderly or disabled members, etc.?
- Who is the head of household?
- How many households are multi-generational or multi-family?
- How many households expect to add additional members in the next year?
- How many families have at least one employed adult?
- How much do families earn? How many families are extremely low income (earn less than 30 percent of Area Median Income), very low income (earn less than 50 percent of AMI), or low income (earn less than 80 percent of AMI)?

Supportive services and special needs:

- What kinds of supportive services are residents interested in (homeownership counseling, credit counseling, senior services, job placement, etc.)?
- How many residents will require emergency or expedited relocation owing to unsafe housing conditions, health, etc.?
- How many residents will require special assistance to move?

Housing costs:

- How much do residents pay for housing (mortgage/rent, utilities, mortgage insurance, and property taxes)?
- How many homeowners have mortgages?

Relocation preferences:

- Where do residents want to relocate?
- How many residents want to change their housing status (e.g., renters wishing to become homeowners, etc.)
- How many residents are interested in returning to the revitalized neighborhood?
- What are their specific housing needs (size of unit, handicapped accessibility, etc.)?

As the first step in a Responsible Relocation process, how the survey is handled is important in building trust and demonstrating a better and more inclusive way of dealing with the community. The process must be done respectfully and with a maximum of resident input. The creation of a resident advisory group to review the survey instrument is a useful step to this end. Families may be reticent to provide information on income, health problems, criminal background, or other sensitive topics. While this information is useful for planning purposes, the survey should respect community sensitivities. In addition, the relocating entity needs to be scrupulous about maintaining the confidentiality of the information collected not only through surveys, but also through the work of the relocation staff.

Keep in mind that this survey is for planning and cost estimation purposes and does not replace a more detailed needs assessment that will be done with families at the beginning of the relocation process (see the next section).

The survey will be used to project the scope and nature of housing needs and demand for supportive services. Once this information is available, it can be overlaid with an assessment of existing service provider capacity to identify gaps in coverage. The survey is also important in providing an initial indication of how many families wish to return. That information should guide the development of a replacement housing strategy and a right to return policy.

The Route

Federal and state relocation policies mandate the creation of relocation plans, but they provide minimal guidance for how a plan should be organized or the process that should be used to create it.

Concrete ideas for designing a responsible relocation plan

Responsible Relocation plans should include:

- an introductory section that outlines the purpose of the relocation plan, the goals of relocation, a description of the broader redevelopment project, and all relevant federal, state, and local relocation statutes;
- a summary description of the households and businesses to be relocated from the Pre-Relocation Survey;

- an explanation of the Relocation Assistance and Benefits to be provided, including a detailed outline of how relocation benefits will be calculated;
- a step-by-step explanation of the acquisition and relocation process;
- an explanation of how the relocation plan will be implemented, including the organizational structure, coordination of public agencies and private contractors, a timeline, and budget;
- a listing of available housing resources for relocating residents, including information about prospective relocation neighborhoods, unit listings, and housing inventories;
- a community consultation and communications plan that explains and provides a schedule for the range of community meetings, public hearings, focus groups, and other activities associated with the plan; and
- an explanation of how records will be kept and confidentiality maintained.

For an example of a Responsible Relocation plan, visit www.ebdi.org/residentscorner.

Relocation plans are living documents—constantly open to change in response to circumstance and experience. Community input is an essential component of this evolutionary process. Inclusion of residents and other stakeholders on the governing body that reviews and approves the relocation plan is important for generating such input, as are regular public meetings, focus groups, and a clearly defined process for eliciting public commentary on the draft plan.

Issues and challenges to implementation

Barriers to securing replacement housing: Finding quality housing that is affordable to low-income households is extremely challenging. Over the past decade, many cities have experienced significant drops in the number of affordable rental units. Therefore, provision of replacement housing needs to be considered within a regional context. Racial and income discrimination also can pose difficulties. Local fair housing advocacy organizations can be key partners in identifying and mitigating such barriers.

Family needs assessment and service provision: Relocating households often need more than financial assistance. To help families deal with massively disruptive changes in their lives, those managing the relocation process require an intimate knowledge of who people are and what kinds of supports and services they need. Issues are frequently encountered—such as poor credit, mental and physical health problems, criminal history, substance abuse—that

people are reluctant to acknowledge to themselves, much less to outsiders who are part of an enterprise that is moving them involuntarily.

A signature feature of Responsible Relocation is the assignment of a trained professional advocate to each relocating household who can help to ensure that they have appropriate relocation benefits and supportive services before, during, and after relocation. This person is separate from the relocation counselor who calculates and explains a household's relocation benefits and works with them in removing barriers to a successful relocation, such as deed and probate issues, delinquent utility bills, guardianship, etc. The advocate will also work with residents to identify household service needs and develop a comprehensive household plan that addresses the goals that families wish to achieve during the relocation process.

