

HOPE VI Redevelopment of Westpark Evaluation Report: Year I



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January 29, 2010

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Research Team would like to thank the Bremerton Housing Authority for their helpfulness in implementing this evaluation. We'd like to particularly acknowledge Executive Director Kurt Wiest as well as April Davis, Naomi Rees, Nickolas Neice, Alex Boede, and Klayton Kuzminski, for their help in providing data and resources along the way. We would also like to thank Andrew Oakley of the Bremerton Police Department for his help in providing crime statistics. We would like to acknowledge the excellent research assistance of Jenny Hampton, who helped to get the evaluation off the ground at its inception.

ABOUT THE RESEARCH TEAM

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

HOPE VI is a competitive grant program that, since 1993, has aimed at redeveloping tens of thousands of distressed public housing throughout the U.S. As a physical and social redevelopment program, HOPE VI has goals that focus both on the people within the development and also the place, as it seeks to improve quality of life for low income people and replace an aging and dilapidated housing stock with better quality housing. Westpark's redevelopment process is razing the more than 60-year-old 571-unit one-story community and replacing it with housing that is safe, affordable, and without stigma. About 40 percent of the new units will be available to low income households, and it is uncertain how many original residents will return to redeveloped site.

Because redevelopment requires the relocation of an entire community and such a redevelopment may have economic spillover effects on neighboring areas, this report focuses on setting a baseline for both original residents and the neighborhood to understand change and the impact of redevelopment over time. Therefore, this first report in a series of four focuses on two questions:

- Who are the original Westpark residents?
- What was the Westpark neighborhood like before redevelopment?

The 5-year evaluation as a whole employs mixed methods. That is, to answer questions about the impact of the redevelopment over time, the evaluation uses a combination of examining administrative records, conducting in-person surveys of original household heads and heads of household from a comparison group of voucher holders, conducting in-depth interviews with original households, as well as analyzing spatial information about property values, mortgages, building permits, and crime in and around the Westpark neighborhood.

WHO ARE THE ORIGINAL WESTPARK RESIDENTS

- Nearly two-thirds of original Westpark households were headed by single women.
- A majority of household heads in Westpark were people living with disabilities.
- The average household lived in Westpark for 7 years. Households with able-bodied heads lived in Westpark for a significantly shorter period of time while the average senior headed household lived at Westpark for 15 years.
- Nearly half of able-bodied households received income from employment and a majority of non-senior headed households received other welfare, which included food stamps and general assistance. On average, households in Westpark subsisted on income of less than \$1000 a month.

- The majority of relocated households moved to the more dense and lower income parts of Bremerton and Port Orchard, where there is likely more affordable rental housing.

For people with few resources, the disruption of relocation can be very difficult to overcome without services, especially for those living with disabilities and the elderly. Families with children also may have difficulties adjusting. In the context of what we know about HOPE VI nationally, access to health services and helping families that are hard to house to maintain stable housing have been the important missing pieces in terms of the well-being of original residents.

The CSS plans for housing stabilization, health services, elderly and disabled services will help households remain stable, as long as BHA staff and the staff of partner agencies are able to reach out to residents who may not stay in the subsidized housing system. Additionally, given that more than half of all original households have at least one member living with a disability, making sure that along with health and other appropriate services, new housing options that accommodate any disabilities will be vital to their long-term stability.

Expectations of HOPE VI CSS aiding original residents in becoming less dependent on public sources of aid must be tempered by an awareness that much of the population are unable to work to support themselves, and that this limitation is largely due to disabilities.

Expectations for increasing the employment of original residents must be tempered by an awareness of macroeconomic conditions. This constraint does not mean CSS should not still strive to improve the employment situation of original residents; rather, it means that if residents stay stable in their employment they will have weathered the disruption of redevelopment well.

NEIGHBORHOOD SPILLOVER

The analysis of neighborhood spillover compares the neighborhood that includes Westpark with the neighborhood immediately surrounding it, the rest of Bremerton, and the rest of Kitsap County, using demographic information from the 2000 U.S. Census, crime incidence from the Bremerton Police Department, property sales data from the Kitsap County Assessor’s Office, mortgage reports under the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act, and building permit estimates from the Puget Sound Regional Council.

- Prior to redevelopment, Westpark was located in one of the two poorest block groups in all of Kitsap County—the other being in downtown Bremerton.
- The Westpark block group was more racially diverse than the rest of Kitsap County, with 30 percent of the block group being minorities. The Westpark block group also had the highest percentage of single mothers in the county.
- Similar to the neighborhoods that surround it, children lived in only 39 percent of the households in the Westpark neighborhood.

- Before the relocation, crime in Westpark and in the neighborhoods around Westpark was more frequent than in other parts of Bremerton. Crime rates have declined in Westpark from 2004 to 2008 with an even more substantial decline once the relocation began.
- Property values in the Westpark block group maintained their value between 2007 and 2008 despite the mortgage crisis, while in the neighborhood surrounding Westpark, in the rest of Bremerton, and in the rest of Kitsap County property values fell quickly.
- Mortgage loans in the census tract that includes Westpark had comparatively high loan originations from in 2005 and 2006. The patterns show the effects of the mortgage and financial crisis, with general trends of declining loan originations, increased loan denials, and an increasing percentage of government loans versus conventional loans.

The redevelopment will alter the demographic profile of the neighborhood. It will also bring more density to the neighborhood.

Given the relocation of all residents, it is likely that crime rates will continue to fall and become more similar to the rest of Bremerton as the redevelopment continues.

A rise in median sale price in the Westpark block group between 2007 and 2008 may be due to anticipation of the HOPE VI redevelopment or the construction of the new senior housing at Bay Vista. We may see further increases in sales price due to redevelopment so that Westpark is more similar to or contains higher value homes (since they will be brand new) than the surrounding neighborhood.

Concentrations of rental housing are only in a minority of neighborhoods in Kitsap County, suggesting that relocated residents may have had limited relocation choices if they decided to stay on the Kitsap Peninsula. Most of Kitsap County has a fairly high rate of home ownership of about 68 percent, meaning, in turn, that there are few rental opportunities throughout the county. This means that we may see some clustering of relocated residents in those few areas with relatively more rental housing. If the goal is poverty dispersal, then this sort of clustering is problematic; however, living near former Westpark neighbors may allow original residents to maintain supportive social ties.

This report is the first of four that present the results of the evaluation of the HOPE VI redevelopment of Westpark. The next evaluation report (Year II) will include results of a survey conducted with a sample of Westpark residents and BHA clients participating in the Housing Choice Voucher Program to examine the outcomes of the redevelopment and compare quality of life between the two groups. The data for these surveys is being collected as of the writing of this Year I Report.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report is the first of four reports evaluating the Bremerton Housing Authority's (BHA) Westpark HOPE VI Redevelopment. This introduction explains the purpose of the evaluation and the questions it aims to answer, the goals of the HOPE VI program both nationally, and the major outstanding questions concerning the outcomes of the now 16-year-old HOPE VI program. The introduction also describes the Westpark HOPE VI redevelopment and relocation plans, as well as the plans and goals of BHA's Community and Supportive Services (CSS).

PURPOSE OF THE EVALUATION

The overall purpose of the Westpark HOPE VI Evaluation is to assist the Bremerton Housing Authority (BHA) in assessing the impacts of the redevelopment of the Westpark public housing site on original residents and the surrounding community, and to determine the extent to which BHA has achieved the goals it identified for the project in its Revitalization Plan and Community and Supportive Services (CSS) work plan. Site-specific evaluations such as this are being conducted throughout the U.S. and serve as critical tools for better identifying and understanding outcomes for the original residents of redeveloped sites, for the surrounding community, and for the receiving communities where original residents might move.

This four-year evaluation project addresses the question of how well BHA is meeting residents' needs and concerns regarding housing and social services throughout the life of the project. The results of this evaluation will not only help BHA understand whether it is meeting its goals for Westpark and its former residents, but it will also further the national policy conversation about HOPE VI and its impact on residents and communities. The parameters and focus of this evaluation were developed in consultation with BHA staff and were based on the co-Principle Investigators' previous experience evaluating the HOPE VI redevelopment of four other HOPE VI sites in the region.

The evaluation project as a whole will address the following five (5) questions:

1. What are the impacts of the HOPE VI redevelopment on the lives of Westpark residents?
2. To what extent has BHA achieved the goals identified in its revitalization plan and CSS work plan?
3. To what extent has BHA achieved success in integrating the physical and social aspects of the HOPE VI revitalization strategy?
4. What kind of economic development is generated in the local community as a result of the HOPE VI effort?

5. What is the impact of the HOPE VI redevelopment on community revitalization in the Westpark neighborhood and the City of Bremerton?

In order to address these main evaluation questions, in this particular (Year I) Evaluation Report, we focus on these two more specific questions:

- Who are the original Westpark residents?
- What was the Westpark neighborhood like before redevelopment?

As noted in the Evaluation Plan and contract, the UW Research Team will provide an evaluation report each year from 2010 through 2013. This first report explains who lived at Westpark and what the neighborhood was like before redevelopment to enable comparisons with data collected and summarized in later reports that track change over time. The second report (January 2011) will provide baseline data from a survey conducted with a sample of former Westpark residents and a comparison group of voucher holders, as well as summarize whatever information is available about former Westpark residents from BHA records. The third report will contain the results of in-depth interviews with a sample of Westpark residents and explore their experiences with their relocation and with their post-relocation housing. The fourth and final report will address whether and how life circumstances have changed for the sample of Westpark residents over time, and make comparisons between the Westpark resident sample and a sample of households in the Housing Voucher program who have not lived in Westpark to assess whether these changes are caused by the redevelopment or broader changes in the community or some other factors. This final report will also include an assessment of neighborhood spillover effects of the redevelopment.

In the next section we summarize the key literature on HOPE VI to place the research questions of this evaluation into their larger context. This will help demonstrate how the research conducted in this evaluation project will contribute to the knowledge about HOPE VI and its impacts on residents and surrounding communities.

HOPE VI OVERVIEW AND GOALS

HOPE VI (**H**ousing **O**pportunities for **P**eople **E**verywhere) is a national competitive grant program administered by US Department of Housing and Urban Development that is designed to eradicate “severely distressed” public housing and to disperse pockets of poverty by creating new mixed-income developments through a combination of federal funds and the leveraging of private investments. According to the March 2008 Notice of Funding Availability (NOFA) distributed by HUD, there are four purposes of the HOPE VI revitalization program:

1. “To improve the living environment for public housing residents of severely distressed public housing projects through the demolition, rehabilitation, reconfiguration, or replacement of obsolete public housing projects;

2. To revitalize sites on which such public housing projects are located and contribute to the improvement of the surrounding neighborhood;
3. To provide housing that will avoid or decrease the concentration of very low-income families; and
4. To build sustainable communities” (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, March 10, 2008).

Since the inception of HOPE VI in 1993 through the 2008 grant round, 206 cities across the country have implemented a total of 559 redevelopment projects with a combined cost of US\$6.4 billion. This has resulted in the demolition of tens of thousands of public housing units nationwide with more projects in the planning stages. As of June 2006, a total of 78,100 units had been demolished, with another 10,400 units slated for redevelopment (The Urban Institute, 2007). Since then, more awards have been made and more units will be redeveloped (U.S. Dept of Housing and Urban Development). Given the magnitude of the program, and its continuing impact on public housing communities nationwide, it is imperative to understand the impacts of redevelopment on the lives of residents, the surrounding communities, and the receiving communities, i.e. those neighborhoods where residents relocate. Such research will enable us to determine whether and how HOPE VI is meeting its goals.

A major premise behind HOPE VI is that housing strategies that mix incomes and deconcentrate poverty will provide poor families with a better quality of life. There are numerous reasons provided by policymakers and researchers to use mixed income strategies. Joseph, Chaskin and Webber (2007) organize them into two distinct rationales – the first is to strategize urban development and the second is to address urban poverty. The former approach tends to focus on dynamics of migration, gentrification, land use and tax bases. More specifically, these arguments claim that mixed income strategies like HOPE VI help to increase the tax base and stability of the inner city by attracting more affluent families thereby helping to catalyze broader physical and economic revitalization efforts in urban neighborhoods (Joseph et al, 2007). The latter approach views programs such as HOPE VI as a way to address urban poverty by improving the overall quality of life for low-income people, particularly the quality of their housing, to offer opportunities for upward mobility, and to desegregate poor and minority families. It is on these latter dimensions of HOPE VI that the national evaluation research primarily focuses.

In order to determine whether these various goals of HOPE VI are met, evaluation research such as this is essential. It is detailed research from individual sites that truly sheds light on the impacts of the program and builds the body of knowledge about the program. It is also helpful to remember that HOPE VI program was created based on findings about a subset of the most troubled public housing developments in the country (National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, 1992). Yet as the program has continued, many more sites have been added to the program’s roster, diversifying its portfolio and the nature of the challenges it seeks to address. Because each site and each region has its own unique qualities, dynamics, strengths and challenges, it is critical

that data from all regions and all types of HOPE VI sites become part of the larger dialogue. With this evaluation, data from the Westpark HOPE VI redevelopment can be part of that discussion.

HOPE VI EVALUATION RESEARCH – KEY FINDINGS

One of the more substantial evaluations of HOPE VI is the HOPE VI Panel Study that tracks outcomes for original residents of five sites across the country. This study addressed basic questions about whether the program is meeting its goal of improving the living environment for residents by tracking where households move and how the program has affected their overall well-being (Popkin et al. 2002). Baseline findings include information from a survey of 887 heads of households in the five sights. What is valuable about the Panel Study is that it tracks residents over time from 2001 through 2005. While this is a crucial study of multiple sites over a period of years, it is important to note that in the decade since the program’s inception, many more HOPE VI sites have been evaluated, rounding out our knowledge of the impacts of HOPE VI on a wider population of residents. The summary of key findings reported in this section therefore not only includes the outcomes for the Panel Study and Tracking Study but evaluation research findings from a variety of sites nationwide.

HOPE VI research has focused on the following areas of outcomes: (1) resident outcomes – especially impacts on economic stability, health and well being, and impacts on children; (2) neighborhood effects – including crime and safety, housing, and neighborhood quality in the neighborhoods where residents have relocated; and (3) spillover effects – impacts on the neighborhood surrounding the redeveloped site. Studies show that HOPE VI has had impacts in all these areas, although in uneven and sometimes in unexpected ways. That is, not all outcomes are equally positive and some are, in fact, negative (loss of community and sense of further isolation) (Gibson, 2007, Manzo et al, 2008; Popkin et al. 2004). Additionally, most outcomes are affected by mediating factors so that certain improvements occur under particular conditions. Outcomes also vary according to whether people have relocated to other public housing or to other private housing using a Section 8 voucher. For example, among the latter group, research shows an improvement in housing conditions and safety in the “new” neighborhoods where residents relocate. Research findings on each of these outcome areas will be discussed in further detail below.

RESIDENT OUTCOMES

Research on resident outcomes in HOPE VI research primarily focuses on the following areas: economic stability and self-sufficiency, health and well being and impacts on children. We now summarize the major findings in these areas.

ECONOMIC STABILITY AND SELF SUFFICIENCY

One of the primary goals of HOPE VI is not only to improve the living environment of public housing residents but to help move them toward greater economic stability and self-sufficiency. However, as Levy and Kaye (2004) report in their income and employment analysis of the HOPE VI panel study

population, employment rates “barely budged with 45% of residents in the sample being employed at the start of the redevelopment in 2001 and 46% being employed two years later, in 2003. Poor health and the need to care for young children, lack of jobs nearby, and poor transportation were the most significant job barriers (Levy and Kaye, 2004). Other studies also show that HOPE VI does not appear to affect employment in any significant and calculable way (Goetz, 2003). One study found that social service staff were more instrumental in helping residents find jobs than were neighbors in post construction HOPE VI sites.

One clear finding is that, on the whole, voucher households have trouble making ends meet, indicating that not all HOPE VI relocates do better in all areas of life. While voucher holders might experience improvements in housing and neighborhood quality (which is addressed in more detail later) many struggle with the financial challenges of living in the private market (Buron, Levy and Gallagher, 2007). More specifically, moving out of public housing presents them with new financial management challenges, such as paying rent on time and being responsible for separate utility payments, which are usually included in the rent in public housing (Buron, Levy and Gallagher, 2007). Such findings suggest that services to support relocates’ ability to manage their household finances are an important component of successful relocation.

To understand these diverse findings better it is helpful to determine what factors influence self sufficiency. In a study of two HOPE VI sites in New York, researchers identified the major predictors of self-sufficiency: These include a history of work experience, receiving income from SSI, and car ownership (van Ryzin et al, 2001). Self sufficient householders also were less likely to have children of any age, although the presence of school-age children, especially teenagers, had a greater negative impact on self sufficiency than pre-school-age children (van Ryzin, 2001).

HEALTH AND WELL BEING

HOPE VI evaluation research consistently shows that many residents face health challenges, and this has become an important focus in much of the research. For example, over time the results of the HOPE VI Panel Study show that at every age level, respondents are much more likely than other adults overall to describe their health as fair or poor (Popkin et al, 2009). The relationship between housing quality and health status was demonstrated in one study of residents of five HOPE VI public housing developments across the country. Findings of this study demonstrate that the health status of HOPE VI residents is decidedly worse than for others in assisted housing and other poor people, despite their similarity in terms of economic deprivation (Howell, Harris and Popkin, 2005). The main difference is in the prevalence of asthma, which in turn, has been tied to various measures of housing quality (Howell, Harris and Popkin, 2005).

Overall, HOPE VI evaluation research demonstrates that original residents face “the burden of multiple serious health problems” implying an “urgent need for better and more comprehensive support for families as they undergo the stress of involuntary relocation” (Manjarrez, Popkin and Guernsey, 2007). In testimony to the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Housing, Transportation and Community Development in the summer of 2007, Susan Popkin, a leading HOPE VI researcher with

the Urban Institute, argued for more intensive medical services and supports for residents facing involuntary displacement, and a more holistic and multifaceted approach that addresses the many factors that influence health and well being. In response to these findings and the call for more attention to health matters, this evaluation project overall will collect survey data on residents health needs and concerns and their ability to secure adequate health care.

Research also suggests a need to better understand the impacts of HOPE VI In terms of psychological well being. A summary of 10 years of HOPE VI Research concluded that HOPE VI relocation disrupted social ties and left “many feeling less secure, uncertain where to turn when they encountered problems, and often simply lonely and isolated” (Popkin and 2002 as quoted in Kleit and Brandt, 2009). Given this finding, the Westpark evaluation will include an exploration of people’s social networks and neighboring activities and sense of community, both before leaving Westpark and after relocation.

IMPACTS ON CHILDREN

Cove, Eisman and Popkin (2005) have argued that the “HOPE VI program can profoundly affect the lives of children, who are the most vulnerable residents of distressed public housing and particularly likely to suffer from stress of relocation” (p 1; see also Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2001). Children growing up in distressed developments confront many obstacles, all of which place them at risk for serious consequences such as developmental delays, behavior problems, and poor school outcomes (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, and Aber 1997; Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2000). These obstacles include the dangers of their physical environment, a social world dominated by the drug economy, bad schools, and, frequently, parents coping with problems of their own. Children in HOPE VI sites face the additional hurdle of involuntary relocation, which has the potential to disrupt academic achievement and increase behavior problems, especially if they are forced to change schools mid-year (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2001; Hartmann 2002; Cove et al, p. 1-2).

Indeed, research has found largely positive outcomes for children who moved from HOPE VI sites. These children generally live in better housing, in safer neighborhoods and attend schools that are less poor and of higher quality (Cove et al, 2005). Children also benefit in other important ways such as improved housing quality—and reduced exposure to risks like lead paint or mold. Additionally, parents who used vouchers to secure private-market housing were less likely than other movers to report problems with local schools and more likely to perceive their children's schools as safe (Cove et al, 2005). At the same time, moving can disrupt their education and friendships and even put older youth at risk for conflict with local gangs (Gallagher and Bajaj, 2007). Because these outcomes are so important for children and families, the evaluation of the Westpark redevelopment will include an examination of school and behavioral outcomes for children of relocated families.

SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON RESIDENT OUTCOMES

While we have learned a good deal about resident outcomes in evaluating HOPE VI thus far, the mixed findings across studies and the significance of changes that the program catalyzes warrants

further investigation into the full impacts of redevelopment so that we might draw clearer conclusions. Ultimately, it is not yet fully known whether disruptions to existing communities will be outweighed by benefits of HOPE VI in the long run, making continued research into the impacts of the program a critical endeavor for the success of the program. Yet there are notable trends in outcomes, as we have just seen (Popkin et al, 2009). For example, income and employment outcomes are modest, yet improvements for children are significant and positive. Again, it is critical to understand the specific conditions under which positive outcomes are achieved. For example, Popkin et al (2005) found that the needs of families who are “hard to house” – i.e. those with multiple complex problems like illness, large number of children, those with weak labor market ties, histories of substance abuse or criminal records are not well met in HOPE VI. This suggests that such mixed income strategies are benefitting most those families that are a more stable in the first place.

