

Staying or Leaving
Lessons from Jobs-Plus
About the Mobility of
Public Housing Residents and
Implications for Place-Based Initiatives

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Overview

Resident mobility can potentially influence the success of place-based self-sufficiency initiatives. Yet, relatively little is known about these patterns, especially among residents of public housing. This dearth of information makes it difficult to implement and evaluate programs that seek to address the self-sufficiency barriers of residents of low-income communities. This paper begins to fill this knowledge gap by examining the intended and actual out-migration patterns of a cohort of residents of five public housing developments participating in the Jobs-Plus Community Revitalization Initiative for Public Housing Families (“Jobs-Plus” for short), a multi-site initiative to raise residents’ employment outcomes.

The baseline survey and public housing authority administrative records data gathered for the Jobs-Plus evaluation offer a unique opportunity for an unusually detailed analysis of public housing mobility. Jobs-Plus targeted residents living in public housing developments characterized by concentrated joblessness and welfare receipt, and the findings from this paper should be viewed within this context. Drawing on a sample of 1,123 nondisabled, nonelderly household heads who completed a baseline survey before the implementation of Jobs-Plus, this paper attempts to draw insights about resident mobility in places frequently targeted by community initiatives by examining these key questions: Do public housing residents move a great deal? Do they want to move? And what factors differentiate the movers from the stayers?

Key Findings

- A significant proportion of residents (29 percent) moved out of the Jobs-Plus developments within two years of completing the baseline interview in 1997. The tendency to move varied considerably across the five Jobs-Plus developments, ranging from a high of 44 percent in Dayton’s De Soto Bass Courts to a low of 16 percent in Los Angeles’s William Mead Homes.
- Expectations of moving out ran very high among Jobs-Plus residents. Counter to the expectations, fewer than half of those intending to move were able to make that transition during the two-year follow-up period for this paper.
- On average, the typical “mover” had lived in a Jobs-Plus development for less than six years, and compared to residents who stayed, was less likely to report employment barriers, and was more likely to express dissatisfaction with the social and physical conditions in the development and the neighborhood at large. Movers were also more likely to report having experienced episodes of crime and violence.
- Economic self-sufficiency (that is, having access to savings and not receiving public assistance), concerns about keeping children engaged in constructive activities, and experiences of violence are key predictors of the probability of moving out.

The above findings have broad relevance for community initiatives, which have become an increasingly popular approach for addressing spatially concentrated poverty and unemployment. Given the mobility dynamics of residents of poor neighborhoods and public housing developments, program staff and evaluators will need to pay special attention to both the levels of mobility experienced in potential target areas and the types of residents moving out and understand the implications of such mobility for generating program-related positive spillovers for the community.

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The Author

Introduction

Public housing is often criticized for inhibiting economic self-sufficiency. When public housing originated in the 1930s, it was seen as a way of providing temporary housing for those who had fallen on hard times. However, as a result of significant shifts in housing admission policies and the changing nature of the national and local labor and housing markets, the profile of households in public housing has changed. The trend is increasingly for public housing to serve the most disadvantaged households: poor, single-parent households that are likely to rely on housing assistance for longer periods of time, with members who are also less likely to move out of public housing on their own.¹

The transition of public housing from temporary to more long-term housing has led policymakers to recognize that the delivery of housing services must be accompanied by other services that would foster economic self-sufficiency.² Since the early 1980s, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has experimented with various self-sufficiency initiatives. Programs including Project Self-Sufficiency, Operation Bootstrap, the Family Self-Sufficiency Program, and most recently the Jobs-Plus Community Revitalization Initiative for Public Housing Families (“Jobs-Plus” for short) were designed to increase the economic self-sufficiency of public housing residents and reduce their reliance on welfare and housing assistance.

It is important to recognize, however, that the success of public housing-based or other place-based self-sufficiency initiatives might depend, in part, on the mobility patterns of residents. For example, if public housing developments (or other poor neighborhoods) experience a high degree of out-migration, the exposure of eligible participants to different elements of the initiative that unfold over time may be limited. Thus, the full effectiveness of place-based initiatives could be undermined if the places they target experience a high degree of mobility. Residents who live in public housing for only a short period of time may be less likely to take advantage of a self-sufficiency program or have too little exposure to benefit from it. Despite the importance of residential mobility for place-based self-sufficiency programs, research on the in- and out-migration patterns of residents of public housing or other poor communities is scant. In particular, much is unknown about the characteristics and circumstances of residents who move quickly compared to those who stay longer. This paper begins to address this knowledge gap by focusing on the short-term out-migration patterns and characteristics of public housing resi-

¹Hungerford, 1996; Rohe and Kleit, 1997.

²Shlay, 1993.

dents.³ It uses information from the Jobs-Plus demonstration, which offers an unusually rich set of survey data and public housing authority administrative records for a large number of public housing residents.

As a place-based self-sufficiency demonstration project, Jobs-Plus is designed to increase employment by encouraging resident participation in three program components: (1) employment-related activities and services, (2) financial incentives to “make work pay” (primarily by reducing the amount by which rent increases when earnings grow), and (3) community supports for work.⁴ The demonstration uses a “saturation model,” which calls for all the working-age residents in the selected public housing development to be eligible and exposed to the different program components. The underlying intent of the saturation approach is to create dramatic improvements in the employment levels of the public housing residents. In this study, survey data that were collected before the start-up of Jobs-Plus and two years of follow-up administrative records are used to examine the desired and actual mobility of Jobs-Plus residents. The data also provide a unique opportunity to present a snapshot of households moving out or staying behind in public housing. As a result, this paper generates some important insights about how residential mobility of Jobs-Plus residents might affect program exposure and participation (and ultimately program effectiveness).

Key Questions

Four questions are central to this present study:

1. *How common is it for residents of Jobs-Plus developments to move out within a two-year period?* Understanding the degree of mobility experienced by public housing residents will shape images of public housing receipt and program and policy responses.⁵ From the perspective of designing and implementing place-based self-sufficiency initiatives, a key issue is whether residents will stay in a given place long enough to be exposed to a fully implemented program.⁶

³This paper is not designed to provide answers to questions about housing spells or public housing dynamics. As described in the methods section, the paper focuses on a single cohort of Jobs-Plus residents and monitors their mobility status for a two-year follow-up period.

⁴See Riccio (1999) for a complete description of the Jobs-Plus demonstration.

⁵Because of data limitations, the focus of the paper is exclusively on one side of the mobility equation: out-migration. While in-migration is important to understand, who enters public housing is largely determined by local or federal admission standards.

⁶No attempt is made to equate moving out of public housing with “moving up” or economic mobility. Household members move out of public housing for several reasons, with some households leaving public housing for other forms of assisted housing.

2. *How widespread is the intent to move out of public housing?* Conventional wisdom suggests that most residents would welcome an opportunity to leave their inner-city public housing developments. By reporting on direct investigations of the residential aspirations of Jobs-Plus residents at baseline, this paper describes whether respondents see themselves moving out of their respective developments in the near future.
3. *Do most residents act on their mobility preferences within a two-year follow-up period?* Linking residential aspirations with actual mobility will promote a better understanding of the gap between these two outcomes.
4. *Who moves and who stays? Is there any evidence of selective out-migration?* An understanding of the characteristics, circumstances, and perceptions that distinguish movers from stayers can inform the design of place-based self-sufficiency initiatives. If relatively better-off or more advantaged residents move out of public housing quickly, then programs that target this population will have to take into account the specific needs of those who are less likely to move. Further, a better understanding of the characteristics of public housing movers and stayers can inform judgments about the prospect of creating and maintaining the mixed-income neighborhoods that the 1998 Quality of Housing and Work Responsibility Act (QHWRA) was designed to promote.⁷

Why Mobility Matters for Place-Based Self-Sufficiency Initiatives

Place-based self-sufficiency initiatives are an increasingly popular strategy for confronting spatially concentrated poverty and related problems. The employment-focused place-based strategies, of which Jobs-Plus is an example, seek to create community-level outcomes that represent a turnaround for neighborhoods with concentrated joblessness and poverty.⁸ The scale, scope, and intensity of such efforts are geared towards producing large effects on the economic self-sufficiency of area residents, which, in turn, create positive spillovers for the neighborhood overall.⁹

Before turning to the question of how residential mobility might influence the intended outcomes of place-based self-sufficiency initiatives, it is useful first to consider how spillovers

⁷QHWRA changed admission and occupancy requirements for public housing authorities. Designed to reduce the concentration of poverty in public housing and to support families in transition from welfare to work, the legislation also attempts to protect access to housing assistance for the poorest families. The data used in this paper cover mostly households admitted to public housing under the regulations preceding QHWRA.

⁸Giloth, 2000.

⁹Bloom and Riccio, 2002.

are generated and what the rationale is for expecting such initiatives to bring about large, community-wide outcomes. There are two ways in which an employment-focused place-based initiative could potentially affect the employment outcomes of area residents and the overall well-being of the neighborhood.¹⁰

First, assume that the objective of a spatially focused employment initiative is to saturate the target neighborhood with employment or employment-focused activities, so that most residents are either working or are connected to others who are gainfully employed. For residents connected to the labor force, the initiative might focus on improving the quality of their jobs; for those who are not working because of educational, health, or other barriers to the labor market, the initiative might provide opportunities for them to overcome those barriers and be better able to gain and hold jobs. If work is made the norm, area residents not otherwise likely to seek or find work improve their own chances of employment. The use of social networks to locate and gain access to employment opportunities is one important way in which increasing levels of employment in the neighborhood might improve employment opportunities for area residents. Research also suggests that the presence of more working adults in the neighborhood is likely to generate a set of expectations and behaviors related to work. *Thus, a place-based self-sufficiency initiative aims to raise employment levels in target neighborhoods, which, in turn, raise the potential for positive employment-related spillovers for area residents.*

Second, a rise in the absolute number of working adults in a neighborhood is expected to result in some non-employment benefits for the overall neighborhood. For example, higher levels of employment may result in fewer households on public assistance, improvements in the physical appearance of homes, increases in levels of home ownership, and reductions in crime.¹¹ Huge declines in unemployment — and thereby poverty — in a specific neighborhood are expected to produce greater benefits for that neighborhood than would be the case if the same level of employment change were spread throughout the city. *Thus, concentrated employment gains for a specific neighborhood could potentially produce positive spillovers for other neighborhood conditions.*

Now if a critical pathway for achieving positive spillovers for both individuals and places consists of residents' social networks, the people they know in the community, and their ties to neighbors, then resident stability and social connectedness are particularly important conditions for realizing the kind of neighborhood turnaround envisioned by place-based economic initiatives. If that theory holds true, then residential mobility prevents spillovers from

¹⁰Outlined in Ellen and O'Reagan (2001), internal memo, entitled "Theoretical Justification for the Neighborhood Jobs Initiative."

¹¹Wilson (1996) argues that increasing the employment base would have a significantly positive impact on social organization of poor neighborhoods.

taking root. Place-based self-sufficiency initiatives assume the following conditions will be met: (a) a significant portion of the target-area, eligible residents will be exposed to the program; (b) the eligible residents will stay long enough in the target area to be exposed to all aspects of the program for a significant amount of time; (c) program participants and beneficiaries will stay in the target area long enough to influence neighbors and others in the community; and (d) in the event that target-area residents move out of their original neighborhoods, they will maintain close connections with their former neighbors to continue to provide access to employment information and opportunities. Implicit in these assumptions is the belief that a high degree of resident mobility dilutes the potential for generating positive spillovers for individuals and places. If eligible residents move before they experience the full program, it would be hard to attribute their outcomes to the program. Further, if successful program participants move away and lose their neighborhood ties, then the target neighborhood loses the very people needed to generate positive spillovers.

In addition to the implications for spillovers, resident mobility also creates some secondary challenges for place-based self-sufficiency initiatives. From a programmatic perspective, places with high levels of mobility could potentially see neighborhood composition change over time. Families moving into a neighborhood could bring new values and experiences, thus changing the mix of the target population and their service needs. Further, if the families moving out are very different from the families staying behind, then that difference could also create different service demands for the program. From the perspective of evaluating an employment-focused place-based initiative, a study that looks exclusively at the employment outcomes for people remaining in the community or the housing development (as in the case of Jobs-Plus) is vulnerable to the selection biases resulting from both in- and out-migration of area residents.¹² In the absence of follow-up data on those moving out, some of the treatment effects for neighborhoods and for residents could be misestimated because families moving out may differ in systematic ways from those staying behind. Thus, neighborhood migration could potentially pose a threat for the analysis, which calls for a clear understanding of who moves and why.

Prior Research on Residential Mobility

To set the context for this analysis, the next section briefly reviews research on the factors that impede or facilitate mobility in the general population and on what is known specifically about the mobility patterns of public housing residents.

¹²Hollister and Hill, 1995.

Why Families Move

There is a vast body of literature on residential mobility patterns of the general population. While most social scientists agree that there are several correlates of mobility, this section presents an extraction of the dominant perspectives that are relevant to explaining mobility of low-income households.

Viewed within a human capital/economic framework, residential mobility from a poor neighborhood to more desirable neighborhood is seen as an outcome of social and occupational growth.¹³ Families moving up the occupational ladder are particularly sensitive to where they live and use residential mobility to bring their residences into line with their needs.¹⁴ Thus, higher income and employment stability increase the desire and ability of families to move, and welfare receipt and public housing decrease people's chances of moving out of poor neighborhoods.¹⁵

Life-cycle factors have also been shown to influence the probability of residential movement. Age has been shown to be inversely associated with mobility, with rates declining sharply at about 30 years and flattening out or declining only modestly above age 50.¹⁶ Compared to unmarried people, married persons are less likely to move, but changes in marital status (remarriage, for example) might provide a route out of poor neighborhoods.¹⁷ Finally, while the presence of children in the household is believed to increase interest in moving, in reality, children decrease the likelihood of moving — perhaps because of the costs associated with relocating larger households in nonpoor neighborhoods and because of neighborhood ties and social networks.¹⁸

Another theory that has been used to explain the mobility patterns of different racial/ethnic groups is the place stratification model.¹⁹ While this theory does not ignore the influence of human-capital or life-cycle factors, it emphasizes the conditions under which these mechanisms operate differently for blacks and whites. For example, research shows that blacks appear less likely than other minorities to translate human capital achievements into improved neighborhood conditions and locations, and that they are less likely to convert neighborhood

¹³ South and Crowder, 1997

¹⁴ Rossi, 1980.