The following information should be collected as part of the household planning process:

- *basic demographic information*, such as number of household members, marital status, number of dependent children and adults;
- *employment history, goals, and status* of household head and other members, training, barriers to employment;
- *financial status*, including levels of income, wealth, and assets, as well as any outstanding credit, tax, or utility issues;
- interest in *homeownership counseling* and predatory lending prevention;
- *household education and literacy status*, such as the level of educational achievement of the household head, computer skills, etc.;
- *children's needs*, such as school readiness and after-school programs, recreation activities, teen parenting, gang prevention, etc.;
- interest in, or need for, *legal services*, such as eviction problems, title issues, wills and probate, criminal background, etc.;
- *physical and mental health status*;
- need for *assistance in obtaining necessary documentation*, such as a Social Security card, driver's license, or identification card; and
- an inventory of the *public benefits* the family is receiving, if any, and screening for any additional benefits the family is eligible for.

Advocates are likely to encounter a wide range of challenges to be dealt with, such as:

- credit issues;
- lack of savings and assets;
- lack of proper title and other documentation of property ownership;
- unauthorized or off-lease tenants;
- delinquencies in utility payments and tax bills;
- limited job readiness;
- large, multi-generational or multi-family households;
- immigrants without legal status.

Consequently, the following service needs should be anticipated:

- credit repair and counseling;
- workforce development;
- employment training and referral;
- legal services;
- financial education and asset-building programs;
- homeownership and first-time home-buyer counseling;
- services for other special needs populations—disabled, ex-offenders, etc.;

Earn Benefits **Earn Benefits is a web-based technology tool created by Seedco, a workforce development intermediary organization, that allows families to be screened easily and efficiently for multiple public benefits, such as food stamps, child care subsidies, school lunch programs, health insurance, and the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC). It is currently available in five locations nationwide: Atlanta/Fulton County, Georgia; Baltimore, Maryland; Buffalo, New York; Memphis/Shelby County, Tennessee; and New York City. For further information, visit www.earnbenefits.org.**

- youth, family, and senior services;
- child care and after-school care;
- health care;
- substance abuse counseling;
- transportation.

It is not suggested that the relocating entity provide such services. In most cases, its most effective role is one of referral or connection to already existing supports provided by a range of public or private entities.

However, simply because a family is low-income and living in a distressed neighborhood does not mean that it is not self-sufficient or that it is in need of intensive case management. Not all families to be relocated will present the same set of needs and challenges. Some will require little or no counseling, others more intensive services. Still other families will resist counseling and service referrals. The bottom line is that you can't generalize the service needs of families who are being relocated. You need to start your work from where people are.

Critical issues for homeowners, renters, and other distinct groups in responsible relocation

Homeowners: The first question often posed by homeowners about to be relocated is: What will I receive for my house? Given that the fair market value (FMV) of houses in distressed neighborhoods is usually significantly lower than comparable houses in other city communities, this amount alone will not be sufficient to relocate homeowners into decent housing. In projects covered by URA, the determination of the FMV is only one part of the equation for determining replacement housing payments. Under the housing of last resort clause in the URA, the replacement housing payment is the difference between the FMV of a house and the cost of a comparable home. In such projects, relocation benefits can be several times the fmV of the original house.

In non-URA projects, state and local relocation statutes may only fill part of the gap between the FMV of the original home and the cost of a comparable replacement home. Ongoing analysis of housing market trends is essential for accurate gauging of relocation costs for homeowners.

It is especially challenging to provide homeownership opportunities for lower-income households earning less than 30 percent of the Area Median Income. High mortgage payments are

only one issue. High property taxes also contribute to lack of affordability for lower-income families. Many states and localities have different property tax assistance programs. One such program, known as a “circuit breaker,” limits property taxes for certain categories of people (i.e., those with low levels of income, seniors, or the disabled). These vary considerably by state. Information and awareness of programs may be limited and the application process may be difficult. Dedicated outreach is needed to make eligible families aware of existing programs and facilitate the application process.

Predatory practices are not limited to lending. Relocating homeowners are vulnerable to exploitation by a wide variety of unscrupulous business practices. It is therefore important that the relocating entity maintain a list of approved vendors—moving companies, appraisers, home inspectors, realtors, lenders—that residents can trust.