Given the mixed findings on HOPE VI, evaluation research conducted for the BHA will include an extensive survey of a sample of Westpark heads of household to assess the impacts of the redevelopment in several key life areas identified in the literature as critical outcome measures. These include measures of economic hardship, health, services used and needed, outcomes for children and youth, housing quality, and neighborhood quality, among others. Data for the survey are currently being collected and will be reported in the Year II Annual Report. However, this first report also provides critical information that will form the baseline for assessing neighborhood spillover effects of HOPE VI.

NEIGHBORHOOD EFFECTS: QUALITY OF LIFE IN POST-RELOCATION HOUSING

One critical aspect of the research on outcomes of HOPE VI examines what are known as “neighborhood effects.” This research assesses the quality of both the housing itself and the quality of the neighborhoods into which HOPE VI relocates move. Housing quality is usually examined in terms of quality of the physical structure – for example, concerns such as leaking roofs, the operation of the heating system, presence of mold (associated with health problems such as asthma) and infestation of pests. Neighborhood quality on the other hand is assessed in terms of poverty level in the neighborhood and perception/fear of crime. Each of these is now examined in more detail.

HOUSING QUALITY

Most studies show that many relocatees live in better housing in safer neighborhoods, but this depends on whether residents moved to other public housing or moved with a voucher. For example, those who moved with a voucher consistently reported significant improvements in the quality of their physical housing after relocation, but those who moved into other public housing reported either no improvement or only small improvements (Buron, Levy and Gallagher, 2007). One study indicates that 75% of HOPE VI relocatees reported better living conditions than in their housing before relocation, yet most still fare worse than others living at or below the poverty level (Comey, 2004). Not surprisingly, residents who relocated to a different public housing site have

experienced improvements in their housing quality, but not to the degree of those in the private market (Popkin et al. 2004).

Still, findings are mixed as results vary with where and how residents relocated. Residents have several options: they can move to other public housing, they can take a Housing Voucher and move into private sector housing, or they can move into private sector housing without a voucher. Plausible but less likely scenarios include purchasing their own home or moving in with family or into a facility. Original residents of HOPE VI sites primarily pursue the first two options.

Some research also shows a reduction in neighborhood poverty levels after relocation. For example, the five public housing sites that comprised the Panel Study all had a poverty rate above 20 percent according to the 2000 Census; three were located in extremely high-poverty neighborhoods (poverty rates above 40 percent), and another one had a poverty rate of 38 percent (Buron, Levy and Gallagher, 2007). After relocation, however, 47 percent of voucher holders lived in neighborhoods with poverty rates below 20 percent. Here, too, this outcome depends on whether residents moved into other public housing or the private market with vouchers. This outcome can also depend on the metropolitan area. In Seattle, High Point movers tended to move to areas with lower poverty rates than the original High Point neighborhood because very few neighborhoods exist in King County with poverty rates as high as High Point prior to redevelopment (Kleit and Brandt, 2009).

CRIME/SAFETY

Research shows some of the strongest support of the HOPE VI program in terms of improvements in perceptions of crime and crime rates in relocatees' neighborhoods. To begin, there is good evidence to demonstrate that perceptions and fear of crime tends to be higher among residents of HOPE VI sites before relocation. According to the Panel Study, almost all residents (90 percent) in HOPE VI sites reported serious problems with "social disorders"—drug trafficking, drug use, and gang activity – and as many as 75 percent viewed violent crime – shooting, assaults, and rape – as "big problems" where they lived (Popkin et al. 2002; Popkin and Cove, 2007). A 2003 follow-up of residents who moved out of their housing using Housing Vouchers, revealed that they were living in neighborhoods with lower poverty rates; they also reported dramatically lower levels of problems with drug trafficking, shootings and violence, and other criminal activity (Buron 2004; Popkin and Cove, 2007). Findings from the second follow-up in 2005 confirmed the significant and substantial impact on residents' life circumstances. Those relocatees who left with housing voucher holders moved to neighborhoods that were considerably lower poverty (Comey, 2007) and far safer than their original public housing developments (Popkin and Cove, 2007). However, it should be noted that included among this group were voucher holders outside of HOPE VI sites and those who were "unassisted." Research also demonstrates that voucher holders were more likely to be employed at baseline. (Buron, Levy and Gallagher, 2007). Thus, the group included those households who were more stable and had more resources to move on their own, and it is likely that such households were able to use those resources to move to better neighborhoods.

NEIGHBORING AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

Part of the main premise of the mixed income strategy behind HOPE VI is that the potential social interaction among neighbors of different backgrounds and income levels might be helpful to poor families. To test this premise, it is helpful to understand the nature and degree of social interaction and neighboring activities that occur among residents of these sites both before and after redevelopment. Some research shows considerable mutual support networks and neighboring activities before relocation (Bennett, Smith and Wright, 2006; Gibson, 2007; Greenbaum, 2002; Manzo, Kleit and Couch, 2008). It is helpful to compare the degree of support and neighboring that relocates experience in their new neighborhoods.

In general, research in the area of neighboring and social support provides some evidence of neighboring activities in redeveloped sites, but most studies show little interaction across income levels and that certain conditions must be in place for neighboring to occur (Buron et al. 2002; Chaskin and Joseph, 2010; Joseph 2008; Kleit, 2005). In a new study of three HOPE VI sites in Chicago, researchers found only modest levels of interaction, and in some cases tensions between income groups arose regarding the use of common spaces (Chaskin and Joseph, 2010). Kleit's (2005) research with residents of a HOPE VI site after redevelopment examines the extent to which people of different incomes and housing tenures engaged in social relationships. She found systematic differences between home owners and renters in terms of language, family composition and patterns of local facility use that curtailed social interaction. Her findings confirm that just living near to someone is not enough to develop better relations among different status groups; rather, social contacts among people – particularly if those contacts are goal-oriented, such as participating together on a resident council – are vital to positive changes in residents' attitudes toward each other (Pettigrew, 1998; Kleit, 2005). Thus, shared characteristics like ethnicity, language, housing tenure (equal status connections), similar length of residency and even shared common space can provide critical commonalities that can help form the basis for social relations. Still, most studies have found little interaction across income levels at mixed income developments (Joseph et al, 2007) and we need to better understand why that is if we are to continue building more and more mixed income developments.

SPILLOVER EFFECTS: NEIGHBORHOOD OUTCOMES

Research on HOPE VI has also demonstrated that redevelopments may have “spillover effects” on the communities surrounding the site. Results from the evaluation of one HOPE VI site in Chicago indicate that changes taking place in the surrounding neighborhood can be extensive, involving not only housing, but schools, neighborhood service organizations, and local businesses (Levy and Gallagher, 2006). However, the authors also note that the redevelopment of the site “is a distinct effort that fits well with the broader changes occurring in the area” suggesting broader political-economic forces are catalyzing changes in the area that go beyond HOPE VI (p. 3). Additionally, a study of eight HOPE VI neighborhoods (i.e. redeveloped sites) across the country found that per capita incomes increased in these communities an average of 46 percent between 1989 and 1999

(compared to only 12 percent for the cities as a whole), and that neighborhood unemployment rates had fallen by an average of four percent (Zielenback, 2003). Further, the percent of neighborhood households receiving public assistance dropped from 33 percent in 1990 to 11 percent in 2000 suggesting that the HOPE VI redevelopments brought greater economic stability to the areas in which they were located. Nonetheless, the sites were still more economically depressed overall than other neighborhoods in the cities in which they were located (Zielenback, 2003).

One study of the effects of five of Baltimore's HOPE VI projects on the neighborhoods surrounding the sites examined the quality of the physical environment, economic activity, the social environment, crime rates, and image (Newman et al, 2003). Results show that nearby neighborhoods experienced increases in property values and economic activity, and an improved image, and these benefits were plausibly related to the HOPE VI intervention. Among the factors that appear to be associated with positive effects include the extent to which the development extended physically into the surrounding neighborhood, the availability of support services and the involvement of local community based organizations (Newman et al, 2003).

It is important to have reasonable expectations about the degree of spillover effects one housing redevelopment can catalyze. Changes in one housing development do not alter the economic picture of the larger city in which it is located or the job market for low-skilled or unskilled workers (Rosenbaum et al, 1998).

In order to examine any potential spillover effects of the Westpark redevelopment on the neighborhood and surrounding community, this report includes critical baseline data on the surrounding community to serve as a comparison over time as the redevelopment of Westpark continues.¹

NEED FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

Because the findings on outcomes of HOPE VI are mixed and modest in their ability to be conclusive, it is imperative to continue to assess the impacts of the program on people's lives so we can have a better understanding of who benefits, how and under what circumstances. This knowledge will help inform strategies on how to maximize benefits and minimize negative impacts in implementing the program.

Nationally, we still need more long-term outcome data on HOPE VI overall, particularly on benefits to children, and on health impacts. We also need more details on whether and how social interaction among economically diverse neighbors might lead to better quality of life and measureable gains. We need a more in-depth understanding of residents lived experience of place to ascertain whether the uprooting of those living in functioning communities is worth the

¹ One important caveat we offer regarding spillover effects is that the Westpark redevelopment is occurring in a time of dramatic economic decline for the nation. These larger economic dynamics will invariably have an impact on local property values, foreclosures and commercial activity in the area.

displacement. At the same time, it is also critical to gain a better understanding of the links between socio-cultural factors and macro structural factors like changes in the economy and institutional discrimination. Evaluating the redevelopment of Westpark and carefully examining outcomes for former Westpark residents, particularly as compared with BHA clients in the voucher program, will help shed important light on these critical issues and contribute to the understanding of the impacts of the HOPE VI Program overall .

THE WESTPARK HOPE VI REDEVELOPMENT

This section provides an overview of redevelopment of Westpark, including redevelopment timelines, the relocation process, and the goals for CSS to help residents during these transitions.

OVERVIEW OF WESTPARK

Westpark was a 571-unit public housing development situated in Bremerton, Washington. The housing development was constructed on 82 acres and consisted primarily of one-story duplexes and four-plexes (Figure 1). Originally built in 1940-41 for war workers and their families, particularly the booming population hired to work in the nearby Puget Sound Naval Shipyard, the development was 67 years old at the time the Bremerton Housing Authority sought a HOPE VI redevelopment grant in June 2008. At the time of the HOPE VI grant application, 484 of the 571 units were occupied and approximately 1,047 people lived on site.

Figure 1. Westpark in 2009 before Redevelopment



The current mission of the BHA, revised in 2009, states that BHA “envisions a future where everyone has the opportunity for a home that is safe and affordable; people are treated with respect

regardless of their income level or background; and a person’s income level cannot be identified by the neighborhood in which they live” (Highlights newsletter, Winter 2008/2009, p. 1). The redevelopment of Westpark is a fundamental part of realizing that mission.

The redevelopment of Westpark will involve the demolition of all 571 units on site and the construction of 807 new units on site and potentially 37 off-site units off-site units for a total of 844 new units (BHA HOPE VI Grant application, June 20, 2008) (Table 1). The redeveloped site, to be called Bay Vista, will be a mixed income development composed of 487 market rate for-sale houses and 320 affordable units.

Table 1. Original Plan for Housing Types for the New Development

Bay Vista Housing Unit Types	
Market rate, for sale houses	487 ²
Affordable units	
Public housing/LIHTC units	142
Tax credit units	100
LIHTC/project-based Section 8 rentals	48
Affordable for-sale homes	30
Total Housing Units	807

Source: Bremerton Housing Authority HOPE VI Application, June 20, 2008.

As Table 1 indicates, the redevelopment involves different forms of subsidy (e.g. rental subsidies versus construction subsidies) as well as different types of affordable units (e.g. Section 8 or Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC)), each with their own income ceilings for the percentages of Area Median Income allowable in each type. For example, in redeveloping the Summit at Bay Vista, BHA has requested ten units at 40 percent of AMI and 50 units at 30 percent of AMI, continuing to target the lowest income clients.³ In contrast, the Housing Choice Voucher Program, also known as Section 8, allows up to 80% of the AMI. The details of the incomes of residents depend on the funding source.

In addition to new housing, the initial plan for the redeveloped site included 50,000 square feet of neighborhood scaled retail (not constructed with HOPE VI funds); however, as of April 2010, development of this commercial sector is on hold until the commercial real estate market improves. The Master Plan for the entire site, to be known as Bay Vista, is being developed by BHA. BCRA and Civil Engineers are developing the current site plan while Tonkin/Hoyne Architecture and Design is working on the BHA replacement housing.

² The number of market rate units built may decrease due to the results of a market study commissioned by BHA.

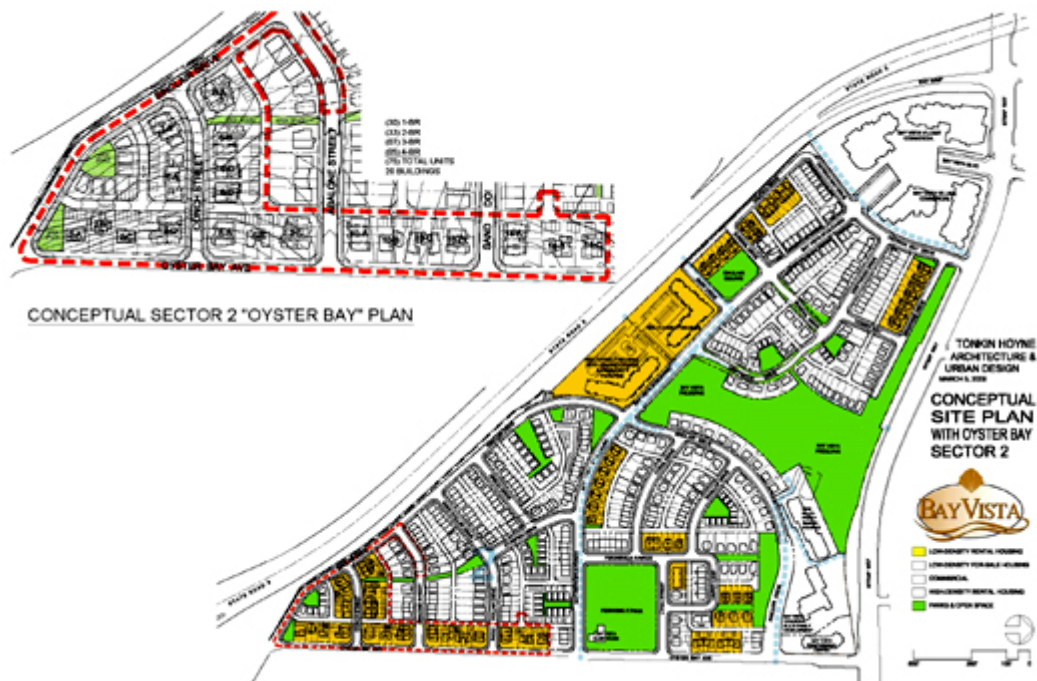
³ These numbers are per the 2009 Allocation List, available from the Washington Housing Finance Commission at <http://www.wshfc.org/tax-credits/2009list.pdf>.

Figure 2. Early Concept for the Mixed Use Core of the Redeveloped Site



Source: Bremerton Housing Authority

Figure 3. Early Master Plan for the New Development

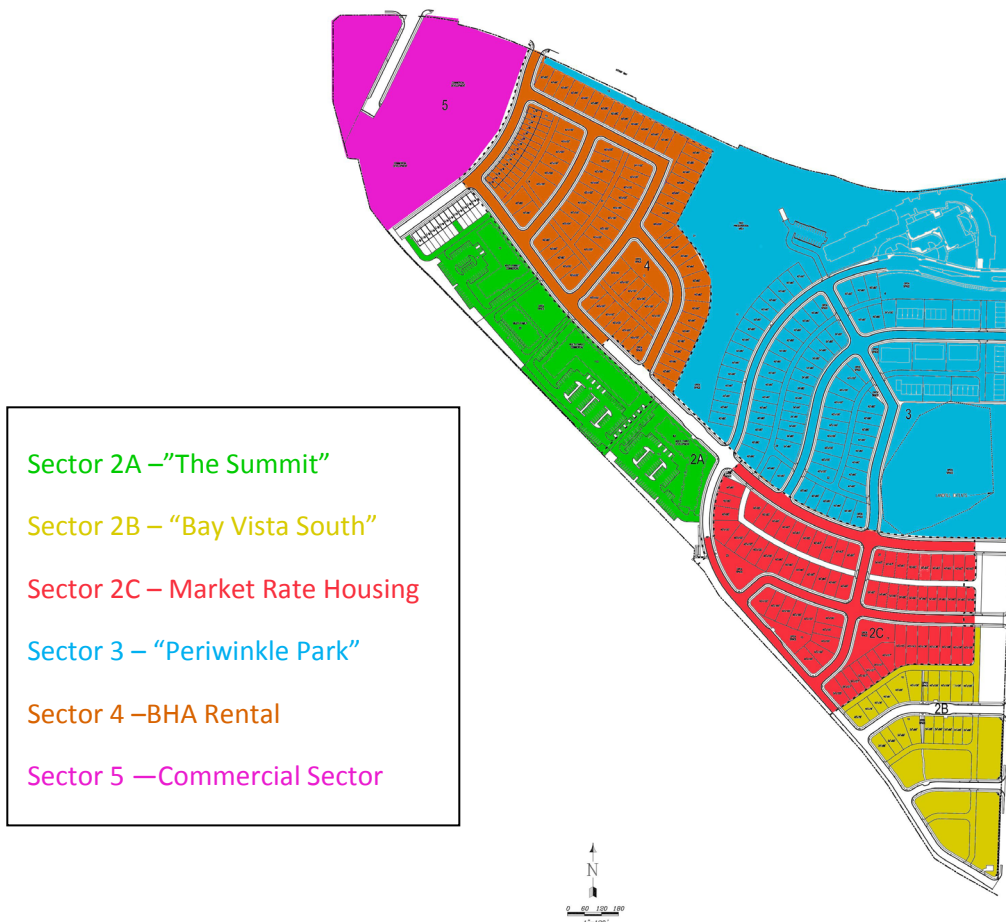


Source: Tonkin/Hoyn Architecture and Design

REDEVELOPMENT TIMELINE

Overall, the redevelopment of Westpark into Bay Vista began in 2006 and is expected to be complete by 2014. The first part of the Westpark site to be redeveloped was Sector 1, which is composed of assisted living rentals for seniors. This four-story, 47,279 square foot facility is comprised of 72 units, 54 of which are designated as subsidized units. This portion of the site, known as “Bay Vista Commons,” was redeveloped without HOPE VI Funds yet is part of the site’s redevelopment as a whole. The construction of Bay Vista Commons began in March 2006 and was completed in August 2007.

Figure 4. Bay Vista Revised Redevelopment Plan by Sector, January 22, 2010



Construction of a four story apartment building called “The Summit” (Sector 2A, shaded green in Figure 4) began on April 1, 2010 and is expected to be completed by June of 2011. The building will have 83 units and be available to public housing, Section 8, and Low-Income Housing Tax Credit participants. Phase 2 of BHA’s redevelopment will begin in the Fall of 2010 and consists of the construction of the area called “Bay Vista South” (Sector 2B, shaded yellow in Figure 4), a 68-unit complex consisting of townhomes that will be also be available to public housing, Section 8 and tax

credit participants. Sector 2C (shaded red in Figure 4) will consist of market rate homes. As of April 2010, BHA had not yet determined the exact number of lots that will be developed in this section or the timeline for development.

Development of Bay Vista South will be followed by the development of the 69-unit “Periwinkle Park” project (Sector 3, shaded blue in Figure 4). According to BHA’s schedule as of April 2, 2010 this site will begin vertical construction in July 2011 and be completed in September 2012. Lease-up for this project is expected to be completed in April 2013. Next, vertical construction of a 70 unit rental development (Sector 4, shaded orange in Figure 4) will begin in May 2013 and be completed in July 2014.

Sector 5 (shaded purple in Figure 4) is land dedicated to the commercial development. As of April 2, 2010, development of this land is on hold until a rebound in the commercial real estate market.

BHA’s application for its HOPE VI grant also included plans for creating both subsidized and market rate rental housing off-site. As of April 2010, BHA had not selected a site for the off-site rental housing but intends to complete this project before the end of the grant period.

RESIDENT RELOCATION

In order for the redevelopment of Westpark into Bay Vista to be realized, residents must be relocated. The relocation of Westpark households occurs in phases according to the BHA’s designation of site sectors. This phased strategy is a way to relocate residents and redevelop the site in a more organized and manageable fashion one portion at a time. Figure 5 illustrates the number and location of sectors involved in the Relocation Plan, as well as how many units are involved in each sector. Each sector has over 100 units to be vacated and demolished over the course of the redevelopment. A more detailed description of the relocation timeline and options available to relocating households follows.

The main portion of the redevelopment, supported with HOPE VI funds, is divided into four additional sectors (Sectors 2-5) (Figure 5). Each of these sectors has been sub-divided into three or more sub-sectors as a way to organize phased relocation.

Figure 5. Phased Relocation Plan by Sector



Source: Bremerton Housing Authority HOPE VI Grant Application, June 20, 2008.