¹⁵ Kasarda, 1988.

¹⁶ Castro and Rogers, 1983.

¹⁷ South and Deane, 1993.

¹⁸ McHugh, Gober, and Reid, 1990.

¹⁹ Logan and Molotch, 1987.

dissatisfaction into a move;²⁰ blacks are believed to be less able than whites to move out of poor neighborhoods;²¹ and the vast majority of blacks tend to move to another poor neighborhood.²²

Residential dissatisfaction has also been emphasized as a possible push factor. Researchers interested in this dimension have focused on subjective and objective measures of poverty, neighborhood conditions, housing, and quality-of-life indicators, and have argued that residents' decisions to stay or move are shaped by their experiences in the places where they reside and by whether they see these as creating positive environments for their families. Neighborhoods with concentrated poverty experience an array of negative conditions, and most of the nation's public housing developments are located in places with high levels of social and economic distress.²³ There is some suggestion that the housing assistance system sorts different types of households with children into different forms of housing assistance.²⁴ The least disadvantaged households are most likely to end up in privately owned housing stock, while the most disadvantaged households end up in public housing, where both housing and neighborhood conditions are of considerable concern. From the perspective that emphasizes residential dissatisfaction as a cause for mobility, households will move when their dissatisfaction with their residential circumstances exceeds a tolerable limit.

It is important to remember that most of the empirical research on residential mobility is based on correlations or probabilistic inferences of how individual characteristics — for example, age, race, or employment — relate to mobility. Looking at the actual reasons that people give about why they move adds to an understanding of the dynamics involved.²⁵ A recent report released by the U.S. Census Bureau sheds some light on the main reasons reported for inter-county and intra-county moves.²⁶ For the national population, the Census Bureau study finds that the highest percentage of intra-county moves were for housing-related reasons (52 percent), followed by family-related (26 percent) and work-related (16 percent) reasons.²⁷ Among those who moved for a housing-related reason, 11 percent moved to own a home, 19 percent moved for a newer, better house or apartment, 4 percent moved to get a better quality neighborhood,

²⁰South and Deane, 1993.

²¹Gramlich, Laren, and Sealand, 1992.

²²Galster, 2002.

²³Newman and Schnare, 1997. In the mid-1990s, almost 54 percent of public housing residents were living in areas with high levels of poverty.

²⁴Newman and Schnare, 1993.

²⁵Fewer studies have looked at self-reported reasons for mobility because of the inherent challenges of tracking residents who have moved.

²⁶See Schachter (2001). In 1998, the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey introduced a question about reasons for moving in order to permit direct inferences about individual decisions to move. Reasons for moving are collected from the head of household and assigned to all other individuals who moved with him or her. While the question offers 17 response categories, the responses are grouped into four larger categories.

²⁷The report focuses on the group that moved between March 1999 and March 2000.

and another 16 percent moved for a combination of reasons. Compared to all households, a slightly higher proportion of the poor households (60 percent) moved for housing-related reasons, and the desire to find newer, better-quality housing and neighborhoods (28 percent) dominated the reasons given by the people in this group. Thirty percent of the poor households moved because of family reasons, and just five percent reported work-related reasons (for example, to improve job access or because of changes in employment). Interestingly, for the poor and nonpoor households, work-related reasons for movement within the county were not as important as might have been expected.

The evidence discussed in this section provides a backdrop for interpreting the mobility patterns of Jobs-Plus residents. The review suggests that movers and stayers might vary along certain expected dimensions, and the analyses presented in later sections of this paper will examine how the profile of public housing movers and stayers departs from that of the general population. However, before the report turns to those analyses, the next section takes a quick look at what is known about the mobility of public housing residents.

Public Housing Mobility

Public housing is one of three main forms of housing assistance provided in the United States. Because of the rent subsidy inherent in this form of assistance, many policymakers and administrators are led to believe that it discourages work and that it offers few incentives for residents to improve their economic prospects and become self-sufficient. This behavior, in turn, is seen as promoting long-term dependency among public housing recipients. But what is the empirical evidence on how long families use public housing?

Answering the question about how long families receive public housing is not easy. From a methodological perspective, long-term housing spells could be overstated if the right kinds of data are not used. A static analysis that focuses on current residents in a given year is likely to provide a distorted picture of tenure; long-term residents will “pile-up” and hence be over-represented in any annual snapshot.²⁸ More sophisticated statistical methods (event-history analysis, for example) are appropriate to take into account spells that end quickly and others that last for extended periods of time. The research on welfare dynamics has benefited from such an approach and has dispelled the myth of long-term welfare dependency. By showing that welfare receipt is highly dynamic, a strong body of evidence suggests that long-term welfare recipients constitute a relatively small proportion of the welfare caseload.²⁹

The research on public housing dynamics also seems to point to considerable turnover among nonelderly household heads. One study that relies on a Panel Survey on Income Dynam-

²⁸Freeman, 1998.

²⁹Bane and Ellwood, 1994.

ics (PSID) sample of 1,145 nonelderly household heads moving out of public housing for each year between 1986 and 1992 finds: (a) the majority of public housing spells were under five years, with only 28 percent of the spells exceeding five years; (b) the odds of leaving public housing decline the longer a person resides in public housing; (c) the decline in the hazard rate (an estimate of the rate at which an individual will move out of public housing) is most precipitous in the first three years, after which it begins to level off; and (d) the odds of someone moving out of public housing appear to be influenced by local housing market and economic conditions.³⁰ Another study also provides support for the finding that nonelderly residents leave housing assistance after brief spells, and draws attention to some of the barriers to moving out of public housing.³¹

Since most public housing-based self-sufficiency initiatives are targeted to current residents living in the public housing development at the start-up of a program, it might also be helpful to consider what the average tenure looks like for a group receiving public housing assistance at a point in time — keeping in mind the caveat that tenure at a point in time does not represent how long a typical resident will actually stay. A recent U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) analysis of a 10 percent sample of roughly 1.1 million public housing records reported to the Multifamily Tenant Characteristics System (MTCS) finds that, as of September 2000, the median length of stay for all households still living in public housing was 4.69 years.³² The authors note that nondisabled, nonelderly households with children had the shortest median tenure (3.2 years), compared to their elderly and disabled counterparts (8.4 and 4.1 years respectively). The report also points to a modest correlation between income sources and length of stay. Residents relying primarily on earnings showed somewhat longer lengths of stay than residents relying primarily on welfare.³³ The median length of stay for working households with children (3.59 years) exceeded the median tenure for households primarily relying on welfare (2.73 years).

The limited evidence reviewed here points to relatively short stays for nonelderly and nondisabled households, although long stays also occur. More knowledge about who receives housing assistance for a short period can lead to greater understanding of both the residential

³⁰Freeman, 1998.

³¹Hungerford, 1996.

³²This estimate excludes households that ended participation prior to September 2000. This exclusion of such cases prevented double counting of housing units that had both an end-of-participation record and a new admission during the study period. See Lubell, Shroder, and Steffen (forthcoming).

³³Although the authors do not explain why residents' having earnings increases their length of stays, it is possible that this has to do with the type of employment that is characteristic of public housing residents. Martinez (2002) points out that although a high proportion of public housing residents are likely to have worked in the prior 12 months, part-time work and low-wage jobs, paying less than \$7.75 per hour and offering no fringe benefits, are most common. There are several costs associated with moving out of public housing, and it is possible that the quality of jobs combined with tenuous job stability prolong length of stay.

makeup of public housing developments and of how to appropriately allocate limited resources for self-sufficiency initiatives.³⁴ The Jobs-Plus data offer an opportunity to look at the characteristics and circumstances of household heads moving out and to assess the implications of those moves from both programmatic and evaluation perspectives.

Jobs-Plus Sites and Data

This paper draws on data collected by MDRC on public housing developments participating in Jobs-Plus, a multi-site demonstration project launched in 1996 to test ways of increasing employment among public housing residents. The Jobs-Plus program is operating in seven public housing developments in six cities: two developments in Los Angeles, California; and one each in Baltimore, Maryland; Chattanooga, Tennessee; Dayton, Ohio; St. Paul, Minnesota; and Seattle, Washington.³⁵ These cities were selected in 1997 from a pool of 42 cities that expressed interest in being part of this national demonstration. All the developments in this study share the characteristic of being low-work and high-welfare communities, a key factor in their selection for Jobs-Plus. This paper focuses on the Jobs-Plus developments in four of the six cities engaged in the demonstration: Baltimore, Chattanooga, Dayton, and Los Angeles. The other two cities, St. Paul and Seattle, were excluded because their housing authority data were not available in time for this analysis.

Types of People and Places

In contrast to the high-rise buildings that fit the common perception of public housing, all the developments included in the Jobs-Plus demonstration consist mainly of low-rise housing units. Table 1 shows some important contextual characteristics of the developments at the start-up of Jobs-Plus. These characteristics are helpful for understanding the settings in which the study developments are situated. Although much of the present mobility analysis is focused on understanding the characteristics of people moving out of public housing, it is possible that what might appear as individual-level decisions about mobility could be influenced by larger, macro-level forces such as the regional economy and housing availability.

As shown in the table, almost all the public housing developments selected for this demonstration were located in census tracts with high levels of poverty, unemployment, and largely minority enclaves. All five developments were located in census tracts with poverty

³⁴Hungerford, 1996.

³⁵Cleveland, Ohio, was also a participating city, but left the demonstration in late 1999. The Seattle site, which obtained federal HOPE VI funding to rebuild the Jobs-Plus development, is no longer part of the national demonstration but is continuing to operate a Jobs-Plus program.

Table 1

**Characteristics of Neighborhoods of Jobs-Plus Developments,
by Jobs-Plus Site**

Characteristic	Baltimore: Gilmor Homes	Chattanooga: Harriet Tubman Homes	Dayton: DeSoto Bass Courts	Los Angeles: Imperial Courts	Los Angeles: William Mead Homes
<u>Characteristics of census tract (1990)</u>					
Household poverty rate (%)	53.6	58.0	52.0	59.0	49.0
Unemployment rate (%)	18.0	19.0	26.0	27.0	10.0
Race/ethnicity (%)					
Black, non-Hispanic	98.0	97.0	97.0	62.0	34.0
White, non-Hispanic	0.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	18.0
Hispanic	1.0	0.0	1.0	37.0	42.0
Asian	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	5.0
Foreign-born (%)	1.2	0.3	0.3	20.6	61.8
Single-parent household (%)	43.0	62.0	52.0	58.0	37.0
Adult high school graduate (%)	53.0	49.0	58.0	37.0	59.0
<u>Housing affordability in county (1998)</u>					
Fair Market Rent for a two-bedroom apartment (\$)	618	500	492	737	737

SOURCES: Tract-level characteristics obtained from tabulations prepared by the Center for Urban Poverty Research of the City University of New York. County Fair Market Rent information obtained from HUD Web site: <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/fmr/FMRHIST.xls>.

rates close to 50 percent or more, in 1990.³⁶ Unemployment rates for these census tracts ranged from 10 percent to 27 percent. The census tracts encompassing Los Angeles's Imperial Courts and William Mead Homes had both the lowest and the highest unemployment rates. The three other sites fell in the middle, with close to one-fifth to one-fourth of the tract-level populations being unemployed.

With the exception of the Los Angeles sites, there is little evidence of racial or ethnic diversity in the census tracts where the Jobs-Plus developments are located. The Baltimore, Chattanooga, and Dayton developments are located in homogeneously black neighborhoods, and the Los Angeles developments are located in census tracts with a larger Hispanic presence. However, blacks dominate Los Angeles's Imperial Courts neighborhood, and the William Mead Homes neighborhood has a fairly large presence of blacks and Hispanics. Interestingly, the William Mead Homes neighborhood is the only one to include a significant proportion (18 percent) of white households. This neighborhood is also the only one of all Jobs-Plus sites in the present analysis that contains a large share of foreign-born residents (62 percent).³⁷

Affordable housing in the private rental market is a prerequisite for public housing mobility. The county Fair Market Rent (FMR) for two-bedroom apartment units reveals the challenges that public housing residents face in considering moving out of publicly assisted housing.³⁸ As shown in the table, the 1998 FMRs for two-bedroom apartments appear to be the steepest in the Los Angeles area (\$737), followed by Baltimore (\$618), Chattanooga (\$500), and Dayton (\$492). The 1998 FMRs are relevant because they closely correspond to the year in which the Jobs-Plus baseline survey was conducted, and hence, they provide a sense of the housing affordability situation in the cities at the time of interview. In the cities with tighter housing markets, residents wanting to leave public housing will be faced with the extraordinary challenge of finding affordable alternative housing. In Los Angeles, for example, the National Low-Income Housing Coalition estimates that a county wage earner in 2002 would need to earn about \$16.63 an hour to afford a two-bedroom apartment in the private housing market.³⁹ A worker earning California's current minimum wage of \$5.75 an hour would have to work at least 100 hours a week to afford fair market rents. Studies conducted in California indicate

³⁶Nationally, in the mid-1990s, almost 54 percent of public housing residents were living in areas with extreme levels of poverty.

³⁷Two sites omitted from this analysis, St. Paul and Seattle, also have a high proportion of foreign-born residents.