Renters: The goal of Responsible Relocation is to get renters into quality housing that is affordable to them over the long haul. Homeownership, Housing Choice Vouchers, and public housing provide opportunities for sustainable housing affordability. Some low-income residents, however, prefer private market rentals to other replacement housing options. Others do not qualify for homeownership or publicly subsidized housing either because of income or failure to meet program requirements.

Private market rentals provide limited opportunity for sustainable affordable housing. With the contraction of public housing and tightened eligibility for housing subsidies, private market rentals increasingly have been the housing of last resort for low-income families. Both federal and state relocation housing benefits for private market renters are time-limited (anywhere from 48 months to 60 months, depending on the program). Private market renters thus face the prospect of being unable to afford their relocation housing unless their incomes and assets increase. Hence, the need for programs—job training, workforce development, asset building—that help families improve their income and assets so they are able to afford the cost of housing once relocation benefits expire.

Private property owners may be unwilling to rent to tenants whose rental payments come from a government agency or to renters with poor credit histories. In such cases, the relocating entity could pay the rent directly to the property owner.

Over the past several years, the Housing Choice Voucher program has been used increasingly as HUD’s housing option of first resort for relocating low-income families from public housing. However, several issues need to be considered:

- In most cities there are extremely long waiting lists for vouchers. Some cities have “frozen” or will not consider new applications for the waiting list. Although residents who are displaced by public actions receive priority, those forced to relocate by private action do not.

- HUD's Moving to Work program and the imposition of new eligibility criteria by local housing authorities (such as Atlanta's Project Catalyst, which makes vouchers conditional on employment or enrollment in workforce training) can make large numbers of low-income families ineligible for assistance.
- Some cities, especially with hot real estate markets, have a limited or declining stock of voucher housing.
- For many reasons, private landlords may be reluctant or unwilling to participate in the voucher program.
- The future of the voucher program is uncertain. Over the past several years, there have been political pressures to cut or eliminate federal funding for the program.

There is a need to coordinate activities with local housing authorities regarding the allocation of vouchers.

The "hard to house": Some displaced residents may have difficulty finding, and keeping, new housing for a number of reasons:

- poor credit history;
- extremely low income;
- poor rental history;
- ongoing substance abuse;
- mental or physical disabilities;

Family Self-Sufficiency Program (FSSP) **FSSP is an innovative, voluntary program that helps Section 8 participants achieve economic independence over a five-year period. Program participants work with a case manager to assess their strengths, identify barriers, and set and achieve goals. As participants earn income and rent increases, a portion of the rent increase goes into an escrow savings account. When family self-sufficiency goals are accomplished, the participant receives the money in the account, plus interest.**

- domestic violence;
- criminal record.

One of these issues alone can make it difficult for a family to secure replacement housing in either the private market or the publicly subsidized system. Households affected by several of these issues or “multiple-barrier families” face even grimmer prospects.

Other factors can make a household “hard to house”:

- Large multi-family households who may require housing (4–5 bedrooms) that is not readily available in some housing markets. While some of these component families can be relocated separately, many are living together because they face multiple barriers to self-sufficiency.
- “Grand-families” or households that consist of a single elderly adult serving as the primary caregiver for one or more children under the age of 18 or who have one or more disabled members.
- Elderly residents with health issues that require assisted living or service-enriched housing.

The number of low-income households that are hard to house is extensive. One study of five public housing projects to be demolished under the HOPE VI program found that at least 40 percent of residents fell into one of the categories described above.¹⁵

Criminal history is one of the more challenging issues faced by relocating households. Many private landlords are reluctant to rent to people with a criminal record and, increasingly, public housing authorities are using a criminal history to disqualify households for benefits. As the following example demonstrates, however, criminal history is not an intractable issue.

Senior citizens: Elders may constitute a significant percentage of homeowners in distressed neighborhoods slated for redevelopment. They are likely to be living on low, fixed incomes. Even if adequate replacement housing payments are provided, they may not be able to afford higher property taxes, insurance, utilities, and other costs that will be incurred by living in a higher property value neighborhood. Some seniors may no longer be able or wish to maintain their homes. However, if they decide to relocate to senior rental housing, they may lose replacement housing benefits that they would otherwise qualify for. Opportunities should be provided to relocate them into housing, such as condominiums where they can maintain equity that can be transferred to their heirs.

Families with school-age children: Relocation can have a disruptive impact on students and the schools that serve them. Relocation disrupts the continuity and sometimes the quality of children’s education. It can also significantly decrease the enrollment of area schools.

