

# HOPE VI REVITALIZATION AND STUDENTS' EDUCATION IN MADDEN WELLS

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## BACKGROUND

In 1992, the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing found that over 80,000 public housing units were severely distressed. The commission noted a number of managerial and structural problems leading to the decay and demise of these housing units including high poverty residents concentrated in one area, degenerating units with high vacancy and turnover rates, and high rates of violence and drug trafficking (National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, 1992). To address this problem public housing Congress enacted HOPE VI, in 1993, with the goals of revitalizing public housing, deconcentrating poverty, building sustainable communities, and leading residents toward self-sufficiency. Under HOPE VI, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) awarded grants to housing authorities to revitalize distressed public housing sites by demolishing the current housing and rebuilding it as mixed income housing. Constructing mixed-income housing with public housing, affordable housing, and market priced units and giving residents the option to relocate to private market housing using a Housing Choice (Section-8) Voucher contributed to HUD achieving its goal of deconcentrating poverty.

During the demolition and revitalization of HOPE VI sites, residents were relocated and had the opportunity to move to other neighborhoods. Residents had three housing options during revitalization efforts: move with a Housing Choice (Section-8) Voucher that provided a rent subsidy allowing residents to choose housing in the private housing market, move into a revitalized HOPE VI site, or move to another traditional public housing development. Some residents whose incomes increased or were evicted<sup>1</sup> from their housing transitioned off governmental housing assistance during demolition (McInnis, Buron, & Popkin, 2007).

HOPE VI had the potential to improve the lives of children' growing up in distressed public housing. Research evidence shows children's behavioral, academic, and health outcomes are influenced by their neighborhood environment (Leventhal &

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<sup>1</sup> A resident could have been evicted if they violated the terms set forth by the Chicago Housing Authority. One such violation could be the Housing and Urban Development enacted "One Strike Rule" that gives public housing authorities the leverage to terminate a residents' housing if they are arrested or caught with illegal drugs or a firearm.

Brooks-Gunn, 2000, 2004; Ellen & Turner 1997). In theory, relocating to better or revitalized neighborhoods could have improved HOPE VI children's life chances. Previous research on other housing mobility programs demonstrated, however, that many public housing residents move to neighborhoods similar to their original community (Jacob 2004; Briggs, Popkin, Goering, 2010), which could limit the overall impact of relocation.

Research on HOPE VI families, primarily from The Urban Institute's HOPE VI Panel Study, indicates that HOPE VI had mixed impacts on children. After relocation, families generally lived in safer and better neighborhoods (Comey, 2007); however, the research found no evidence of improvements in health or academic outcomes for children (Gallagher & Bajaj, 2007). Children whose families relocated using a housing voucher did show slight improvements in their behavioral outcomes (Gallagher & Bajaj, 2007).

While there has been systematic research on outcomes for families, there has only been limited research on how HOPE VI affected the quality of schools relocated children attended. It can be postulated that HOPE VI children had similar outcomes to relocatees in the Moving to Opportunity<sup>2</sup> (MTO) program who attended similar schools to their pre-relocation schools when faced with involuntary moving (Jacob, 2004). The Urban Institute's HOPE VI Panel Study evaluated families in five HOPE VI sites nationwide that received grants in 1999 or 2000. The families were surveyed prior to revitalization in 2001 and during follow-ups

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<sup>2</sup>Moving to Opportunity was a demonstration project and experiment enacted in 1994 that assessed the impacts of giving poor public housing residents the opportunity to move to the private market using housing choice vouchers. Participating residents were assigned to remain in public housing, receive a housing voucher with no restrictions or assistance or receive a voucher limited to low poverty neighborhoods.

in 2003 and 2005. In this study, I use data from the HOPE VI Panel Study to examine how relocation affected the educational experiences of children relocated from public housing in one of the five Panel Study sites, the Madden/Wells Homes in Chicago.

This paper begins with an assessment of the literature on children in high poverty environments and HOPE VI sites, the impact that living in a new neighborhood and attending new schools can have on children, and the social and cultural characteristics that influence school choice. Next, I describe my data and methods. I, then, discuss my findings about the effect of HOPE VI relocation on children's school experiences, and conclude with a discussion of the implications for policy and areas for further research.

## WHY HOPEVI CHILDREN WERE VULNERABLE

Children in HOPE VI sites, like other children in high poverty environments, were vulnerable residents because they grew up in and were victims of the distressed living environment. Persistent crime in a neighborhood has been shown to increase a child's chance for victimization, participation in deviant behavior, and deterioration of mental health (Aneshensel and Sucoff, 1996; Ellen and Turner, 1997; Popkin, Leventhal and Weismann, 2010). Children in living in poverty are also more susceptible to physical health issues such as chronic asthma, lead poisoning, and stunted growth (Brooks-Gunn and Duncan, 1997).