To begin, households in each sector were given options for early relocation. According to the BHA, “early movers” are “households who have identified themselves as being ready and able to move within two months” (BHA Updated Relocation Schedule Memo, October 20, 2008). Beginning April 2008, households in Sectors 2 and 5 were able to request designation as early movers and go through the screening process to receive a voucher and 90-day notice immediately. Beginning January 2009, households in Sectors 3 and 4 could request designation as an early mover and go through the screening process to receive a voucher/90-day notice immediately thereafter. Households who did not opt for the early mover designation were issued mandatory 90-day notices based on the following schedule:⁴

Beginning July 25, 2008 households in most of Sector 5 (5b, 5c, and 5d) were mailed 20-day warning letters that included voucher screening packets and an appointment date for a relocation screening. Households that attended the scheduled screening appointment were issued vouchers and 90-day notices as their individual voucher files were approved. Households that did not attend their scheduled appointment were issued a 90-day notice to move on September 1, 2008.

Beginning August 25, 2008 households in the remaining portion of Sector 5 (5a) and the first two portions of Sector 2 (2a, and 2d) were mailed their 20-day warning letters and screening appointment dates. Households that attended the scheduled screening appointment were issued vouchers and 90-day notices as their individual voucher files were approved. Households that did not respond to the 20-day warning letter were issued a 90-day notice to move on October 1, 2008.

⁴ This relocation schedule was delineated in a memo by the BHA Executive Director on October 20, 2008.

Beginning September 22, 2008 households in the remaining portions of Sector 2 (2b and 2c) were mailed 20-day warning letters and screening appointment dates. Households that attended the scheduled screening appointment were issued vouchers and 90-day notices as their individual voucher files were approved. Households that did not respond to the 20-day warning letter were issued a 90-day notice to move on November 1, 2008.

Beginning February 2, 2009 households in half of Sector 3 (3a and 3c) were mailed 20-day warning letters and relocation screening appointment dates. Households that attended the scheduled screening appointment were issued vouchers and 90-day notices as their individual voucher files were approved. Households that did not respond to the 20-day warning letter were issued a 90-day notice to move on March 2, 2009.

Beginning March 2, 2009 households in most of Sector 4 (4a and 4b) were mailed their 20-day warning letters and appointment dates. As with the other sectors, households that attended the scheduled screening appointment were issued vouchers and 90-day notices as their individual voucher files were approved. Households that did not respond to the 20-day warning letter were issued a 90-day notice to move on April 2, 2009.

Beginning April 2, 2009 households in Sectors 3e and 4c were mailed 20-day warning letters and screening appointment dates. Households that attended the scheduled screening appointment were issued vouchers and 90-day notices as their individual voucher files were approved. Households that did not respond to the 20-day warning letter were issued a 90-day notice to move on May 2, 2009.

Finally, beginning May 2, 2009 households in the last two portions of Sector 3 (3b and 3d) were mailed 20-day warning letters and appointment dates. As with the previous sectors, households that attended the scheduled screening appointment were issued vouchers and 90-day notices as their individual voucher files were approved. Households that did not respond to the warning letter were issued a 90-day notice to move on June 2, 2009. The phased relocation was completed by the middle of October 2009.

COMMUNITY AND SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

As part of the redevelopment of Westpark, the BHA developed a comprehensive Community and Supportive Services (CSS) program that builds on the services that were available to residents at the time of the HOPE VI application. The CSS program has a budget of \$3 million which is being used for program administration, case management, outreach and readiness services, contracts for services to address gaps in program needs, and follow-up services. At the time of the HOPE VI application BHA also anticipated \$8 million in leverage services to further support the CSS program (BHA HOPE VI Application, June 20, 2008).

To organize service provision and tailor it to residents' needs, BHA identified service needs through a needs assessment process that included resident surveys, community meetings, and service provider meetings. The following service needs were identified:

- Stabilization of households and ability to address social and economic barriers
- Employment readiness
- Job training
- Job search and job placement
- Educational programs and computer training
- Financial education, budget planning, and credit counseling
- Transportation
- Child care and youth services
- Health services
- Access to elderly and disabled services
- English as a Second Language (ESL) programs

As a result of this needs assessment process, The Westpark CSS program has been organized into three main components: (1) outreach and readiness services; (2) partnerships and contracted services; and (3) retention and follow-up services. Table 2 below illustrates the specific services that fall into each of these components.

Table 2. Types of CSS Services Offered

Outreach & Readiness	Contracted Services	Retention and Follow-up Service
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initial outreach • Intake/Assessment • Individual and family development plans • Caseload triage • Family stabilization • Readiness services • Integration of case Management, relocation & reoccupancy • Start of self-sufficiency and homeownership tracks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Services from CSS partners • CSS program contracts (to fill gaps in services) • Entitlement programs (TANF, SSI, etc.) • Existing/planned BHA services <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Keys to a Better Life – FSS program – Neighborhood Networks – Youth program • Resources for individual service needs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tracking outcomes • Job / employment retention services • Education to employment programs • Career advance support • Personal advocacy • Transition out of case management • Homeownership opportunities

Source: BHA HOPE VI Application, June 20, 2008.

PARTNERS AND SERVICES

The Bremerton Housing Authority has engaged with a number of service providers to establish a network of support services for residents. Partners have been engaged to help with job training and placement, disability services, education and apprenticeship, financial counseling, child care, youth development and mentoring, life skills, parenting skills, entrepreneur training, health services, transportation and emergency assistance services (Table 3).

Table 3. BHA's Committed Partners

Government	Kitsap Health District Kitsap Transit WorkSource (WIA Agency) Washington State Department of Social and Health Services (TANF Agency)
Educational Institutions	University of Washington (evaluation partner) Olympic College
Non-Profit	Kitsap Community Resources Kitsap Mental Health Services Literacy Council of Kitsap County American Red Cross Positive Solutions Kitsap Credit Union (KCU) Stand up for Kids Washington CASH American Financial Solutions (AFS) YMCA
Faith-Based	Express Employment Professionals Habitat for Humanity

CASE MANAGEMENT

In addition to coordinated services referral programs run in collaboration with the above-mentioned service partners, another key component of the CSS program is comprehensive case management. This includes a foundation of existing and ongoing services such as the *Keys to a Better Life* Program, and the FSS Program. Another example is the services provided by the Resident Opportunity and Supportive Services (ROSS) grant. Through this grant, BHA has been providing case management services to Westpark residents since October 2005. Services include help with job searches, employment assistance, community connections for youth and seniors, and on-site community events. (BHA HOPE VI Community and Supportive Services Plan, March 6, 2009).

With the advent of the HOPE VI redevelopment, case management also includes the provision of new services supporting relocation efforts. The HOPE VI case management strategy consists of five phases:

1. **Assessment:** the initial caseload assessment that began during the Resident Needs Assessment phase.

2. Individual Development Plans: case managers are working with each Westpark household to complete a service plan identifying self-sufficiency and other goals and the services needed to achieve these measurable goals.
3. Resource and Referral: case managers refer residents to the network service providers identified in Table 3 (see page 18).
4. On-going Support: case managers provide ongoing support and will refine existing CSS goals and individual/family service plans as needed. This support includes case managers working with residents who are interested in returning to the site to ensure that they meet re-occupancy requirements, which include work requirements and good credit and rent histories.
5. Tracking and Triage: BHA is establishing database tracking tools to monitor the delivery of services.

CSS GOALS

The BHA has identified particular goals for their CSS program. These goals are useful to consider here at the baseline as the evaluation will assess the degree to which these goals were met during the course of the Westpark redevelopment.

Figure 6. HOPE VI Quarterly Progress Report CSS Goals Matrix (by year)

Metric	Yr 1	Yr 2	Yr 3	Yr 4	Yr 5	Total
Employment preparation & placement enrollments	50	50	50	50	25	225
Job skill training program	75	75	75	75	38	338
High school or equivalent education enrollments	50	50	50	50	25	225
Child care enrollments	15	15	16	16	8	70
Transportation assistance enrollments	10	10	10	10	10	50
Counseling program enrollments	10	10	10	10	5	45
Substance abuse program enrollments	2	2	2	2	2	10
Job skills training program completions	37	37	37	37	19	167
Number of residents currently employed	147	175	200	225	235	235
Number of residents currently employed 6 months or more	50	70	90	110	120	120
Entrepreneurship training program enrollments	5	5	5	5	3	23
Entrepreneurship training program completions	2	3	3	3	2	13
Resident owned businesses started	0	2	2	2	1	7
Resident employment in resident owned businesses	0	0	0	0	2	2

Metric	Yr 1	Yr 2	Yr 3	Yr 4	Yr 5	Total
Resident owned businesses receiving no PHA funds	0	0	0	1	1	2
Section 3 contract dollars	\$40K	\$40K	\$40K	\$40K	\$40K	\$200K
Section 3 employees transferred to non-PHA jobs	0	0	1	1	0	2
Number enrolled in homeownership counseling programs	0	5	5	7	0	17
Number of homeownership counseling completions	0	2	2	3	0	7
ESL service enrollments	5	5	5	5	2	22

Notes from original BHA table: “Some numbers are significantly higher than the current actual needs. These larger numbers represent two areas: (1) multiple program enrollments by an individual; and, (2) additions to the caseload through young people aging into the work-able population and new residents who will be moving into the community following redevelopment of Westpark.” Source: Bremerton Housing Authority HOPE VI Community and Supportive Services Plan, March 6, 2009.

STRUCTURE OF THIS REPORT

This introduction provided background on HOPE VI, Westpark and its redevelopment into Bay Vista. The next chapter, Methodology, explains the mixed-method approach used to respond to the research questions. This is followed by two chapters presenting findings: one focusing on describing original Westpark residents and the other on looking at time-varying trends to understand the context for possible neighborhood spillover effects. In the Summary of Findings we discuss the implications of this analysis for the understanding the impacts of the redevelopment on both residents and the surrounding community.

II. METHODOLOGY

The Westpark Evaluation assesses the impacts of the HOPE VI redevelopment of the Westpark public housing site on original residents and the surrounding community. This section of the report explains both (1) the methodology for the entire evaluation and (2) the methods that are used to create a baseline for the evaluation of the redevelopment.

The methodology for the evaluation arose out of consultations with BHA staff and previous experience evaluating the HOPE VI redevelopment of four other HOPE VI sites in the region. To address the five main evaluation questions identified on page 1, we organized the evaluation into two general areas of inquiry. The first area focuses on addressing the social impacts of redevelopment on individuals, including what happens to original residents as a result of redevelopment and how successful the redevelopment is at integrating the physical and social aspects of HOPE VI. The second area focuses on the impacts on the neighborhood surrounding the site, including economic development generated by the redevelopment and any possible spillover effects.

MIXED METHOD APPROACH

To assess residents' experience of the redevelopment, their housing needs and concerns, the impact of redevelopment on individuals and families, the degree to which the redevelopment has achieved its goals and BHA's success at integrating the physical and social aspects of HOPE VI, this evaluation employs a mixed-method, quasi-experimental research strategy. This multi-method and longitudinal approach to data collection captures a well-rounded picture of the impacts and outcomes of the redevelopment of Westpark on residents' lives over the timespan of the redevelopment.

RESIDENT AND COMPARISON GROUPS

In order to understand the long-term social and economic impacts of the HOPE VI revitalization on residents, whether the BHA has met its Community and Supportive service goals and whether it has been successful in integrating the physical and social impacts of HOPE VI, the evaluation will compare a random sample of 150-200 original Westpark residents to a comparison group composed of a random sample of 75-100 housing voucher residents who were not relocated under HOPE VI.

Employing a comparison group allows for an assessment of outcomes for Westpark residents in comparison to those of BHA clients who have not been relocated through HOPE VI, yet who live under the same general economic and regional conditions as the original residents. Those who relocate due to HOPE VI must move from their homes and find new places to live. Such relocations can provide either opportunities or setbacks. The role of CSS, in part, is to help residents to overcome any disruptions associated with having to move due to redevelopment. While we may see changes in Westpark residents' well-being over time, the only way to know if those changes are

better or worse than what we might expect without the program is to compare outcomes to a similar group of residents who did not experience the redevelopment or CSS. The closest we can come to such a group are the BHA's Housing Choice Voucher holders who live within the BHA's service area. Determining if those who relocate from Westpark have outcomes on par with voucher holders allows for an unbiased assessment of the success of the BHA's CSS efforts as well as an understanding of the impacts of the HOPE VI redevelopment rather than other factors that may be regional in nature.

Comparisons between the sample of original residents and the comparison group will be made using both information collected through in-person surveys and administrative information that the BHA collects during annual resident rent certifications. At the baseline, a comparison of Westpark's original residents with voucher holders will provide an understanding of the relative well-being of Westpark residents prior to redevelopment. After the second wave of interviews, the use of a comparison group will not only allow for a description of changes over time for residents, but also for an analysis of whether those changes were caused by the redevelopment or other factors that may also have influenced the voucher comparison group. For example, if data show that employment increases over time for original Westpark residents, similar increases over time for the comparison group might indicate that the economy was largely responsible for those changes rather than anything that the BHA did.

The UW Research Team will report the results of the baseline survey comparing the resident sample and the voucher comparison group in the Year II Annual Report (the second of a total of four reports associated with this evaluation).

IN-PERSON SURVEYS

In-person surveys of both a sample of residents and a voucher comparison group occurred in December 2009 through February 2010—about four months after the last resident left the site. We will re-interview both samples in 2012. These surveys include retrospective questions for former Westpark residents to set a baseline. For both groups, the survey includes questions about economic hardship, employment status for work-able residents, wages, health, education and training, services and programs used and needed, concerns for children and youth, housing history and stability, housing quality, neighborhood quality, neighboring activity, crime, and relocation experience. The final result will include comparisons of changes for former Westpark residents from their retrospective baseline with the 2012 interview results. We will compare changes for former Westpark residents to those in the voucher comparison group to see if these changes are larger, smaller, or the same as we see in a similar population.

EXAMINING ARCHIVED DATA

The evaluation uses information that the BHA collects in the course of undertaking the redevelopment or in the course of running its usual housing programs. The following sections describe the information that will be used and how.

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

Administrative information is routinely maintained by all public housing authorities across the country.⁵ These data are kept in the Housing Authority's computer files and are updated at least annually during residents' re-certifications for the purposes of calculating rent for both public housing and housing vouchers. This administrative information includes family composition, income sources and amount, race and ethnicity, date of occupancy, and assets for both the comparison group and former Westpark residents. These comparisons will be presented in the second annual report of the series, along with the comparative results of the in-person surveys.

In addition to these tenant recertification records, the evaluation will employ CSS case management information over time for three purposes. First, the content of these data can help provide evidence for some economic and social outcomes over the long run. Second, keeping record of residents' addresses is essential in locating and contacting residents after relocation so that the evaluation may capture outcome data on the effects of the redevelopment. Third, these records track the use of services, and are useful in assessing BHA's success in integrating its CSS plan into the redevelopment effort. The BHA will provide this information annually to the evaluators so that we may include this information in the second, third, and final reports.

RESIDENT RELOCATION TRACKING

A critical component in examining the impact of HOPE VI on families is tracking the location of residents who move out of the community as a result of the redevelopment. Therefore, as part of the evaluation process, the BHA has set up tracking systems for Westpark residents, which the BHA will share with the Evaluation Team. Tracking information includes both an address history and the current addresses of original Westpark residents. This tracking information will be used for two purposes: (1) to locate residents for the purposes of interviewing them and (2) to geocode their addresses to assess changes in the quality of their neighborhood environments as a result of redevelopment.

BHA NEEDS ASSESSMENT DATA: BASELINE INFORMATION

In the autumn of 2007, the BHA conducted a Needs Assessment Survey. Unfortunately, the BHA was unable to provide these data in time for them to be included in this report. This information would contribute to baseline knowledge about Westpark households prior to their moving. It is hoped that we might include these data in the Year II Annual Report instead.

⁵ This information is the equivalent of the HUD 50058 form, used by every housing authority (except those who are exempt as Moving to Work agencies) to report to HUD their rent certification information.

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH FORMER RESIDENTS

To assess case management and CSS service provision, the Evaluation Team will also conduct in-depth interviews with 75 households. These interviews will tell us how residents are faring during the relocation process and whether CSS services are meeting their needs. Specifically, the in-depth interviews will capture detailed data on residents' experiences with the redevelopment process as a whole, their decision-making process for relocation (what relocation options they chose and why), and their concerns for their well-being as they live in new housing outside of Westpark. These data may also provide critical feedback for possible mid-course corrections in service provision strategies for BHA. These interviews will be conducted in Year III and findings reported in the Year III Annual Report.

STAFF INTERVIEWS

For a well-rounded perspective on the relocation process and the potential impacts and outcomes for original Westpark residents, evaluators plan to conduct in-person interviews with Bremerton Housing Authority staff over the course of the redevelopment process. These semi-structured interviews will be specifically conducted with four to six key HOPE VI and CSS staff to understand their perspective on the redevelopment and the needs and concerns of residents along with their own vision and concerns for the implementation of the HOPE VI redevelopment. Such interviews will help contextualize the residents experience and help identify any gaps between Housing Authority staff intentions and goals of implementation on the one hand, and outcomes and experience of residents on the other. Moreover, the perspective and experiences of the Housing Authority staff often is not included in evaluations but offers an important perspective that can shed light on the goals and challenges of implementing the HOPE VI program.

METHODS IN THIS REPORT

Since the goal of this report is to create a baseline for the evaluation, this report depends only upon the analysis of administrative records to describe the population of original households who lived at Westpark from the summer of 2007 until the fall of 2008, just prior to relocation. The report describes and compares three groups of household heads: those who are able-bodied (adults under the age of 65 and not disabled), those who are listed as having a disability in the BHA's administrative records, and seniors (household heads over age 65 and older). Therefore, we present findings on variations among these three groups of residents in terms of household composition, race, duration of residence at Westpark, age, and income sources and amounts.

IMPACTS ON THE SURROUNDING COMMUNITY: NEIGHBORHOOD SPILLOVER EFFECTS

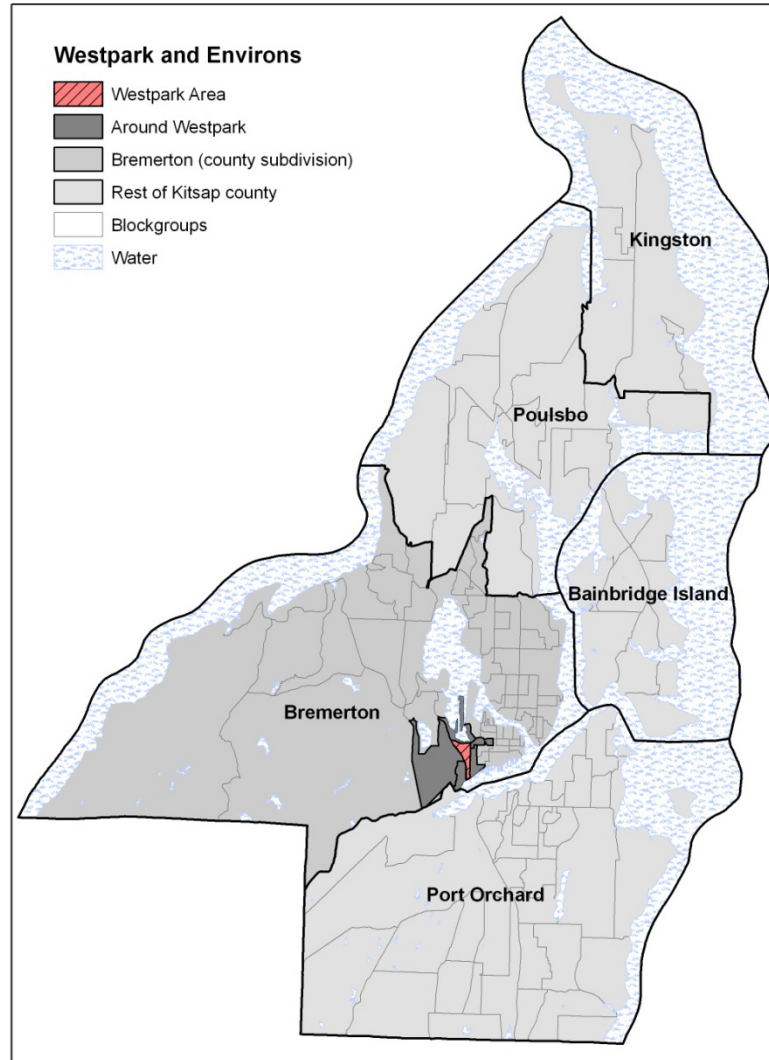
Understanding the impact of the HOPE VI revitalization on the neighborhood and surrounding community involves the analysis of existing aggregate level data over time. The HOPE VI redevelopment will not only alter the attributes of the Westpark neighborhood itself, but will also have spillover effects on the surrounding neighborhood. Therefore, one goal in this evaluation is to compare change over time in the Westpark development with changes in the surrounding neighborhood, the city as a whole, and the rest of Kitsap County. The purpose is two-fold: (1) to determine whether changes at Westpark reflect the redevelopment or some larger trend over time; and (2) to see if the redevelopment has created spillover effects on the surrounding neighborhood. We also conduct some descriptive analyses of Westpark and its surroundings for context. The report's chapter on Neighborhood Effects employs all of these methods.