The Chicago Family Case Management Demonstration Project **Through its Plan for Transformation, the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) is converting most of its severely distressed public housing projects into mixed-income communities. Many families displaced by the Plan will be unable to return to the new communities, face multiple barriers to improving their life circumstances, and risk losing their housing over the long term.**

In 2006, the Urban Institute, CHA, and six service providers began an innovative demonstration project to provide hard-to-house families living in two CHA housing projects—Madden/Wells and Dearborn Homes—with intensive family case management services. These services are modeled on an asset-based approach developed by Family Justice Inc. and are intended to improve their housing opportunities, residential stability, family integration, employability, and other life circumstances (reduced recidivism, reduced alcohol or substance abuse). Families who successfully participate in the demonstration will have the opportunity to move either to a CHA unit in a mixed-income development or to a private unit in a mixed-income setting using Housing Choice Vouchers.

**For further information, contact: Susan Popkin, The Urban Institute, spopkin@ui.urban.org
Family Justice Inc., www.familyjustice.org**

Efforts should be undertaken to minimize the disruption of children's education. This can be achieved by:

- scheduling the relocation of families with school-age children during the summer months, where possible; and
- identifying replacement housing options within the same school district for families who wish to keep their children there.

Relocation planning should involve representatives from area schools and the school system as a whole to anticipate and manage negative impacts on school enrollments.

Ideas for facilitating the right to return

Relatively few residents displaced by redevelopment activities return to communities after they are revitalized. In some cases, such a result can be due to their satisfaction with their new housing. However, other causes are just as (if not more) likely to be at work. There may be a lack of affordable housing in the new development; or even if sufficient amounts of affordable units are available, the new housing may not be appropriate for residents' needs. For example, there may not be enough or any units to accommodate larger families or handicapped accessibility. A long-term study of eight HOPE VI projects estimated that half of residents

Mitigation of Ineligibility Based on Criminal Record Is Possible **In 2004, the Atlanta Housing Authority (AHA) announced plans to demolish the McDaniel Glenn public housing project southwest of downtown for a mixed-income HOPE VI project. Almost 300 households would be displaced by the first phase of the project. Most of these residents were provided with the opportunity to relocate with Housing Choice Vouchers or move to a unit in another public housing project. However, 45 residents were identified for lease termination prior to relocation based on criminal records obtained by the AHA. The Annie E. Casey Foundation contracted with the Georgia Justice Project (GJP) to provide legal representation for these residents who were at risk of becoming homeless because of the termination of their leases. After notification of their pending lease terminations, 41 of these individuals chose to be represented by GJP. In the course of administrative hearings, the team from GJP and King & Spaulding argued that attention needs to be paid to the seriousness and timeliness of the offenses. For example, some clients had arrest records but the related court cases had been dismissed. In other cases, the conduct was not as serious as characterized in the arrest record. In April 2005, 28 of the lease terminations were rescinded. The legal team then presented an appeal brief to the AHA regarding the remaining 13, arguing that AHA should not terminate leases based on arrest records unless the residents had been convicted of serious crimes that occurred a reasonable time before the decision to terminate. Some of the clients had been identified for eviction based on relatively minor charges (shoplifting) that dated back five, ten, or even 20 years prior to the decision to terminate. On the basis of the appeal, an additional seven lease terminations were rescinded.**

displaced by these projects did not meet eligibility criteria and lease requirements for new housing to be built in the old community due to low income, poor credit history, unemployment, and/or criminal background issues.¹⁶ Residents also may not feel that the new community is the right place for them.

Issues to be addressed related to offering residents the choice of the right to return include:

- Accurate gauging of resident interest early on. Developers need to know that housing they build can be sold or rented. On the other hand, residents are reluctant to commit until they have a concrete understanding of what kind of units will be built, if the units fit with their lifestyle, their degree of comfort within the community, etc.
- Consistent and realistic criteria for how affordable housing is defined. Federal guidelines define the affordability threshold as housing that is affordable to households earning 80 percent of Area Median Income (AMI), spending no more than 30 percent of their income on housing costs. The median household income of most U.S. cities is usually considerably lower than the AMI and even lower still in distressed neighborhoods. Provision of affordable replacement housing for residents of these communities requires housing that is affordable to households earning 0–30 percent of AMI. If the right to return is included in a Responsible Relocation Plan, it must also provide for adequate amounts of housing that meet household requirements both in terms of affordability and functionality (number of bedrooms, handicapped accessibility).
- Continual outreach for notification to eligible families of new housing opportunities. Neither one time nor one form of notification is sufficient. Multiple avenues should be used, such as public meetings, open houses, mailings, and fliers.