In addition to the detrimental environment these children lived in, children in public housing also often attend failing public schools which may negatively affect their academic outcomes (Ellen and Turner, 1997). A study on public housing residents in New York City found that schools attended by public housing residents had more poor and minority students and had lower reading and math scores than the average New York City public schools

(Schwartz, McCabe, Ellen, & Chellman, 2010). It is no coincidence that children living in public housing frequently attend disadvantaged schools, as they are experiencing the consequences of public housing being historically sited in areas with high concentrations of poor, minority residents and limited and often inadequate government services (Turner, Popkin, & Rawlings, 2009).

## OPPORTUNITIES IN NEW NEIGHBORHOODS AND BETTER SCHOOLS

HOPE VI children were often more likely to lead adverse lives compared to their peers because of the negativity in their public housing communities, but the relocation housing assistance options allowed residents to choose to live in better neighborhoods than their original public housing. It was hoped that these new neighborhoods might offer better environments for their families and better schools for their children to attend. One premise behind public housing dispersal programs was that improved economic opportunities in new neighborhoods could positively affect the educational experiences and outcomes of students (Popkin, Buron, Levy & Cunningham, 2000). These new neighborhoods could offer parents the opportunity to attain jobs and provide more educational resources for their children, such as books and computers (Orr et al., 2003).

Additionally, neighborhoods with better economic opportunities usually have residents with higher educational attainment and higher status jobs who could serve as role models for students. A study by Ainsworth (2002) demonstrated that neighborhoods with a high proportion of employed and college educated residents predicted better educational outcomes. Safer neighborhoods and schools for former public housing residents, also, have been shown to put children and parents at ease and improve their mental health (Briggs, Popkin, & Goering, 2010).

Furthermore, social scientists have established that high opportunity neighborhoods offer higher quality schools than low opportunity neighborhoods. The housing prices in a neighborhood, an indicator of neighborhood prestige and quality, are associated with the neighborhood's school quality (Hayes & Taylor, 1996). Not only are there better schools in higher opportunity neighborhoods but the students also have higher academic achievement (Ainsworth, 2002).

Research on neighborhood effects has consistently shown that children are heavily influenced by their peers, so moving to a neighborhood with students who are highly motivated in school could have encouraged HOPE VI children to also make school a high priority and provided them with study habits to mimic (Ellen & Turner 1997; Ainsworth, 2002). Additionally, attending better quality schools with more educational resources could have improved these children's life-long self-sufficiency. Evidence has shown schools that adequately prepare students for college are more likely to produce more college-educated individuals that will earn higher incomes (US Census Bureau, 2004).

Although HOPE VI revitalization offered the opportunity for residents to move to neighborhoods with better schools, there is mixed evidence on the impact that changing neighborhoods can have public housing students' school quality. Students who moved to the suburbs through the Gautreaux program, for example, had smaller classes, parents reported better teachers, and there seemed to be higher academic standards for students (Rosenbaum, 1995). But, as explained previously, MTO participants often moved to similar neighborhoods and attended similar schools as their pre-relocation neighborhood and school (Jacob 2004; Briggs, Popkin, & Goering, 2010). Furthermore, research has shown that public housing residents may be intimidated by more economically advantaged peers and perform worse in their new schools, rather than better (Ellen & Turner, 1997).

## SCHOOL CHOICE AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

The types of schools and neighborhoods HOPE VI children attended and lived in after relocation may have been heavily influenced by their family background. School and neighborhood choice are influenced by parents' past experiences, social network and cultural logic. In an explanation on the parameters for a successful school choice program, Bell (2005) explained, "School choice hinges on parents."

Parents' past educational and social experiences determine whether they believe it is necessary to make a choice in schooling for their children or to follow the default attendance pattern (Bell, 2005; Bulman, 2004). Once parents decide to choose a school, many do not have all the information needed to make informed decisions (Bell 2005; Briggs, Popkin, & Goering, 2010). Many persons school choices are limited to the "choice sets" offered through their social networks, which creates a disparity between the types of schools middle class and poor families choose to attend (Bell, 2005; Briggs, Popkin, Goering, 2010).

A parent's cultural values and logic also determines the school choice. Black parents and those with low educational attainment place more value on a school's testing scores in comparison to White parents and those with college degrees (Schneider, Marschall, Teske, and Roch, 1998b), which may be due to a parent's educational experience and their desire to improve their child's education as compared to their own. Research on MTO found that parents in the program, who were often minority with no college education, emphasized school safety over other school quality indicators (Briggs, Popkin, Goering, 2010). Despite this desire for their children to attend good schools, research has shown that many socially disadvantaged parents, such as those in HOPE VI sites, do not have accurate information on the schools that they choose for their children to

attend (Schneider, Marschall, Teske, & Roch, 1998a).

