



The Moving to Opportunity Evaluation:

Getting Inside the Black Box of Experimental Effects

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Order of Presentation

Research and Policy Background

Objectives and Design of the Experiment

Key Research Questions

Methods/Data Sources: Mixed Methods

Quantitative & More Recent Qualitative Findings

- Gender & Anti-social Behaviour

- Recent Impacts

- Brief account of Vilma and Bessie (2005 ethnography)

Observations

Policy Notes

Key Background

Rebuild/gild the ghetto or allow movement out: Kerner (1968) warning on race

C. Jencks/WJ Wilson: Gautreaux Housing Research: educational effects for suburban movers; but 'selection bias'

Weak theoretical basis for predicting: effects on adults/children; when effects might occur; whether cities will differ; how race and ethnicity might affect; what impact scale can have

No expectation that high levels of poverty concentration up to 1990 would be followed by:

 'Startling' Declines from 15% to 10% of all poor individuals

 Baltimore: -13%; Boston: -6.3%; Chicago:- 19%; NY: -7.6%;

 LA:+4.1

Levels of racial segregation also decline 1990-2000; not NY

Continuing isolation of Black/Hispanic tenants within Public Housing

 Low incomes: \$7-11,000 annual; health/disability

 High crime/drug/gang activity even with declines

Section 8 Rental Assistance as prime program tool

HUD practice of using Social Experiments: EHAP

Secretariially driven modest innovations in policy in 1990s: Hope VI; Jobs+ as Place-based – MTO as person based

NEIGHBORHOOD EFFECTS ON CRIME

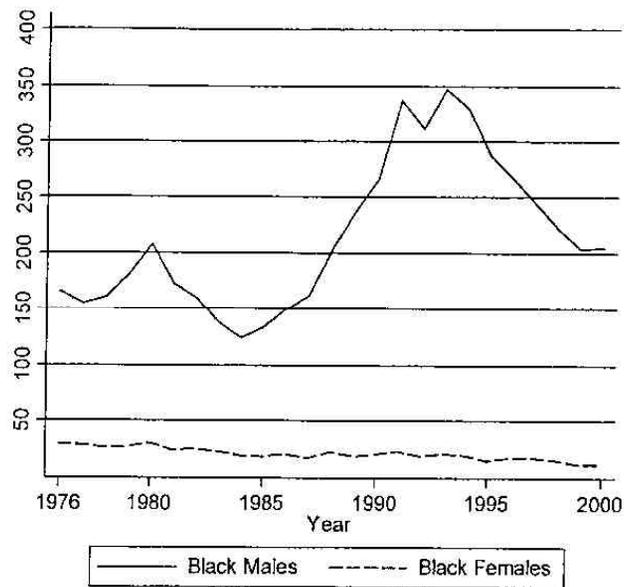


FIGURE I

Homicide Offending Rates per 100,000 for Black Males and Females 18-24 from 1976 to 2000

Data taken from FBI's Supplemental Homicide Reports, 1976-2000 [Fox and Zawitz 2002].

Neighborhood Effects Research: Questions - Doubt

“From a scientific perspective, the best way to estimate neighborhood effects would be to conduct controlled experiments in which we assigned families randomly to different neighborhoods, persuaded each family to remain in its assigned neighborhood for a protracted period, and then measured each neighborhood's effects on the children involved.” (Jencks and Mayer 1990)

Rossi's Iron Law of Evaluation: "...the best a priori estimate of the net impact assessment of any program is zero; that is, the program will have no effect" (Peter Rossi 1987).

Objectives of MTO

- *Program Objective:* Provide poor families living in high poverty public assisted housing an opportunity to move to low poverty neighborhoods with the assistance of Section 8 subsidy and counseling
 - Assist in Relocation of tenants from proposed Hope VI sites
- *Research Objective:* Measure the impact over time of moving to lower poverty neighborhood on the outcomes of adults and children

The MTO Research Components/Timetable

1. Experimental Design (1992-1994)
2. Baseline surveys (1994-1998)
3. Panel Tracking/ Surveys (ongoing)
4. Small grant pilot research (1997-2000)
5. Interim Evaluation (2003)
6. Qualitative Field Work (2004-2006)
7. Final Impact Assessment (RFP in 2/2006)
8. Final Report on Outcomes: 2009
9. Availability of controlled use data files (ongoing)

Program & Research Design

MTO Demonstration was conducted from 1994-1998 in five PHAs: Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, L.A. & N.Y.

Waiting lists, screening and then families were fully informed of research requirements & then randomly assigned into one of three groups:

- The *experimental group* received special Section 8 vouchers that could be used only in census tracts with poverty rates below 10 percent.
 - In each MSA, one or more nonprofit organizations helped the families in the MTO experimental group to locate and lease suitable housing in low-poverty areas.
- The *Section 8 comparison group* received regular Section 8 vouchers, which could be used anywhere; families did not receive any mobility counseling.
- The *control group* received no vouchers but continued to be eligible for project-based assistance.

2nd Year Funding Terminated: Loss of statistical power

MTO by the numbers

- Some 5,300 families volunteered; 4,608 were found eligible and went through the random assignment process
- Over 1,800 families are in the experimental group, and 860 of these moved to low-poverty areas (48%)
- Another 1,350 families are in the regular Section 8 group, and 816 of these moved under the same rules as the standard program (60%)
- More than 1,400 MTO families initially remained in public housing as the control group
 - Some Hope VI demolition and churning/out movement

Social Science/ Evaluation Questions

What domains of social and economic behavior should be affected the most?

How long will it take for effects to occur: for parents & children?

Who will benefit the most and why: what are the mechanisms of change/mediators?

Will effects be reversible?

Will significant negative effects occur?