Mile Markers

"None of this works unless the people who are being displaced or who are otherwise affected by relocation are the primary focal point of measuring how successful the project is."—Douglas W. Nelson, President, Annie E. Casey Foundation

Responsible Relocation should be based on sound, detailed data on families and their needs before, during, and after their relocation. A comprehensive strategy is needed to monitor, analyze, and evaluate the effectiveness of relocation as it is happening and over the long term (a minimum of three to five years). In this way, information and feedback can be used to adjust and improve the process for aiding families.

Responsible Relocation is about sustaining improved opportunities for displaced residents over time. Moving families to decent homes is only the first stage in a long-term process; a more challenging task is to do everything possible to help families remain there. As the evaluation of the federal Moving to Opportunity (MTO) has shown, many low-income families who moved to low-poverty neighborhoods ended up moving back to high-poverty communities within a few years because of economic hardship.

Indicators and outcomes

Here is a menu of outcomes and indicators that can be tailored to the circumstances of your particular project.

Neighborhood Indicators:

- What kinds of communities have families relocated to? How do these compare with the neighborhood that they were relocated from in terms of:
 - housing prices;
 - vacancy and abandonment;
 - owner occupancy;
 - poverty;
 - employment;
 - crime and public safety;
 - school performance; and
 - other quality of life indicators?
- Where have relocated residents moved to? Have they moved elsewhere in the city, the metropolitan region, or out of state? Are relocated residents concentrated in particular neighborhoods?
- How do families characterize their new neighborhoods (amenities, problems, comparison with their original neighborhood)?

Housing Indicators:

- How many relocated families are living in what kinds of housing (homeownership, private market rental, Housing Choice Vouchers, public housing)?

- How many relocated families changed housing tenure (e.g., renters to homeownership, private market renters to Housing Choice Vouchers)?
- How would residents characterize the quality and conditions of their new housing compared to their original housing?
- How many families initially deemed ineligible for Housing Choice Vouchers were able to become eligible?
- How many families who received housing assistance (Housing Choice Vouchers, public housing) maintain, lose, or transition off assistance?
- How many families have lost their housing through eviction, foreclosure, or other means? How many of these families have become homeless?
- How many families have moved following relocation? How many times? Reasons for the move?

Economic Indicators:

- What are the effects of relocation on the employment of relocated residents? How many relocated residents are working full- or part-time? Change from pre-relocation figures? How many residents have gained/lost jobs?
- Have there been changes in sources and levels of income and assets (work, public assistance)?
- Have relocated residents taken advantage of financial literacy and asset-building programs?
- Has relocation resulted in any kind of financial hardship (difficulty affording housing costs, utilities, property tax, food)?

Family Indicators:

- Have there been any changes in family self-sufficiency (as measured by reliance on public benefits)?
- Have there been changes in the education/literacy level of the heads of households?
- What are parent's and children's perceptions of school quality?
- Have children been able to stay in the same school?

- Have there been improvements in children's rates of school attendance, graduation, academic performance, and readiness to learn?
- Are children experiencing difficulties at school or in their new neighborhoods?
- What is the availability and level of children's participation in supportive programs (e.g., after school, recreation)?

Social Network and Civic Engagement Indicators:

- Have relocated residents been able to maintain their social networks and relationships?
- Do relocated residents participate in the affairs of their new communities?

Health Indicators:

- Do relocated families have improved access to health care?
- Have there been changes in the family's health status (both emotional and physical)?
- Have there been changes in substance abuse?

Right of Return Indicators:

- How many displaced residents are interested in returning to the redeveloped community?
- How many residents have returned?
- What opportunities are offered to displaced residents to encourage their return?
- How engaged are displaced residents in the planning process for the new community?
- How many and what kind of housing units are made available to returning displaced residents?
- What are residents' reasons for not returning?

Methods for tracking indicators and outcomes

- Maintenance of accurate contact information is vital. This can be accomplished directly through outreach from case managers or annual mailings, or indirectly through the annual National Change of Address Database and other administrative sources of information. Participation in direct methods can be encouraged through the provision of financial incentives like gift cards.

- Annual comprehensive surveys using mail, telephone, in-person contact, or a mix of these methods.
- Quantitative data only tell part of the story of relocation. In-depth interviews and focus groups provide rich information on residents' perspectives, pressures, stresses; evolving support service needs; and an all-around understanding of their experiences.
- Basic demographic and economic information on relocated residents who receive housing assistance can be tracked through administrative databases, such as HUD's Multifamily Tenant Characteristics System.

The commitment to consistent, long-term data collection will encounter a variety of challenges:

- lack of standardized data systems;
- difficulty in maintaining up-to-date contact information;
- unwillingness of residents to participate in surveys; and
- financial and manpower costs of tracking.