## DATA AND METHODS

Using data from the HOPE VI Panel Study, I assessed what influence HOPE VI revitalization had on the quality of schools attended by children living in these distressed public housing communities. Urban Institute's HOPE VI Panel Study examined the impact of HOPE VI upon five sites that received grants in 1999 and 2000, which included: Shore Park/Shore Terrace (Atlantic City, NJ), Ida B. Wells Homes/Wells Extension/Madden Park Homes (Chicago, IL), Few Gardens (Durham, NC), Easter Hill (Richmond, CA), and East Capitol Dwellings (Washington, D.C.). The Urban Institute conducted site visits, residential surveys and in-depth interviews with residents before revitalization, in 2001, and during revitalization, in 2003 and 2005. Surveys were administered to the head of household; the surveys included questions about up to two focal children, one under 6 and one between 6 and 14 (Popkin et al., 2002). Nationally, eight hundred eighty-seven heads of households were surveyed in 2001, 736 heads of household were surveyed in 2003 and 715 heads of households were surveyed in 2005 (McInnis, Buron, & Popkin, 2007).

Time constraints allowed for me to assess only one of the five HOPE VI sites in the Panel Study. For the purpose of my study, I examined the 2001 and 2005 residential surveys for Ida B Wells, Wells Extension, Darrow Homes and Madden Park Homes (Madden/Wells). Madden/Wells is located in a distressed Southside Chicago neighborhood and received a HOPE VI grant in 2000. The community consisted of four developments, contained a mix of low-rise and high-rise buildings, and had a maximum occupation of 3200 residential homes. Madden/ Wells' neighborhood was also surrounded by a number of other public housing communities (Popkin et al., 2002). A random sample of 196 Madden/Wells heads of household were surveyed during the Panel Study in the 2001 summer, 174

heads of household were interviewed in 2003, and 165 in 2005 (Buron & Popkin, 2010).

There were 60 Madden/Wells families in the Panel Study with information about their children's schools recorded in 2001 and 2005. All families included in my research were African American. The average number of children in the families was 3.3 and the number children in the families ranged from 1 to 10. These families were also severely distressed; a majority of household heads were unemployed, poor and had low educational attainment (see Table 1). In addition, the families

**Table 1.**

Demographics of Households	
Head of Household Employment	Percent
Full-Time (n=17)	28.3%
Part Time (n=10)	16.7%
Unemployed (n=33)	55.0%
Income Category	
Less than 5K (n=27)	45.5%
5-10 K (n=14)	23.6%
10-15K (n=13)	21.8%
15-20 K (n=6)	9.1%
<b>Percent of Families Receive TANF</b>	50.9%
Education level of Household Head	
Did not graduate from high school (n=24)	40.0%
Received GED (n=7)	11.7%
High school graduate (n=30)	48.3%
Housing in 2005	
Public Housing (n=20)	33.3%
Housing Voucher (n=35)	58.3%
Unassisted Resident (n=4)	6.7%

Source: HOPE VI Panel Study, 2001

lived in public housing for an average of 18 years. At the follow up in 2005, one resident (2 percent) lived in a revitalized HOPE VI site, four residents (7 percent) were unassisted in the private market, thirty-five residents (58 percent) were voucher holders, and twenty residents (33 percent) still remained in Madden/Wells or another traditional public housing community (see Table 1).

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this study I assess what impact HOPE VI revitalization efforts had upon the education experiences of children living in the Madden/Wells Public Housing Community.

I ask the following research questions:

1. Was there a difference in the HOPE VI children's school characteristics before revitalization, in 2001, and during revitalization, in 2005?
2. Did the type of housing assistance during revitalization affect the difference in school characteristics?
3. What was the relationship between HOPE VI children's family background and their change in school characteristics from 2001 to 2005?

## METHODOLOGY

To measure the school characteristics, housing assistance during relocation, neighborhood demographics and family background for HOPE VI children, I evaluated data on the Madden/Wells Public Housing Community from the HOPE VI Panel Study, US Census, National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) National Database and the Illinois School Report Card (see Table 2).

**Table 2.**

Descriptions and Sources of Variables			
	Variable	Description	Source
School Characteristics	School Racial Homogeneity	Percent of non-White students enrolled in school	NCES National Database (2001, 2005)
	School Concentration of Poverty	Percent of students who qualify for free or reduced price lunch	NCES National Database (2001, 2005)
	School Quality	School's student-teacher ratio; Percent of students who meet or exceed Illinois' learning standards on the state standardized tests.	NCES National Database (2001, 2005); The Illinois School Report Card (2001, 2005)
Housing Assistance	Housing Assistance	Type of housing assistance residents used in 2005	HOPE VI Panel Study (2001, 2005)
Neighborhood Demographics	Neighborhood Racial Homogeneity	Percent of non-White residents in census tract	US Census 2000
	Neighborhood Poverty	Percent of residents below poverty threshold in census tract	US Census 2000
	Neighborhood Economic Stability	Census tract unemployment rate	US Census 2000
Family Background	Head of Household Educational Experience	Head of Household's education level	HOPE VI Panel Study (2001, 2005)
	Family's Social Network	Head of household's employment status; length of time head of household lived in public housing	HOPE VI Panel Study (2001, 2005)

## DID HOPE VI CHILDREN ATTEND BETTER SCHOOL DURING REVITALIZATION?

Overall HOPE VI children attended better schools in 2005, after most had relocated, than in 2001, before revitalization.