NEIGHBORHOOD DESCRIPTION AND AREA CONTEXT

For the descriptive analyses we include information on poverty rates, minority population, family composition, housing tenure, housing vacancy, and population and housing density. We use census block groups to approximate neighborhoods, since the small size of a block group (300 – 3,000 people) better reflects the concept of a neighborhood than the larger census tracts, and data from the 2000 U.S. Census, the most recent data available for small geographic areas. To report data specifically on Westpark, we use the census block group that contains Westpark, 810-2 (Map 1). For reporting on the surrounding neighborhood, we refer to block groups that are adjacent to 810-2 (i.e. 807-2, 809-1, 810-1, 810-3, and 811-1). Finally, we also compare Westpark and the area around Westpark with the Bremerton census county division (CCD)⁶ (less the block groups in Westpark and adjacent to Westpark), and the rest of Kitsap county (less the Bremerton CCD).

⁶ Census county divisions (CCDs) are county subdivisions that were delineated by the U.S. Census Bureau, in cooperation with state and local officials for purposes of presenting statistical data. The boundaries of CCDs usually are delineated to follow visible features, and generally coincide with census tracts.

Map 1. Block Groups in Kitsap County, showing Westpark, the Neighborhood Around Westpark, and Bremerton



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

CRIME IN AND AROUND WESTPARK

To analyze change in crime over time we also rely upon block group boundaries, but make comparisons only to the block groups adjacent to the Westpark block group 810-2 (807-2, 809-1, 810-1, 810-3, and 811-1) and to the City of Bremerton (rather than the Bremerton CCD). Estimates of crime were derived from reports of criminal incidents, calls made to the Bremerton Police Department (BPD) from 2004 through 2008. These data cover only incidents within the city limits of Bremerton, where the BPD has jurisdiction. The original data contained over 79,896 records, of which about 57 percent were either traffic violations or were not criminal in nature, and these records were removed. The remaining 34,108 records were geocoded to determine the location of the crime (the block group in which the crime occurred, or from which it was reported). In about

one quarter of the cases, the address information was not specific enough to locate precisely where the crime occurred or the crime was found to have occurred outside the Bremerton city limits;⁷ these records were also eliminated from the analysis. Thus the charts and graphs in this report reflect incidents that appear to be criminal in nature and were associated with a specific street address (n = 25,006) in Bremerton. Because of these data limitations, this report provides a basis for comparing over time and across locations the extent of criminal incidents, but is not a comprehensive summary of all crimes that took place in Bremerton during the five year period.

Criminal incidents were roughly classified into Part I and Part II crimes, based on somewhat cursory descriptions of the incidents.⁸ Part I crimes include murder, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, and theft, including car theft. Part II crimes include drug offenses, malicious mischief, counterfeiting and forgery, fraud, weapons possession, prostitution and sex offenses, gambling, child physical and sexual abuse, driving under the influence and liquor law violations, and other offenses. For purposes of comparing the Westpark neighborhood with the adjacent block groups and the rest of the city, criminal incident rates were calculated for both Part I and Part II crimes, on the basis of the year 2000 population for each geographic area.

Readers should be aware that the lack of annual population data for small areas is somewhat problematic, given that Westpark residents began to leave the neighborhood in 2008. Consequently, the criminal incidence rate in the Westpark block group in 2008 is likely an underestimate of the true rate of crime (since the denominator used is larger than the unknown true population of the block group for that year). In the absence of annual population data, any redevelopment (and consequent population shifts) in the city could result in an over- or underestimate of crime for the area in question, but the problem is magnified in smaller areas where slight shifts in the number of crimes can have a substantial effect on the rate of criminal incidents.

PROPERTY VALUES

For the analysis of property values, we again use census block groups to approximate neighborhoods. For Westpark, we use the census block group that contains the Westpark complex, 810-2 (Map 1). The surrounding neighborhood refers to the block groups that are adjacent to 810-2 (807-2, 809-1, 810-1, 810-3, and 811-1). We compare Westpark and the area around Westpark with the Bremerton census county division (CCD) (less the block groups in Westpark and adjacent to Westpark), and the rest of Kitsap County (less the Bremerton CCD).

⁷ City limits may cross block group boundaries. For this reason, records outside the city boundaries were not excluded from the analysis when the criminal incident took place in a block group bisected by the city border. Similarly, the full population data for bisected block groups was used for the calculation of incident rates.

⁸ These descriptions did not consistently provide a measure of the severity of the crime (third versus first degree, for example).

The data on property values is derived from Kitsap County Assessor’s records of home sales for the years 2004 through 2008. One of the dynamics of these data is that, since Westpark is a public housing development, there are no home sales in Westpark itself but only just adjacent to Westpark within the same block group. We use sales data because appraisal data tends to lag temporally behind sales data (since appraisals are revised only periodically) and therefore sales data reflects more current market conditions (a particularly important consideration in light of the mortgage crisis). The original data contained 20,351 records of sales for single family residences. Of these, 52 records were dropped because there was missing address information and it was not possible to determine with precision where in the county the residences were located. Select sales records within the city of Bremerton were geocoded to determine the corresponding block group for each property.⁹ Over the five year period, there were 85 properties sold in the Westpark block group, 527 sold in the surrounding neighborhood, 7386 sold in other block groups in the Bremerton CCD, and 12,301 sold in the rest of Kitsap County. We analyze the median annual sale price for each geographic area to assess the magnitude of the differences in property values by location and the extent to which values in each locale have changed over time.

MORTGAGE LOANS

To examine changes in lending patterns over time, we use bank mortgage loan disclosures from the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) from 2005 through 2008 in this report, and will add more years in the final report. These data provide a count of loans made by banks for each census tract in the country. For this evaluation, we examine mortgage loan originations per 100 people, the percentage of denied mortgage loan applications in each area, and the percent of all originations that are government loans.

In this report, we focus on the tracts in Kitsap County, using the tract that includes Westpark (tract 810) as a proxy for the Westpark neighborhood (Map 2). When discussing the surrounding neighborhood, we are referring to the census tracts that are adjacent to 810 (807, 809, and 811). In examining these data, we compare Westpark and the area around Westpark with the Bremerton CCD (less the Westpark tract and those adjacent to Westpark), and the rest of Kitsap county.

UNITS LOST AND BUILT

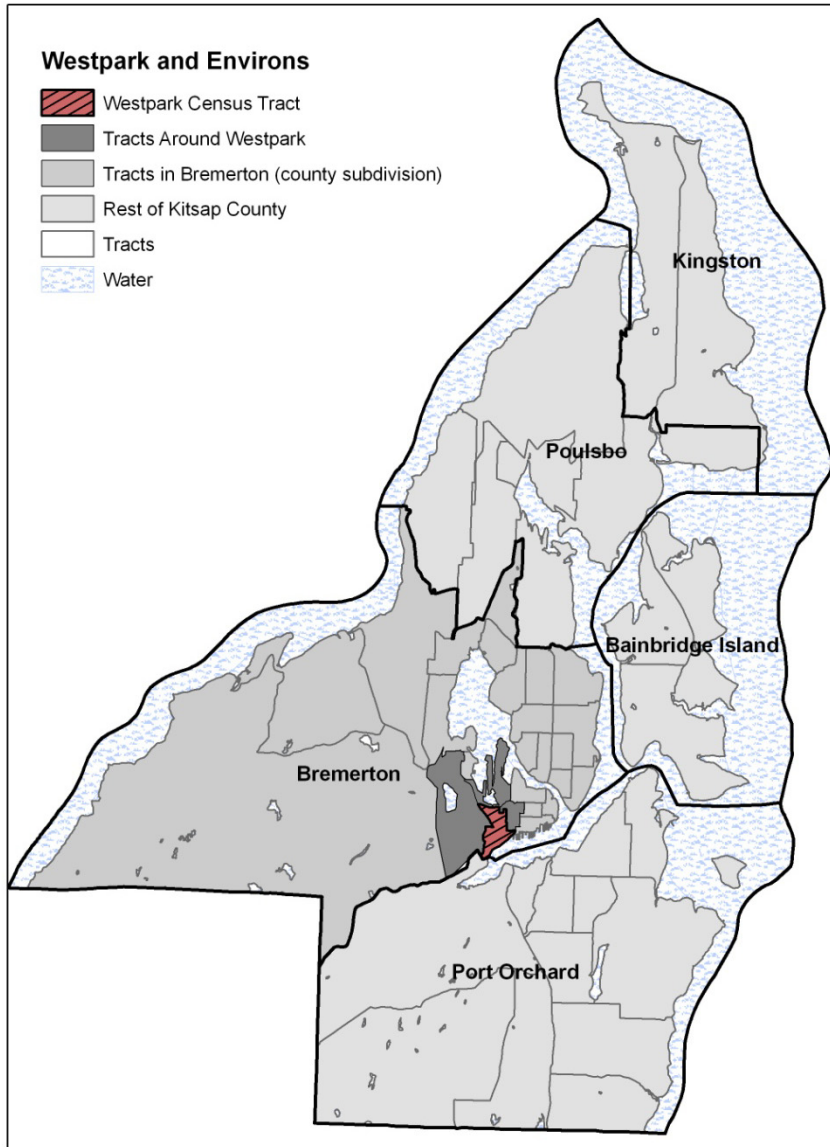
Another way to understand the spillover effects is to see if new construction is occurring not only in the Westpark neighborhood, but also in the surrounding neighborhood. Therefore, we examined the data on new and lost units using estimates from the Puget Sound Regional Council (PSRC). Since these data are aggregated to the census tract, we once again used the tract that includes Westpark (tract 810) as a proxy for the Westpark neighborhood (Map 2). When discussing the surrounding

⁹ The location of most homes could be identified by the neighborhood field in the data. But in some cases (Westpark, around Westpark, and border areas of Bremerton CCD), geocoding was necessary to identify the precise location.

neighborhood, we are referring to the census tracts that are adjacent to 810 (807, 809, and 811). Here, too, we compared Westpark and the area around Westpark with the Bremerton CCD (less the Westpark tract and those adjacent to Westpark), and the rest of Kitsap county.

The data on new and lost units was tabulated using estimates produced by the PSRC. These estimates are based on building permits for new constructions and demolitions. These data are reported on an annual basis by the PSRC and are broken down by census tract and housing type. Net new units for census tracts within Kitsap County were aggregated into four mutually exclusive areas: West Park, Around West Park, Bremerton CCD, and Kitsap County. The annual cumulative net units for each area were calculated for 2000-2008 on a per capita basis using the population estimates from the 2000 census for the tracts within an area.

Map 2. Census Tracts in Kitsap County, showing Westpark, the Neighborhood Around Westpark, and Bremerton



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

The U.S. Census data allows for an evaluation of trends in population, migration, density, income, and poverty levels in the neighborhood and surrounding areas. Beginning this year, the decennial census will only provide estimates of population size, and will no longer provide estimates of income, ethnicity, or poverty status. Instead, researchers will rely on the American Community Survey, which will begin providing annual 5 year rolling averages at the census tract level beginning in 2010 (so, for the period 2005 through 2009). Unfortunately, these annual 5-yr averages throughout the study period will always include pre-redevelopment counts of ethnicity, income and poverty. Thus, while an annual estimate will be available, it may not reflect changes until 2014, after the evaluation is concluded.

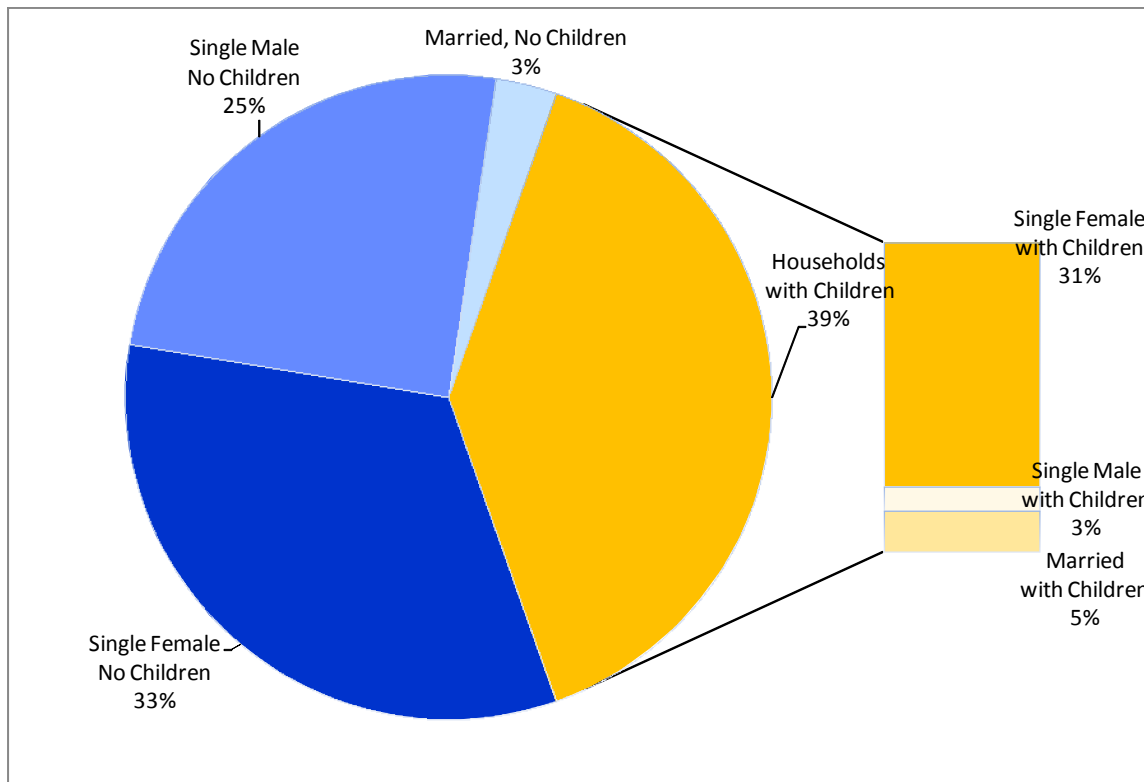
III. WESTPARK'S ORIGINAL HOUSEHOLDS

This section of the report focuses on describing the population of households that lived in Westpark just prior to relocation in 2007 and 2008. It describes the mix of households who lived on-site, and describes the differences in households headed by able-bodied adults, disabled people, and seniors, as these are important dimensions that influence outcomes and one's ability to respond to relocation. In this section we also assess the major challenges for CSS and relocation given the fragile nature of the population.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

Prior to redevelopment, the majority of households on site were headed by single women (65 percent), with or without children. Furthermore, only about 40 percent of original households were family households with children, while 60 percent of households had no children (Figure 7). Among these households without children, most were single individuals, comprising 58 percent of Westpark's original households. Among those 40 percent of households with children, the majority were headed by women, comprising nearly a third (31 percent) of Westpark's original households.

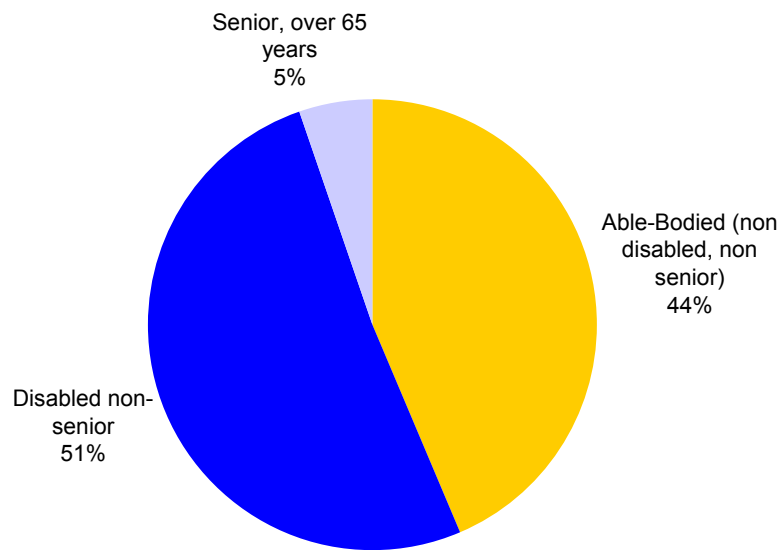
Figure 7. Westpark Household Composition July 2007-September 2008



Note: n=457

Very few households (five percent) were headed by seniors age 65 or older (Figure 8); however, roughly 20 percent of households did have heads age 55 and over, the age that HUD considers someone qualifies for a senior housing. The majority of households had heads who were disabled (51 percent), and 56 percent of all households had at least one disabled household member (not shown). Another 44 percent of household heads were able-bodied—under the age of 65 and not disabled.

Figure 8. Household Head Ability Status



Note: n=457

Additionally, a minority of households (43 percent, or 199 households) are headed by work-able adults: adults without disabilities who are under the age of 65. If having a disabled household member or a senior in the household also precludes work, then the number who are able to work falls to 40 percent (n=187).

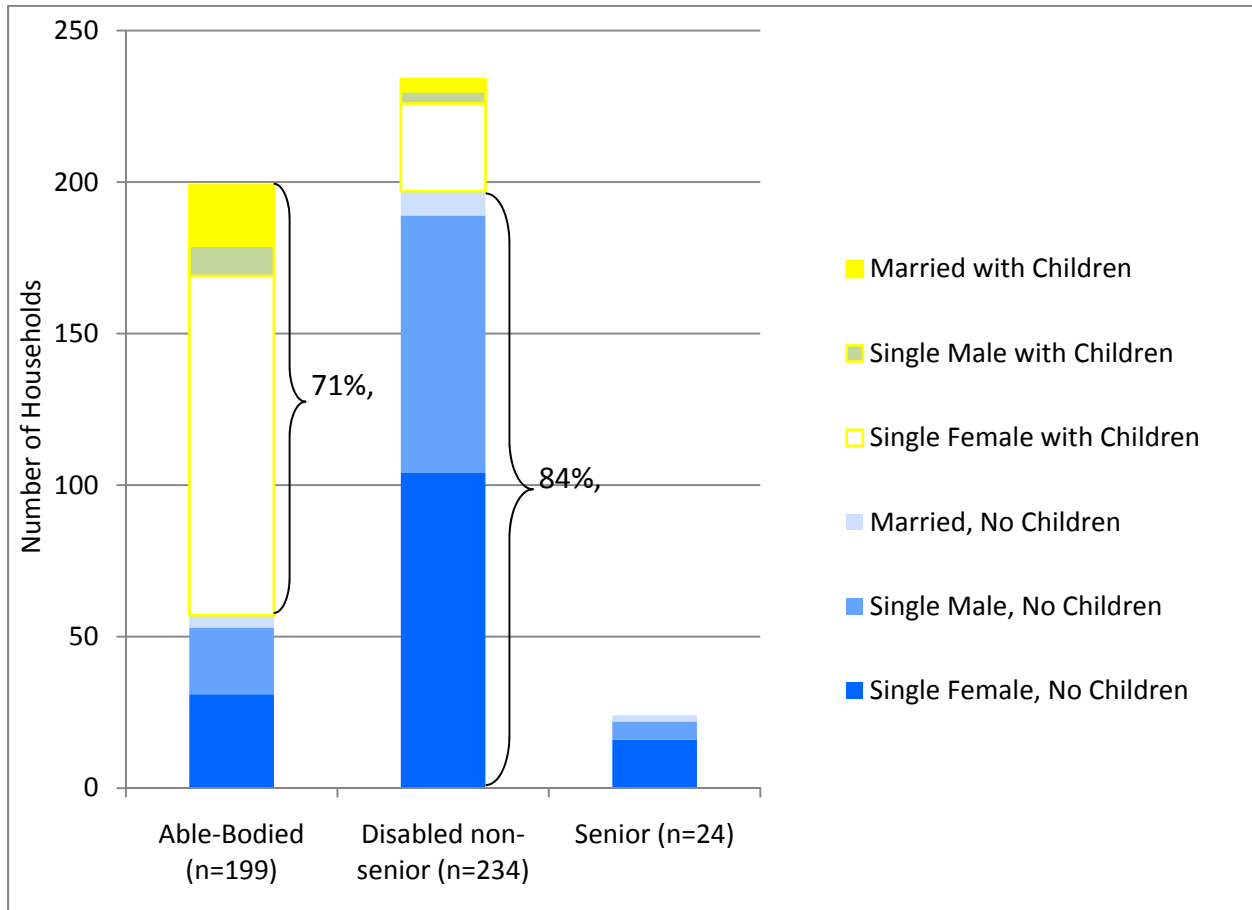
The average age of an original household heads was about 43 years old. The average senior was 72 years old, while the average disabled head of household was 47. Able-bodied household heads tended to be younger, about 35 years old on average.¹⁰

Households headed by a disabled person were more likely to be households *without* children (84 percent) (Figure 9). Among the 234 households headed by a disabled person, most frequently they

¹⁰ Disabled non-seniors are significantly older than able-bodied household heads, $t=11.33$, $df=431$, $p<0.01$, two sample t-test with equal variances.

contain single women (44 percent) or single men (36 percent) living alone. In contrast, able-bodied household heads were more likely to have children (71 percent), and most were single-women with children (56 percent). Furthermore 24 households are headed by seniors, and these had no children living in them. Given this breakdown of households, special attention should be paid to the particular needs of the disabled in relocation.