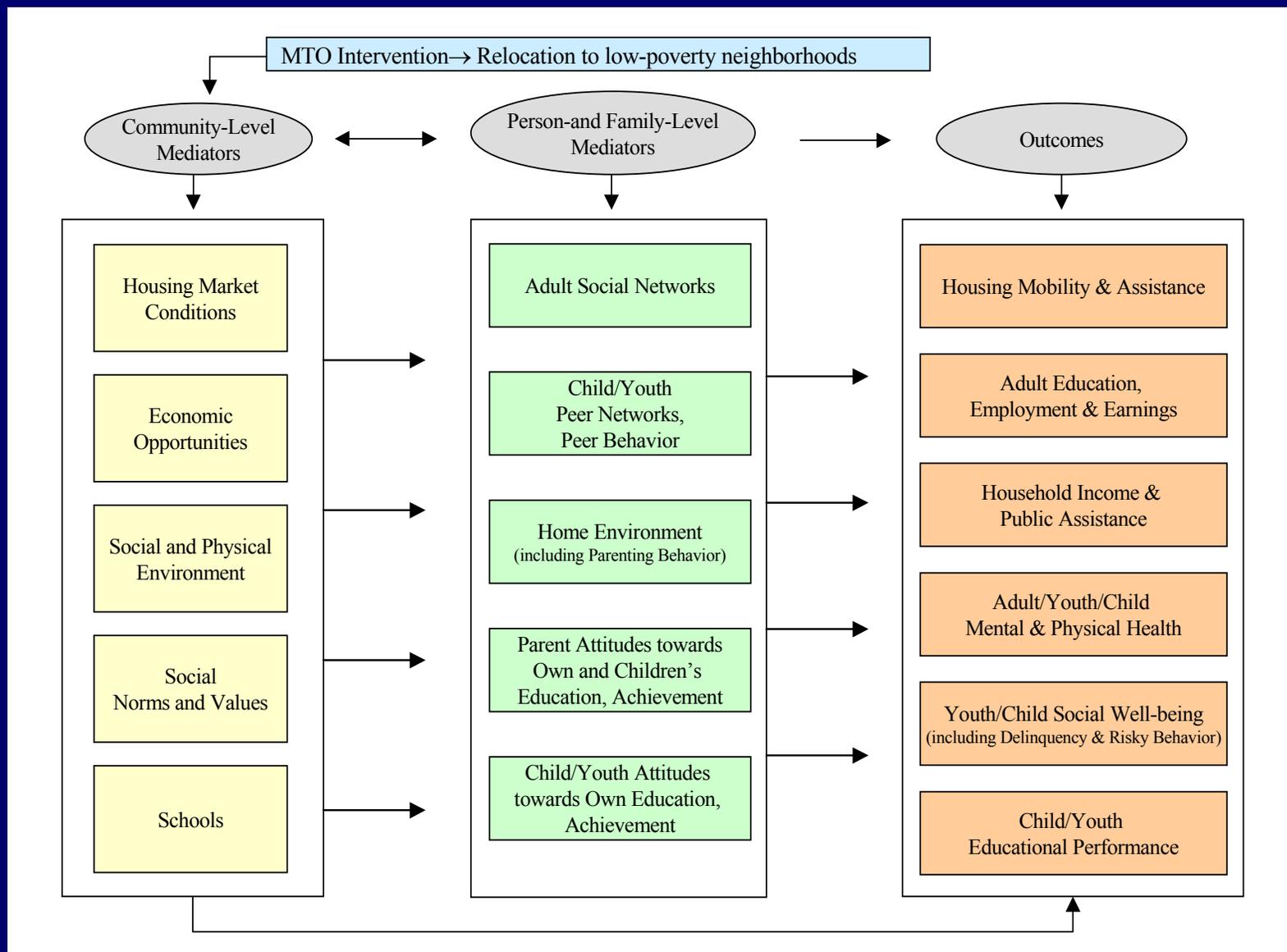
What aspects of 'neighbourhood' will matter most for improved opportunities?

Is racial mixing more important than economic?

Lots of high expectations: A policy 'home-run'

Lessons for other relocation efforts: e.g Katrina relief?

Hypothesized Pathways of MTO Impacts



Interim Evaluation Data Sources

Pre-Survey Qualitative Data

- In-depth semi-structured interviews with adult heads of household and children. Informed design of quantitative survey.

Quantitative Data

- Structured surveys with adults (4,252), youth (3,542), and children (2,206)
- Achievement tests of youth (3,542) and children (3,152)
- Administrative data from state and local agencies (earnings, TANF, food stamps, arrest records)

Interim Evaluation Response Rates

Effective Response Rate

- Household Adult effective response rate 91 percent
- Youth/Child Surveys and Achievement Test response rates 88 to 90 percent
- Low non-response bias

Estimation Methods

All estimates regression-adjusted with standard set of covariates, including (where available) pre-RA value of outcome

ITT = “intention to treat” – impact on entire treatment group, including those who did not lease up

TOT = “treatment on treated” – impact on those who leased up only

Tests of significance at .05 level

Only large impacts detectible with confidence (e.g TANF benefits reduced by 50%; adult earnings by 40%)

Current Qualitative Research

Underway: NY, Boston, LA (J Goering, Xavier Briggs and Susan Popkin)

- Jeff King and Kathy Edin: Baltimore/Chicago

- In-depth qualitative interviews: sample of 200+ adults and teens to understand behavior, particularly in the domains of employment, crime, schools, and health: the key interim “puzzles”
- Ethnographic: Direct observation and informal interviewing of a small sample of in-depth households (45 families)
- Neighborhood “scans” / ‘ecometrics’ - to provide objective analysis of key contextual/environmental trends plus *Key Informant* Interviews. Section 8 tenant data by tract poverty

MTO Outcomes

Interim Evaluation: 5 years out

Black Box of Effects: why did certain effects
and not other happen?