Selected Destinations:

**WHAT ARE SOME
EXAMPLES OF
RESPONSIBLE RELOCATION?**

New Columbia, Portland, Oregon: In 2002, the Housing Authority of Portland (HAP) began the relocation of 382 ethnically diverse households from Columbia Villa, the largest public housing site in Oregon, in order to develop a new mixed-income community called New Columbia. Project staff were mindful of the negative impacts of earlier efforts at urban renewal in Portland and of criticisms leveled at other HOPE VI projects. They intentionally sought to work in partnership with residents to provide meaningful community involvement in the relocation planning process and develop a consistent and respectful communications strategy that

was sensitive to the multiple languages and cultures of residents. A Community Advisory Committee was formed to provide input into the overall development plan for New Columbia and a task force of residents, tenant advocates, neighbors, service providers, school representatives, and other stakeholders was created to shape the relocation plan.

Project staff conducted in-depth interviews with residents to determine their relocation needs and preferences. They partnered with the City of Portland to identify replacement housing options for residents and worked with landlords to increase participation in the Housing Choice Voucher program. Relocation counselors worked with residents to help them make informed decisions about their replacement housing choices.

Going beyond finding a new home, a Community and Supportive Services (CSS) program was created to help relocated residents maintain housing stability, increase their self-sufficiency, and improve their overall quality of life. The CSS program provides residents with referrals to social service agencies and job training programs, assists in maintaining housing stability, and helps children adjust to their new schools. While participation in the CSS program is voluntary, nearly nine out of ten relocated families chose to take advantage of the program. A complementary Housing Stability program was created to ensure that every household has the opportunity for a successful return to the redeveloped community.

For further information on the New Columbia project, visit www.hapdx.org/newcolumbia

East Baltimore, Redevelopment Project, Baltimore, Maryland: In 2001, the City of Baltimore announced a project to build a Life Sciences Park and new mixed-income community in one of the city's poorest neighborhoods immediately to the north of the Johns Hopkins Hospital and University campus in East Baltimore. A nonprofit corporation—East Baltimore Development, Incorporated (EBDI)—was created to manage the 88-acre project, which would

require the relocation of several hundred households, many of whom were homeowners who had lived there for decades.

Working with the community, the Annie E. Casey Foundation, and other project partners, EBDI developed a Responsible Relocation Plan using federal, state, and private resources to provide a package of fair and flexible relocation benefits, comprehensive counseling, and supportive services. Casey and Johns Hopkins each contributed \$5 million to fund supplemental relocation benefits in addition to those provided through the federal URA. A unique feature of the plan is that each household is provided with a family advocate, a relocation counselor, and a direct service coordinator. These three professionals work together to ensure that each family has appropriate and adequate relocation benefits, housing choices, and supportive services before, during, and up to three years after relocation. EBDI also pledged that displaced families have the right of first opportunity to purchase or rent housing being built as part of the redevelopment project that displaced them.

Relocation of the 396 households in the first phase of the EBDI project area began in March 2004 and was largely completed by December 2005. Most of the displaced residents have moved to neighborhoods that are safer, more stable, and more diverse than their original neighborhood. Many of these neighborhoods, in fact, compare favorably with the city as a whole. Public and private resources have been secured to provide the same relocation benefits and assistance to households living in the subsequent phase of the EBDI project area, which began in January 2008.

For more information on relocation in the East Baltimore Redevelopment Project, visit www.ebdi.org
www.aecf.org/MajorInitiatives/RelatedInitiative/NeighborhoodDevelopment.aspx
www.aecf.org/MajorInitiatives/CivicSites/Baltimore.aspx

The Pittsburgh Civic League Apartments and The McDaniel Glenn Hope VI Project, Atlanta, Georgia: The Pittsburgh Civic League Apartments (PCLA) were a deteriorated affordable housing project located in a high-poverty neighborhood southwest of downtown Atlanta. In 2003, HUD sold the property to a private developer for conversion into new, mixed-income housing called Heritage Station. The initial plan was to relocate residents using Housing Choice Vouchers. However, shortly before relocation began, the Annie E. Casey Foundation's Atlanta Civic Site team discovered that one-quarter of the families were ineligible for vouchers and would no longer have housing after being displaced.

Working with the Pittsburgh neighborhood association, other community-based organizations, and the developer, staff from the Annie E. Casey Foundation's Atlanta Civic Site formed a "rapid response team." Their goal was to ensure that no families became homeless as a result of relocation and that all experienced as smooth a transition as possible to their new homes. The team also provided assistance to families that would allow them to become more financially self-sufficient. Using many of the principles, policies, and lessons that the Casey Foundation learned in the relocation of residents in East Baltimore, the rapid response team put together an approach that successfully relocated all residents and reduced the number of families ineligible to receive a voucher by almost 90 percent. The small number of families that remained ineligible for vouchers received rental assistance and intensive self-sufficiency case management for 12 months. As the Heritage Station project nears completion, staff from the Atlanta Center for Working Families are working to ensure that all relocated residents who wish to return to the new housing have the opportunity to do so.