Figure 9. Composition of Households By Household Head Ability



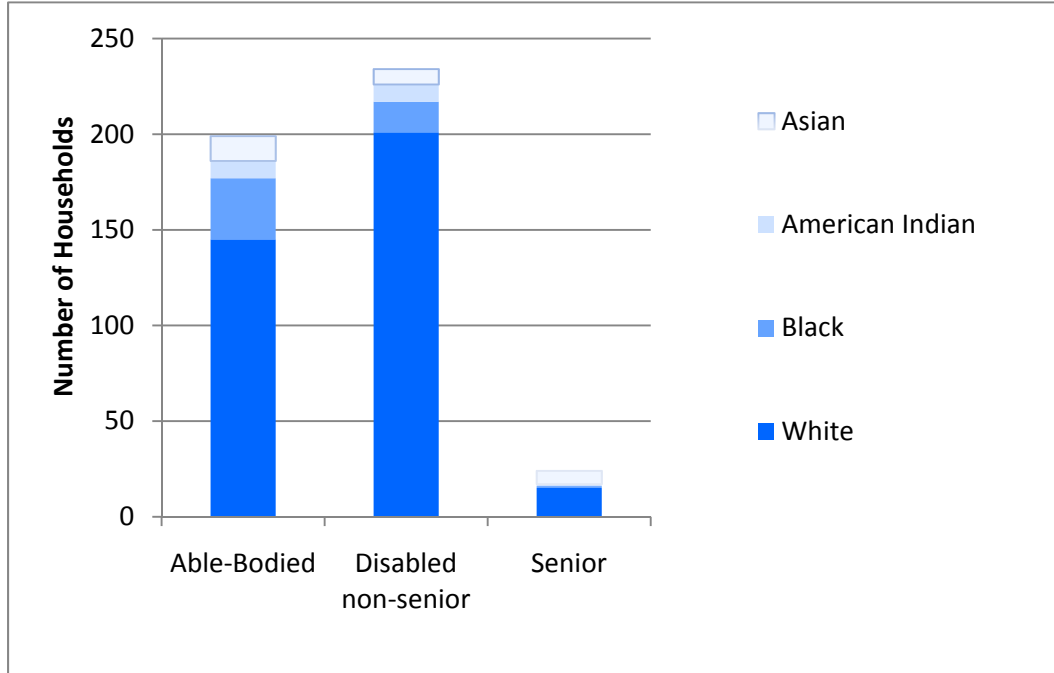
The fragility of the people in these households is further apparent when one takes into account the presence of disabled people in households. Among households headed by able-bodied people, six percent house a disabled member; about a third of households headed by seniors also houses someone who is disabled.

RACIAL COMPOSITION

Overall, most household heads at Westpark were white (79 percent). Disabled household heads are more likely to be white (86 percent) compared to households with able-bodied heads (73 percent have white household heads) or seniors (63%) (Figure 10). Additionally, 16 percent of able-bodied

household heads are black. Only five percent of original household heads were Hispanic and only six percent were Asian.

Figure 10. Westpark Original Household Racial Composition and Ability Status



TIME AT WESTPARK

The average household has been at Westpark for about seven years. Able-bodied household heads had lived at Westpark a significantly shorter amount of time on average than disabled household heads (Table 4).¹¹ Half of households with able-bodied heads had lived at Westpark for four years or less; half of disabled household heads had been there five years or less. Seniors have on average lived the longest on site, about 15 years. Able-bodied household heads lived at Westpark for the shortest amount of time—75 percent had been there six years or less. In comparison, 75 percent of disabled non-seniors had been there 10 years or less, and 75 percent of seniors had been there 20 years or less. However, for all three groups there are a few household heads who have lived on-site for a very long time, over 40 or 50 years for some.

¹¹ $t=3.44$, $df=430$, $p<0.01$, t-test of means with unequal variances.

Table 4. Years Living at Westpark

	Mean	Minimum	25 th Percentile	Median	75 th Percentile	Maximum	N
Able-Bodied	5.3	1	3	4	6	54	199
Disabled non-senior	7.4*	1	3	5	10	55	234
Senior, over 65 years	15.3	1	7	15	20	42	24

*p<.01 indicates significant difference between able-bodied and disabled household heads.

INCOME

As one might expect, households headed by able-bodied individuals most frequently reported having income from work—49 percent of households headed by an able-bodied person have income from employment—while only nine and eight percent of disabled and senior household heads respectively have income from work (Table 5). Able-bodied household heads also are the most likely to have income from child support (20 percent) and TANF (23 percent). However, along with disabled non-seniors, most able-bodied household heads also received other sorts of welfare (58 percent of households with able-bodied heads, 60 percent of households headed by disabled non-seniors), while only a third of seniors have this income source. Other welfare includes general assistance and food stamps. Disabled non-seniors also frequently reported income from social security (46 percent), although a greater share of seniors receives income from social security (79 percent).

Table 5. Original Westpark Households' Sources of Income

Income from...	Household Head Status		
	Able-Bodied (n=199)	Disabled Non-Senior (n=234)	Senior (n=24)
Employment	49%*	9%	8%
Child Support	20%*	4%	0%
TANF	23%*	9%	0%
Pension	5%	2%	17%
Social Security	6%*	46%	79%
Other Welfare	58%	60%	33%
Unemployment	4%*	0%	0%
Other Income	19%	23%	33%

An able-bodied household head is one who is aged 64 and under and not disabled. Seniors are household heads who are age 65 and above. Disability status is as noted in the administrative records. *p<0.01 indicates a significant difference between households headed by able-bodied and those headed by people with disabilities.

On average, households with able-bodied heads earned about \$9,500 annually in 2007 and 2008. They received just over \$1,200 from TANF, on average, and another \$2,300 from other welfare sources. Disabled household heads depended the most on social security, receiving on average \$3,962 annually. The average seniors got the bulk of his or her income from social security, receiving over \$7,000 annually. Seniors supplemented their income with work, earning over \$1,200 annually from employment. Taking into account income from all sources, the average household income was \$10,487. Households with disabled heads had the lowest annual income, at \$9,893; able-bodied households had annual incomes of \$11,073, and seniors at \$11,424. This means that the average Westpark household subsisted on an income of less than \$1000 per month.

Table 6. Original Westpark Household Average Income from Various Sources

Amount from...	Household Head Status		
	Able-Bodied (n=199)	Disabled Non-Senior (n=234)	Senior (n=24)
Employment	\$9,505*	\$795	\$1,286
Child Support	677*	157	0
TANF	1,247*	443	0
Pension	325	426	879
Social Security	377*	3,962	7,257
Other Welfare	2,276*	1,155	438
Unemployment	441*	0	0
Other Income	1,091*	404	273
Total Income from All Sources	11,073	9,893	11,424
Median total household income	6,744	7,745	9,024

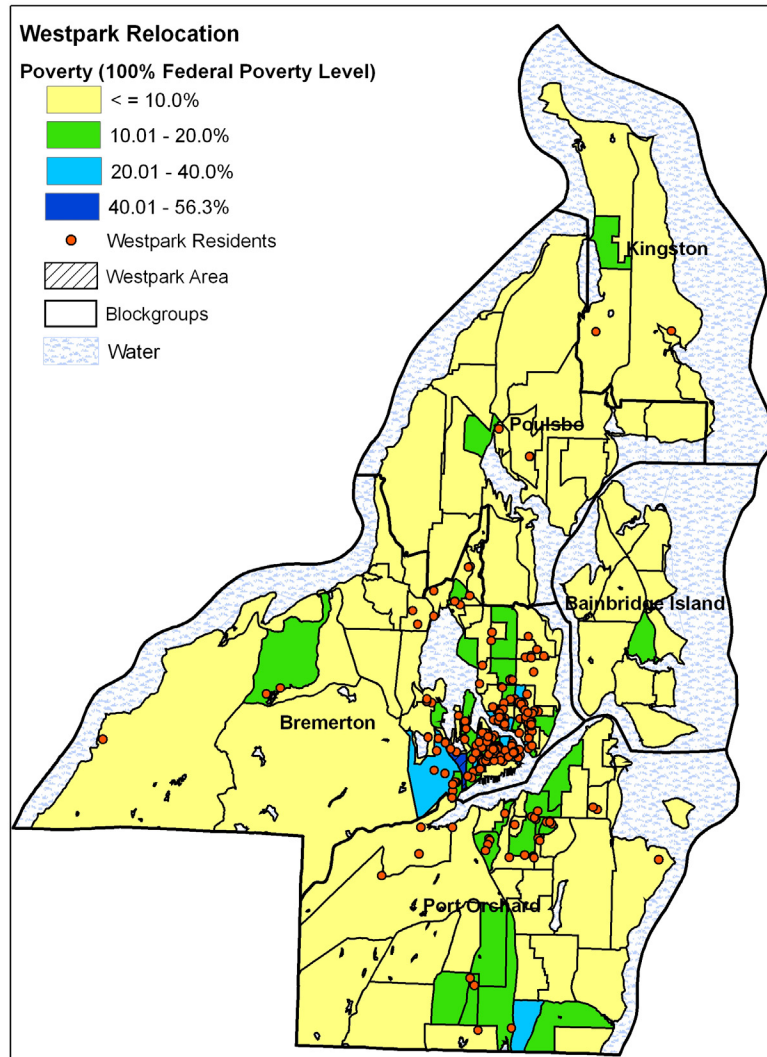
Averages are reported for entire population, including those without that income source. *p<0.01 indicates a significant difference between households headed by able-bodied and those headed by people with disabilities.

FORMER WESTPARK RESIDENTS – WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

In addition to understanding the demographic and economic profile of former Westpark residents, it is helpful to understand where they have moved, particularly given the goal of HOPE VI to deconcentrate poverty. In this section, we provide preliminary information about where Westpark residents are and how geographically scattered the population is now.

Of the original 484 Westpark households, BHA provided a valid post relocation address for around 334 households.¹² Among those who left a forwarding address, 22 moved either out of the state (4) or out of the county (18). The most recent location of those residents who remained in Kitsap County is shown in Map 3, overlaid with the block group poverty rate (2000). We observe that most residents remained in the Bremerton or Port Orchard area.

Map 3. Kitsap County, Locations of Former Westpark Residents and Poverty



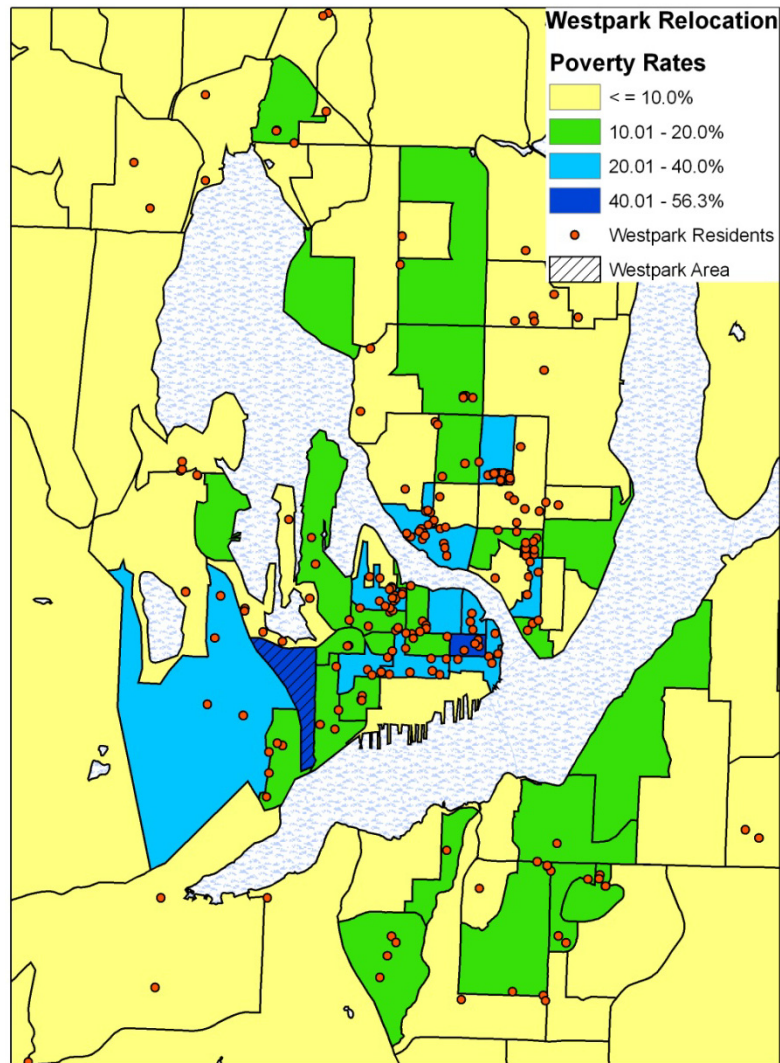
Source: BHA administrative records and U.S. Census Bureau.

A closer look at the relocation choices of those who remained in the Bremerton / Port Orchard area of the county (Map 4) shows some interesting patterns. Many residents have relocated to block

¹² The last known address for approximately 150 households was their residence in Westpark.

groups that had relatively high poverty rates in 2000 (20 percent or greater). Indeed, over 40 percent of residents moved to block groups characterized by high poverty in 2000, though none of these block groups has a poverty rate as high as that of the Westpark block group (Map 5). We also observe a fair degree of clustering of residents in neighborhoods, particularly in the downtown Bremerton area block groups. These locales have relatively more rental housing (Map 9) and also are more dense (Map 11)—they are more likely to contain multifamily housing that likely have rents closer to the Fair Market Rent (FMR).

Map 4. Bremerton/Port Orchard Area, Locations of Former Westpark Residents and Poverty



Source: BHA administrative records and U.S. Census Bureau.

The lack of forwarding address for approximately 150 households may be problematic for understanding the outcomes of the redevelopment. Future analysis will examine whether these households are in any way different than those who have known addresses. They could be worse off and unstable, or their lack of information means that they had relatively higher incomes and were able to use the redevelopment to leverage a move out of Westpark.

The Evaluation Team will continue to monitor and report relocation data as the original Westpark residents are tracked throughout the duration of the evaluation. The next report will include a more detailed analysis of those with and without addresses as well as more detail on the neighborhood quality of these new locations.

SUMMARY

Prior to redevelopment, Westpark housed more households headed by people living with disabilities than households headed by able-bodied individuals, and only a very small minority of household heads were seniors. Most households were headed by single women. The average household had an income of less than \$1000 a month, including all transfer payments and other sources of income.

While the majority of relocated Westpark residents for whom BHA has an address moved to areas of lower poverty (than Westpark), a substantial share are now living in neighborhoods that are nonetheless characterized by high poverty (greater than 20 percent).

For people with few resources, the disruption of relocation can be very difficult to overcome without services, especially for those living with disabilities and the elderly. Families with children also may have difficulties adjusting. The CSS plans for housing stabilization, health services, elderly and disabled services will help households remain stable. Plans for employment readiness, job training, job search and placement may only be helpful for a fraction of adults who used to live at Westpark. Most importantly, expectations of HOPE VI CSS aiding the population in becoming less dependent on public sources of aid must be tempered by an awareness that much of the population are unable to work to support themselves.

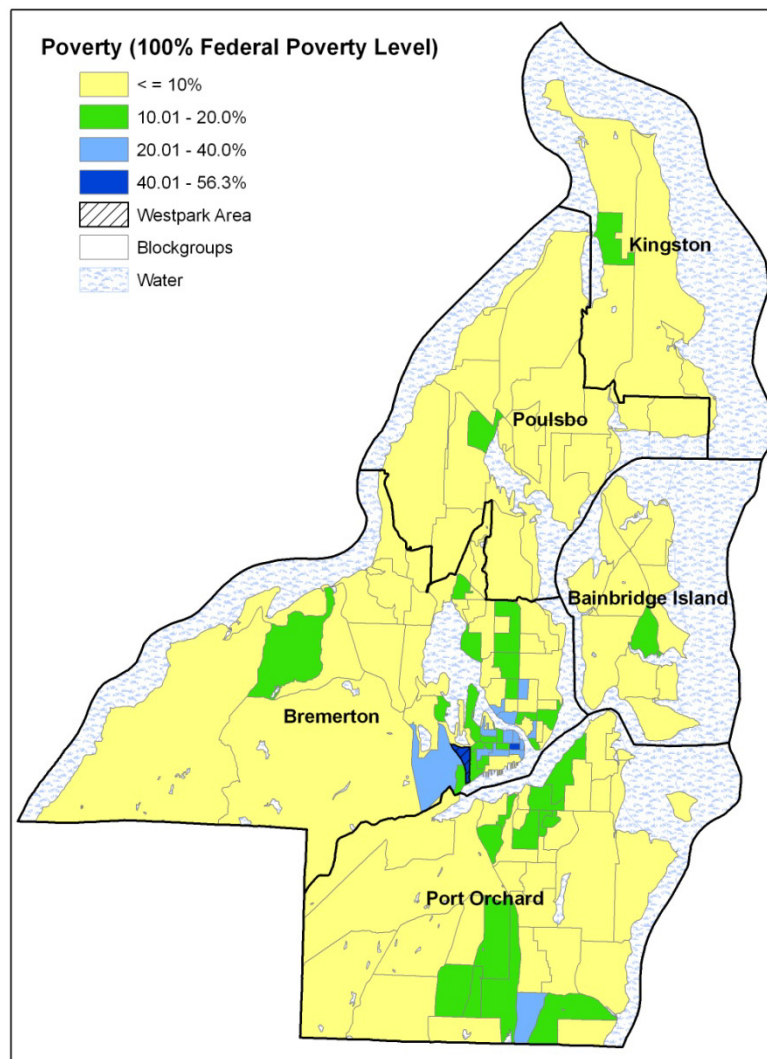
IV. NEIGHBORHOOD SPILLOVER

This section of the report presents descriptive data and data on change over time regarding Westpark, the neighborhood immediately surrounding it, Bremerton, and the rest of Kitsap County. The purpose is to provide context for the evaluation and to understand change over time in the neighborhood, especially concerning changes in property values, mortgage starts, and crime, i.e. spillover effects.

POVERTY

The block group that contains Westpark has the highest percent of people living in poverty for the year 2000 (56 percent) in all of Kitsap county (Map 5). Only one other block group – 805-2, in downtown Bremerton – is also experiencing poverty over the critical threshold of 40 percent that customarily defines a severely disadvantaged neighborhood. Thirteen other neighborhoods, all save one in the Bremerton area, have poverty rates over 20 percent. Research suggests that neighborhoods with poverty levels above 20 percent tend to decline further as moderate income residents depart and neighborhoods become susceptible to further deterioration (Galster, 2002).

Map 5. Kitsap County, Poverty Rates, 1999

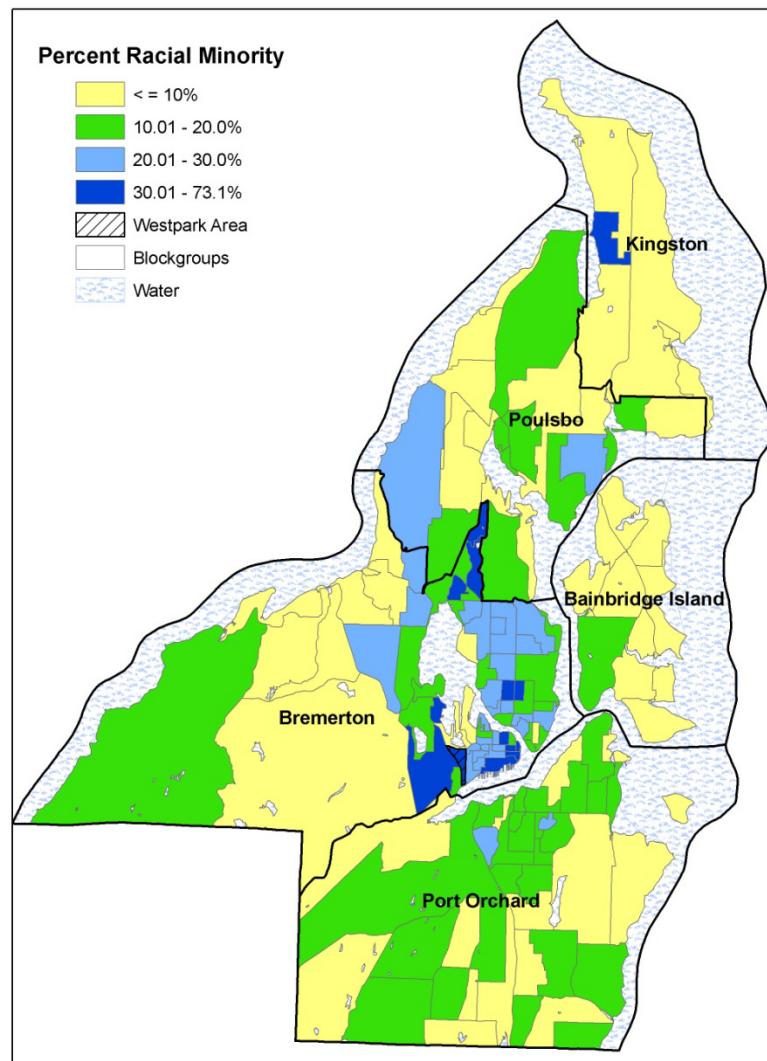


Source: U.S. Census Bureau (2000).