Housing Mobility Outcomes

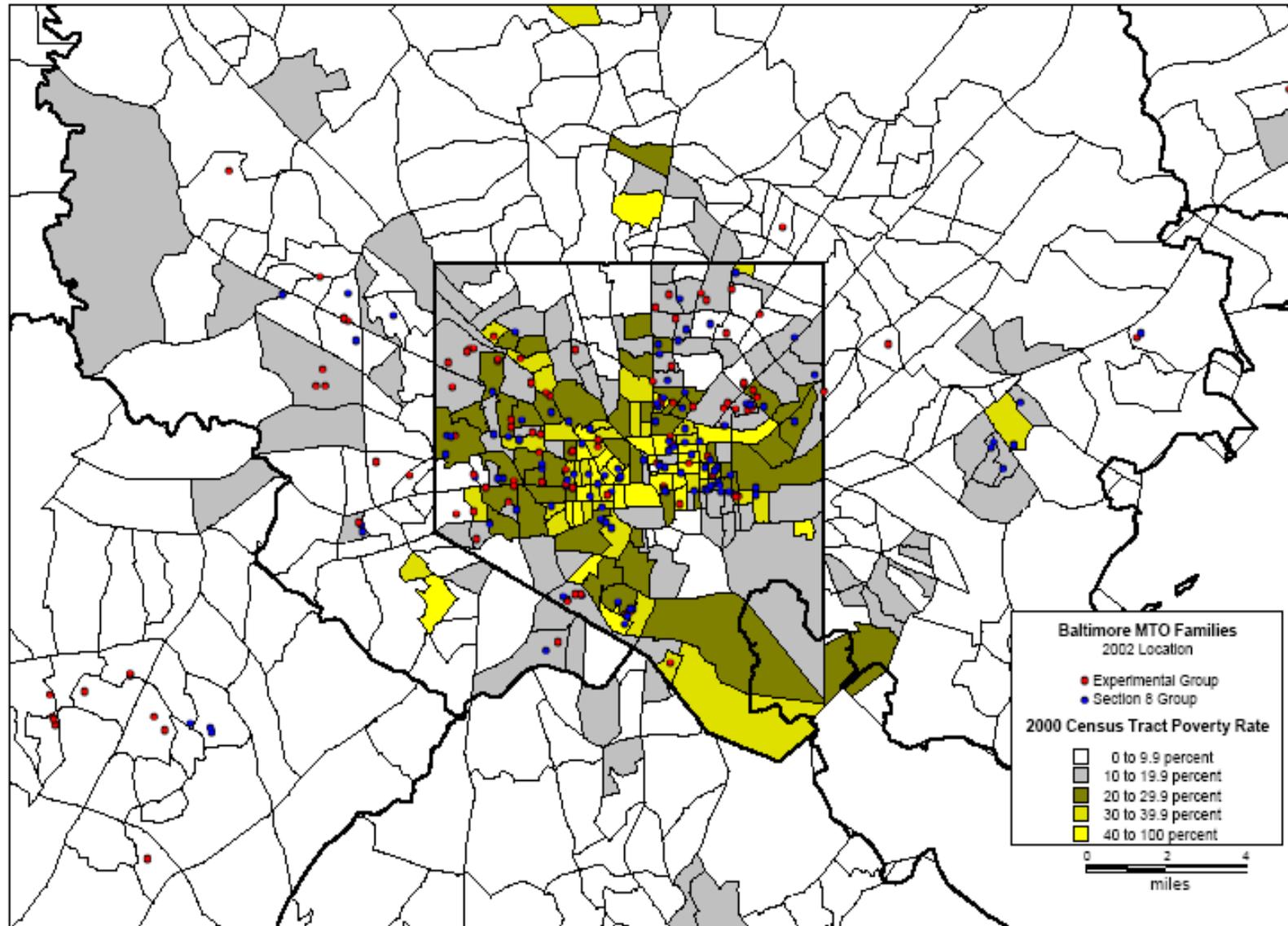
- Poverty rates of current locations are substantially reduced (experimental and Section 8 groups)
- Fraction minority population in experimental group locations is reduced, but more than half moved to areas 80%+ minority (Black, Hispanic; Asian)
- Over half of experimental lease-ups were in tracts with increasing poverty from 1990 to 2000
- Over half of experimental group lease-ups moved again to somewhat higher poverty tracts