³⁸FMRs are gross rent estimates set annually by HUD, and they are used by public housing authorities to determine local payment standards for Section 8 housing assistance. They reflect housing affordability in a specific geographic area. As described on HUD's Web site, FMRs are set at either the 40th or 50th percentile rent — the dollar amount below which the rent for 40 or 50 percent of standard-quality rental housing units falls. The 40th or 50th percentile rent is drawn from the distribution of rents of all units that are occupied by recent movers. Adjustments are made to exclude public housing units, newly built units, and substandard units.

³⁹National Low-Income Housing Coalition, 2002.

that few former welfare recipients earned hourly wages in the \$15 range; most former welfare recipients who also received some form of housing assistance showed post-welfare earnings ranging from \$7.52 to \$8.74 an hour.⁴⁰

While Table 1 describes the environments where the Jobs-Plus developments are located, what are the characteristics of the people living in those five developments? Table 2 provides a quick look at the demographics of the Jobs-Plus-eligible household heads living in the five developments at the start of the demonstration. Drawing on the baseline survey (described below), this table shows that the racial/ethnic composition of the Baltimore, Chattanooga, and Dayton developments closely mirrors the racial/ethnic breakdown of the census tracts in which these developments are located. Unlike the census tracts in which they are located, Los Angeles's William Mead Homes development disproportionately consists of Hispanics (82 percent versus 42 percent), and Imperial Courts is predominately African-American.

In four of the five developments, the typical resident was single and never married, and in the age range of the low to-mid-30s. About one-third to one-half of these residents had lived in public housing while growing up. Los Angeles's William Mead development appears to be the exception on most of the characteristics presented in the table: Marriage is more or less the norm (54 percent), the residents were older (41 years), and while they were less likely to have lived in public housing as children (19 percent), they had the longest average length of stay (6 years) in the development at the time of the survey. The average lengths of stays shown in the table appear to correlate with the FMRs reported in Table 1: Jobs-Plus developments with longer average stays were located in places with higher FMRs.⁴¹ For example, the average length of stay in the Dayton Jobs-Plus development was three years, and the FMR for a two-bedroom apartment in the private market in 1998 was \$492. In Los Angeles, where the average length of stay was between four and five years, renting a two-bedroom unit in the private market in 1998 would have cost around \$737.

Sample and Data

The study draws on a combination of client surveys and administrative records maintained by local public housing authorities (PHAs) for one cohort of household heads living in the Jobs-Plus developments prior to the implementation of the program. The cohort includes household heads who were: (1) living in one of five Jobs-Plus developments in October 1997

⁴⁰Verma and Hendra (forthcoming).

⁴¹Note that the average stays shown in the table are simple computations of tenure as of the time of the baseline survey. This says nothing about how long the typical resident will stay in public housing. Different data are required to make a statement about housing dynamics for these developments.

Table 2
Characteristics of the Jobs-Plus Baseline Survey Respondents,
by Jobs-Plus Site

Characteristic	Baltimore: Gilmor Homes	Chattanooga: Harriet Tubman Homes	Dayton: DeSoto Bass Courts	Los Angeles: Imperial Courts	Los Angeles: William Mead Homes
Race/ethnicity (%)					
Black, non-Hispanic	99.7	94.5	98.8	73.9	7.2
White, non-Hispanic	0.5	2.7	0.8	1.4	1.3
Hispanic	0.0	2.7	0.4	24.6	81.9
Asian	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.3
Other	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4
Marital Status (%)					
Single, never married	68.5	73.1	78.1	62.4	25.8
Married, living together	6.5	5.7	5.1	12.4	42.1
Married, living apart	5.6	2.8	5.1	4.0	12.4
Other (widowed, divorced, separated)	20.0	16.4	11.8	21.3	19.7
Average age at baseline interview (yrs.)	36.1	30.3	29.3	35.6	41.5
Median length of stay as of baseline interview in development (yrs.)	5.0	4.0	3.0	5.0	6.0
Years in the development as of baseline interview (%)					
Less than one year	1.8	7.7	11.6	2.4	0.0
One to two years	10.1	15.9	20.7	7.7	5.5
Two to three years	16.1	13.6	16.2	12.6	9.3
Three to five years	15.6	17.7	21.5	20.3	22.8
Five or more years	56.5	45.0	29.9	56.7	62.4
Lived in public housing while growing up (%)	35.2	47.9	48.5	33.5	19.0
Sample size	218	220	241	207	237

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from the Jobs-Plus baseline survey data.

NOTES: The Jobs-Plus survey was administered to nonelderly, nondisabled household heads living in the development for at least six months at the time of the survey interview. Sample members between the ages of 16 and 62 were selected for this interview.

Average length of stay is defined as the number of years lived in the development as of the date of the baseline survey interview.

and at the time the baseline survey was administered, (2) not identified by the public housing authority as being disabled, and (3) in the age range of 21 to 61 in October 1997.

The baseline survey, for which there was an 82 percent response rate, was administered in the spring and summer of 1998 to a representative sample of household heads living in the Jobs-Plus and comparison developments. This analysis focuses on the 1,123 survey respondents living in the five Jobs-Plus developments discussed in the previous section — Baltimore, Chattanooga, Dayton, and the two Los Angeles Jobs-Plus developments. The survey covers a wide array of topics such as employment and participation in employment and training activities, community context, child outcomes, health and material well-being, public housing tenure and aspirations, and personal characteristics. Table A.1 in the appendix lists the measures extracted from the baseline survey data and shows how they were coded for this study.

The PHA data obtained from the local public housing authorities are used to determine the two-year mobility status of all the survey respondents. For each year that individuals reside in public housing, the PHA records contain limited pieces of information about them, including age, gender, race/ethnicity, whether they are household heads, who else lives in the housing unit, and the income sources for the household.

Two mobility measures are used in this analysis. The first, referred to as *expected mobility*, is based on a question in the baseline survey: “Do you think you will move out of the development in the next two years?” A “yes” or “probably yes” response is considered indicative of an expectation to move; a “no” or “probably not” response is considered as suggestive of the respondent not actively intending or expecting to move, at least in the two-year follow-up period. The second measure, referred to as *actual mobility*, captures the two-year move-out status for the same cohort of Jobs-Plus household heads who completed the baseline survey.⁴² Annual PHA records for 1998 and 1999 were consulted to create a move-out flag for each sample member. A mover is defined as someone who was living in the development in 1997, but who moved in 1998 or 1999. Note that both measures are constructed in a way to reflect expected and mobility status during approximately the same two-year time period.

⁴²While this study focuses on moves in a very specific, short period, the move-out rate should not be confused with short stays or quick moves. People who move within the study’s two-year follow-up period could be ending relatively long housing spells.

Findings

How Common Is It for Jobs-Plus Residents to Move Within a Two-Year Period?

This study represents a first look at the mobility patterns for a cohort of Jobs-Plus residents. Drawing on the linked survey and PHA records, Figure 1, a bar chart, shows the two-year move-out rates for the five Jobs-Plus sites considered in this analysis. Each bar in the figure represents the proportion of residents living in a Jobs-Plus development in 1997 who moved out within the subsequent two-year follow-up period. The Jobs-Plus implementation research indicates that the program rolled out in phases, and no site had the full program up and running by the end of 1999. Thus, the findings shown in the figure reflect residential mobility during the early implementation phase of the Jobs-Plus initiative; there is little reason to believe that these mobility rates were driven by the Jobs-Plus program.

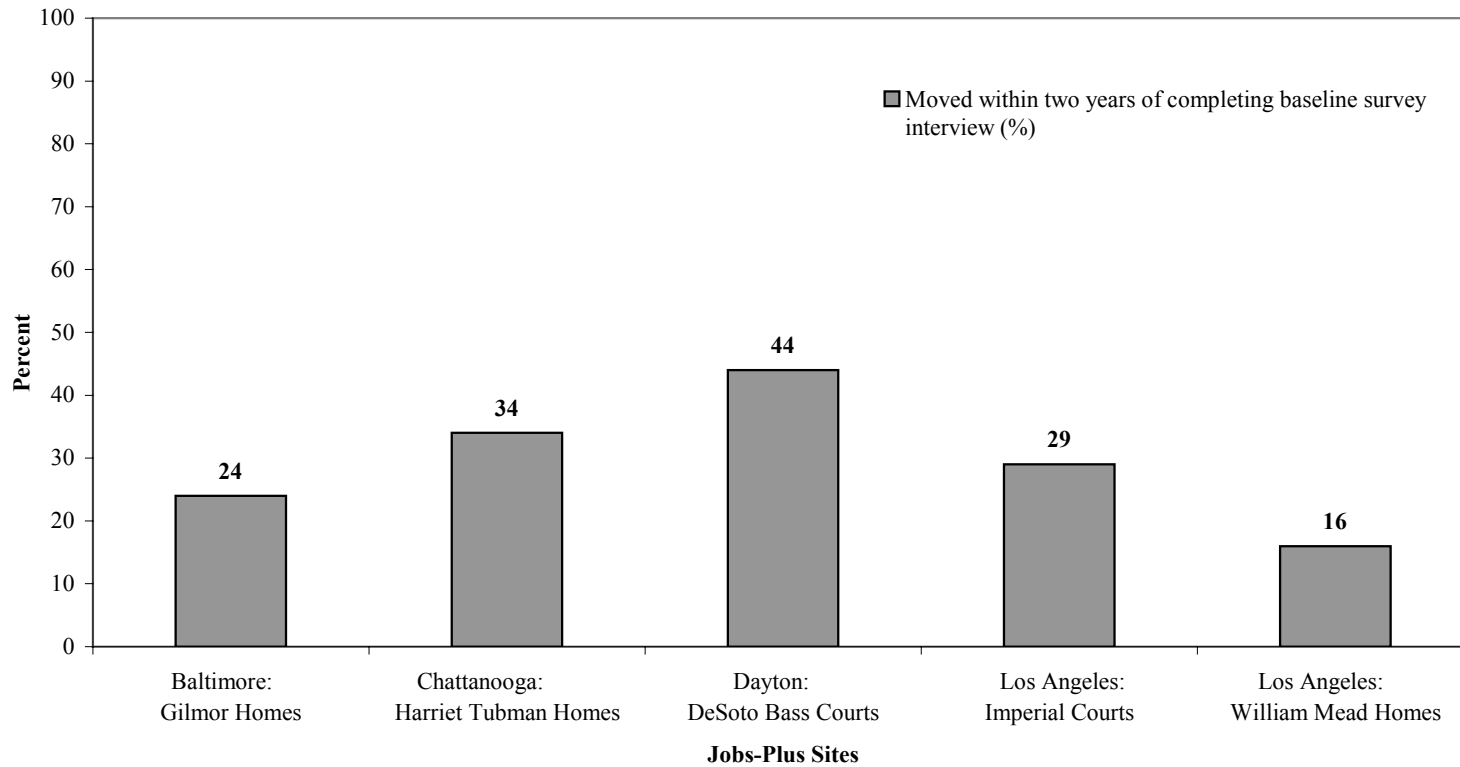
As shown, all five Jobs-Plus developments experienced a substantial degree of mobility, and sites varied considerably in the proportion of residents moving out within the two-year follow-up period. The two-year move-out rate was highest in Dayton, where 44 percent of the Jobs-Plus eligible residents had moved within two years of completing the baseline survey. Chattanooga had the next highest move-out rate (34 percent), followed by Los Angeles's Imperial Courts (29 percent), Baltimore (24 percent), and William Mead Homes (16 percent). While these results are purely static, in that they focus on the mobility experience of one cohort of residents, the implications are clear and profound for saturation-type initiatives. Programs in developments that experience lower move-out rates — William Mead Homes, for example — stand a higher chance of exposing and engaging a larger segment of the target population in all facets of the initiative. In Dayton, on the other hand, with its high move-out rate, the program runs the potential risk of varying degrees of exposure and participation because of mobility.⁴³

What accounts for the variation in move-out rates across sites? One possible explanation is that the observed differences are related to the housing options available to low-income households in these hugely varying metropolitan areas. As discussed earlier in this paper, housing affordability differs significantly in the Jobs-Plus cities, and Dayton and Chattanooga residents have greater access than other residents to a soft rental housing market. In contrast, Los Angeles presents a much tighter housing market. This suggests that the Dayton residents, for example, stand a better chance than the residents in Los Angeles of leaving public housing if their economic circumstances improve. However, as shown in Figure 1, the two Los Angeles developments experienced very different mobility rates — a difference of 13 percentage points — suggesting that other factors were also at play.

⁴³A host of other factors also could affect program exposure and participation.

Figure 1

**Two-Year Mobility Rates for Jobs-Plus Baseline Survey Sample,
by Jobs-Plus Site**



-17-

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Jobs-Plus baseline survey and PHA records.

NOTES: The survey sample represents eligible residents living in Jobs-Plus developments at the time of sample selection (October 1997) and the baseline survey interview. The two-year move-out rate was determined by examining the 1998 and 1999 PHA household roster data. Sample members who were living in the development in 1997 and were not living in the development in 1998 and 1999 were classified as movers.

While the potential effects of contextual and regional differences on the move-out rates observed in the Jobs-Plus sites cannot be ruled out, it is possible that compositional factors could also contribute to the within-site differences seen in Los Angeles — that is, the mobility differences could arise from different characteristics of residents in the two sites. Table 2 points to some important ways in which the two Los Angeles developments differ from each other with regard to the characteristics of the households living there in 1997. As shown, compared to Imperial Courts, William Mead Homes, the development with the lower move-out-rate, is largely Hispanic, with a significant portion of foreign-born residents (not shown on table), a higher proportion of household heads who are married, and fewer residents who have a history of having grown up in public housing. Also William Mead residents are somewhat more likely than their Imperial Courts counterparts to have lived longer in their respective developments.

How Widespread is the Intent to Move Among Jobs-Plus Residents? Do Those Intending to Move Actually Do So Within the Two-Year Follow-Up Period?