The educational disparities in Madden/Wells seem to be consistent with research that has shown that students living in public housing attend underserved schools (Schwartz, McCabe, Ellen, & Chellman, 2010). As demonstrated in Graph 1, overall the schools Madden/Wells children attended in 2001 were severely disadvantaged and were demographically different and lower in quality than Chicago's and Illinois' public schools. HOPE VI students' schools had significantly more minority students than Chicago's and Illinois' public schools. Although Chicago public schools had a high concentration of students in poverty (82 percent), HOPE VI students' school poverty was significantly higher (96 percent) than the city average. Not only were the schools demographically different than the state and district averages but they were also lower quality. The student teacher ratio in HOPE VI children's schools was 20.18, which was significantly higher than Chicago's average student teacher ratio (19.31) and Illinois' average student teacher ratio (16.66). Furthermore, the students in HOPE VI students' schools performed far below the city and state averages on standardized tests (see Graph 1).

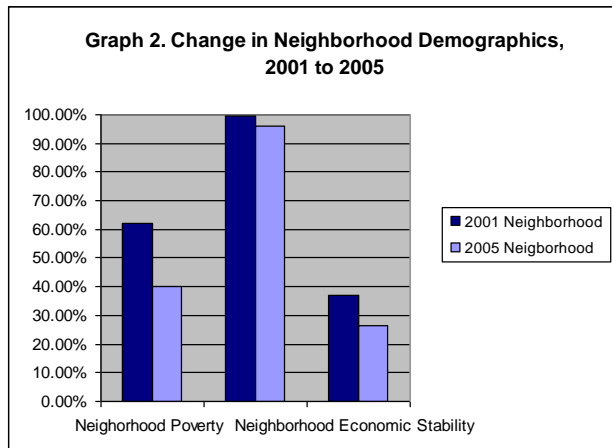
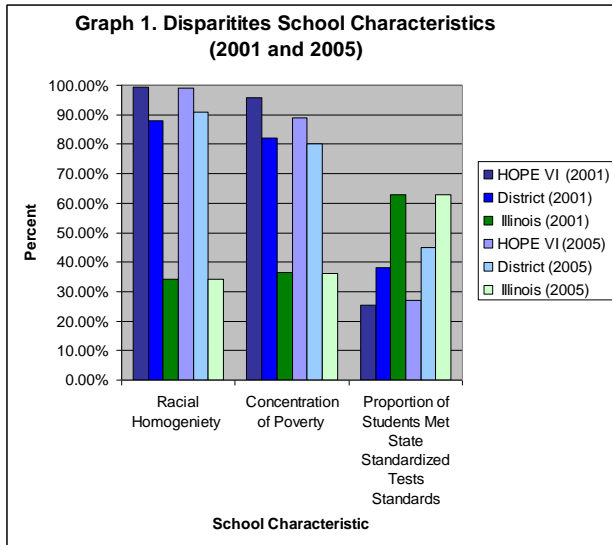
Despite the mixed outcomes from previous housing mobility studies, overall, HOPE VI families moved to better neighborhoods as a result of the revitalization. By 2005, sixty-eight percent of residents had relocated to new neighborhoods, moving an average of 3.73 miles away from Madden/Wells. Thirty-seven percent of residents still lived in traditional public housing, 58 percent had received a housing choice (section-8) voucher,

and 7 percent no longer received housing assistance. Nineteen residents (32 percent) still lived in Madden/Wells in 2005 and one resident moved to a redeveloped HOPE VI site.

Although residents moved to better neighborhoods as compared to Madden/Wells, their new neighborhoods were still majority nonwhite and poor (see Graph 2). On average, Madden/Wells families' neighborhoods were 96 percent non-white in 2005, as compared to 100 percent non-white in 2001. Their neighborhoods poverty rate was 62 percent in 2001, whereas the poverty rate was 40 percent in their 2005 neighborhood. The unemployment rate was 27 percent in their 2005 neighborhood; whereas, it was 37 percent in their 2001 neighborhood.