RACIAL COMPOSITION

Relative to other areas of Puget Sound, in particular Seattle, Kitsap County is less racially diverse. Nonetheless, the Westpark neighborhood is among the more diverse communities within Kitsap County, with about one-third of residents in the associated block group identifying as non white in 2000 (Map 6). The two largest ethnic groups, African Americans and Asians, were about equally represented in the block group (only 10 and 11 percent, respectively). Around Westpark, block groups have very different levels of diversity, with the block group to the North having few minorities (nine percent), while the one to the West is about equally diverse (35 percent non white) as the Westpark block group.

Map 6. Kitsap County, Percent Racial Minorities, 2000

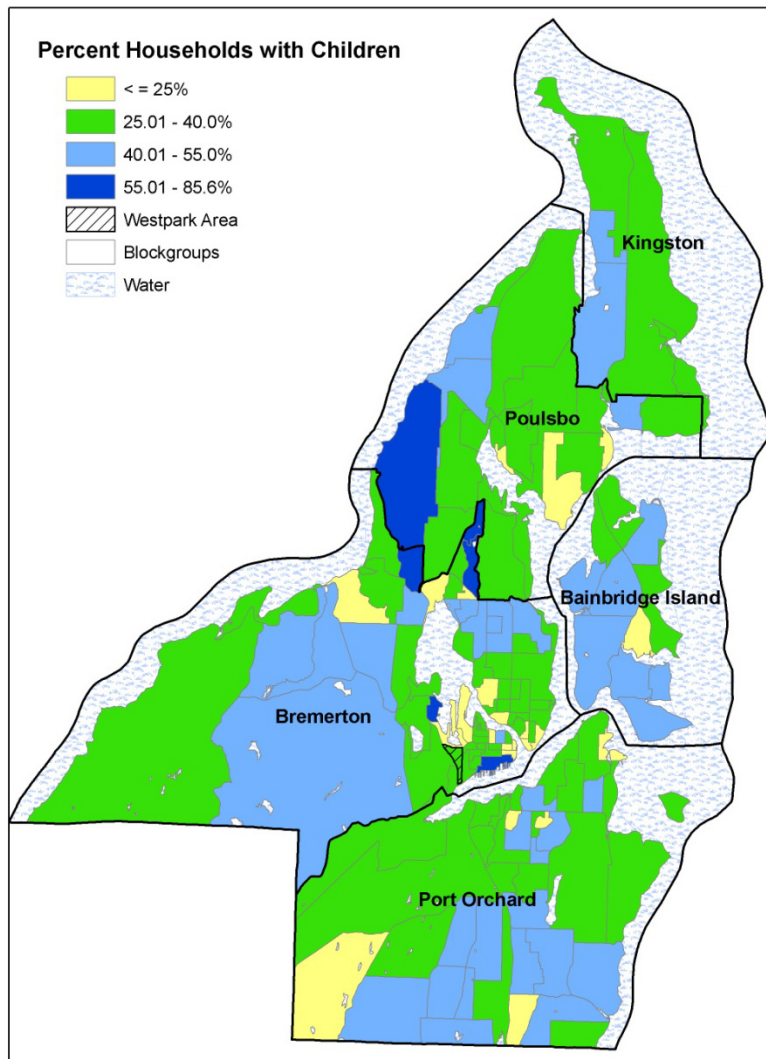


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

FAMILY COMPOSITION

Households with children make up about 39 percent of the households in the Westpark neighborhood, similar to surrounding neighborhoods, except the block group to the North, in which only 21 percent of households have children (Map 7).

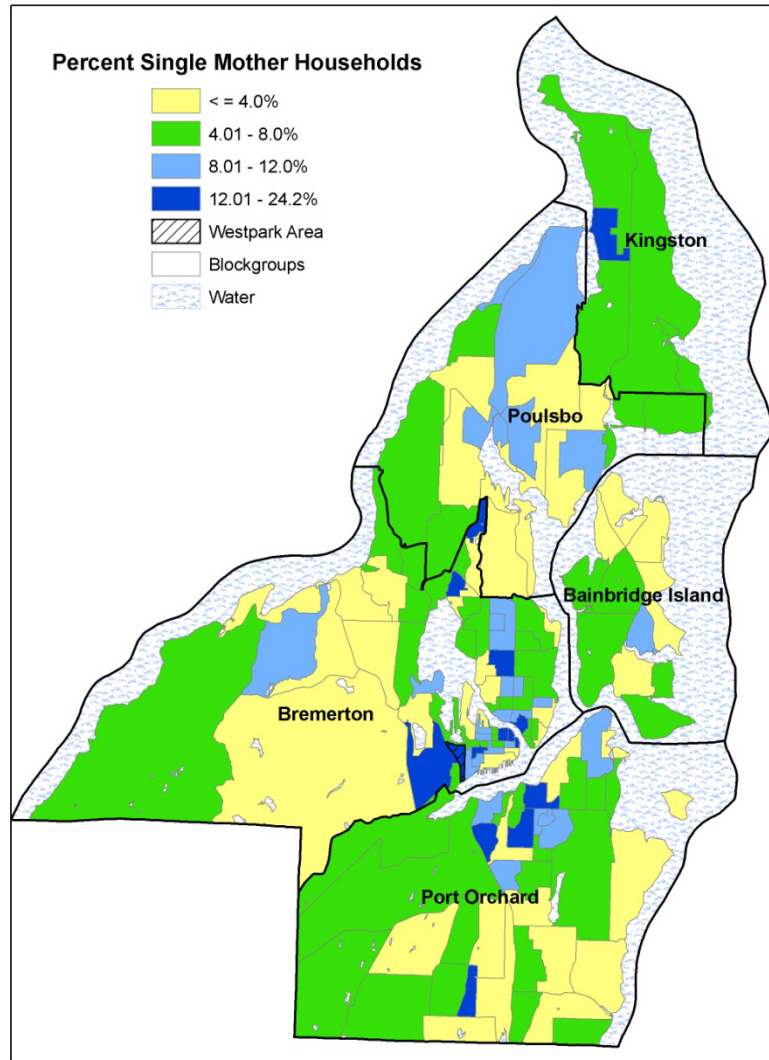
Map 7. Kitsap County, Percent of Households with Children, 2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

With respect to the incidence of single motherhood, the block group containing Westpark has the highest percentage of households with children that are headed by single women (24 percent) in the county (Map 8). The block group neighborhood to the West of Westpark has 17 percent female parent families, while the neighbor to the North has only 5 percent.

Map 8. Kitsap County, Percent of Female-Headed Households with Children, 2000



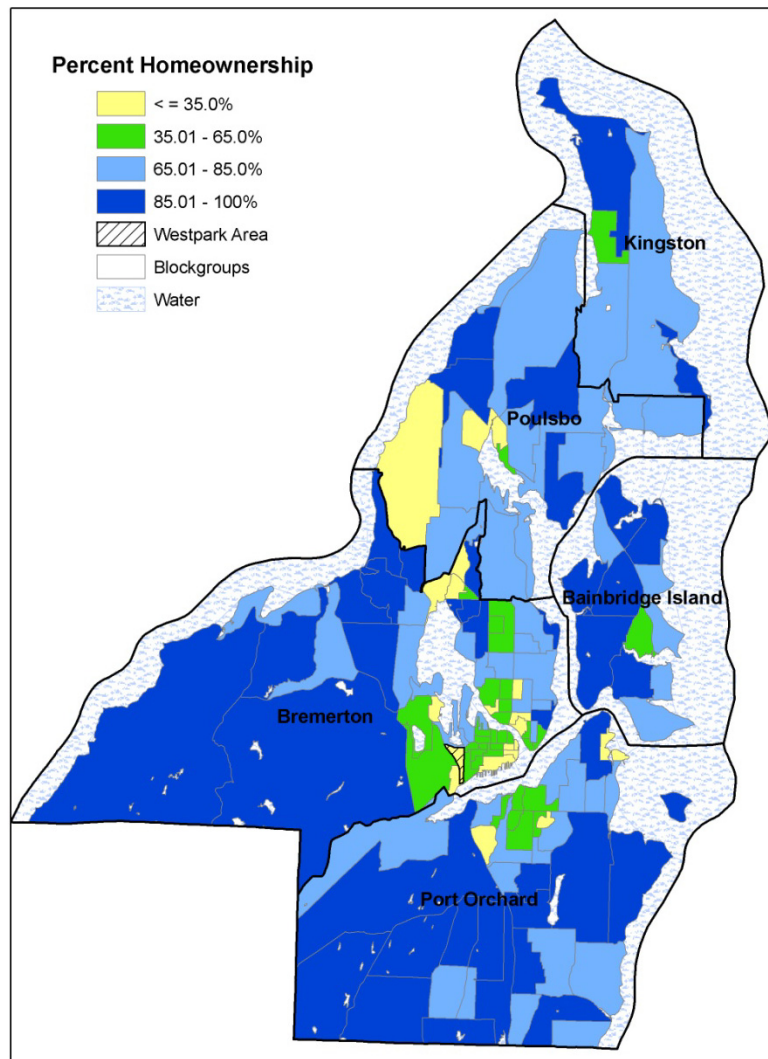
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

These two maps taken in concert suggest that while most households in the Westpark block group are childless (around 60 percent), among those households with children, there are fewer families with two married parents than there are single parent families.

HOME OWNERSHIP

With respect to housing tenure (Map 9), levels of homeownership are quite high throughout Kitsap County (with a block group mean of 68 percent). The map suggests that there are very few areas of the city or county with a large supply of rental housing. Efforts to deconcentrate poverty may be confounded by a shortage of neighborhoods that offer affordable rental housing or accept housing choice vouchers.

Map 9. Kitsap County, Percent of Housing Units that are Owner-Occupied, 2000

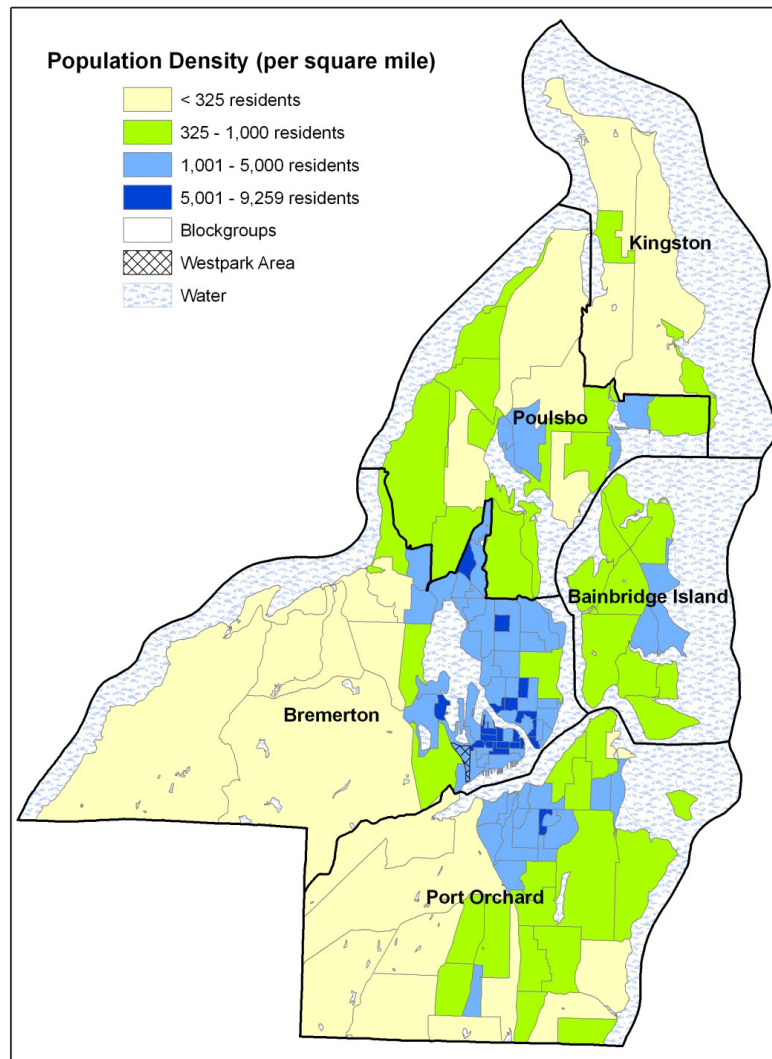


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

POPULATION DENSITY

As might be expected, population density is generally greater in the urban core (downtown Bremerton), and lower in the suburban fringe (Map 10). The Westpark block group is about .43 square miles in size, and its density is around 4,500 people per square mile.

Map 10. Kitsap County, People per Square Mile 2000

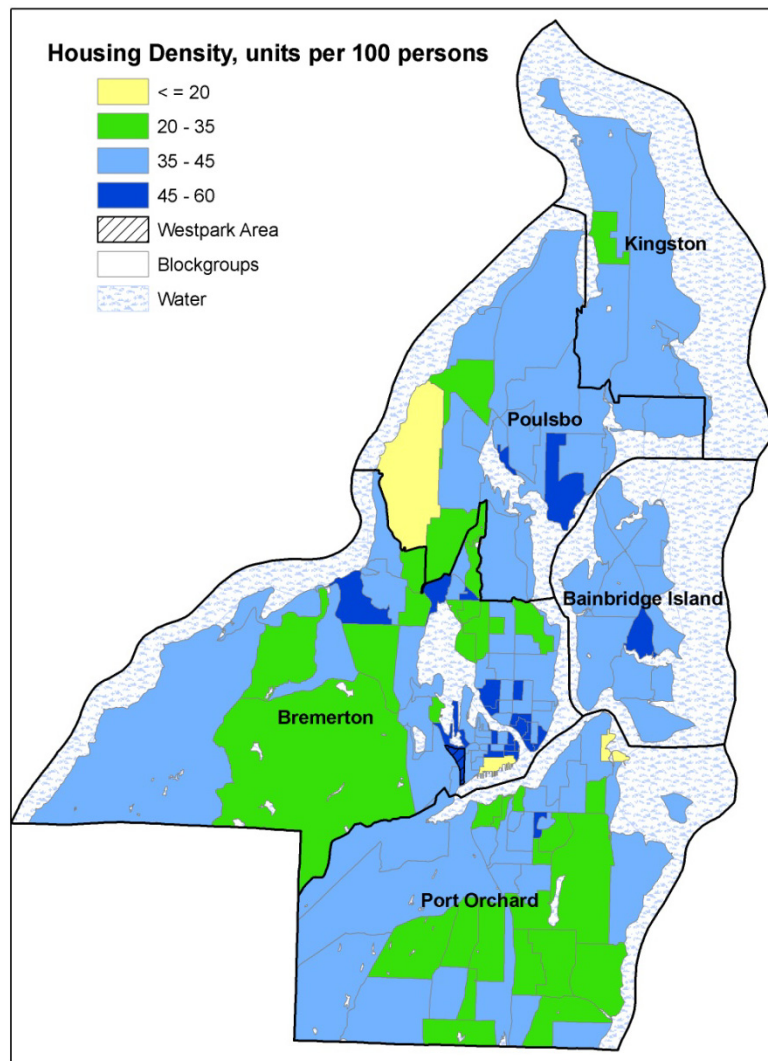


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

HOUSING DENSITY

Housing density in Kitsap County (Map 11) is also generally highest in the downtown core areas, with the highest density block group located adjacent to the naval shipyard (60 units per 100 persons). The Westpark neighborhood has slightly greater housing density (45 units per 100 persons) than the adjacent block groups to the East (43) and West (41), and slightly lower housing density than the block group to the North (47). With the redevelopment, housing density in the Westpark neighborhood should increase.

Map 11. Kitsap County, Housing Density, 2000

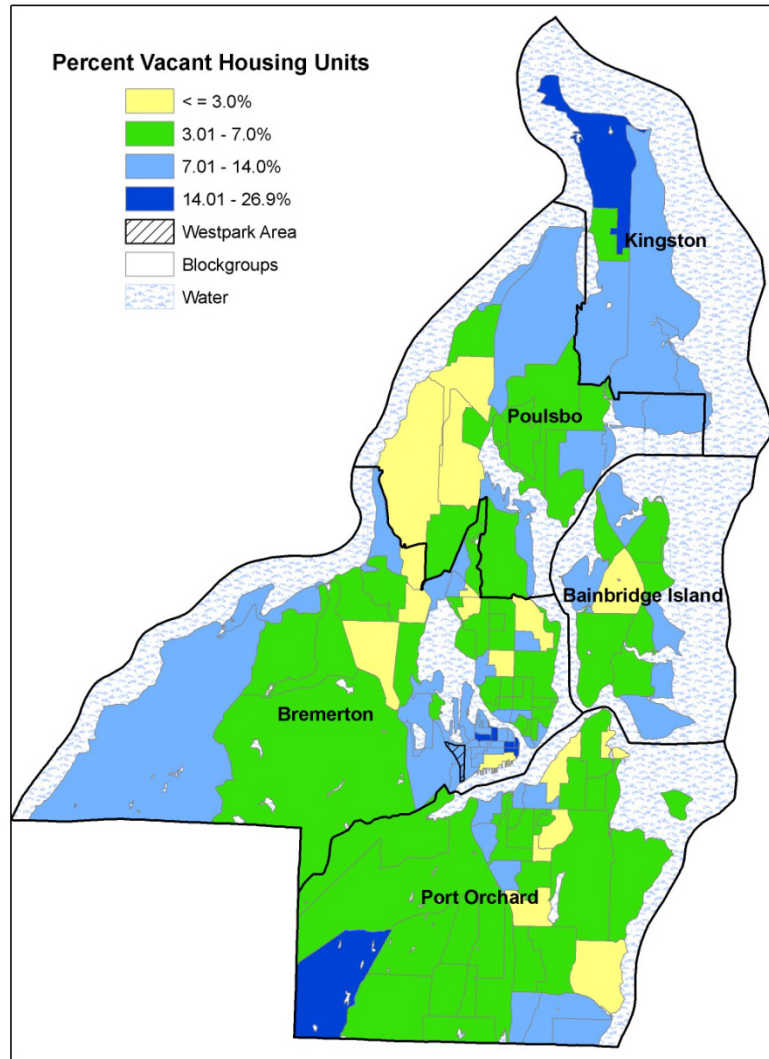


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

HOUSING VACANCY RATES

Vacancy rates (Map 12) also appear to be somewhat higher in and around downtown Bremerton, while areas that are immediately peripheral are in higher demand. In 2000, the Westpark area had slightly lower vacancy rates (seven percent), compared with its neighbors to the West, East and North, all of which had vacancy rates between nine and eleven percent.

Map 12. Kitsap County, Housing Vacancies, 2000

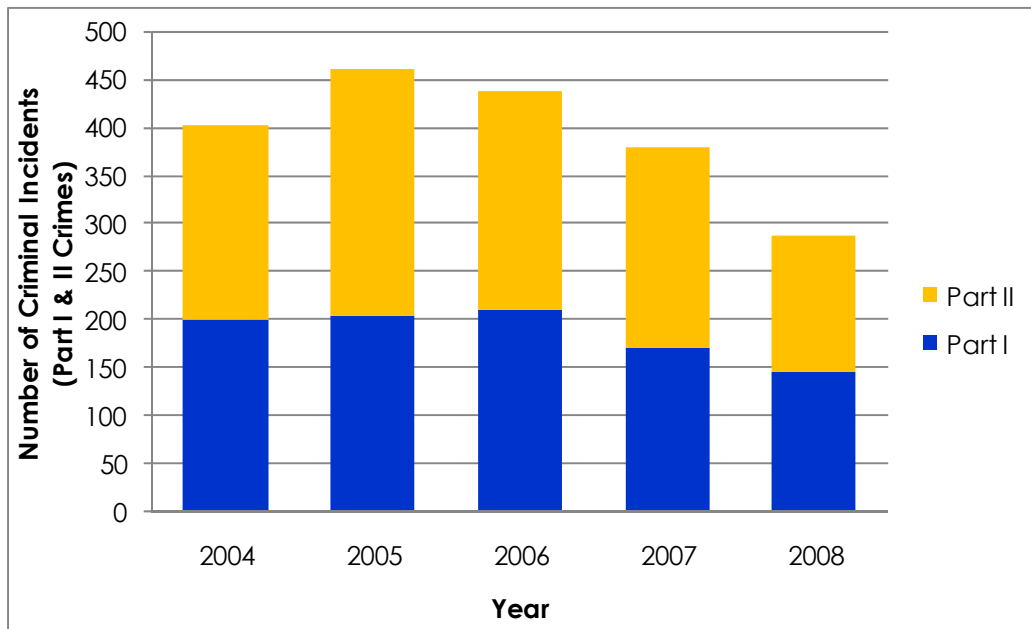


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

NUMBER OF CRIMINAL INCIDENTS IN WESTPARK

The total number of criminal incidents in the Westpark block group declined substantially over the five year period from a high in 2005 of 461 incidents to 288 in 2008 (Figure 11). The decline in crime between 2005 and 2006 is attributable entirely to a decrease in Part II crimes from 257 to 228 (an 11 percent decline). In the following year, the number of Part I and Part II crimes¹³ both declined - Part II crimes by an additional eight percent (over the level in 2006) and Part I crimes by 19 percent. The even more substantial decline in criminal incidents between 2007 and 2008 partly reflects the relocation of the first Westpark residents (sectors two and five), which took place during 2008.