Although the findings above indicate fairly high levels of mobility for public housing residents, it is possible that an even larger group of residents living in Jobs-Plus developments wanted to move but were unable to do so within the two-year time period. How residents of a community respond to a self-sufficiency initiative may depend in part on how long they expect to continue living in the community and how strongly they aspire to move; thus, the question about the relationship between actual and expected mobility warrants some attention.

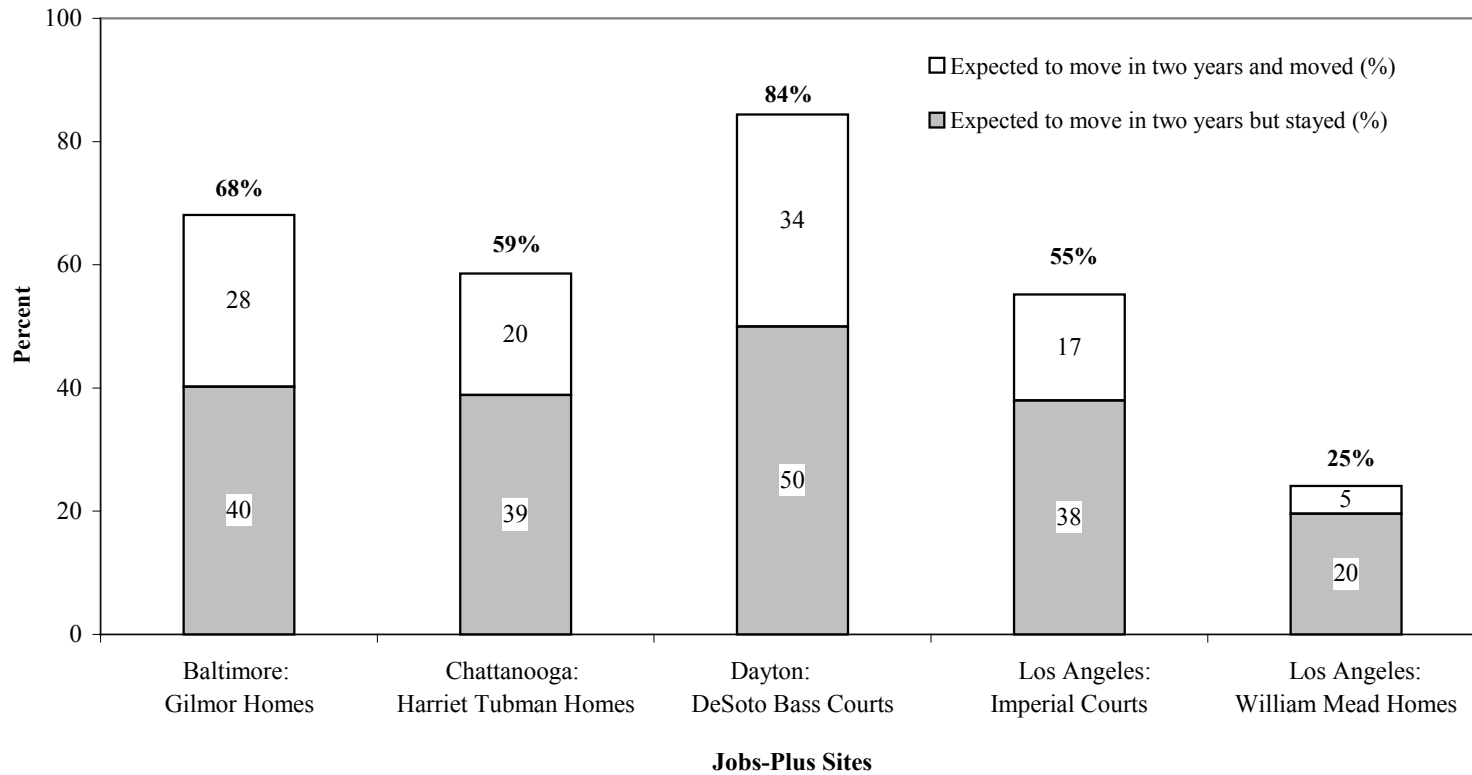
Using the baseline survey question on expected mobility, Figure 2, a bar chart, shows the overlap between expected and actual mobility for the study sample.⁴⁴ The overall height of each bar reflects the percentage of the sample expecting to move within two years following completion of the baseline survey. Each bar is further segmented into two sections, with the white segment representing the portion of the sample that expressed intent to move and actually did so and the gray segment representing that portion of the sample that expressed an intention to move but did not.

If one looks at the overall height of each bar — representing expected mobility — it is clear that the desire to move out is widespread among public housing residents, although somewhat more pronounced in some developments than others. A full 84 percent of the Dayton residents expressed an intention to move within two years, and between one-half and close to

⁴⁴Sample members were asked to respond to the question — “Do you think you will move out of the development in the next two years?” — by selecting one of four response categories: “yes,” “probably,” “probably not,” and “no.” The first two response categories were combined into a category indicating an expectation to move; the last two categories were combined into a category that indicated that sample members were not actively considering moving during the follow-up period.

Figure 2

Two-Year Mobility Outcomes for Jobs-Plus Survey Respondents Expressing Intentions to Move Out of Jobs-Plus Housing Developments



-61-

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Jobs-Plus baseline survey and PHA records.

NOTES: The survey sample includes eligible residents living in Jobs-Plus developments at the time of sample selection (October 1997) and the baseline survey interview. The two-year mobility determination is based on the 1998 and 1999 PHA records. Expected mobility is based on responses to the question: "Do you think you will move out of the development in the next two years?" The two positive responses, "yes" and "probably," were combined to infer an intent to move.

two-thirds of the samples in Baltimore, Chattanooga, and Los Angeles's Imperial Courts expressed this preference; Los Angeles's William Mead Homes, where only one-fourth of the sample expressed a desire to move, ranked the lowest on this measure. This variation in expected mobility is consistent with findings from other research that suggest that residents can be quite divided about staying in or moving from public housing.⁴⁵

What is the gap between expected and actual mobility? In other words, what proportion of those expecting to move within two years actually did so? While mobility expectations are quite high in four of the five developments considered here, it appears from the figure that the reality of leaving public housing — at least in the short-term — appears to elude a large number of residents aspiring to move. As shown by the gray segments of the bars in Figure 2, most residents who expected to move within two years of completing the baseline survey were still living in their respective developments at the end of the two-year follow-up period. In the case of Dayton, of the 84 percent who expressed an intention to move, only 34 percent had made this transition; the equivalent numbers for the other developments are even smaller.⁴⁶

One interpretation of the gap between expected and actual mobility is that some people are better able to realize their residential preferences than others. However, this finding could also mean that some residents who wish to move may not be ready to give up on their housing subsidies, since it would not be easy to return if they needed this assistance. Most PHAs maintain long waiting lists, and in some cities, they are no longer accepting new applications. Further, even for families who are ready to make the transition, giving up on housing assistance is quite different from leaving other forms of means-tested supports (welfare and food stamps, for example): Household members will have to be sure that they can do without this assistance, that there are other affordable housing options available, and that in the absence of steady employment, the household has the resources to meet expenses such as rent and utilities. (Housing tenants are not responsible for paying for utilities such as gas, heat, and electricity, but must pay these extra costs in private rental units.)⁴⁷ These cost considerations could be part of a more complex set of factors that lead to mobility and which are the focus of the next section.

⁴⁵Vale (1997), for example, in his study of residents living in five Boston public housing developments found that there was no simple relationship between reported levels of satisfaction and expressed desire to move out. Despite the prevalence of violence and instability in the developments, close to half of all respondents indicated a desire to stay on at their development “as long as possible”; another 20 percent indicated a desire to stay “for a while,” and just about 27 percent expressed a desire to remain “no longer than necessary.”

⁴⁶Although not shown, roughly 8 percent of the sample that did not expect to move did so in the follow-up period.

⁴⁷A study of the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program, a five-site demonstration involving public housing residents, indicated that some MTO families that had received vouchers and did not use them cited this reason for not moving, and those who moved described it as a significant drawback of life in their apartments. See Kling, Liebman, and Katz (2000).

Who Moves and Who Stays?

At the heart of this comparative analysis of movers and stayers is an attempt to understand whether there are obvious differences in the characteristics and circumstances of residents who move and those who stay in public housing. One line of thinking suggests that highly motivated individuals or those with an educational or employment advantage would be more likely to move out of public housing on their own, leaving behind residents who have the greatest barriers to self-sufficiency. Another line of thinking suggests that the high levels of crime and social disorganization in public housing neighborhoods create resident dissatisfaction, which, in turn, pushes families with children to seek alternative, safer housing. Evidence of selective out-migration of particular households would raise serious concerns for both the implementation and evaluation of spatially targeted employment programs and for housing policy. To date, however, there is little empirical evidence to support (or refute) the hypothesis that selective out-migration is at work in the nation's public housing developments. To investigate the different hypotheses just discussed, this section draws on the Jobs-Plus data to understand how public housing movers and stayers compare on several factors that have been shown in the literature to be relevant correlates of residential mobility: (a) personal demographics and life-cycle factors, (b) income and employment-related factors, and (c) neighborhood ties and context.

Unlike the analysis presented in the preceding sections that examined site-specific findings, this section focuses on a pooled sample of residents living in the five Jobs-Plus sites covered by this analysis — Baltimore, Chattanooga, Dayton, and the two treatment sites in Los Angeles. The findings depict the typical mover or stayer in these developments. It should be noted that this section draws on the baseline survey, which was conducted at a time when all survey respondents were in the midst of public housing spells. Thus, this analysis describes individual circumstances at a time that preceded the move. Some of the reported circumstances could have changed between the time of the survey interview and the end of the two-year follow-up period.

Background Differences Between Movers and Stayers

The literature on residential mobility in the general population points to some important differences in the personal and background characteristics of movers. Age, race, education, and marriage, for example, have been shown to be associated with the probability of moving from poor to nonpoor neighborhoods.⁴⁸ How these demographic/background differences play out in the context of public housing will be examined below.

⁴⁸South and Crowder, 1997.

A total of 1,123 residents living in the Baltimore, Dayton, Chattanooga, and the two Los Angeles Jobs-Plus sites responded to the baseline survey. Twenty-nine percent of the sample had moved within two years of completing the baseline survey; the remaining 71 percent were still living in the Jobs-Plus development at the end of the follow-up period. Table 3 compares these two groups on the range of demographic and background characteristics — for example, age, marital status, education, duration of exposure to public housing, and mobility preference — shown in the left-hand column. The second column in the table shows the average characteristic for the pooled sample of movers, and the third column shows the same for the pooled sample of stayers. A statistically significant difference (that is, a difference unlikely to be due to chance) in the average characteristic for the two groups is shown by one or more stars, which denote the level of statistical significance.

As shown in Table 3, characteristics of the two groups related to racial/ethnic origin, marital status, levels of educational achievement, and duration of exposure to public housing while growing up were similarly distributed. The notable differences appear to be related to age, length of stay, and the desire to move out of public housing. Movers were younger (32 versus 35 years old, on average), they were in the midst of shorter public housing spells in 1997 than those who stayed (an average of six versus eight years), and they were more likely to have expressed a desire to move from their developments (64 percent versus 55 percent).⁴⁹ Over 50 percent of the stayers but only approximately 36 percent of the movers had lived in their respective Jobs-Plus developments for over five years when they completed their Jobs-Plus interviews.⁵⁰

Income or Employment Advantage

If economic self-sufficiency is a precursor to residential mobility, then one might expect to see clear differences between groups on employment and income measures. This section examines whether public housing movers and stayers differed markedly in their economic prospects at the time of the baseline interview. Findings are presented in Table 4, and the stars in the right-hand column indicate a statistically significant relationship that is unlikely to have arisen by chance.

Overall, the table suggests that movers were more likely to be in *better health*, and to have *better quality jobs*, *better future jobs prospects* (that is, fewer perceived barriers to employment), and were more likely to have *savings*. Contrary to expectations, both groups were

⁴⁹ Keep in mind that Table 3 shows the length of stay as of the time sample members completed the baseline interview. The actual duration of stay at exit was not calculated because reliable move-out dates were not available in the PHA files, which are the primary data source for determining mobility status.

⁵⁰ Although not shown, there is considerable cross-site variation in the average lengths of stays for movers and stayers, which tend to correlate with the turnover rates shown in Figure 1. Sites with the higher move-out rates were also the ones where residents tended to move out after relatively short stays (that is, less than three years).

Table 3
Background Characteristics of Jobs-Plus Residents,
by Two-Year Mobility Status

Characteristic ^a	Mobility Status Two Years after Baseline Survey	
	Moved	Did Not Move
<u>Demographic/background characteristics</u>		
Age (years)	32.4	35.4 ***
Race/ethnicity (%)		
Black, non-Hispanic	74.7	73.8
White, non-Hispanic	2.0	1.1
Hispanic	21.6	22.8
Asian-Pacific Islander	1.8	2.0
Other	0.0	0.2
Marital status (%)		
Single, never married	62.7	60.7
Married	13.8	15.0
Education (%)		
High school diploma/GED	48.7	48.3
<u>Exposure to public housing (%)</u>		
Lived in public housing while growing up	35.9	37.1
<u>Duration of stay in development as of baseline interview (%)</u>		
Less than 1 year	6.1	4.3
1 - 4 years	55.3	41.3 ***
5 - 9 years	22.2	28.9 **
10 or more years	16.4	25.5 ***
Average duration of stay (years)	5.7	7.9 ***
<u>Mobility expectation at baseline (%)</u>		
Intend to move out of the development within two years	64.3	55.5 ***
Sample size	324	799

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Jobs-Plus baseline survey.

NOTE: The numbers presented are the adjusted means across the Jobs-Plus developments in the analysis, controlling for site dummies. The stars indicate statistically significant differences between groups. Significance levels are indicated as: * = 10 percent, ** = 5 percent; *** = 1 percent.