As compared to their 2001 schools, the schools attended by HOPE VI students in 2005 looked better in some respects, but were still significantly different than Chicago and Illinois Public Schools. The student teacher ratio significantly changed from 20 students per teacher in their 2001 schools to 17 students per teacher in their 2005 schools. This figure was significantly lower than the district student teacher ratio in 2005, which was 18 students per teacher. Although the student teacher ratio was better in their new schools, the proportion of students who met or exceeded the Illinois learning standards did not significantly change from 2001 to 2005. It improved marginally from 26 percent of students in the HOPE VI children's pre-revitalization schools to 27 percent of students in their 2005 schools (see Graph 1). The schools these children attended during revitalization continued to significantly fall below percent of students meeting or exceeding the Illinois learning standards at the district (45 percent) and state (63 percent) levels.

Overall, students attended significantly less poor schools in 2005 as compared to 2001 (see Graph 1). In 2001, the HOPE VI student's schools were 96 percent poor, but in 2005, during revitalization, the



proportion of students in poverty at the students' new schools was 89 percent. This, however, was still 8 percent higher than the district average and 52 percent higher than the state average.

On average, the schools HOPE VI students attended in 2005 had the same proportion of minority students as their 2001 schools (see Graph 1). Before and during revitalization the HOPE VI students' schools were 99 percent nonwhite; the proportion of Black students declined at a similar rate (1.5 percent) as the proportion of Latino students increased (1.7 percent).

## DID THE TYPE OF HOUSING ASSISTANCE DURING REVITALIZATION AFFECT THE

## DIFFERENCE IN SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS?

Children whose families did not receive housing assistance or used a housing choice voucher in 2005 lived in higher opportunity neighborhoods than the Madden/Wells neighborhood, although their new neighborhoods were still poor and had high rates of minorities. Unassisted residents<sup>3</sup> moved on average 6.66 miles away from Madden/Wells to neighborhoods with 3 percent less minorities, 44 percent less residents in poverty, and 24 percent less unemployed residents. Residents who relocated using a housing choice voucher moved on average 5.5 miles from the original development and to better neighborhoods. The proportion of minority residents in voucher holders' new neighborhoods was 6 percent lower than Madden/Wells, the proportion of residents in poverty was 31 percent lower and the unemployment rate was 14 percent lower. Residents who remained in a traditional public housing community in 2005 moved on average .33 miles away from their original residence<sup>4</sup>.

As expected, differences between residents' 2001 and 2005 school characteristics varied by the type of relocation housing residents received, just as neighborhood opportunity varied by the type relocation housing.

Students whose families no longer received housing assistance attended schools in 2005 that changed in

<sup>3</sup>Findings for residents who did not receive housing assistance may not be representative of all residents who did not receive housing assistance during revitalization because the small sample size (N=4) limits the generalizability.

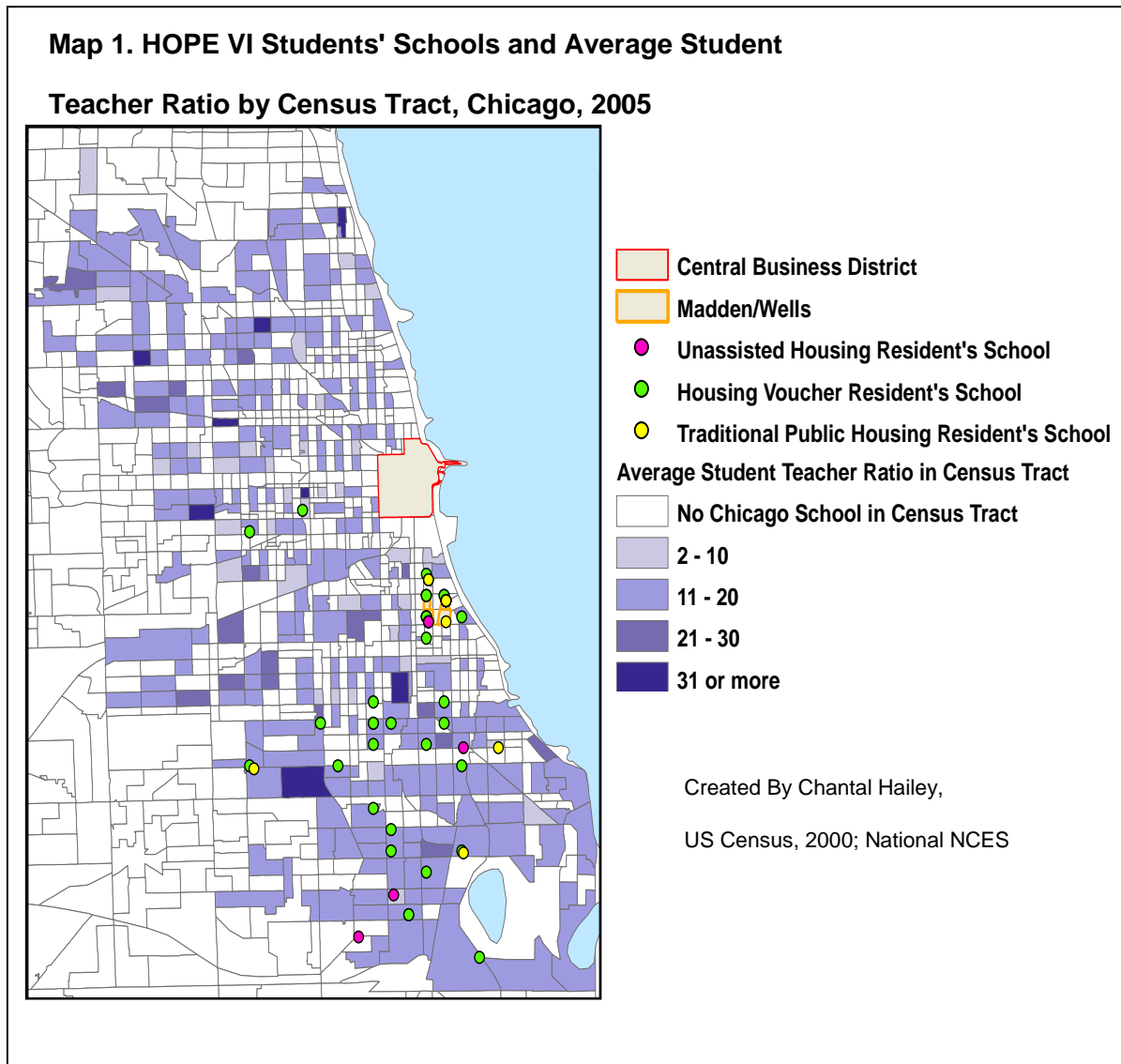
<sup>4</sup>Demographic changes in Madden Wells could not be measured because Census data was only available for the year 2000 and this study measures changes from 2001 to 2005.