The success of the PCLA relocation drew the attention of the Atlanta Housing Authority (AHA), which was in the midst of developing plans for the relocation of more than 400 families from the McDaniel Glenn public housing project, slated to be demolished and rebuilt as a mixed-income HOPE VI community. In late 2004, the AHA, the Casey Civic Site team, and several of the service providers from the PCLA rapid response team formed the Responsible Relocation Task Force to help relocate the McDaniel Glenn families, especially those deemed hard to house. Like the PCLA relocation, all of the families were successfully relocated. An evaluation now under way will assess the current status of relocated families from both the PCLA and McDaniel Glen neighborhoods.

The AHA expressed interest in continued work with the Casey Civic Site team and the Center for Working Families to apply responsible practices to its ongoing efforts to relocate other residents of public housing. The Casey Foundation also has provided technical assistance to the Zeist Foundation of Atlanta to apply responsible practices in the relocation of families from an expiring-use apartment complex it owns in the Edgewood community in southeast Atlanta.

For more information on Responsible Relocation efforts in Atlanta, contact
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WHERE DO WE GO

From Here?

Responsible Relocation is daunting. However, there are a growing number of people and groups that recognize the need for better and more responsible practice in relocation. Just like every other major change in the key issues of our time, change starts with a small cadre of people who are willing to be pioneers. Once some make the journey safely to a new destination, others come to believe it is possible and set out on the same course.

By insisting that residents of disinvested urban neighborhoods slated for revitalization receive the maximum sustained benefits possible from the project, Responsible Relocation goes against the grain of several decades' worth of urban renewal, which treated residents of such areas as just another set of impediments, at best, to the successful redevelopment of the area. Such an emphasis broadens and complicates how success should be defined and measured in such projects. It also makes these efforts more expensive using a lens with a short view.

The costs of finding quality replacement housing and providing the services and supports necessary for displaced families to reroot their lives and take advantage of opportunities to improve the long-term outcomes for them and their children are indeed high. Such costs have not previously been included in the cost/benefit calculus of large-scale revitalization projects. This will require not only a new way of thinking about setting priorities and developing practices to realize them, but also new approaches to how they can be financed and made sustainable over the long haul. At the same time, the cost/benefit analysis should use a longer-time horizon to include the benefits derived from families who are better off and contribute more robustly to the vitality of their communities.

When it is all said and done, Responsible Relocation requires that all stakeholders act in a more responsible fashion. This means that:

- Elected officials, civic leaders, and the public sector workforce must be responsive to the needs and interests of affected communities and provide for the meaningful involvement of residents and other stakeholders in the design and implementation of relocation plans and processes.
- Public, private, and nonprofit agencies, especially service providers, need to improve their capacity and effectiveness and be held accountable for their performance.
- Residents need to be encouraged and supported to take full advantage of the services that are provided to them.

This is far from the final word. Indeed, our close-up appreciation for the complexity of Responsible Relocation has opened up some meaningful but unaddressed issues, such as:

- What criteria are there, and who decides, to judge whether or when involuntary relocation is necessary?
- How can Responsible Relocation activities be funded, especially in projects that are small in scale and do not have access to significant public or philanthropic resources?
- How can Responsible Relocation be applied in circumstances that are not covered by relocation statutes or where there is no legally responsible relocating entity?
- How is “better off” to be defined and how do you reconcile the outcomes expected by residents and other entities?
- To what degree, and how, should relocating entities be held accountable for outcomes of the relocation process?
- What responsibility to residents exists after relocation benefits end?
- What are the most fair and effective means to help residents who are hard to house?
- How do you encourage families to take advantage of services, supports, and opportunities?
- What responsibility do developers have to ensure that displaced residents can build wealth in the course of the redevelopment process?
- What obligations remain to displaced residents if long-term tracking data show ongoing distress from the mandated relocation?
- How do you respond if resident councils make harsh decisions about their own former neighbors in terms of their choice to return (e.g., formerly incarcerated community members)?

This document represents the first stage in a national conversation that acknowledges the human costs of involuntary displacement and seeks to do things differently. That conversation appreciates that our communities are only as strong as our most vulnerable residents. This guide helps to point us in the direction of more robust, healthy, and just communities.