Neighborhood Poverty Rate at Time of First Lease-up for Program Movers

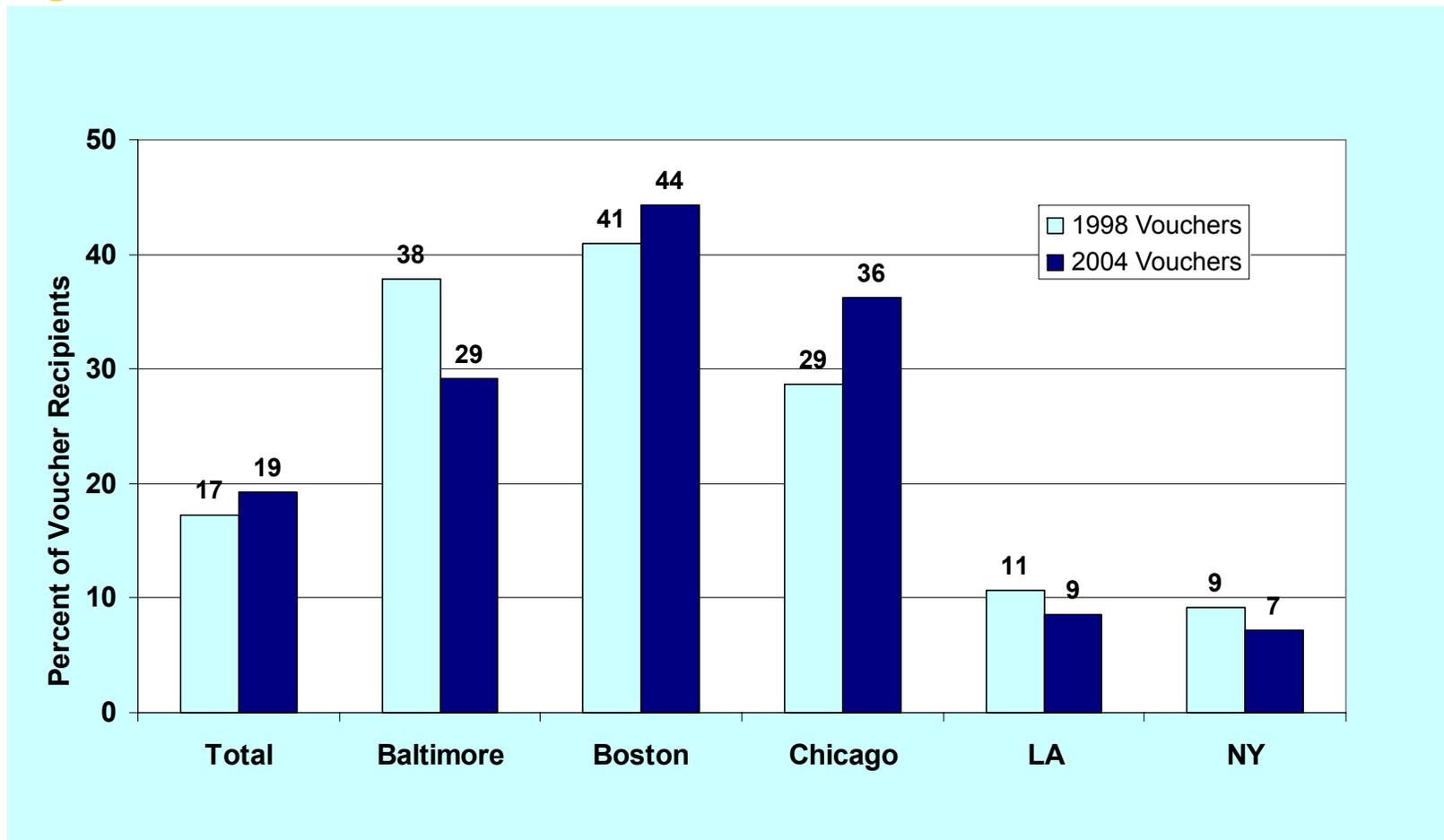
	<10%	10-20%	20-40%	40%+			
<i>Poverty Rate in 1990 Census</i>							
- Experimental Group	.83	.16	.03	.00			
- Section 8 Group	.10	.24	.48	.18			
<i>Poverty Rate in 2000 Census</i>							
- Experimental Group	.31	.58	.10	.01			
- Section 8 Group	.05	.20	.54	.20			

Exhibit C2.2

**Locations of MTO Program Movers Living in Baltimore in 2002
by the 2000 Census Tract Poverty Rate**



All Section 8 Recipients in 5 MTO PHAs: Share in Lowest Poverty Neighbourhoods: 1998-2004



Mobility Impacts

	C Mean	E-C	S8-C
<u>Current Locations</u>			
Average Census 2000 poverty rate of current location	.386	-.172	-.103
Average Census 2000 percent minority of current location	.876	-.096	ns
<u>Address History: Number of Months since Random Assignment Living in Areas with Poverty Rates:</u>			
Below 10 percent	2.8	+19.6	+2.0
At least 10 percent but less than 20 percent	6.4	+17.9	+9.4
At least 20 percent but less than 30 percent	7.1	ns	+10.7
At least 30 percent but less than 40 percent	14.7	-6.0	ns
40 percent or above	41.0	-32.4	-24.6

Impacts: Fear Related Neighborhood Outcomes

Significant positive impacts for both experimental and Section 8 groups on:

Feeling safe in the neighborhood night: C Stayers: 61%; Exp Movers: +15%

Police come when called

All measures of neighborhood quality

Significant reductions for both experimental and Section 8 groups in:

Witnessing drug activity in the neighborhood

Seeing public drinking, groups hanging out

Crime victimization over last six months: Been assaulted/beaten last 6 months: C: 10%; Exp Movers: 4%

Feelings of safety and calm

The earliest and most persistent positive reported outcome for adults: feelings of safety and calm

Mother in New York on life before: "It was like being in a war zone. ...a lot of drug dealings. Shootouts. Everybody had such low self-esteem. Nobody looked out for each other. It was horrible."

Baltimore mother: "it's a totally different neighborhood because there is no drug activity, no kids hanging on the corner, no kids fighting each other."

Chicago mother: "you can wake up every day and we're not worried about seeing anybody getting shot and no gang members, nothing like that and it's quiet and it's cool and calm up here."

Teenagers: it's boring here

Boston Mother: ' It's quiet; nobody doesn't bother you. I don't get scared like I used to before '

Neighborhood Impacts

	C Mean	E-C	S8-C
<u>Safety (SR)</u>			
Feeling safe at night	.549	+.303	+.156
Saw drug activity in neighborhood in past 30 days	.445	-.248	-.171
Any household member a crime victim in past 6 months	.209	-.085	-.089
<u>Neighborhood Quality (SR)</u>			
Reporting litter/trash/graffiti/ abandoned buildings	.704	-.236	-.127
Reporting public drinking/hanging out	.695	-.360	-.166
<u>Neighborhood Characteristics (Census)</u>			
Two-parent families	.385	+.142	+.076
Persons with college degree	.151	+.080	+.032
<u>Adult Friendships (SR)</u>			
With college-educated friends	.410	+.140	ns
With friends earning more than \$30,000	.424	+.112	ns

Impacts on Housing Outcomes

Significant increases for both experimental and Section 8 groups in:

- Most measures of housing quality

- Utility payment problems (covered in PH)

- No significant impacts on current total housing cost

Housing Impacts

	C Mean	E-C	S8-C
<u>Housing Assistance and Cost</u>			
Receiving Housing Assistance	.706	.164	.133
Currently in Public Housing	.408	-.358	-.332
Current Total Housing Cost	\$412	ns	ns
Utility Payment Problems	.270	.223	.120
<u>Housing Quality</u>			
Problems with peeling paint/wallpaper	.492	-.186	-.108
Housing rated as fair or poor	.480	-.210	-.119