Table 3

Changes in School Characteristics by Housing Assistance and Family Background										
		<u>School Poverty</u>		<u>Proportion Non-White</u>		<u>Student Teacher Ratio</u>		<u>Proportion Proficient on State Standardized Tests</u>		
		2001	2005	2001	2005	2001	2005	2001	2005	
<b>Total (n=60)</b>		<b>96%</b>	<b>89%*</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>99%</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>17*</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>27%</b>	
<b>Housing Assistance</b>	Unassisted Resident (n=4)	96%	80%*	100%	100%	20	15*	23%	28%	
	Section 8- Housing Voucher (n=35)	96%	89%*	99%	100%	20	18*	26%	28%	
	Traditional Public Housing (n=20)	96%	92%*	100%	100%	20	19	25%	25%	
<b>Education</b>										
<b>Family Background</b>	Not High School Graduate (n=24)	95%	91%	99%	100%	21	19*	25%	24%	
	High School Graduate (n=36)	96%	89%*	100%	100%	20	17*	26%	28%	
	<b>Time in Public Housing</b>									
	Long Term Resident (n=46)	97%	90%*	100%	100%	20	17*	25%	25%	
	Short Term Resident (n=14)	97%	95%	98%	99%	20	18*	28%	34%	
	<b>Employment</b>									
Unemployed (n=33)	96%	89%*	99%	99%	20	17*	23%	25%		
Employed (n=27)	95%	90%*	99%	100%	20	17*	29%	29%		

Source: HOPE VI Panel Study; NCES Data Set, 2001, 2005; Illinois School Report Cards, 2001, 2005

\* indicates difference between subgroups is significant at the  $p < .05$  level



some characteristics as compared to their 2001 schools (see table 3). A significantly smaller portion of students were in poverty in their 2005 schools (80 percent) as compared to their 2001 schools (96 percent). On the other hand, these new schools had the same proportion of minority students as their 2001 schools (99 percent). The student teacher ratio significantly changed from 20 students per teacher in their 2001 schools to 15 students per teacher in their 2005 schools. Similar to the overall trend, the proportion of students in their new schools who met the Illinois learning standards did not significantly increase as compared to their 2001 school. Residents who did not receive housing

assistance attended schools closest in demographics and quality to the district and state averages.