Figure 11. Number of Criminal Incidents in the Westpark Neighborhood, 2004 - 2008



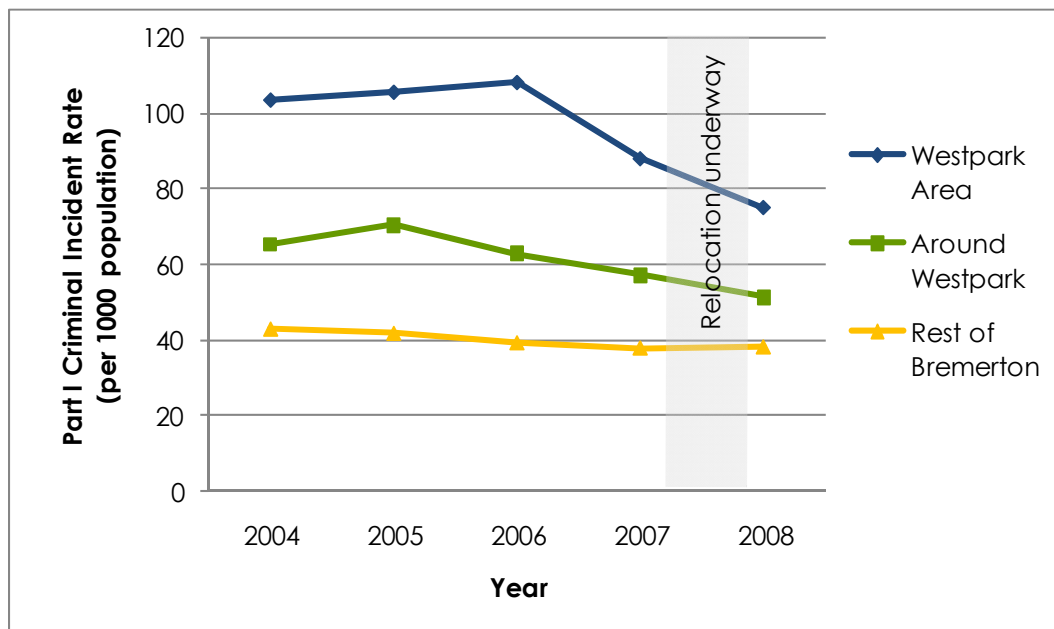
Source: Bremerton Police Department

¹³ Part I crimes tend to be more serious, often (though not always) involving the threat of bodily harm. These crimes include murder, rape, assault, robbery, burglary and theft, including car theft. Because there were no criminal incident reports of murder in Westpark during the five year period, we have not charted the murder rate for this report. Part II crimes include drug offenses, malicious mischief, trespassing, stalking, forgery, fraud, counterfeiting, child physical and sexual abuse, prostitution, alcohol-related offenses (including DUI).

CRIME IN CONTEXT: PART I CRIME RATES IN AND AROUND WESTPARK

The rate of Part I crimes in the block group that contains Westpark was consistently higher relative to the adjacent block groups and the city of Bremerton (Figure 12). In 2006, the rate of Part I crime in Westpark was nearly three times greater than the rate in the rest of Bremerton. Because the rate of criminal incidents in the city of Bremerton was fairly constant over time (around 40 incidents per 1,000 people) even as crime in Westpark declined between 2006 and 2008, the gap narrowed to about a two-fold higher risk of crime in Westpark, relative to Bremerton by the end of the five years. The decline in Westpark was from around 108 incidents per 1,000 people to 75, while in the adjacent block groups, the decline was from around 63 to 51 incidents per 1,000 people. Among Part I crimes, the most common in Westpark (as well as in the area around Westpark and the rest of Bremerton) were theft (including car theft) and assault.

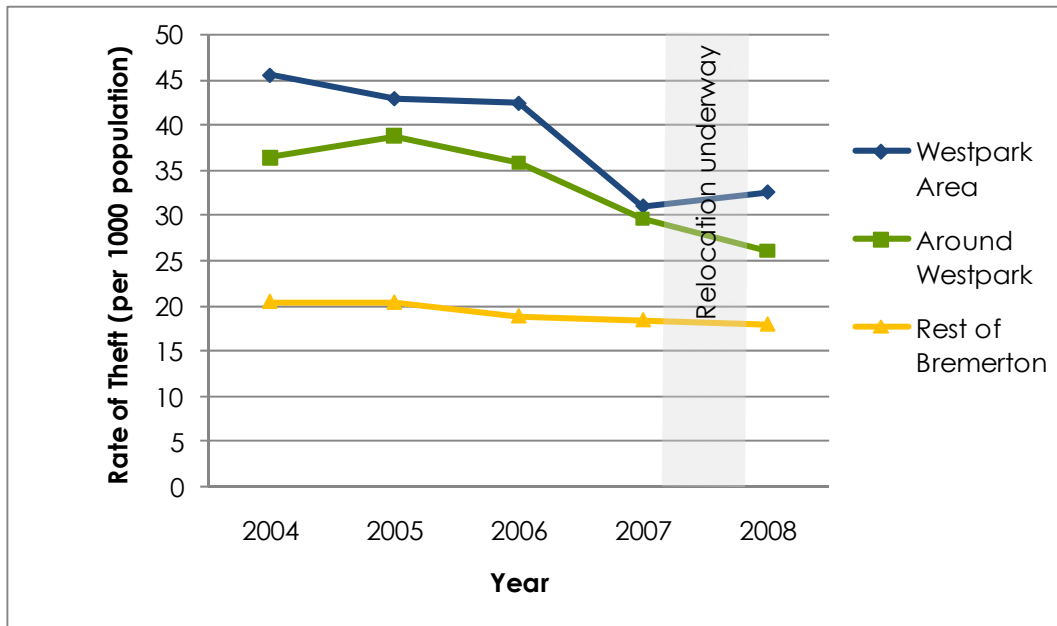
Figure 12. Rate of Part I Criminal Incidents in the Westpark Area, Around Westpark and in the Rest of Bremerton, 2004 - 2008



Source: Bremerton Police Department

In certain categories of Part I crimes, however, the difference between the crime rate in the Westpark neighborhood and that of the surrounding block groups is less pronounced. For example, the rate of theft in Westpark (Figure 13) mirrors more closely that of the surrounding area, though still marginally higher in each of the five years.

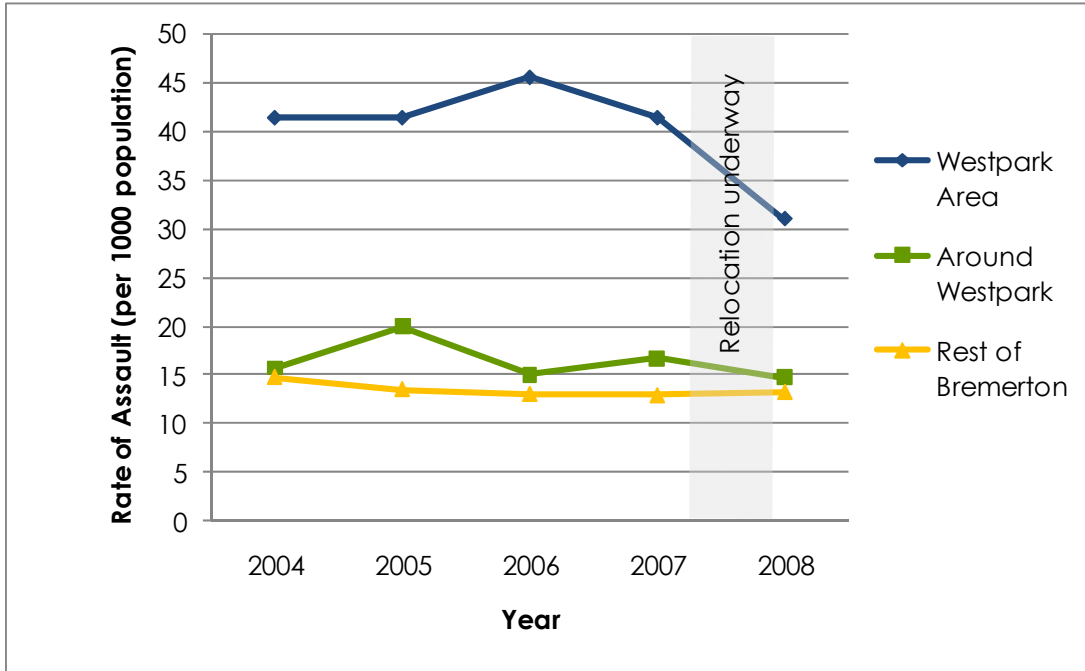
Figure 13. Rate of Theft in the Westpark Area, Around Westpark and in the Rest of Bremerton, 2004 – 2008



Source: Bremerton Police Department

With respect to assault however, Westpark rates were consistently high, while the annual difference in the risk of assault between the neighborhood around Westpark and the rest of Bremerton were quite minimal (Figure 14).

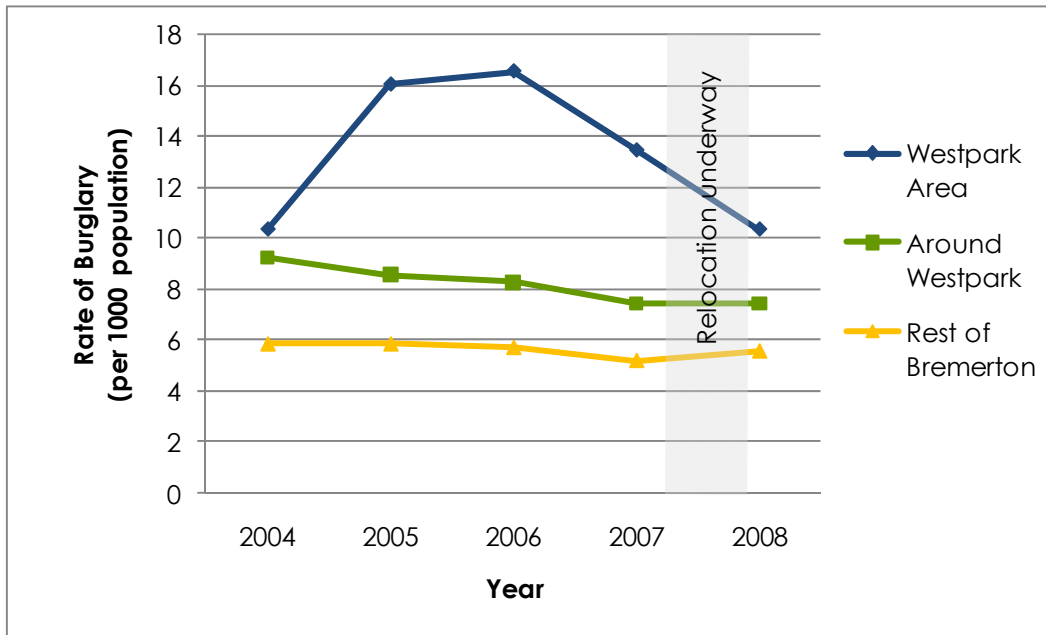
Figure 14. Rate of Assault in the Westpark Area, Around Westpark and in the Rest of Bremerton, 2004 – 2008



Source: Bremerton Police Department

For the burglary rate, we see an inverted U shape for the Westpark neighborhood, with a rise in reported burglaries in 2005 and 2006, but returning to 2004 levels by the end of the period (Figure 15). This pattern is in marked contrast to the fairly constant incidence of burglary in the rest of the city (including the surrounding neighborhood).

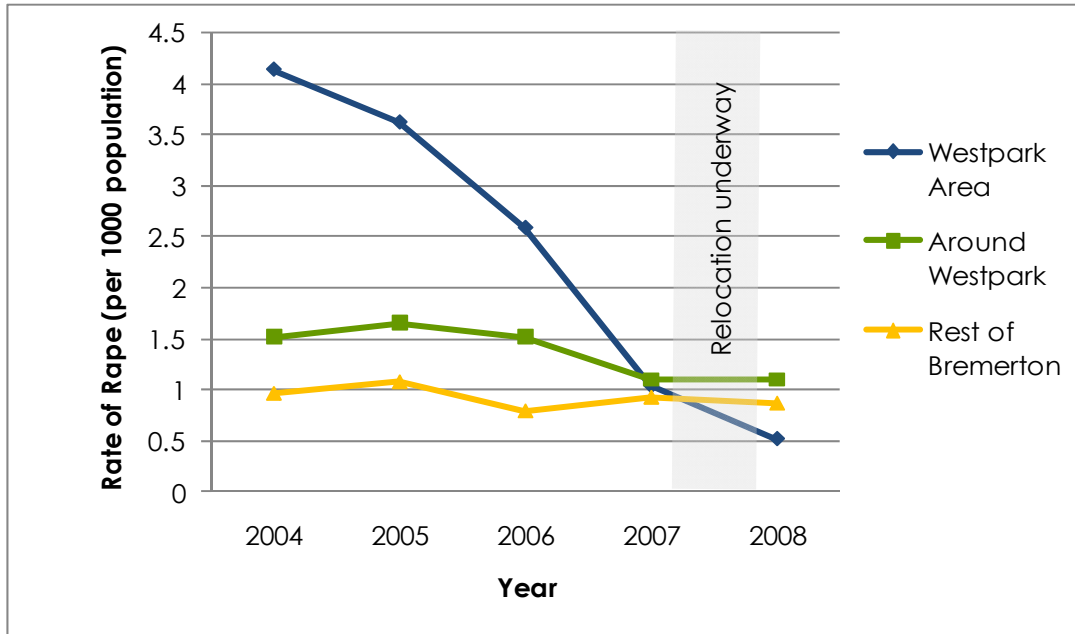
Figure 15. Rate of Burglary in the Westpark Area, Around Westpark and in the Rest of Bremerton, 2004 – 2008



Source: Bremerton Police Department

While the incidence of rape in Westpark was about four times greater in 2004, compared with the rest of the city, by 2008, the rate had fallen to a level below either the surrounding neighborhood or Bremerton as a whole (Figure 16).¹⁴ It should be noted however, that, because the Westpark block group is a small area with a low incidence of rape, small changes (in this case, from eight reported rapes to one) have a big impact on the trend line.

Figure 16. Rate of Rape in the Westpark Area, Around Westpark and in the Rest of Bremerton, 2004 – 2008

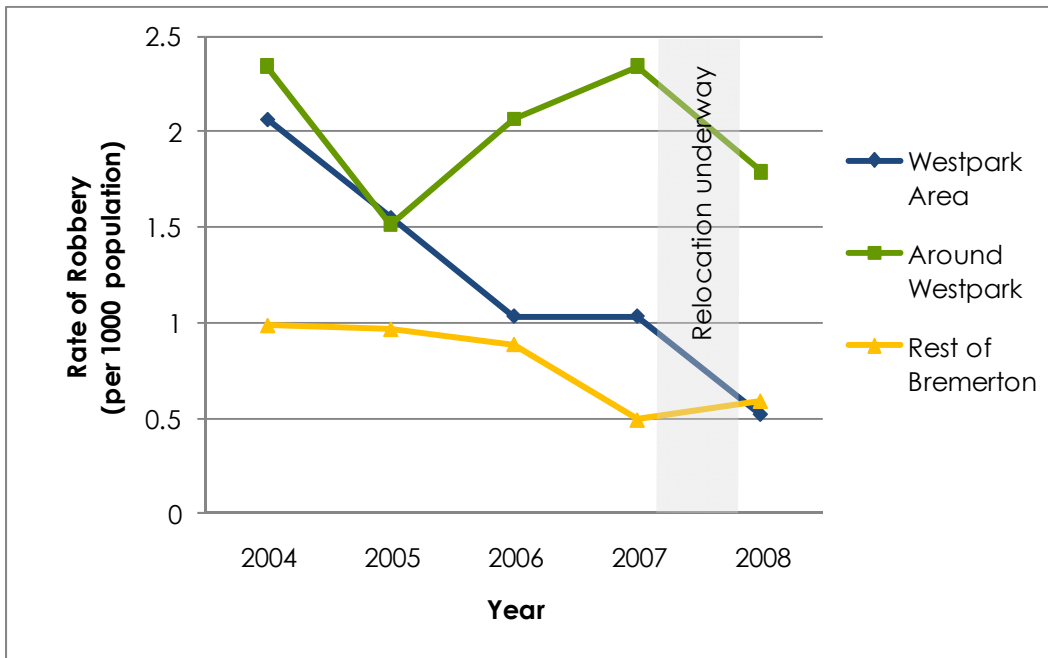


Source: Bremerton Police Department

¹⁴ The reader is advised that, because of privacy concerns, police officers may be particularly reluctant to specify an exact street address when responding to a rape report. Thus for this crime in particular, the exclusion from the analysis of crimes without a specific street address may lead to an underestimate of the true rate of rape (in Westpark, the surrounding neighborhood, and the city as a whole).

The rate of robbery is the only Part I crime where we find a divergence from the usual pattern of higher crime in Westpark, relative to the comparison groups (Figure 17). In this case, the reported rate of robbery is higher in the area around Westpark (compared with Westpark) for each year except 2005 (when the rates were approximately the same). Compared with other Part I crimes however, the rate of robbery in Westpark is quite low (and thus we observe a large visual effect associated with small changes in the incidence rate – from four robberies in 2004 to only one in 2008).

Figure 17. Rate of Robbery in the Westpark Area, Around Westpark and in the Rest of Bremerton, 2004 – 2008

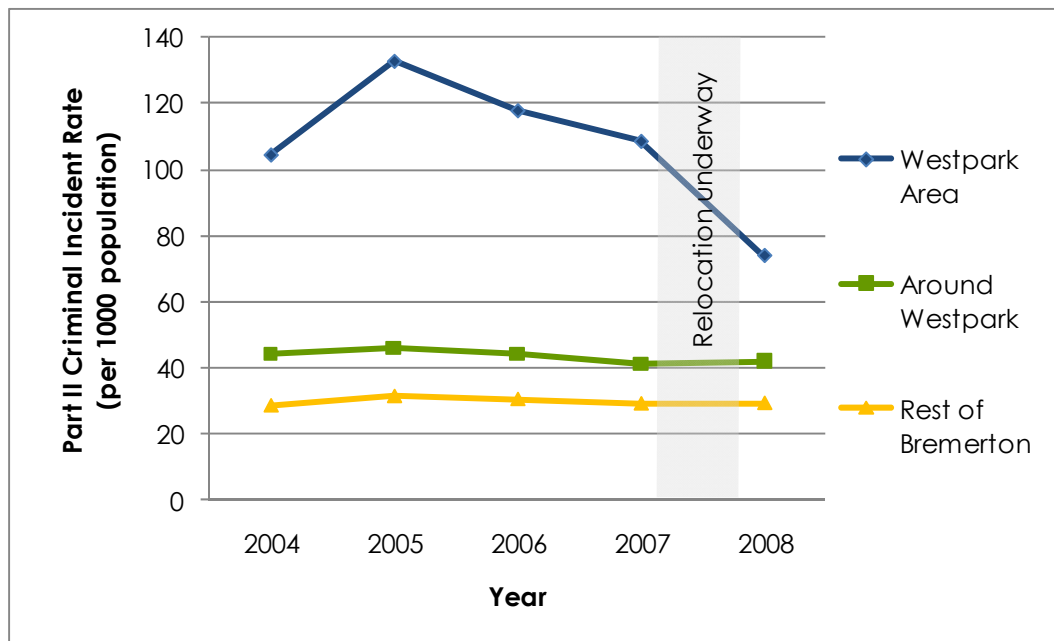


Source: Bremerton Police Department

CRIME IN CONTEXT: PART II CRIMINAL INCIDENT RATES IN AND AROUND WESTPARK

After 2005, we observe a steady decrease in reported Part II criminal incidents in Westpark (Figure 18). This pattern is in marked contrast to the constant rate of criminal incidents in the surrounding neighborhood and in the rest of Bremerton. As was the case for Part I crimes, the rate of Part II crimes was consistently higher in Westpark relative to the surrounding neighborhood or the city of Bremerton. Among Part II crimes, the most common in Westpark (as in the area around Westpark and in Bremerton) were drug offenses and malicious mischief (physical damage to someone else's property, including vandalism).