Physical & Mental Health

Adults

- Physical health & substance use: largely insignificant impacts
- Mental Health: significant E-C differences
- Obesity: significant E-C differences

Youth

- Physical health: no significant differences
- Mental health: improvement for girls

Adult Mental Health

Significant E-C differences

	C Mean	E-C	S8-C
Psychological Distress in past month (<i>sad, down, restless, hopeless, nervous, etc.</i>)	.329	-.073	ns
Major Depressive Episode in past year (<i>at least 3 symptoms</i>)	.221	-.079	ns
Month of Anxiety in past year	.393	ns	ns

Adult Obesity

Significant E-C differences

	C Mean	E-C	S8-C
BMI > 30	.471	-.108	ns
Fraction of past week had fruits or vegetables	.671	.062	ns
Engages in moderate exercise in typical week	.471	ns	.075

Obesity: Behavioral Questions

Experimental Weight loss: Clues but few clear success stories

Weight difference only 10-14.5 pounds

Stress leads to eating: less stress

Low income = poor diet control no \$ for gyms

Evening out treat is fast Food Chain (McDonalds)

Pregnancy and weight gain

Some ability to use safe nearby parks for exercise

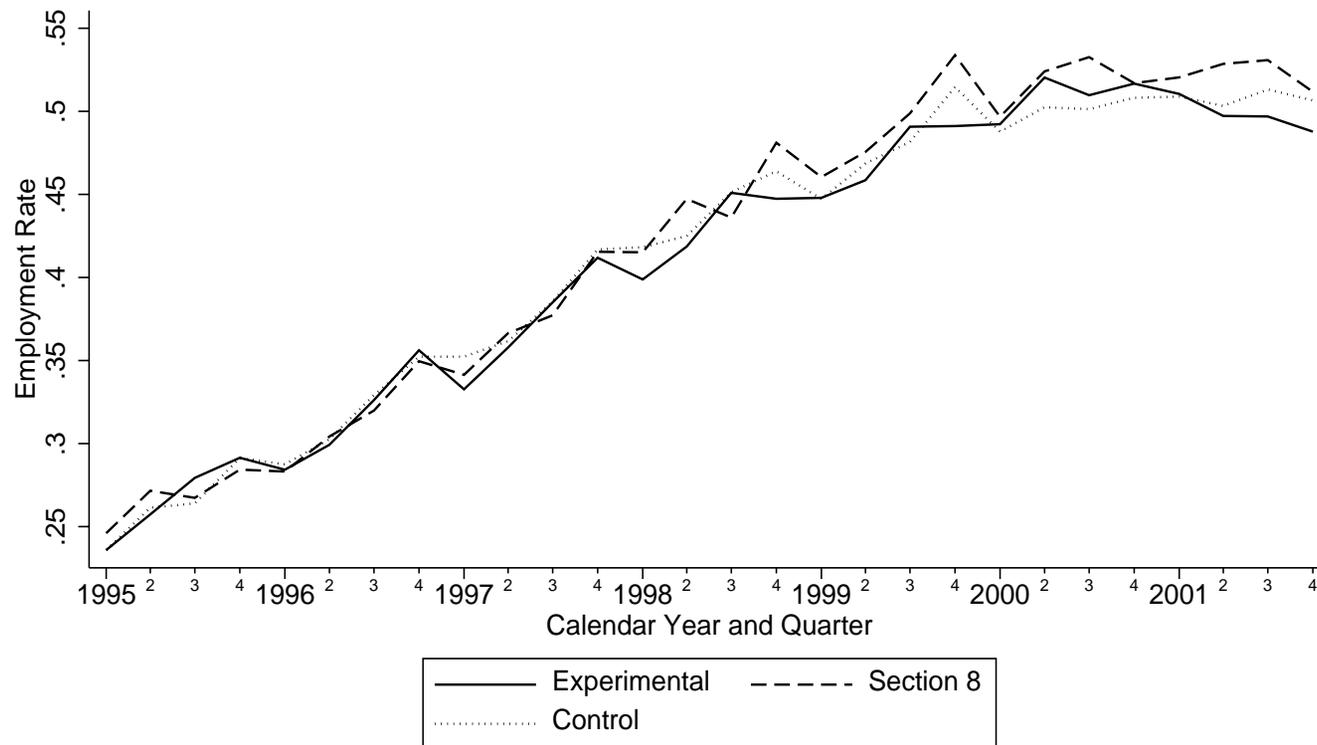
Will the effects be better seen in their children

Current Employment

No significant impacts on employment and earnings

	C Mean	E-C	S8-C
<i>Adults</i>			
- Currently employed	.522	ns	ns
- Current weekly earnings at main job	\$181	ns	ns
- Adult currently employed full time	.394	ns	ns
<i>Youth</i>			
- Youth currently employed	.275	ns	ns
- Youth current weekly earnings at main job	\$52	ns	ns
- Youth is idle	.277	ns	ns
-			
- <i>Total HH Income</i>	\$15,165	+729 ITT	ns
		+1,546 TOT	ns

MTO Employment rates over time.



Receipt of Public Assistance

No significant impacts on current receipt of public assistance, either for full sample or subgroups by ethnicity and barriers to employment

	C Mean	E-C	S8-C
AFDC/TANF	.286	ns	ns
Food Stamps	.460	ns	ns
SSI	.228	ns	ns
Medicaid	.561	ns	ns

BUT: 3 sites with longitudinal data show some evidence of decreasing TANF receipt over time for:

- Experimental group in years 1-4, and
- Section 8 group in years 3-5

Education Outcomes

Small positive changes in school quality

- 70% of Experimental lease-ups remained in the same large urban school district

No significant effects on mediators

- school climate
- parental monitoring
- parental involvement in school

No significant effects on achievement *but* Blacks improve in reading scores (Baltimore/Chicago mostly)

Grade repetition and special ed by age

Increase for 8-11 year-olds in the experimental group

	C Mean	E-C	S8-C
Ever repeated a grade			
- Age 5-7	.121	ns	ns
- Age 8-11	.185	.159	ns
- Age 12-19	.272	ns	ns
Special Education Recipient			
- Age 5-7	.191	ns	ns
- Age 8-11	.259	.095	ns
- Age 12-19	.253	ns	ns

On Mediating School Effects

Most City schools have lower quality educational resources.