Students whose families were voucher holders also attended schools in 2005 that changed in some school characteristics as compared to their 2001 schools. The proportion of students in poverty significantly changed from 96 percent in students' 2001 schools to 89 percent in students' 2005 schools. Consistent with the other housing assistance options, voucher holders' 2005 schools had the same proportion of minority students as the schools they attended in 2001 (99 percent). The student teacher ratio in their 2005 schools, 17 students per teacher,

**Table 4**

**Regression on 2005 School's Student Teacher Ratio**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<b>R-Squared</b>	0.2278	0.177	0.337	0.448	0.413
<b>Intercept</b>	-4.056**	0.564	-29.518	-36.511	-33.313
<b>Housing Assistance</b>					
Unassisted		-4.467**			-3.22**
Section 8- Housing Voucher	2.68316*	-2.094**		1.673	-1.942**
Traditional Public Housing	5.1513**			3.925**	
<b>Family Characteristics</b>					
High School Diploma	-1.46145	-1.610*	-0.872	-0.991	-1.063
Employed	0.36401	0.57616	0.244	0.081	0.235
Time in Public Housing	-0.085**	-0.076*	-0.014	-0.045	-0.03
<b>2005 School Characteristics</b>					
School Racial Homogeneity			35.32623	40.694	41.771
School Concentration of Poverty			9.062**	6.815*	6.465
Student Teacher Ratio					
Percent of Students Proficient			3.25	3.101	4.297
<b>2001 School Characteristics</b>					
School Racial Homogeneity					
School Concentration of Poverty					
Student Teacher Ratio			-0.843**	-0.737**	-0.784**
Proportion of Students Proficient					

Source: HOPE VI Panel Study; NCES Data Set, 2001, 2005; Illinois School Report Cards, 2001, 2005

\* indicates coefficient is significant at the p < .01 level

\*\* indicates coefficient is significant at the p < .05 level

was significantly smaller than the student teacher ratio in their 2001 schools, 20 students per teacher. There was not a significant change in the portion of students who met the Illinois learning standards.

Students whose families remained in traditional public housing in 2005 attended schools similar to their 2001 schools in student teacher ratio and the percent of minority students and students who met the Illinois state learning standards. The schools they attended in 2005, however, were less poor than their 2001 schools, which may have been a factor of the dispersal of the poor students who lived in Madden/Wells.

I found that the type of housing assistance residents received had an influence on the difference in school poverty and student teacher ratio for HOPE VI children's 2001 and 2005 schools. The results of the difference-in-differences test suggested there was variance in the difference between the 2001 schools' and the 2005 schools' student teacher ratio for the housing assistance options. Residents who did not receive housing assistance or who used a housing choice voucher attended better schools in 2005 as compared to those who remained in traditional public housing. All the regression models on the change in student teacher ratio between HOPE VI students' 2001 and 2005 schools confirmed housing assistance influenced the change in student teacher ratio (see Table 4). All regression models on the difference in school poverty between HOPE VI students' 2001 and 2005 schools demonstrated housing assistance also had an influence on the change in school poverty (see Table 5).

A spatial analysis of the student's type of housing assistance in 2005 and their school's student teacher ratio in 2005, also, gives insight to the impact that housing assistance had upon the students' educational experience. As seen in Map 1, the schools attended by students who remained in traditional public housing in 2005 were clustered around the original Madden/Wells site and were located in census tracts where the average student

teacher ratio was 21 to 30 or 31 or more. Students whose families had a housing choice voucher attended schools spread across the south side of Chicago and their schools were located in census tracts where the average student teacher ratio was from 11-20 or 21-30. The few students whose families did not receive housing assistance in 2005 attended schools located in census tracts where the average student teacher ratio was from 2-10 or 11-20.

## DID FAMILY BACKGROUND AFFECT THE TYPES OF SCHOOLS HOPE VI CHILDREN ATTENDED DURING REVITALIZATION?

For the purpose of this study, I was only able to measure the parent's educational experience and their social network, operationalized as their educational level, employment status and the length of time they lived in public housing. I used a difference-in-differences test to determine if these family characteristics affected the children's school characteristics in 2001 and 2005.

Although employment can expand a parent's social network and open their "choice sets" to more and better quality schools, I found that the household head's employment status did not have an influence on the difference in school characteristics from 2001 to 2005 (Briggs, Popkin, Goering, 2010). This was demonstrated in the difference-in-differences test and regressions.

The length of time household heads lived in public housing, however, did influence the difference between the percent of students who met the Illinois learning standards in the student's 2001 and 2005 schools. Long term housing residents, or families who lived in public housing 10 or more years, could have limited social networks to inform them about good schools, which could consequently limit their

**Table 5**

Regressions on 2005 School's Concentration of Poverty					
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<b>R-Squared</b>	0.079	0.11	0.419	0.427	0.457
<b>Intercept</b>	-0.1	0.002	-2.88**	-3.033**	-3.088**
<b>Housing Assistance</b>					
Unassisted Resident		-0.141**			-0.110*
Section 8- Housing Voucher	0.067	-0.035		0.04	-0.017
Traditional Public Housing	0.1			0.047	
<b>Family Characteristics</b>					
High School Diploma	-0.045	-0.05	-0.007	-0.008	-0.014
Employed	0.027	0.032	0.003	0.002	0.005
Time in Public Housing	0.001	-0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
<b>2005 School Characteristics</b>					
School Racial Homogeneity			3.189**	3.330**	3.45**
School Concentration of Poverty					
Student Teacher Ratio			.010**	.009*	0.008
Percent of Students Proficient			.250*	.248*	0.275*
<b>2001 School Characteristics</b>					
School Racial Homogeneity					
School Concentration of Poverty			-0.659**	-0.654	-0.641**
Student Teacher Ratio					
Proportion of Students Proficient					