^a See Appendix A.1 for information on the measures and definitions.

Table 4
Income, Employment, and Perceived Barriers to Work for Jobs-Plus Residents,
by Two-Year Mobility Status

Characteristic ^a	Mobility Status	
	Two Years after Baseline Survey	
	Moved	Did Not Move
<u>Income (%)</u>		
Less than \$6,000	48.0	49.7
\$6,000 - \$10,000	24.5	28.3
\$11,000 - \$15,000	15.9	12.6
\$16,000 - \$20,000	7.9	5.1 *
\$21,000 - \$25,000	1.6	1.5
More than \$25,000	2.1	2.9
Saved money for the future	34.9	27.1 **
Anyone in household receiving welfare	55.5	57.7
Anyone in household receiving food stamps	71.0	71.7
<u>Employment and Wages</u>		
Currently employed (%)	55.9	57.2
Employed within past year, full-time	50.4	47.8
Employed within past year, part-time	19.6	22.7
Last employed more than one year ago	23.6	22.2
Never employed	6.4	7.4
Average number of hours worked per week	23.3	23.0
Average hourly wage (percentage who earned)	6.4	6.0 **
Less than \$5.15	19.3	25.4 *
\$5.15 - \$7.75	63.0	58.9
More than \$7.75	17.7	15.8
Reservation wage (\$)	8.70	9.80
<u>Job quality (%)</u>		
Any benefits	50.5	43.8 *
Health plan for self	32.0	26.4
Health plan for children	41.7	37.2
Paid sick days	31.1	27.9
Paid vacation days	25.9	23.6
<u>Perceived employment-related barriers (%)</u>		
In fair-poor health	26.4	35.2 ***
Health condition limits work or type of work	25.2	28.7
Lack of qualifications	71.3	76.5 *
Problems reading, writing, or speaking English	25.4	30.7 *
Not knowing how to find a job	33.9	39.1
Racial/ethnic discrimination	53.1	56.3
Being a public housing resident	24.8	24.6
Sample size	316	783

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Jobs-Plus baseline survey.

NOTE: The numbers presented are the adjusted means across the Jobs-Plus developments in the analysis, controlling for site dummies. The stars indicate statistically significant differences between groups. Significance levels are indicated as: * = 10 percent, ** = 5 percent; *** = 1 percent.

^a See Appendix A.1 for information on the measures and definitions.

equally likely to be working at the time of the interview, and they were equally likely to have worked in either full-time or part-time jobs within the past year. However, movers who said they were employed at the time of the baseline survey were more likely to be in “better quality jobs” — that is, they reported higher hourly wages and were more likely to be receiving employer-provided benefits. While one might have expected to see greater employment differences between groups, recent research suggests that employment is on the rise for nondisabled, nonelderly public housing residents.⁵¹

Both movers and stayers were likely to perceive a range of barriers to employment, but these barriers were somewhat less of a concern for movers. Poor health, lack of English language proficiency, racial/ethnic discrimination, lack of qualifications, and not knowing how to find a job were among some of the challenges perceived by these groups. A disproportionate presence of these barriers among the stayers suggests the possibility that those staying behind might be harder to serve.

The question of whether the movers were economically better-off than the stayers was examined by looking at how the two groups compared on their income and income sources in the 12 months prior to the baseline interview. For most part, as shown in the top panel of Table 4, there were few notable differences: While movers were somewhat more likely to be represented in the \$16,000 to \$20,000 income category (8 percent versus 5 percent), close to 75 percent of the respondents in both groups reported total household income under \$10,000. Further, both groups were equally likely to be receiving welfare cash benefits or food stamps. The one difference that does appear between these groups is that movers were more likely to report having savings. The survey does not inquire about the total amount of savings, or whether the savings were being put aside for a specific reason. Overall, the absence of clear income-related differences between groups suggests again that the decision to stay or move is not simply a matter of economics.

Community Context: Perceptions and Experiences

Is it likely that residential dissatisfaction and other negative experiences in the neighborhood push families to seek alternative housing options? Most developments are located in neighborhoods with concentrated poverty, and moving might be a way in which public housing households deal with the problems they encounter in their residential settings. Table 5 highlights several interesting findings that can be used to contrast how movers and stayers view the places in which they live. In particular, the table examines how the groups compare on dimen-

⁵¹See Martinez (2002) for more information on the employment levels and characteristics of Jobs-Plus residents.

Table 5
Perceptions of Community Context and Experiences of Crime and Violence,
by Two-Year Mobility Status

Characteristic ^a	Mobility Status Two Years after Baseline Survey	
	Moved	Did Not Move
<u>Residential satisfaction (%)</u>		
Satisfied with neighborhood as a place to live	51.0	60.8 ***
Satisfied with the development as a place to live	61.0	67.1 **
<u>Perceived as problems in development (%)</u>		
Nothing for children or teenagers to do	86.2	79.7 **
Different races or ethnic groups do not get along	47.0	44.5
Outsiders causing trouble	78.6	75.8
Graffiti or trash in public areas	82.8	77.8 *
Drinking in public	83.1	77.3 **
People selling or using drugs in public	82.5	80.8
Gangs causing trouble	65.3	64.8
Guns and gunfire	83.9	82.2
Reporting one or more problem condition	99.2	97.4 *
<u>Violence exposure/encounters (%)</u>		
Broke in or tried to break into your unit	28.1	18.3 ***
Stole or tried to steal your wallet, money, or other personal property	22.8	16.7 **
<i>Threats by unknown person(s)</i>		
Verbally threatened	27.7	14.8 ***
Threatened with a knife, gun, or other weapon	11.1	7.7 *
Attacked or beaten up	10.5	4.9 ***
<i>Threats by known person(s)</i>		
Threatened with physical harm in the past 12 months	22.1	15.1 ***
Abused physically, emotionally, or sexually	14.6	9.4 **
Reporting one or more violent threats	45.5	33.0 ***
<u>Social cohesion and trust (%)</u>		
People in the development can be trusted	49.9	50.7
People in the development are willing to help their neighbors	65.9	70.2
People in the development generally don't get along with each other	61.7	61.4
People in the development do not share the same values	69.0	65.7
People in the development live in a close-knit community	57.1	65.5 ***
<u>Support (%)</u>		
Someone in the development will help when sick	62.1	70.8 ***
Someone in the development will lend \$25, if needed	40.7	52.0 ***
Someone in the development will help when away	65.6	69.8
Sample size	316	783

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Jobs-Plus baseline survey.

NOTE: The numbers presented are the adjusted means across the Jobs-Plus developments in the analysis, controlling for site dummies. The stars indicate statistically significant differences between groups. Significance levels are indicated as: * = 10 percent, ** = 5 percent; *** = 1 percent.

^a See Appendix A.1 for information on the measures and definitions.

sions of residential satisfaction, experiences of crime and violence, and community attachment or connectedness. Four striking differences emerge.

First, movers were *less satisfied* than stayers with the housing developments in which they lived (61 percent of the movers were satisfied versus 67 percent of the stayers), but there were bigger differences in their levels of satisfaction with the neighborhood (51 percent of the movers were satisfied versus 61 percent of the stayers) — in other words, with the immediate surroundings of their public housing developments.⁵² The expressed satisfaction with the developments among Jobs-Plus movers and stayers is consistent with findings from the 1993 American Housing Survey (AHS), which show that public housing residents rated their housing units more favorably than the neighborhoods in which they were located.⁵³ It is possible that residential satisfaction is shaped by a constellation of neighborhood experiences and conditions, which, in turn, suggests a need for further examination of other factors underlying reported levels of satisfaction.

Second, both movers and stayers voiced *concerns about problem conditions* in the development, but movers were more likely to have these concerns. Respondents were asked about the extent to which they considered several conditions in their developments very big problems, big problems, small problems, or no problem at all. These conditions include situations such as there being nothing for children or teenagers to do, people of different races/ethnic backgrounds not getting along, graffiti or trash in the public areas, people drinking in public, drug dealers or users in the area, and guns and gunfire. Table 5 shows the extent to which both movers and stayers perceived these to be problem conditions in the neighborhoods.⁵⁴ Almost all movers (or 99 percent) and 97 percent of stayers indicated they perceived at least one or more of these problem conditions in their developments.

Third, while movers were more concerned about problem conditions in their developments, they also were more likely to have been the *target of violence or crime* — not just passive bystanders. The stark differences in the experiences of the two groups on several measures

⁵²Satisfaction with the development and the neighborhood is rated on a four-point scale, with values ranging from “very good,” “good,” “not too good,” and “awful.” The first two categories (“very good” and “good”) are combined to reflect satisfaction; the remaining categories are combined to reflect dissatisfaction.

⁵³The AHS asks respondents to rate their housing units and neighborhoods on a scale of 1 (worst) to 10 (best). The findings show that 35 percent of the public housing residents rated their units and 23 percent rated their neighborhoods as “best.” For details, see McGough (1997).

⁵⁴Respondents were asked to rate each condition on a four-point scale, with values ranging from “a very big problem,” “a big problem,” “a small problem,” to “no problem.” The first three categories were combined to reflect perception of a problem condition.

of crime and victimization are shown in the third panel of the table.⁵⁵ Particularly alarming is the higher number of episodes of thefts, verbal abuse, and physical harm inflicted on movers through criminal activity. Overall, compared to 33 percent of the stayers, 45 percent of the movers indicated that they had been subject to one or more instances of crime or violence.⁵⁶

Finally, on the dimension of community support and trust, sample members were asked to respond to five items about the extent to which they perceived social cohesion and trust in their developments;⁵⁷ three single-item measures were used to assess the degree of social support perceived in the developments.⁵⁸ From the findings shown in the table, movers appeared to be somewhat *more isolated* from their neighbors than stayers, and they were less likely to perceive support or trust in their developments. In interpreting this finding, it is important to keep in mind that at baseline movers were in the midst of shorter housing spells, and it is possible that they were relatively new to their communities and may not have formed strong ties with their neighbors and the other residents, and hence were more likely to perceive less support or trust in their own developments than stayers. Further, it is also important to take into account what is known from other research about the fear of crime and violence and how these conditions may lead public housing residents to isolate themselves from their surroundings. Since movers did report higher episodes of crime, it is entirely possible that their perceived isolation and lack of trust is a reaction to concerns about their own personal and physical safety.

The closest parallels to the Jobs-Plus results on resident mobility and neighborhood context are the findings from the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program, a demonstration project launched in five cities to test the effects of residential mobility strategies offered to public housing residents.⁵⁹ For many families who participated in the MTO program, the key reason for opting to move out of public housing was to escape from the violence and crime in their original neighborhoods.⁶⁰ Families reported that they lived in constant fear for their children and

⁵⁵Residents were asked if they had experienced a break-in to their units, been subject to a personal or property crime (in other words, had something stolen from them), and whether they had been verbally or physically threatened by someone known or unknown to them.

⁵⁶Based on other studies, there is some evidence that the victimization rates are much higher for household members living in public housing than for the general population. Kling, Liebman, and Katz, 2000.

⁵⁷Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, 1997. Sample items included: (a) people in the development can be trusted, (b) people are willing to help neighbors (c) people in the development live in a close-knit community, (d) people in the development don't generally get along with each other, and (e) people in the development don't share the same values.

⁵⁸Sample items included: (a) someone in the development would help respondent when sick, (b) someone in the development would lend \$25 to the respondent, and (c) someone in the development would help if the respondent is away.

⁵⁹Kling, Liebman, and Katz, 2000.

⁶⁰About half of the MTO families reported that the most important reason they wanted to move is "to get away from gangs and drugs," and another 25 percent cited this category as the second most important reason to
(continued)

took extreme care to keep them safe. This safety strategy kept mothers from making investments in their own education or training. Further, a deep distrust of others and a tendency toward isolation prevented mothers from seeking others who could care for their children. The authors conclude that living life “on the watch” took its toll both emotionally and economically on public housing families. Thus, moving out of public housing is seen as one possible route for alleviating some of the stress that comes from living in difficult neighborhoods.

Conclusion

This paper has two purposes: (a) to describe the levels of residential mobility experienced in some of the nation’s largest public housing developments, and (b) to develop a better understanding of the characteristics and experiences of individuals moving out of public housing.⁶¹ The motivation for addressing these issues was an interest in better understanding possible effects of the nature and type of residential mobility experienced in large public housing developments on the implementation and the evaluation of place-based self-sufficiency initiatives. Through an examination of a combination of resident surveys and public housing administrative data, this paper begins to provide some important insights into those relationships.

The portrayal of residents being dependent on housing assistance for long periods of time has served as the impetus for targeted self-sufficiency programs in the public housing arena. The findings from this study — also supported by other research — suggest that a significant portion of public housing residents move on their own, although the chances of moving appear to vary by region. The two-year move-out rates for the five developments examined in this paper ranged from 16 to 44 percent, and in at least four of the five developments, relatively short stays (three to five years) were almost the norm for a significant portion of those who moved. Thus, any program or policy that assumes extremely long tenure for assisted households should take into account that a significant proportion of nondisabled nonelderly tenants will move out quickly.⁶²

While a high number of families move out quickly, an even higher proportion would like to do so. As shown in this paper, there is a wide gap between residents’ expected and actual mobility, at least in the short run. Over half of the residents in four of the five developments expressed a desire to move out, but only about 35 percent of those who expected to move actually

move. For most part, MTO families did not conceive of crime in the neighborhood as directed at them. Rather, they were bystanders to the fray, terrified that a stray bullet might find one of their children.

⁶¹The scope of this paper was largely shaped by the data available for this demonstration at this point. Several other equally important and relevant questions, such as who moves into public housing, how these residents differ from those who are living in the development, what are the destinations of former public housing residents, and what are their post-move circumstances are potential topics for further research.