Confounding Programs:

- Boston's METCO School Choice Program allows minority city children to voluntarily transfer to suburban schools. Waiting lists; can't choose districts; creaming effects; some schools ended participation; catholic schools closed. No clue about underperforming schools (class size is variable for parents).

Grandmothers/relatives baby-sit in old poor neighborhood

Ghetto schools can have better after school programs

Credits not transferred so child held back grades

Some LA schools operate all year & parents will not select

Gangs in LA schools: safety is the issue and so select safest/nearest school. (Baby CRIPS/Bloods)

Younger students are doing better than older; young adults drop out

Older boys suspended; expelled – 'feel rejected'

Educational & Race: A Complicated Pathway

LA teenager, Shamika living in Highland Ca.

“I don't really like hanging around black people now. [I asked her what being black means to her]

She said, "Cuz most of the black are sort of ghetto and all of that... I don't want to do the same thing.

I don't want to still be... doing the same thing that I did two years ago. I want to try different stuff.

... all the people I used to hang around were black.

I don't want it to be like that, because when I do get out

there and go to college, I'm not going to know how to

experiment with other races and stuff. And what they like,

and what they dislike and all of that. So, it's better to know now, to get ready for

college.” (Interview 02/04/2005)

Youth Mental Health

Improvements for girls (ages 12-19)

	C Mean	E-C	S8-C
Girls' Psychological Distress— month	.304	-.098	- ns
Girls' Lifetime Depression— lifetime	.102	- ns	-.067
Girls' Generalized Anxiety— lifetime	.091	-.092	-.078
Boys' Psychological Distress— month	.208	+ ns	+ ns
Boys' Depression— lifetime	.028	+ ns	+ ns
Boys' Generalized Anxiety— lifetime	.042	+ ns	- ns

Youth Delinquency & Risky Behavior

Behavior Problems Index: significant increase in self-reported behavior problems among boys

Delinquency: no significant differences

Arrests & Risky Behavior: substantial gender differences

(less for girls; risky behavior measures include smoking/drinking)

Youth Arrests

Among youth (15-19), decline in arrests for girls and increase for boys

	C Mean	E-C	S8-C
Girls: Ever arrested	.238	- ns	- .112
Girls: Ever arrested for property crimes	.087	- ns	- ns
Girls: Ever arrested for violent crimes	.144	- ns	-.155
Boys: Ever arrested	.388	+ ns	+ ns
Boys: Ever arrested for property crimes	.150	+.115	+ns
Boys: Ever arrested for violent crimes	.204	+ ns	+ ns

Bad Boys?

Most property offences are for petty larceny (theft of property that do not involve any contact between the perp and the victim)

MTO therefore similar to crime data more generally

Only a very small % of kids wind up getting convicted ("adjudicated delinquent") and;

The fraction doing any jail time is very low

Evidence of aging out of crime- desistance (Laub/Sampson); girl friends/stable relations

Frequent reference to 'racism' of local police: differential arrests

Smoking, Alcohol, Marijuana & Sex

Consistent pattern among components of Risky Behavior Index for youth ages 15-19

	C Mean	E-C	S8-C
Girls: Ever smoked	.314	-.184	- ns
Girls: Ever had alcoholic drink	.410	- ns	- ns
Girls: Ever had marijuana	.342	-.276	- ns
Girls: Ever had sex	.667	- ns	+ ns
Boys: Ever smoked	.264	+.314	+.305
Boys: Ever had alcoholic drink	.432	+ ns	- ns
Boys: Ever had marijuana	.348	+ ns	+ ns
Boys: Ever had sex	.769	- ns	- ns

MTO Youth: Drinking to Excess			
Outcome	Control Mean	Experimental vs. Control	
		ITT (se)	TOT (se)
Ever had alcoholic drink (n=1574)			
- All youth (Ages 15-19)	0.417	-0.015 (0.035)	-0.036 (0.081)
- Female	0.410	-0.072 (0.050)	-0.158 (0.108)
- Male	0.425	0.042 (0.048)	0.104 (0.117)
Had at least one drink in past month (n=1568)			
- All youth (Ages 15-19)	0.202	-0.011 (0.028)	-0.024 (0.064)
- Female	0.239	-0.091 ^{†*} (0.040)	-0.199 ^{†*} (0.088)
- Male	0.165	0.073 ^{†*} (0.037)	0.178 ^{†*} (0.090)
Had 5+ drinks on single occasion in past month (n=1560)			
- All youth (Ages 15-19)	0.049	0.003 (0.016)	0.008 (0.036)
- Female	0.053	-0.036 ^{†*} (0.017)	-0.078 ^{†*} (0.036)
- Male	0.045	0.044 (0.026)	0.107 (0.063)

Control Group White Teenager: Boston

Started smoking at 13; father and brother smoke

Brother is heroin addict for 10 years

Friend died at 19 of heroin overdose “There’s like a lot of overdoses around here and stuff”

Knows a lot of people who deal drugs; they buy heroin from “Spanish people”