Source: HOPE VI Panel Study; NCES Data Set, 2001, 2005; Illinois School Report Cards, 2001, 2005

\* indicates coefficient is significant at the  $p < .01$  level  
 \*\* indicates coefficient is significant at the  $p < .05$  level

Table 6

Regressions on the Percent of Student Proficient on Standardized Tests in 2005 School					
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<b>R-Squared</b>	0.074	0.08	0.5	0.503	0.518
<b>Intercept</b>	0.053	0.054	2.59*	2.59*	2.70*
<b>Housing Assistance</b>					
Unassisted		0.048			0.078
Section 8- Housing Voucher	0.016	0.01		0.006	0.031
Traditional Public Housing	0.019			-0.01	
<b>Family Characteristics</b>					
High School Diploma	0.021	0.023	0.012	0.006	0.017
Employed	-0.046	-0.046	0.006	0.013	0.004
Time in Public Housing	-0.003	-0.002	-0.004**	-0.004*	-0.004*
<b>2005 School Characteristics</b>					
School Racial Homogeneity			-2.580*	-2.610*	-2.798*
School Concentration of Poverty			0.19	0.191	0.226
Student Teacher Ratio			0.005	0.006	0.007
Percent of Students Proficient					
<b>2001 School Characteristics</b>					
School Racial Homogeneity					
School Concentration of Poverty					
Student Teacher Ratio					
Proportion of Students Proficient			-0.78**	-0.781*	-0.764**

Source: HOPE VI Panel Study; NCES Data Set, 2001, 2005; Illinois School Report Cards, 2001, 2005

\* indicates coefficient is significant at the p < .01 level  
\*\* indicates coefficient is significant at the p < .05 level

“choice sets” (Briggs, Popkin, Goering, 2010). The school’s proportion of students who met or exceeded learning standards improved by 5 percent for students whose families were short-term residents, or lived in public housing less than 10 years, (N=15) and worsened by 1 percent for students whose families were long-term residents (N=45). The difference-in-differences tests showed there was not a significant difference between the changes in school quality for students whose heads of household were long-term housing residents and students whose household heads were short-term housing residents. However, the regressions predicted that as the time living in public housing increased by one year the difference in the proportion of students who met or exceeded learning standards at the 2001 schools and 2005 schools decreased by .4 percent (see Table 6).

The household head’s educational attainment also influenced the difference in school characteristics of schools for their children (Bulman, 2004). The difference-in-differences tests showed there was not a significant difference between the change in school characteristics for students whose head of household had a high school diploma or equivalent and students whose head of household did not have a high school diploma. In addition, the regressions with all residents demonstrated that a head of household having a high school diploma did not have a significant influence on the change in most school characteristic measures from 2001 to 2005. On the other hand, the regression on the change in student teacher ratio, with only unassisted residents and voucher holders, predicted that the student teacher ratio for residents with a high school diploma decreased 1.6 more than those without a high school diploma (see Table 4).

## CONCLUSIONS

Although this study was limited by its small sample size, it gives some insight into the possible effects HOPE VI revitalization efforts had upon the

educational experiences of children. There was a slight improvement in the schools students attended during revitalization as compared to their pre-

revitalization schools, but they were still attending low quality schools. This may have been due to the types of neighborhoods that unassisted residents were able to afford and that vouchers were accepted in. In addition, the high percentage of residents who still attended schools in the original Madden Wells community may have also limited the possible effects of revitalization. Overall, the slight improvement in schools students attended was affected by the length of time residents lived in public housing and their housing assistance status. Educational attainment also influenced the improvements in schools for unassisted residents and voucher holders.

Public housing is undergoing another major shift in policy through Choice Neighborhoods and Preservation, Enhancement and Transformation of Rental Assistance Act (PETRA) and housing authorities should take into account the potential effects these programs may have upon students' education. As public housing policy shifts toward becoming more voucher-based, housing assistance programs should provide counseling on neighborhood school quality. Other housing mobility programs have demonstrated that residents are often “information poor” when making decisions on neighborhood relocation, but housing assistance programs should fill this gap in order to improve the possible educational outcomes for children. My research has demonstrated that school improvements were influenced by the length of time residents lived in public housing and educational attainment, so neighborhood school quality counseling should focus on residents who seem to be the most uninformed, those who have lived in public housing for long periods of time and those with low educational attainment .

My next step is to extend this analysis to all sites from the HOPE VI Panel study, in order to provide

researchers and policy makers with a broader insight on HOPE VI's effects on children's educational experiences.

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