⁶²Lubell, Shroder, and Steffen (forthcoming).

did so during the study's two-year follow-up period. Thus, in addition to being faced with the problem of resident attrition, place-based self-sufficiency initiatives will have to be concerned about how the residential aspirations of a target population could potentially interact with how they receive and respond to the program. While it is unclear how mobility aspirations relate to interest in program participation, this study suggests that managers and planners of initiatives might want to inquire early on about how residents feel about their current residential situations. Knowing more about how long residents have lived in the development and whether they are thinking about moving might provide a way of targeting eligible residents who are otherwise likely to be missed by the program

This paper also examines characteristics and experiences of movers and stayers from three broad theoretical perspectives on resident mobility — one that focuses on life-cycle and human capital factors of mobility, a second one that emphasizes the economics and employment-related determinants of mobility, and a third that underscores the importance of residential satisfaction and community experiences. Although this comparative analysis is largely static, in that it focuses on the outcomes and situations of one cohort of Jobs-Plus residents, the snapshot suggests that mobility could potentially alter the composition of who remains in a public housing development. While the paper is unable to assess the characteristics of residents moving into public housing and how that alters its makeup, the residents moving out appear to be the ones who are most likely to leave public housing on their own, even in the absence of a targeted self-sufficiency initiative.

At the bivariate level, a number of hypotheses derived from the three theoretical perspectives receive considerable support. As shown, younger residents; residents with better quality jobs, better health, better employment prospects, shorter periods of public housing receipt; and residents who had greater concerns about their neighborhoods were the ones who were more likely to have moved within the short, two-year observation period for this mobility study. However, contrary to expectations, some of the personal and demographic characteristics, such as race, marital status, and education, which receive considerable support in the mobility literature, do not emerge as significant in the bivariate analysis. Further, economic differences were also less pronounced between movers and stayers. Close to 50 percent of the sample members who had moved during the two-year follow-up period were, at baseline, living in households with total annual incomes under \$10,000, which is not a threshold that signals economic self-sufficiency. If some movers were making a transition to other forms of HUD-assisted housing, it is conceivable that they could have continued to meet their housing needs with no visible improvements in income. On the other hand, if residents were moving because of changes in household composition — in other words, changes in marital or cohabitation status — that might explain why they were able to leave public housing without attaining economic self-sufficiency.

To follow-up on the bivariate analysis, a simple, exploratory multivariate linear probability model was specified to estimate the independent effects of the theoretical constructs as predictors of

resident mobility. Presented in Appendix B.1, the multivariate analysis also tells a generally similar story, although a number of bivariate effects become nonsignificant. Once other variables are controlled for in the model, fewer individual-level characteristics and experiences achieve significance, in part because they are intercorrelated and measure the same underlying concepts. However, the multivariate analysis does not reduce the significance of the three key domains in explaining resident mobility. Age, concerns about safety and well-being of children, experiences of crime, and financial security all increase the conditional mobility rate, net of all other influences on mobility. Poor health and receipt of public assistance appear to impede the chances of resident mobility. The results of this preliminary multivariate assessment are encouraging, but they also suggest the need for further conceptual and analytical refinements to further efforts to develop a more comprehensive understanding of what drives public housing residents to move.

The findings on the social disorganization and crime in the Jobs-Plus developments raise important questions for place-based programs and housing policy. Compared to stayers, residents who moved out of Jobs-Plus developments were more likely to report dissatisfaction with their neighborhoods, and they were also more likely to have been the direct targets of crime. Results also suggest that the need to protect themselves and their families was clearly associated with the probability of moving. For those who stay on in public housing, there is no escape from these negative circumstances. A key operating premise for both comprehensive and more targeted community initiatives is that neighborhoods matter, and that they are important elements in shaping outcomes for individuals and families. Public housing developments are located in highly distressed neighborhoods, where there are high levels of employment instability, poor education, and crime and violence. How do short-term self-sufficiency initiatives balance the dual task of improving people's employment prospects while ensuring that neighborhood conditions — such as crime, and the presence of drugs and guns — do not interfere with their steps toward attaining their employment goals? To the extent that this question is unaddressed, the overall goals of self-sufficiency initiatives might be hindered.

The program and research implications of residential mobility are profound. A snapshot of public housing mobility seems to suggest that many nonelderly, nondisabled residents move out on their own, and that those who leave appear to be different from those who stay. Residents who moved during the study period appeared to be in better jobs and probably had better employment networks than stayers. These selective out-migration patterns have the potential for diluting the positive employment-related spillovers for both residents and the community at large.

Finally, evaluation studies designed to assess the effects of place-based self-sufficiency initiatives on neighborhoods or communities might want to supplement both their qualitative and quantitative data with information on people who move. In addition to answering important questions about where people move to, their post-move circumstances, and whether they maintain ties with former neighbors, these data will be particularly important in determining whether treatment effects were misestimated because of mobility dynamics.

Appendix A

Appendix Table A.1
Measures Extracted from the Jobs-Plus Baseline Survey

Measure	Definition
Housing tenure and mobility intent	
Length of stay in the development at baseline interview	For how long have you lived in this development? Time recorded in years or months.
Intent to move	Do you think you'll move out of the development in the next two years?: 1=yes, probably; 0=probably not, and no.
Residential satisfaction/exposure to public housing	
Satisfied with neighborhood	As a place to live, would you say that the neighborhood in which the development is located is: 1=excellent, very good, good; 0=not too good, awful?
Satisfied with development	As a place to live, would you say that the development is: 1=excellent, very good, good; 0=not too good, awful?
Lived in public housing while growing up	1=yes; 0=no.
Income and income sources	
Saves money for the future	0=not at all; 1=some, a lot.
Anyone in household receiving welfare?	Cash aid from welfare such as AFDC or general assistance, not counting any child support money or childcare payments received from the welfare department? 1=yes; 0=no.
Anyone in household receiving food stamps?	Food stamps? 1=yes; 0=no.
Employer-provided benefits	
Health plan for self	1=yes; 0=no.
Health plan for children	1=yes; 0=no.
Paid sick days	1=yes; 0=no.
Paid vacation days	1=yes; 0=no.
Perceived health status	
In fair-poor health	Compared to other people your age, you would describe your health as: 0=excellent, very good; 1=fair, poor.
Perceived employment-related barriers	
Health condition limits work/type of work	1=very true, sort of true; 0=not very true, not at all true.
Lack of qualifications	1=very true, sort of true; 0=not very true, not at all true.
Problems reading, writing, or speaking English	1=very true, sort of true; 0=not very true, not at all true.
Racial/ethnic discrimination	1=very true, sort of true; 0=not very true, not at all true.
Being a public housing resident	1=very true, sort of true; 0=not very true, not at all true.

(continued)

Appendix Table A.1 (continued)

Measure	Definition
Problems in development	
Nothing for children or teenagers to do	1=a pretty big problem, a very big problem, a small problem; 0=no problem.
Different races or ethnic groups do not get along	1=a pretty big problem, a very big problem, a small problem; 0=no problem.
Outsiders causing trouble	1=a pretty big problem, a very big problem, a small problem; 0=no problem.
Graffiti or trash in public areas	1=a pretty big problem, a very big problem, a small problem; 0=no problem.
Drinking in public	1=a pretty big problem, a very big problem, a small problem; 0=no problem.
People selling or using drugs in public	1=a pretty big problem, a very big problem, a small problem; 0=no problem.
Gangs causing trouble	1=a pretty big problem, a very big problem, a small problem; 0=no problem.
Guns and gunfire	1=a pretty big problem, a very big problem, a small problem; 0=no problem.
Social cohesion, trust, support	
People can be trusted	1=very true, sort of true; 0=not very true, and not at all true.
People are willing to help their neighbors	1=very true, sort of true; 0=not very true, and not at all true.
People generally don't get along with each other	1=very true, sort of true; 0=not very true, and not at all true.
People do not share values	1=very true, sort of true; 0=not very true, and not at all true.
People live in close-knit communities	1=very true, sort of true; 0=not very true, and not at all true.
People in the development help respondent when sick	1=very true, sort of true; 0=not very true, and not at all true.
People in the development would loan \$25	1=very true, sort of true; 0=not very true, and not at all true.
Violence experienced in the year prior to the interview	
Broke in or tried to break into your unit	1=yes; 0=no.
Stole or tried to steal your wallet, money, or other personal property	1=yes; 0=no.
Verbally threatened	1=yes; 0=no.
Abused physically, emotionally, or sexually	1=yes; 0=no.

Appendix B

Multivariate Analysis

As noted in the report, an exploratory multivariate analysis was conducted to examine the independent relationships of each of the measures examined in Tables 3, 4, and 5 and the two-year mobility rate. A simple linear probability model, which is suitable for learning more about the associations between independent or predictor variables and an outcome of interest, was used.⁶³ The regression model does not test the specific pathways through which these predictors affect the chances of moving, which calls for more refined theoretical direction and complex model specification. This exploratory analysis is merely suggestive of the independent effects of factors that raise or lower the conditional mobility rate of Jobs-Plus residents, holding all other factors equal.

The results of this analysis are presented in Appendix Table B.1. The dependent variable, the two-year mobility status for respondents living in the Jobs-Plus developments examined in this paper, assumes a value of 0 for those who did not move in the two-year follow-up period, and it assumes a value of 100 for those who did move during this time. The left-hand column of the table lists the predictor or independent variables included in the model. The right-hand column lists the regression coefficients.⁶⁴ The stars next to the regression coefficients indicate the independent effects that are statistically significant. Each regression coefficient reflects the change in the conditional mobility rate for every one-unit change in the independent variables listed on the left-hand side. Keep in mind that most of the independent variables are dummy-coded — that is, assume a value of 0 or 1, and, thus, the estimates accordingly reflect the percentage point difference in the conditional mobility rate, holding other things equal, between the two groups coded as 0 or 1.

Consider one example. Take the case of the regression coefficient of 9.340 associated with the measure “saved money for future,” which can be interpreted as follows: compared to those with no savings, there’s a 9-percentage points increase in the conditional mobility rate, holding all others factors constant, for Jobs-Plus participants who had put money aside for the future.

As with the descriptive findings presented in Tables 3, 4, and 5 in the report, the regression analysis points to a set of push and pull factors that facilitate or impede resident mobility. Concerns about safety and the well-being of children, being subject to a violent crime, and having material resources appear to increase the chances of mobility. For example, residents who had been attacked or beaten by someone unknown to them in the 12 months prior to their Job-Plus interview had a conditional mobility rate 19 percentage points higher than those who did

⁶³A linear probability model will yield similar results to a logistic regression model unless the underlying probabilities of the dependent variable are nearer to 0 or 1.

⁶⁴Site dummies are included in the model to capture the unobserved effects of the local context.

Appendix Table B.1
Factors Predicting Actual Mobility from Jobs-Plus Developments

Independent Variables	Regression Coefficient
Age (yrs.)	-0.384 *
Race/Ethnicity	
Black, non-Hispanic	3.570
Hispanic	-6.104
Asian-Pacific Islander	-7.929
Other	-13.679
Marital status	
Single, never married	-0.234
Education	
High school diploma/GED	-1.875
Exposure to public housing	
Lived in public housing while growing up	-1.013
Number of months living in development	-0.058
Lived in development 1 - 4 years	2.340
Lived in development 5 - 9 years	-6.547
Lived in development 10 or more years	8.251
Mobility expectation at baseline	
Intend to move out of the development within two years	0.298
Annual household income	
Less than \$6,000	3.964
\$6,000 - \$10,000	-0.392
\$11,000 - \$15,000	10.337
\$16,000 - \$20,000	10.602
\$21,000 - \$25,000	7.399
Saved money for future	9.347 **
Received AFDC / TANF in the past 12 months	-8.215 *
Received Food Stamps in the past 12 months	2.840
Employment and Wages	
Currently employed	-4.872
Employed within past year, full-time	15.750
Employed within past year, part-time	5.692
Last employed more than one year ago	9.144
Average hours per week worked	-0.262
Reservation wage	0.043
Perceived employment-related barriers	
In fair-poor health	-8.186 **
Health condition limits work or type of work	3.268
Lack of qualifications	-3.532
Problems reading, writing, or speaking English	-6.984
Not knowing how to find a job	1.742
Racial/ethnic discrimination	2.182
Being a public housing resident	1.889

(continued)

Appendix Table B.1 (Continued)

Independent Variables	Regression Coefficient
Satisfaction	
Satisfied with neighborhood as a place to live	-3.099
Satisfied with the development as a place to live	-5.310
Problem conditions in development	
Nothing for children or teenagers to do	10.648 **
Different races or ethnic groups do not get along	-1.187
Outsiders causing trouble	1.337
Graffiti or trash in public areas	0.457
Drinking in public	2.312
People selling or using drugs in public	0.654
Gangs causing trouble	-3.464
Guns and gunfire	-3.252
Reporting one or more problem condition	-12.753
Reporting one or more instance of violence	0.568
Violence exposure/encounters	
Broke in or tried to break into your unit	1.330
Stole or tried to steal your wallet, money, or other personal property	6.423
<i>Threats by unknown person(s)</i>	
Threatened with a knife, gun, or other weapon	3.898
Attacked or beaten up	19.361 **
<i>Threats by known person(s)</i>	
Threatened with physical harm in the past 12 months	3.574
Abused physically, emotionally, or sexually	-6.250
Social cohesion and trust	
People in the development can be trusted	2.991
People in the development are willing to help their neighbors	5.735
People in the development generally don't get along with each other	-3.198
People in the development do not share the same values	4.361
People in the development live in a close-knit community	-2.531
Support	
Someone in the development will help when sick	-3.539
Someone in the development will lend \$25, if needed	-6.224
Someone in the development will help when away	1.242
Site	
Baltimore	5.425
Dayton	3.328
Los Angeles (Imperial Courts)	4.300
Los Angeles (William Mead Homes)	5.319
<i>Model adjusted r-square</i>	0.097
<i>Model f-value</i>	2.310
<i>Sample size</i>	777

SOURCE: MDRC calculations from Jobs-Plus baseline survey and PHA records.