Pill for anxiety and car crash 3 years ago; disabled

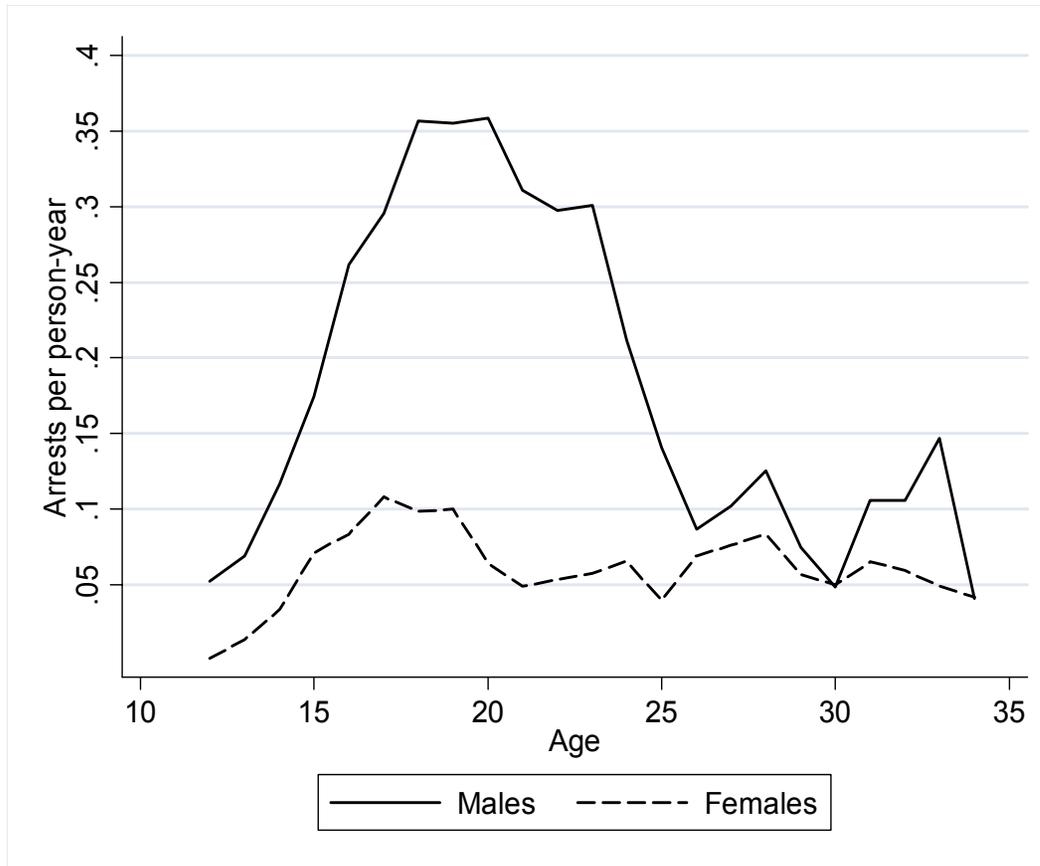
Smokes marijuana as do friends; mother does not mind

18 yr old Latino/Boston/treatment group

“I don't go around looking for trouble. I'm not in no gangs. I was never a part of that because--and it's funny because half my family is like in jail, and like they grew up like as criminals. I was never into that, and like I really appreciate my mom. Like I give her 400 percent for raising a kid like me, you know.

I do a little bad things, you know, like when we found out like the news about my nephew, I got into this little group like and they start smoking marijuana, and I start smoking marijuana, but I been clean for a while, you know what I'm saying. That's not the way to go because if you use drugs to escape your problems, you know what I'm saying, you are weak to the world.”

Age-crime curves for MTO Control Group
3 Year Moving Average of Arrest Rates



Qualitative Research: 2004-2006

Observed routines: little community contact; church/school

Schools largely in same district: little motivation to attempt strange/fearful new school district:

hard for parents to evaluate school quality

Parents typically heavily protective of youngest children; less work incentive: fear of crime risk

Girls respond well to absence of sexual predation of projects gangs: use local (school) role models

Boys persist in feeling need for gang protection; LA notably
or retreat into parental protection

Family crises and increasing rents force some families to move back into poorer areas

Race choices

Parenting: Teenage Girl/Exp Mover

On parent's rules:

“They are pretty fine. I think my parents wants me to be a successful responsible person when I grow up, and I think rules are a good way to make that happen. I have a time I have to be in the house and a time when I can talk on the phone.” (Boston black, female)

On life in the projects:

“In that area its difficult to control children. I think you loose control. Sometimes one is influenced by the environment.” (Latino exp mover mother re her daughter)

Experimental Population and Significant Impacts

On many outcomes, only fairly large impacts can be detected with confidence—e.g., to be 80% sure of detecting impacts as significant:

Adult earnings would have to be increased by about 40% in the experimental group, 30% in the Section 8 group

TANF benefits would have to be reduced by 50%

Youth asthma attacks would have to be reduced by 67%

But the Demonstration has shown the following major impacts:

SUMMARY MTO OUTCOMES WITH SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS
5 PERCENT LEVEL:
ALL ADULTS AND YOUTH

	E/S	CM	ITT	TOT
A. Adult outcomes				
Obese, BMI \geq 30	E-C	.468	-.048 (.022)	-.103 (.047)
Calm and peaceful	E-C	.466	.061 (.022)	.131 (.047)
Psychological distress,	E-C	.050	-.092 (.046)	-.196 (.099)
B. Youth outcomes				
Ever had generalized anxiety symptoms	E-C	.089	-.044 (.019)	-.099 (.042)
Ever had generalized anxiety symptoms	S-C	.089	-.063 (.019)	-.138 (.055)
Ever had depression symptoms	S-C	.121	-.039 (.019)	-.069 (.035)

MTO Female and Male Youth Outcomes
Significant at 5% Level

		CM	ITT	TOT
C: Female: Psychological distress z-score	E-C	.268	-.289 (.094)	-.586 (.197)
Ever had generalized anxiety symptoms	E-C	.121	-.069 (.027)	-.138 (.055)
Ever had generalized anxiety symptoms	S-C	.121	-.071 (.026)	-.125 (.046)
Used marijuana in the past 30 days	E-C	.131	-.065 (.029)	-.130 (.059)
Used marijuana in the past 30 days	S-C	.131	-.072 (.032)	-.124 (.056)
Used alcohol in past 30 days	S-C	.206	-.091 (.038)	-.155 (.056)
D. Male youth outcomes				
Serious non-sports accident or injury in past year	E-C	.062	.087 (.026)	.215 (.064)
Serious non-sports accident or injury in past year	S-C	.062	.080 (.028)	.157 (.058)
Ever had generalized anxiety symptoms	S-C	.055	-.049 (.024)	-.098 (.047)
Smoked in past 30 days	E-C	.125	.103 (.032)	.257 (.084)
Smoked in past 30 days	S-C	.125	.151 (.037)	.293 (.073)