ENDNOTES

1. R. Carpenter II and J.K. Ross, *Victimizing the Vulnerable: The Demographics of Eminent Domain*, Institute for Justice, 2007.
2. M. Fullilove, *Root Shock*, Ballantine Books, 2005.
3. S. Popkin, et al., *A Decade of HOPE VI: Research Findings and Policy Challenges*, The Urban Institute, 2004; see also National Housing Law Project, et al., *False HOPE: A Critical Assessment of the HOPE VI Public Housing Redevelopment Program*, June 2002; and Center for Community Change, *A HOPE Unseen: Voices from the Other Side of HOPE VI*, 2003.
4. M.A. Turner, et al., *What Next for Distressed Public Housing?* The Urban Institute, 2004, www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=1000654.
5. In November, 2006, the Minnesota Supreme Court ruled that the Housing and Redevelopment Authority (HRA) of the City of Richfield was responsible for providing relocation benefits to residents of a blighted area displaced by a private developer under contract with the city. The Court found that by initiating the project, controlling the developer, encouraging property owners to negotiate with the developer, providing financing to make the purchase possible, and, most importantly, assuring the developer that its power of condemnation was available if the developer could not come to terms with property owners, the HRA was an important partner in the acquisition. Therefore, it was liable to provide benefits under both the federal Uniform Relocation Act and the Minnesota Uniform Relocation Act.
6. It is important to note that URA replacement housing payments are effectively not capped; rather they are whatever it takes to provide replacement housing that the displaced person can afford. Under the URA, homeowners who occupied their house for at least 180 days prior to receiving their notice will receive a replacement housing payment that is equivalent to the difference between the price paid for their original home and the purchase price of a comparable, decent, safe, and sanitary replacement dwelling. While the URA establishes a maximum amount of \$22,500 for a replacement housing payment, it also requires that the replacement housing be within a person's financial means. If this maximum amount is not sufficient to provide a replacement home within a person's means, replacement housing payments that exceed the URA maximum amount must be provided. This is called "housing of last resort." Renters who lived in their units for at least 90 days are eligible for a replacement housing payment equivalent to the difference between the cost of their monthly rent and utilities for 42 months, for a total of \$5,250. However, as in the case of homeowners, this maximum amount may be exceeded to ensure that housing is provided within a displaced person's means.

7. Those households earning less than 80 percent of the Area Median Income.
8. Buron, et al., *The HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study*, The Urban Institute, 2002; Comey, *An Improved Living Environment? Housing Quality Outcomes for HOPE VI Relocateses*, The Urban Institute, 2004; and T. Boston, *Environment Matters: The Effects of Mixed-Income Revitalization on the Socio-Economic Status of Public Housing Residents: A Case Study of Atlanta*, Georgia Institute of Technology, Working Paper No.1, January 2005.
9. Turner, et al., *What Next for Distressed Public Housing?* The Urban Institute, 2004.
10. Popkin, et al., *A Decade of HOPE VI*.
11. Unlike the URA, there is often no "housing of last resort" clause that allows for replacement housing payments in excess of the amount stipulated in the statute. In New Jersey, for example, homeowners receive the fair market value of their property, plus a dislocation payment of up to \$15,000, plus closing costs and up to \$2,000 for moving expenses. Given that property values in disinvested neighborhoods are depressed, it is unlikely that lower-income homeowners who are being relocated will be able to purchase housing in a better neighborhood with this amount. Renters can receive a replacement housing payment of up to \$4,000 over three years plus moving expenses. In addition, no specific resources are provided for counseling, transition assistance, or referral to supportive services.
12. Massachusetts requires that displaced families be given 120 days notice, 30 days more than called for under the URA. In addition, a Relocation Plan must be prepared and submitted for approval to the Bureau of Relocation no later than 45 days prior to the anticipated project acquisition or other displacing activity when five or more business or dwelling units are affected. Displacement cannot proceed until the Bureau of Relocation approves the Relocation Plan.
13. C. Theodore Koebel, *Urban Development, Displacement, and the Future of the American City*, Community Affairs Office, Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, 1996:25.
14. The payments are based on the Federal Highway Administration's Moving Expense and Dislocation Allowance schedule. In 2004, the standard payments ranged from \$390 for a furnished efficiency to \$1,200 for an unfurnished three-bedroom apartment.
15. M. Cunningham, S. Popkin, and M. Burt, *Public Housing Transformation and the "Hard to House,"* Urban Institute Metropolitan Housing and Communities Center Brief No. 9, June 2005.
16. Buron, et al., *The HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study; D. Levy and D. Kaye, How Are HOPE VI Families Faring: Income and Employment*, Washington DC: The Urban Institute, 2004.

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