NOTES: Stars (*) denote statistical significance for the level of the parameter estimates: * = 10 percent; ** = 5 percent;

*** = 1 percent. Chattanooga is the reference site in the regression analysis.

not experience a violent crime in the same period. By contrast, poor health and dependency on welfare appear to reduce the chances of moving. The one demographic variable to achieve statistical significance in this model is age. Each additional year in age decreased the residents' chances of moving out of public housing by 4 percent, net of all other influences on mobility

In sum, the regression-based findings are generally supportive of the descriptive analysis in that several of the theoretical domains are independently associated with resident mobility. However, within each domain examined here, fewer measures achieve statistical significance. For example, the descriptive analysis showed a number of indicators of social disorganization differentiated the movers from the stayers. But few of those indicators achieve statistical significance in the regression analysis, where the objective is to identify the independent effects of each variable, holding the effects of all other variables in the model constant. It is not entirely unexpected that the range of indicators measuring a specific underlying domain is highly correlated, which could potentially dilute the independent effects of each separate indicator. Further conceptual and analytical refinement is warranted to fully explore the direct and indirect pathways through which personal, economic, and community characteristics deter or increase resident mobility.

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Recent Publications on MDRC Projects

Note: For works not published by MDRC, the publisher's name is shown in parentheses. With a few exceptions, this list includes reports published by MDRC since 1999. A complete publications list is available from MDRC and on its Web site (www.mdrc.org), from which copies of MDRC's publications can also be downloaded.

Reforming Welfare and Making Work Pay

Next Generation Project

A collaboration among researchers at MDRC and several other leading research institutions focused on studying the effects of welfare, antipoverty, and employment policies on children and families.

How Welfare and Work Policies Affect Children: A Synthesis of Research. 2001. Pamela Morris, Aletha Huston, Greg Duncan, Danielle Crosby, Johannes Bos.

How Welfare and Work Policies Affect Employment and Income: A Synthesis of Research. 2001. Dan Bloom, Charles Michalopoulos.

How Welfare and Work Policies for Parents Affect Adolescents: A Synthesis of Research. 2002. Lisa Gennetian, Greg Duncan, Virginia Knox, Wanda Vargas, Elizabeth Clark-Kauffman, Andrew London.

ReWORKing Welfare: Technical Assistance for States and Localities

A multifaceted effort to assist states and localities in designing and implementing their welfare reform programs. The project includes a series of "how-to" guides, conferences, briefings, and customized, in-depth technical assistance.

After AFDC: Welfare-to-Work Choices and Challenges for States. 1997. Dan Bloom.

Work First: How to Implement an Employment-Focused Approach to Welfare Reform. 1997. Amy Brown.

Business Partnerships: How to Involve Employers in Welfare Reform. 1998. Amy Brown, Maria Buck, Erik Skinner.

Promoting Participation: How to Increase Involvement in Welfare-to-Work Activities. 1999. Gayle Hamilton, Susan Scrivener.

Encouraging Work, Reducing Poverty: The Impact of Work Incentive Programs. 2000. Gordon Berlin.

Steady Work and Better Jobs: How to Help Low-Income Parents Sustain Employment and Advance in the Workforce. 2000. Julie Strawn, Karin Martinson.

Beyond Work First: How to Help Hard-to-Employ Individuals Get Jobs and Succeed in the Workforce. 2001. Amy Brown.

Project on Devolution and Urban Change

A multiyear study in four major urban counties — Cuyahoga County, Ohio (which includes the city of Cleveland), Los Angeles, Miami-Dade, and Philadelphia — that examines how welfare reforms are being implemented and affect poor people, their neighborhoods, and the institutions that serve them.

Big Cities and Welfare Reform: Early Implementation and Ethnographic Findings from the Project on Devolution and Urban Change. 1999. Janet Quint, Kathryn Edin, Maria Buck, Barbara Fink, Yolanda Padilla, Ollis Simmons-Hewitt, Mary Valmont.

Food Security and Hunger in Poor, Mother-Headed Families in Four U.S. Cities. 2000. Denise Polit, Andrew London, John Martinez.

Assessing the Impact of Welfare Reform on Urban Communities: The Urban Change Project and Methodological Considerations. 2000. Charles Michalopoulos, Johannes Bos, Robert Lalonde, Nandita Verma.

Post-TANF Food Stamp and Medicaid Benefits: Factors That Aid or Impede Their Receipt. 2001. Janet Quint, Rebecca Widom.

Social Service Organizations and Welfare Reform. 2001. Barbara Fink, Rebecca Widom.

Monitoring Outcomes for Cuyahoga County's Welfare Leavers: How Are They Faring? 2001. Nandita Verma, Claudia Coulton.

The Health of Poor Urban Women: Findings from the Project on Devolution and Urban Change. 2001. Denise Polit, Andrew London, John Martinez.

Is Work Enough? The Experiences of Current and Former Welfare Mothers Who Work. 2001. Denise Polit, Rebecca Widom, Kathryn Edin, Stan Bowie, Andrew London, Ellen Scott, Abel Valenzuela.

Readying Welfare Recipients for Work: Lessons from Four Big Cities as They Implement Welfare Reform. 2002. Thomas Brock, Laura Nelson, Megan Reiter.

Welfare Reform in Cleveland: Implementation, Effects, and Experiences of Poor Families and Neighborhoods. 2002. Thomas Brock, Claudia Coulton, Andrew London, Denise Polit, Lashawn Richburg-Hayes, Ellen Scott, Nandita Verma.

Comparing Outcomes for Los Angeles County's HUD-Assisted and Unassisted CalWORKs Leavers. 2003. Nandita Verma, Richard Hendra.

Monitoring Outcomes for Los Angeles County's Pre- and Post-CalWORKs Leavers: How Are They Faring? 2003. Nandita Verma, Richard Hendra.

Wisconsin Works

This study examines how Wisconsin's welfare-to-work program, one of the first to end welfare as an entitlement, is administered in Milwaukee.

Complaint Resolution in the Context of Welfare Reform: How W-2 Settles Disputes. 2001. Suzanne Lynn.

Exceptions to the Rule: The Implementation of 24-Month Time-Limit Extensions in W-2. 2001. Susan Gooden, Fred Doolittle.

Matching Applicants with Services: Initial Assessments in the Milwaukee County W-2 Program. 2001. Susan Gooden, Fred Doolittle, Ben Glispie.

Employment Retention and Advancement Project

Conceived and funded by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), this demonstration project is aimed at testing various ways to help low-income people find, keep, and advance in jobs.

New Strategies to Promote Stable Employment and Career Progression: An Introduction to the Employment Retention and Advancement Project (HHS). 2002. Dan Bloom, Jacquelyn Anderson, Melissa Wavelet, Karen Gardiner, Michael Fishman.

Time Limits

Welfare Time Limits: State Policies, Implementation, and Effects on Families. 2002. Dan Bloom, Mary Farrell, Barbara Fink.

Leavers, Stayers, and Cyclers: An Analysis of the Welfare Caseload. 2002. Cynthia Miller.

Florida's Family Transition Program

An evaluation of Florida's initial time-limited welfare program, which includes services, requirements, and financial work incentives intended to reduce long-term welfare receipt and help welfare recipients find and keep jobs.

The Family Transition Program: Implementation and Three-Year Impacts of Florida's Initial Time-Limited Welfare Program. 1999. Dan Bloom, Mary Farrell, James Kemple, Nandita Verma.

The Family Transition Program: Final Report on Florida's Initial Time-Limited Welfare Program. 2000. Dan Bloom, James Kemple, Pamela Morris, Susan Scrivener, Nandita Verma, Richard Hendra.

Cross-State Study of Time-Limited Welfare

An examination of the implementation of some of the first state-initiated time-limited welfare programs.

Welfare Time Limits: An Interim Report Card. 1999. Dan Bloom.

Connecticut's Jobs First Program

An evaluation of Connecticut's statewide time-limited welfare program, which includes financial work incentives and requirements to participate in employment-related services aimed at rapid job placement. This study provides some of the earliest information on the effects of time limits in major urban areas.

Connecticut Post-Time Limit Tracking Study: Six-Month Survey Results. 1999. Jo Anna Hunter-Manns, Dan Bloom.

Jobs First: Implementation and Early Impacts of Connecticut's Welfare Reform Initiative. 2000. Dan Bloom, Laura Melton, Charles Michalopoulos, Susan Scrivener, Johanna Walter.

Connecticut's Jobs First Program: An Analysis of Welfare Leavers. 2000. Laura Melton, Dan Bloom.

Final Report on Connecticut's Welfare Reform Initiative. 2002. Dan Bloom, Susan Scrivener, Charles Michalopoulos, Pamela Morris, Richard Hendra, Diana Adams-Ciardullo, Johanna Walter.

Vermont's Welfare Restructuring Project

An evaluation of Vermont's statewide welfare reform program, which includes a work requirement after a certain period of welfare receipt, and financial work incentives.

Forty-Two-Month Impacts of Vermont's Welfare Restructuring Project. 1999. Richard Hendra, Charles Michalopoulos.

WRP: Key Findings from the Forty-Two-Month Client Survey. 2000. Dan Bloom, Richard Hendra, Charles Michalopoulos.

WRP: Final Report on Vermont's Welfare Restructuring Project. 2002. Susan Scrivener, Richard Hendra, Cindy Redcross, Dan Bloom, Charles Michalopoulos, Johanna Walter.

Financial Incentives

Encouraging Work, Reducing Poverty: The Impact of Work Incentive Programs. 2000. Gordon Berlin.

Minnesota Family Investment Program

An evaluation of Minnesota's pilot welfare reform initiative, which aims to encourage work, alleviate poverty, and reduce welfare dependence.

Reforming Welfare and Rewarding Work: Final Report on the Minnesota Family Investment Program. 2000:

Volume 1: Effects on Adults. Cynthia Miller, Virginia Knox, Lisa Gennetian, Martey Dodoo, Jo Anna Hunter, Cindy Redcross.

Volume 2: Effects on Children. Lisa Gennetian, Cynthia Miller.

Reforming Welfare and Rewarding Work: A Summary of the Final Report on the Minnesota Family Investment Program. 2000. Virginia Knox, Cynthia Miller, Lisa Gennetian.

Final Report on the Implementation and Impacts of the Minnesota Family Investment Program in Ramsey County. 2000. Patricia Auspos, Cynthia Miller, Jo Anna Hunter.

New Hope Project

A test of a community-based, work-focused antipoverty program and welfare alternative operating in Milwaukee.

New Hope for People with Low Incomes: Two-Year Results of a Program to Reduce Poverty and Reform Welfare. 1999. Johannes Bos, Aletha Huston, Robert Granger, Greg Duncan, Thomas Brock, Vonnie McLoyd.

Canada's Self-Sufficiency Project

A test of the effectiveness of a temporary earnings supplement on the employment and welfare receipt of public assistance recipients. Reports on the Self-Sufficiency Project are available from: Social Research and Demonstration Corporation (SRDC), 275 Slater St., Suite 900, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H9, Canada. Tel.: 613-237-4311; Fax: 613-237-5045. In the United States, the reports are also available from MDRC.

Does SSP Plus Increase Employment? The Effect of Adding Services to the Self-Sufficiency Project's Financial Incentives (SRDC). 1999. Gail Quets, Philip Robins, Elsie Pan, Charles Michalopoulos, David Card.

When Financial Work Incentives Pay for Themselves: Early Findings from the Self-Sufficiency Project's Applicant Study (SRDC). 1999. Charles Michalopoulos, Philip Robins, David Card.

The Self-Sufficiency Project at 36 Months: Effects of a Financial Work Incentive on Employment and Income (SRDC). 2000. Charles Michalopoulos, David Card, Lisa Gennetian, Kristen Harknett, Philip K. Robins.

The Self-Sufficiency Project at 36 Months: Effects on Children of a Program That Increased Parental Employment and Income (SRDC). 2000. Pamela Morris, Charles Michalopoulos.

When Financial Incentives Pay for Themselves: Interim Findings from the Self-Sufficiency Project's Applicant Study (SRDC). 2001. Charles Michalopoulos, Tracey Hoy.

SSP Plus at 36 Months: Effects of Adding Employment Services to Financial Work Incentives (SRDC). 2001. Ying Lei, Charles Michalopoulos.

Making Work Pay: Final Report on the Self-Sufficiency Project for Long-Term Welfare Recipients (SRDC). 2002. Charles Michalopoulos, Doug Tattrie, Cynthia Miller, Philip Robins, Pamela Morris, David Gyarmati, Cindy Redcross, Kelly Foley, Reuben Ford.

Mandatory Welfare Employment Programs

National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies

Conceived and sponsored by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), with support from the U.S. Department of Education (ED), this is the largest-scale evaluation ever conducted of different strategies for moving people from welfare to employment.

Do Mandatory Welfare-to-Work Programs Affect the Well-Being of Children? A Synthesis of Child Research Conducted as Part of the National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies (HHS/ED). 2000. Gayle Hamilton.

Evaluating Alternative Welfare-to-Work Approaches: Two-Year Impacts for Eleven Programs (HHS/ED). 2000. Stephen Freedman, Daniel Friedlander, Gayle Hamilton, JoAnn Rock, Marisa Mitchell, Jodi Nudelman, Amanda Schweder, Laura Storto.

Impacts on Young Children and Their Families Two Years After Enrollment: Findings from the Child Outcomes Study (HHS/ED). 2000. Sharon McGroder, Martha Zaslow, Kristin Moore, Suzanne LeMenestrel.

What Works Best for Whom: Impacts of 20 Welfare-to-Work Programs by Subgroup (HHS/ED). 2000. Charles Michalopoulos, Christine Schwartz.