Experimental Mover Family: Los Angeles (2005)

For Vilma, husband Pedro, and three boys the immediate East L.A. neighborhood is their home with few if any important social relations or daily routines; limited expectations of aid from neighbors. Church and the workplace are the important social worlds for parents. Both parents work and earn \$45,000. They bought their own home 3 years ago and are off housing assistance. The private/Catholic school is the primary social context for the three boys who do not socialize, or maintain peer groups, in the neighborhood.

The neighborhood provides a safe, accessible, and well-monitored place in which they bought their first home in America, where their kids can play outside. No immediate gang activity. When asked if she has neighbors as friends: 'we don't know no people.' If help is needed they ask 'compadres.'

Boys watch TV, do computer games, play sports at school, go to Church with parents.

Control Family: Watts LA (2005)

Bessie is a single mother with 3 kids. The girl's father is drug addict and usually homeless. Her social ties are to her family and Church. Her daughter has been 'jumped at school, and there have been several shootings , and several family members have been murdered. She has no plans to move.

At the 12 years old girl's school, there are 2 exit doors: one is used only for Crips and the other for Bloods

'Kids want to be violent because of their mothers and fathers; they see that and bring that attitude to school

When trouble gets bad, they spend the night with Patricia; 'it be a lot of killing and stuff.' People supposed to come back and supposed to shoot up a lot of people.'

Teenage girls' isolation; 'When she at home, I make her stay to herself. I don't let her socialize with too many people, because they (other) girls, they fast. They got boyfriends, they having sex, and I don't want my daughter having sex. She's only 12 years old you know.'

Provisional Summary

Lives have improved in certain domains: safety above all

Parenting takes precedence over neighborhood context

There is continual reference to the social isolation of new areas

Race/racism appear to matter: minority moderate income areas are better fit for girls and boys: the slow-moving ecology of white privilege?

Gender matters: But a scramble to understand why

Sites matter: LA gang problems are major; Boston / Baltimore

Rental markets pressured on price; not hospitable to Section 8

Gentrification of deeply poor communities (NY Harlem, Chicago Cabrini Green)

Hope VI part of this renewal of inner cities

Move backs into higher poverty: `divorce; housing market (LA airport expansion)

Constant churning in lower priced rental market

'Low poverty' is poor proxy for opportunity - esp. school quality

What should the indicators be and how long should we wait?

Larger impacts may occur in the longer run

Children who grow up in low-poverty areas can be expected to show greater effects than those who moved there at later ages

Adjustment to different area may be disruptive with short-term adverse effects for some

Positive impacts identified since the Interim Evaluation

2005 Earnings and employment data for younger adults age 22-29 (LA):

CM Wage: \$7,322+ \$3,312 ITT; \$5,686 TOT

CM%Employed: .537+ .128 ITT; .220 TOT

But impacts can be only local or temporary

Perry Pre-school experiment into year 40

Policy Thoughts

- There have been beneficial impacts for Experimental Families and Section 8. The lower the poverty the larger the effect.
 - Neighborhoods have a *modest* positive impact on options for social development (Rossi's Iron Law proved wrong)
- Deconcentrating poverty is beneficial for the families moving to lower poverty in terms of housing quality, safety, and health
 - But diminishing Federal interest in housing dispersal
 - The Katrina disaster wild-card? Cities/markets (or perhaps PHAs) matter
- The collusion of race and class makes policies much harder
- The adverse behavior of boys appears relative but can be politically paralytic but aging out is occurring
- Achieving positive effects on employment, income, and education may require more time or other interventions
 - Jobs+ Worked
- Necessary to wait for effects to occur given that there will not be another \$80million effort; role of private funding
 - Patience is no virtue for Politicians

MTO Overview

Contexts:

- US policy desperation in late 1980s: underclass concentration, crime, riots, HUD failing
- Housing deconcentration an intermittent policy and judicial requirement for two-three decades: Chicago (Gautreaux); Baltimore (Thompson)
- Rental housing vouchers as key tool for housing assistance
- Tradition of using social experiments at HUD for nearly 30 years (EHAP): outcomes less than process

Legislation: Congressionally funded in 1993 initially as a 10 year research demo: \$80 million

Largest & 1st multi-site, longitudinal social experiment testing neighbourhood effects

Implementation: 1994-1998 in 5 sites. 4,600 HH panel; Criminal background screening; Baltimore opposition

Impacts/Outcomes: ITT hurdle & weak theory

- Substantial, varied impacts include 5 year adult health and mental health improvements - centred on feeling of greater security.
- Girls do better on conventional measures and boys less well, consistent with research on gender differences in anti-social behaviour; petty larceny arrests?
- Recent evidence of improvements: better wages/higher levels of employed for young adults only, better reading scores for blacks; reductions in welfare use.
- Parenting critical within safe area context

Policy: Mixed income housing options work - future of mixed income minority neighbourhoods unclear

Severe disadvantages of many in family public housing raise questions about who can take advantage of relocation to "better" places: counselling/services?

Relocation complement to place-based renewal programs: Hope VI; Jobs Plus

Still learning about what corresponds to "opportunity" for families: Final impact evaluation bid: due in 3 years (non-Federal funding)

Select MTO References

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HUD’s website: <http://www.hud.gov/progdesc/mto.cfm>

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Key Researchers:

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<http://www.highscope.org/Research/PerryProject/perrymain.htm>