Evaluating Two Approaches to Case Management: Implementation, Participation Patterns, Costs, and Three-Year Impacts of the Columbus Welfare-to-Work Program (HHS/ED). 2001. Susan Scrivener, Johanna Walter.

How Effective Are Different Welfare-to-Work Approaches? Five-Year Adult and Child Impacts for Eleven Programs – Executive Summary (HHS/ED). 2001. Gayle Hamilton, Stephen Freedman, Lisa Gennetian, Charles Michalopoulos, Johanna Walter, Diana Adams-Ciardullo, Anna Gassman-Pines, Sharon McGroder, Martha Zaslow, Surjeet Ahluwalia, Jennifer Brooks.

Moving People from Welfare to Work: Lessons from the National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies (HHS/ED). 2002. Gayle Hamilton.

Los Angeles's Jobs-First GAIN Program

An evaluation of Los Angeles's refocused GAIN (welfare-to-work) program, which emphasizes rapid employment. This is the first in-depth study of a full-scale "work first" program in one of the nation's largest urban areas.

The Los Angeles Jobs-First GAIN Evaluation: First-Year Findings on Participation Patterns and Impacts. 1999. Stephen Freedman, Marisa Mitchell, David Navarro.

The Los Angeles Jobs-First GAIN Evaluation: Final Report on a Work First Program in a Major Urban Center. 2000. Stephen Freedman, Jean Knab, Lisa Gennetian, David Navarro.

Teen Parents on Welfare

Teenage Parent Programs: A Synthesis of the Long-Term Effects of the New Chance Demonstration, Ohio's Learning, Earning, and Parenting (LEAP) Program, and the Teenage Parent Demonstration (TPD). 1998. Robert Granger, Rachel Cytron.

Ohio's LEAP Program

An evaluation of Ohio's Learning, Earning, and Parenting (LEAP) Program, which uses financial incentives to encourage teenage parents on welfare to stay in or return to school.

LEAP: Final Report on Ohio's Welfare Initiative to Improve School Attendance Among Teenage Parents. 1997. Johannes Bos, Veronica Fellerath.

New Chance Demonstration

A test of a comprehensive program of services that seeks to improve the economic status and general well-being of a group of highly disadvantaged young women and their children.

New Chance: Final Report on a Comprehensive Program for Young Mothers in Poverty and Their Children. 1997. Janet Quint, Johannes Bos, Denise Polit.

Parenting Behavior in a Sample of Young Mothers in Poverty: Results of the New Chance Observational Study. 1998. Martha Zaslow, Carolyn Eldred, editors.

Center for Employment Training Replication,

This study is testing whether the successful results for youth of a training program developed in San Jose can be replicated in 12 other sites around the country.

Focusing on Fathers

Parents' Fair Share Demonstration

A demonstration for unemployed noncustodial parents (usually fathers) of children on welfare. PFS aims to improve the men's employment and earnings, reduce child poverty by increasing child support payments, and assist the fathers in playing a broader constructive role in their children's lives.

Fathers' Fair Share: Helping Poor Men Manage Child Support and Fatherhood (Russell Sage Foundation). 1999. Earl Johnson, Ann Levine, Fred Doolittle.

Parenting and Providing: The Impact of Parents' Fair Share on Paternal Involvement. 2000. Virginia Knox, Cindy Redcross.

Working and Earning: The Impact of Parents' Fair Share on Low-Income Fathers' Employment. 2000. John M. Martinez, Cynthia Miller.

The Responsible Fatherhood Curriculum. 2000. Eileen Hayes, with Kay Sherwood.

The Challenge of Helping Low-Income Fathers Support Their Children: Final Lessons from Parents' Fair Share. 2001. Cynthia Miller, Virginia Knox

Career Advancement and Wage Progression

Opening Doors to Earning Credentials

An exploration of strategies for increasing low-wage workers' access to and completion of community college programs.

Opening Doors: Expanding Educational Opportunities for Low-Income Workers. 2001. Susan Golonka, Lisa Matus-Grossman.

Welfare Reform and Community Colleges: A Policy and Research Context. 2002. Thomas Brock, Lisa Matus-Grossman, Gayle Hamilton.

Opening Doors: Students' Perspectives on Juggling Work, Family, and College. 2002. Lisa Matus-Grossman, Susan Gooden.

Opening Doors: Supporting CalWORKs Students at California Community Colleges: An Exploratory Focus Group Study. 2002. Laura Nelson, Rogéair Purnell.

Education Reform

Career Academies

The largest and most comprehensive evaluation of a school-to-work initiative, this study examines a promising approach to high school restructuring and the school-to-work transition.

Career Academies: Building Career Awareness and Work-Based Learning Activities Through Employer Partnerships. 1999. James Kemple, Susan Poglinco, Jason Snipes.

Career Academies: Impacts on Students' Engagement and Performance in High School. 2000. James Kemple, Jason Snipes.

Career Academies: Impacts on Students' Initial Transitions to Post-Secondary Education and Employment. 2001. James Kemple.

First Things First

This demonstration and research project looks at First Things First, a whole-school reform that combines a variety of best practices aimed at raising achievement and graduation rates in both urban and rural settings.

Scaling Up First Things First: Site Selection and the Planning Year. 2002. Janet Quint.

Closing Achievement Gaps

Conducted for the Council of the Great City Schools, this study identifies districtwide approaches to urban school reform that appear to raise overall student performance while reducing achievement gaps among racial groups.

Foundations for Success: Case Studies of How Urban School Systems Improve Student Achievement. 2002. Jason Snipes, Fred Doolittle, Corinne Herlihy.

Project GRAD

This evaluation examines Project GRAD, an education initiative targeted at urban schools and combining a number of proven or promising reforms.

Building the Foundation for Improved Student Performance: The Pre-Curricular Phase of Project GRAD Newark. 2000. Sandra Ham, Fred Doolittle, Glee Ivory Holton.

Accelerated Schools

This study examines the implementation and impacts on achievement of the Accelerated Schools model, a whole-school reform targeted at at-risk students.

Evaluating the Accelerated Schools Approach: A Look at Early Implementation and Impacts on Student Achievement in Eight Elementary Schools. 2001. Howard Bloom, Sandra Ham, Laura Melton, Julienne O'Brien.

Extended-Service Schools Initiative

Conducted in partnership with Public/Private Ventures (P/PV), this evaluation of after-school programs operated as part of the Extended-Service Schools Initiative examines the programs' implementation, quality, cost, and effects on students.

Multiple Choices After School: Findings from the Extended-Service Schools Initiative (P/PV). 2002. Jean Baldwin Grossman, Marilyn Price, Veronica Fellerath, Linda Jucovy, Lauren Kotloff, Rebecca Raley, Karen Walker.

School-to-Work Project

A study of innovative programs that help students make the transition from school to work or careers.

Home-Grown Lessons: Innovative Programs Linking School and Work (Jossey-Bass Publishers). 1995. Edward Pauly, Hilary Kopp, Joshua Haimson.

Home-Grown Progress: The Evolution of Innovative School-to-Work Programs. 1997. Rachel Pedraza, Edward Pauly, Hilary Kopp.

Project Transition

A demonstration program that tested a combination of school-based strategies to facilitate students' transition from middle school to high school.

Project Transition: Testing an Intervention to Help High School Freshmen Succeed. 1999. Janet Quint, Cynthia Miller, Jennifer Pastor, Rachel Cytron.

Equity 2000

Equity 2000 is a nationwide initiative sponsored by the College Board to improve low-income students' access to college. The MDRC paper examines the implementation of Equity 2000 in Milwaukee Public Schools.

Getting to the Right Algebra: The Equity 2000 Initiative in Milwaukee Public Schools. 1999. Sandra Ham, Erica Walker.

Employment and Community Initiatives

Jobs-Plus Initiative

A multisite effort to greatly increase employment among public housing residents.

Mobilizing Public Housing Communities for Work: Origins and Early Accomplishments of the Jobs-Plus Demonstration. 1999. James Riccio.

Building a Convincing Test of a Public Housing Employment Program Using Non-Experimental Methods: Planning for the Jobs-Plus Demonstration. 1999. Howard Bloom.

Jobs-Plus Site-by-Site: An Early Look at Program Implementation. 2000. Edited by Susan Philipson Bloom with Susan Blank.

Building New Partnerships for Employment: Collaboration Among Agencies and Public Housing Residents in the Jobs-Plus Demonstration. 2001. Linda Kato, James Riccio.

Making Work Pay for Public Housing Residents: Financial-Incentive Designs at Six Jobs-Plus Demonstration Sites. 2002. Cynthia Miller, James Riccio.

The Special Challenges of Offering Employment Programs in Culturally Diverse Communities: The Jobs-Plus Experience in Public Housing Developments. 2002. Linda Kato.

The Employment Experiences of Public Housing Residents: Findings from the Jobs-Plus Baseline Survey. 2002. John Martinez.

Children in Public Housing Developments: An Examination of the Children at the Beginning of the Jobs-Plus Demonstration. 2002. Pamela Morris, Stephanie Jones.

Jobs-Plus Site-by-Site: Key Features of Mature Employment Programs in Seven Public Housing Communities. 2003. Linda Kato.

Neighborhood Jobs Initiative

An initiative to increase employment in a number of low-income communities.

The Neighborhood Jobs Initiative: An Early Report on the Vision and Challenges of Bringing an Employment Focus to a Community-Building Initiative. 2001. Frieda Molina, Laura Nelson.

Structures of Opportunity: Developing the Neighborhood Jobs Initiative in Fort Worth, Texas. 2002. Tony Proscio.

Connections to Work Project

A study of local efforts to increase competition in the choice of providers of employment services for welfare recipients and other low-income populations. The project also provides assistance to cutting-edge local initiatives aimed at helping such people access and secure jobs.

Designing and Administering a Wage-Paying Community Service Employment Program Under TANF: Some Considerations and Choices. 1999. Kay Sherwood.

San Francisco Works: Toward an Employer-Led Approach to Welfare Reform and Workforce Development. 2000. Steven Bliss.

Canada's Earnings Supplement Project

A test of an innovative financial incentive intended to expedite the reemployment of displaced workers and encourage full-year work by seasonal or part-year workers, thereby also reducing receipt of unemployment insurance.

Testing a Re-Employment Incentive for Displaced Workers: The Earnings Supplement Project. 1999. Howard Bloom, Saul Schwartz, Susanna Lui-Gurr, Suk-Won Lee.

MDRC Working Papers on Research Methodology

A new series of papers that explore alternative methods of examining the implementation and impacts of programs and policies.

Building a Convincing Test of a Public Housing Employment Program Using Non-Experimental Methods: Planning for the Jobs-Plus Demonstration. 1999. Howard Bloom.

Estimating Program Impacts on Student Achievement Using "Short" Interrupted Time Series. 1999. Howard Bloom.

Using Cluster Random Assignment to Measure Program Impacts: Statistical Implications for the Evaluation of Education Programs. 1999. Howard Bloom, Johannes Bos, Suk-Won Lee.

The Politics of Random Assignment: Implementing Studies and Impacting Policy. 2000. Judith Gueron.

Assessing the Impact of Welfare Reform on Urban Communities: The Urban Change Project and Methodological Considerations. 2000. Charles Michalopoulos, Joannes Bos, Robert Lalonde, Nandita Verma.

Measuring the Impacts of Whole School Reforms: Methodological Lessons from an Evaluation of Accelerated Schools. 2001. Howard Bloom.

A Meta-Analysis of Government Sponsored Training Programs. 2001. David Greenberg, Charles Michalopoulos, Philip Robins.

Modeling the Performance of Welfare-to-Work Programs: The Effects of Program Management and Services, Economic Environment, and Client Characteristics. 2001. Howard Bloom, Carolyn Hill, James Riccio.

A Regression-Based Strategy for Defining Subgroups in a Social Experiment. 2001. James Kemple, Jason Snipes.

Explaining Variation in the Effects of Welfare-to-Work Programs. 2001. David Greenberg, Robert Meyer, Charles Michalopoulos, Michael Wiseman.

Extending the Reach of Randomized Social Experiments: New Directions in Evaluations of American Welfare-to-Work and Employment Initiatives. 2001. James Riccio, Howard Bloom.

Can Nonexperimental Comparison Group Methods Match the Findings from a Random Assignment Evaluation of Mandatory Welfare-to-Work Programs? 2002. Howard Bloom, Charles Michalopoulos, Carolyn Hill, Ying Lei.

Using Instrumental Variables Analysis to Learn More from Social Policy Experiments. 2002. Lisa Gennetian, Johannes Bos, Pamela Morris.

Using Place-Based Random Assignment and Comparative Interrupted Time-Series Analysis to Evaluate the Jobs-Plus Employment Program for Public Housing Residents. 2002. Howard Bloom, James Riccio.

About MDRC

The Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan social policy research organization. We are dedicated to learning what works to improve the well-being of low-income people. Through our research and the active communication of our findings, we seek to enhance the effectiveness of social policies and programs. MDRC was founded in 1974 and is located in New York City and Oakland, California.

MDRC's current projects focus on welfare and economic security, education, and employment and community initiatives. Complementing our evaluations of a wide range of welfare reforms are new studies of supports for the working poor and emerging analyses of how programs affect children's development and their families' well-being. In the field of education, we are testing reforms aimed at improving the performance of public schools, especially in urban areas. Finally, our community projects are using innovative approaches to increase employment in low-income neighborhoods.

Our projects are a mix of demonstrations — field tests of promising program models — and evaluations of government and community initiatives, and we employ a wide range of methods to determine a program's effects, including large-scale studies, surveys, case studies, and ethnographies of individuals and families. We share the findings and lessons from our work — including best practices for program operators — with a broad audience within the policy and practitioner community, as well as the general public and the media.

Over the past quarter century, MDRC has worked in almost every state, all of the nation's largest cities, and Canada. We conduct our projects in partnership with state and local governments, the federal government, public school systems, community organizations, and numerous private philanthropies.