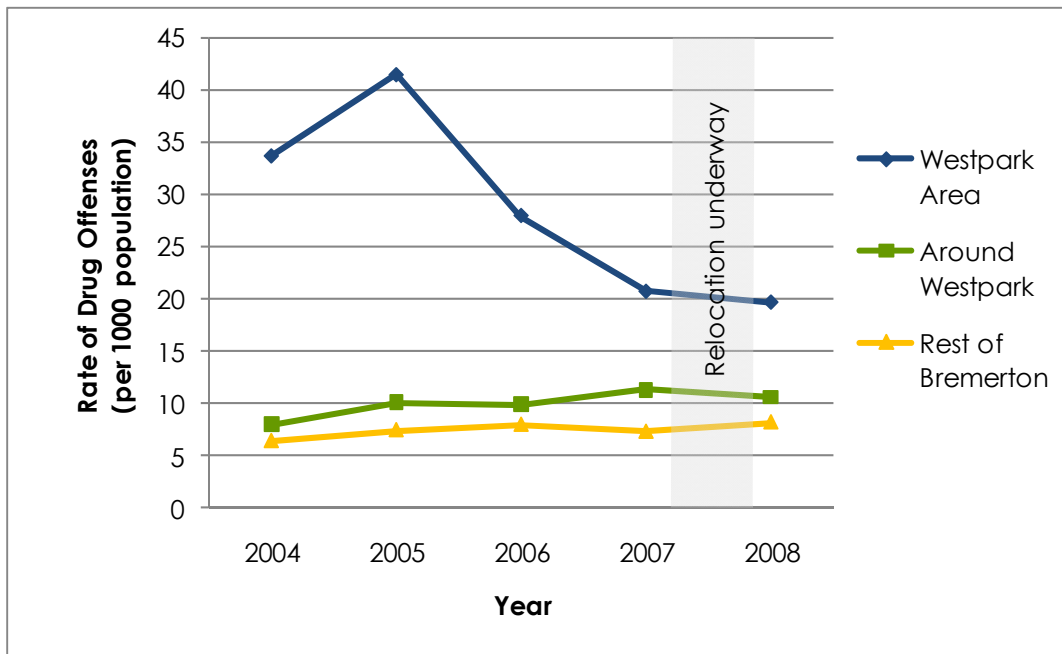
Figure 18. Rate of Part II Criminal Incidents in the Westpark Area, Around Westpark and in the Rest of Bremerton, 2004 – 2008



Source: Bremerton Police Department

Among Part II crimes, the pronounced decline in drug-related offenses, particularly between 2005 and 2007 is notable, since the rate decreased by about half (from around 41 incidents per 1,000 people to just 21 per 1,000 in 2007) (Figure 19). This decline occurred *before* the relocation of Westpark residents in sectors two and five. In comparison with the surrounding neighborhood, the reported rate of drug offenses went from more than four times higher in Westpark to about twice as high.

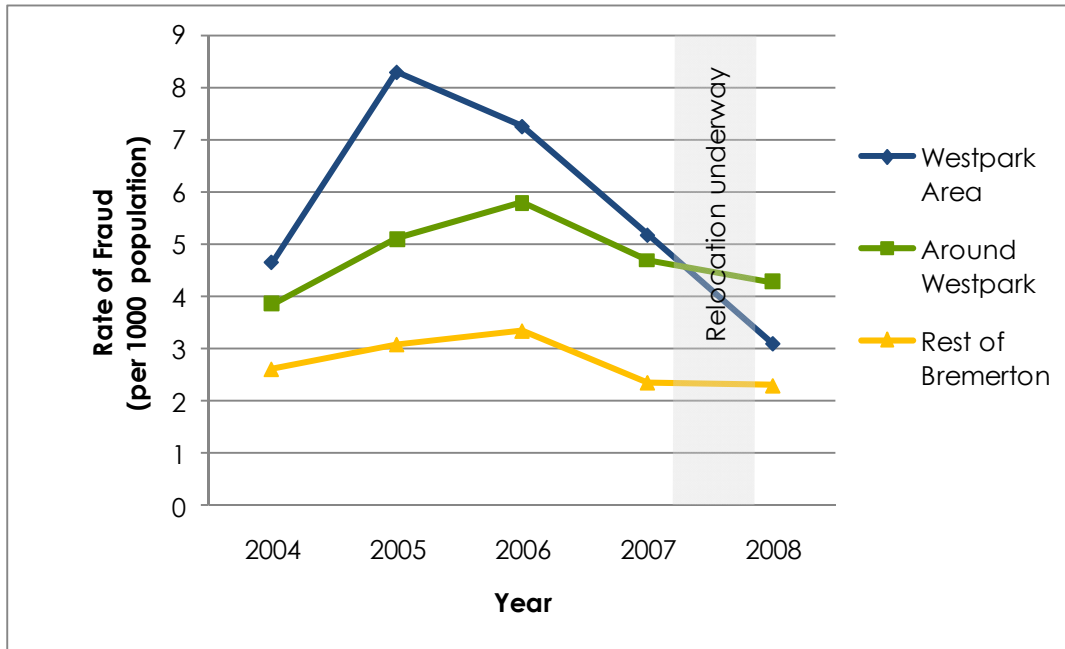
Figure 19. Rate of Drug Offenses in the Westpark Area, Around Westpark and in the Rest of Bremerton, 2004 – 2008



Source: Bremerton Police Department

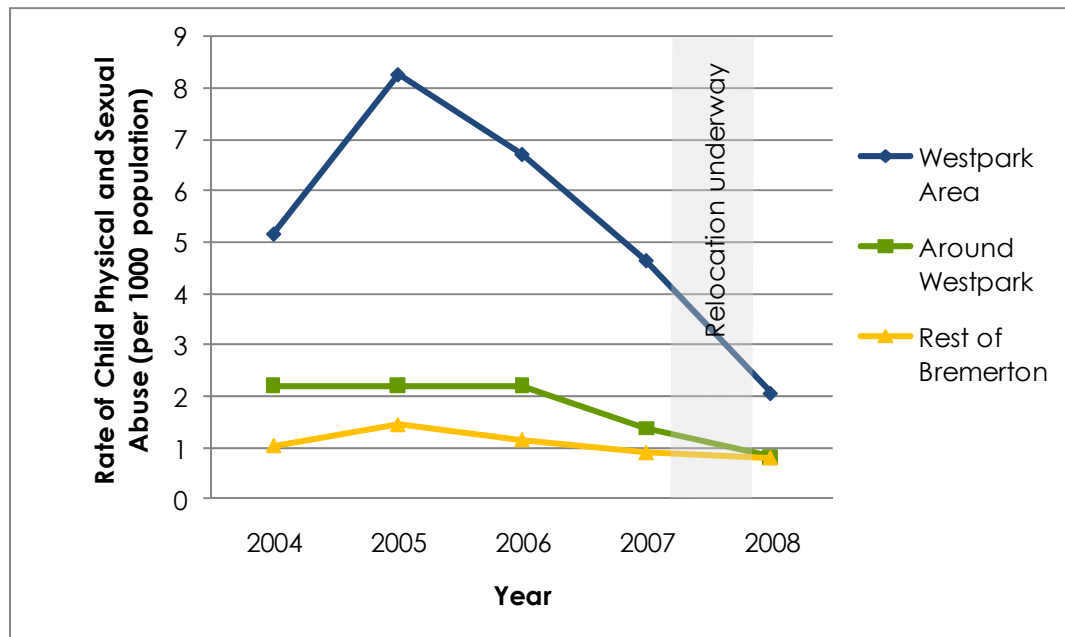
A similar pattern of rapidly declining criminal incident rates between 2005 and 2008 is also apparent with respect to fraud (Figure 20) and child abuse (Figure 21). By 2008, the rate of reported fraud in Westpark is lower than that of the surrounding area (around 3 per 1,000 people vs. 4). In the case of both fraud and child abuse, the decline in crime appears to have been well-underway before sectors two and five were vacated in anticipation of redevelopment.

Figure 20. Rate of Fraud in the Westpark Area, Around Westpark and in the Rest of Bremerton, 2004 – 2008



Source: Bremerton Police Department

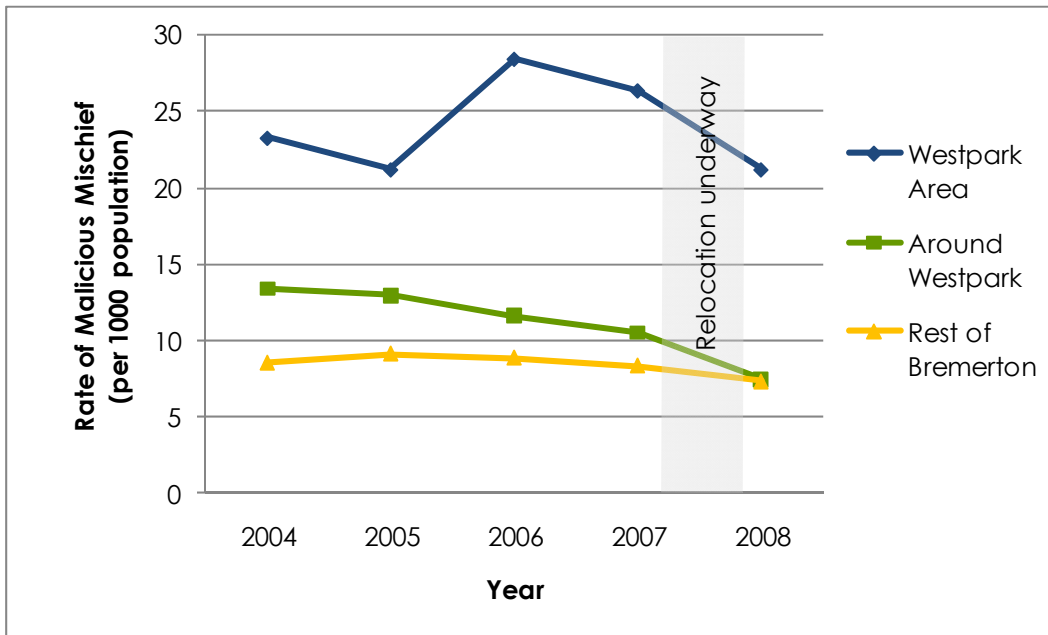
Figure 21. Rate of Child Physical and Sexual Abuse in the Westpark Area, Around Westpark and in the Rest of Bremerton, 2004 – 2008



Source: Bremerton Police Department

The pattern for malicious mischief in Westpark is more sporadic, with reported incidents increasing sharply from 2005 to 2006 before gradually declining (Figure 22). In contrast, the area around Westpark and the city of Bremerton show fairly similar (and lower) rates, with the gap between them narrowing over the period.

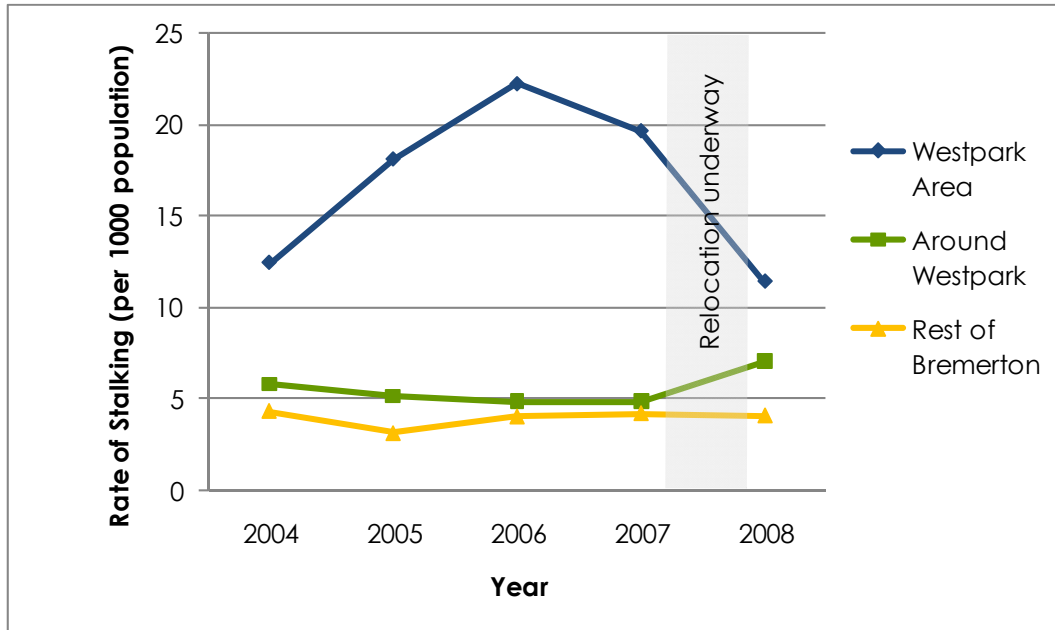
Figure 22. Rate of Malicious Mischief in the Westpark Area, Around Westpark and in the Rest of Bremerton, 2004 – 2008



Source: Bremerton Police Department

With respect to stalking (Figure 23), we observe the same inverted U shape as was seen for burglary (Figure 15). The pattern is quite distinct from the consistently lower and time-invariant rates found in the area around Westpark and the rest of Bremerton. At both the start and end of the five year period, the rate of stalking is about three times greater in Westpark, relative to the rest of Bremerton (around 12 vs. 4 in 2004, and 11 vs. 4 in 2008).

Figure 23. Rate of Stalking in the Westpark Area, Around Westpark and in the Rest of Bremerton, 2004 – 2008

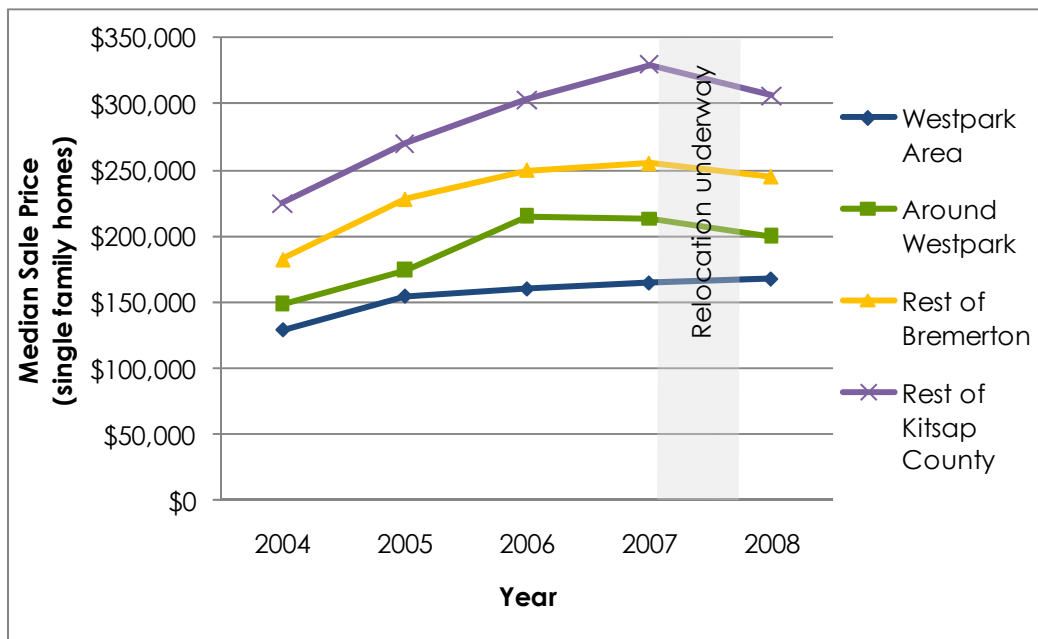


Source: Bremerton Police Department

PROPERTY VALUES IN AND AROUND WESTPARK

Five years of sales data from the office of the Kitsap County Assessor reveal that median property values for single family residential homes were highest and rose most precipitously in Kitsap County outside of Bremerton, and lowest in the block group that contains Westpark (Figure 24). The difference in median sale price between properties in the Westpark block group and those in the surrounding block groups is fairly small (averaging around \$35,000 over the five year period). The gap widened to around \$48,000 in 2007, but narrowed again in 2008 (to around \$32,000). In fact, it is interesting to note that, for all areas except the Westpark block group, we observe a decline in median sale prices between 2007 and 2008. While the total number of annual sales in the Westpark block group was lower in 2008 (10 sales compared with a high of 25 in 2006), homes located near the Westpark public housing complex¹⁵ held their value despite the mortgage crisis. The rise in median sale price in the Westpark block group between 2007 and 2008 may have been due to anticipation of HOPE VI redevelopment.

Figure 24. Median Sale Price for Residential (single family) Properties in the Westpark Area, Around Westpark, Bremerton and Kitsap County, 2004 - 2008



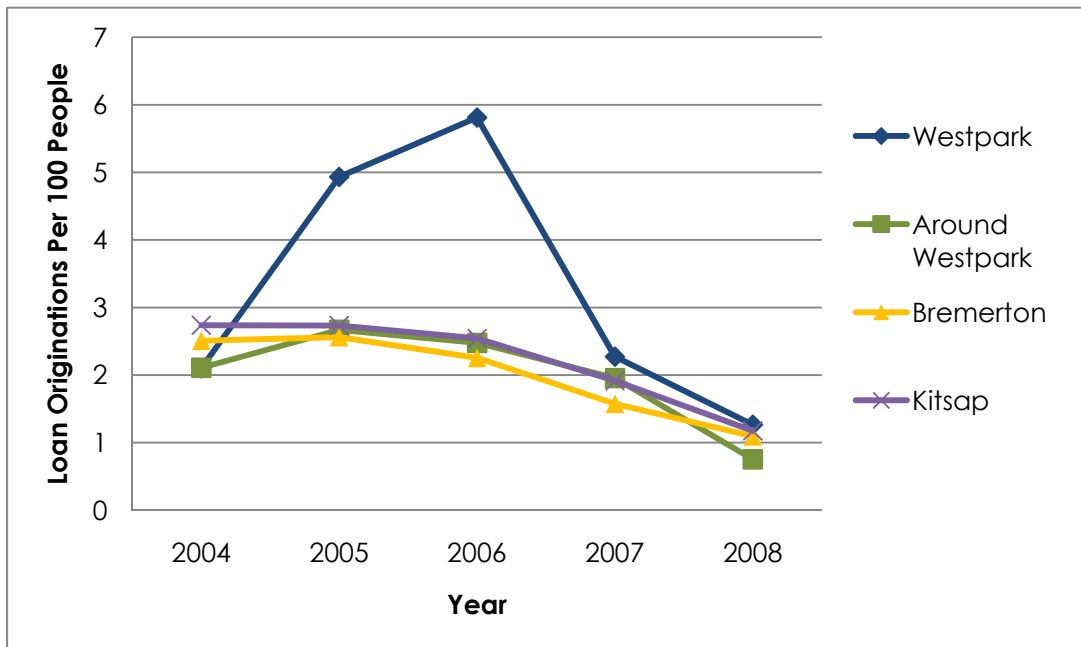
Source: Kitsap County Assessor, 5 Year Residential Sales Data

¹⁵ Since Westpark is a public housing complex, all of the home sales in the Westpark block group took place outside of the development, to the Southeast of Westpark.

MORTGAGE LOANS

From 2005-2008, the census tract containing Westpark had comparatively high loan originations per capita (Figure 25) and had a large spike in loan originations per capita in 2005 and 2006. However, since 2006, loan originations for Westpark, the area around Westpark, Bremerton, and Kitsap County have all declined. Further, Westpark and the area around Westpark have declined at a faster rate than Kitsap County or the Bremerton CCD. This represents a general downturn in the economy.

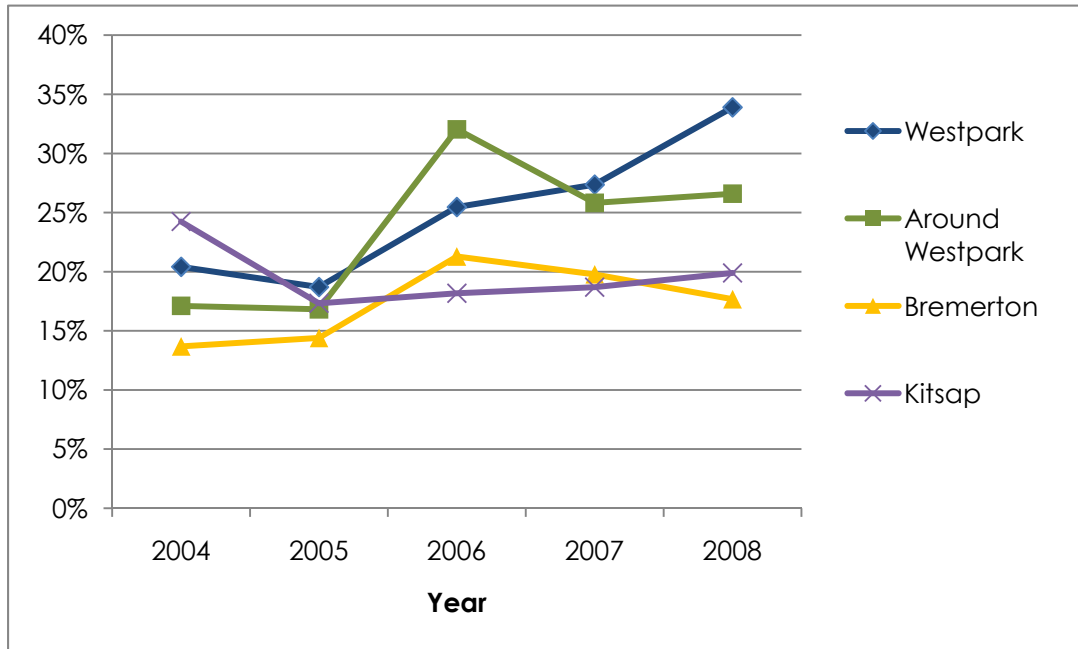
Figure 25. Mortgage Loan Originations per 100 People



Source: Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council. Government and conventional loans included for owner-occupied 1-4-unit dwellings. Note: Westpark refers to the census tract containing the development (see Map 2 for area definitions).

Since 2005, the tract containing Westpark and the tracts surrounding Westpark have had a consistently higher percentage of denied mortgage loan applications (Figure 26) than Bremerton and the rest of Kitsap County.

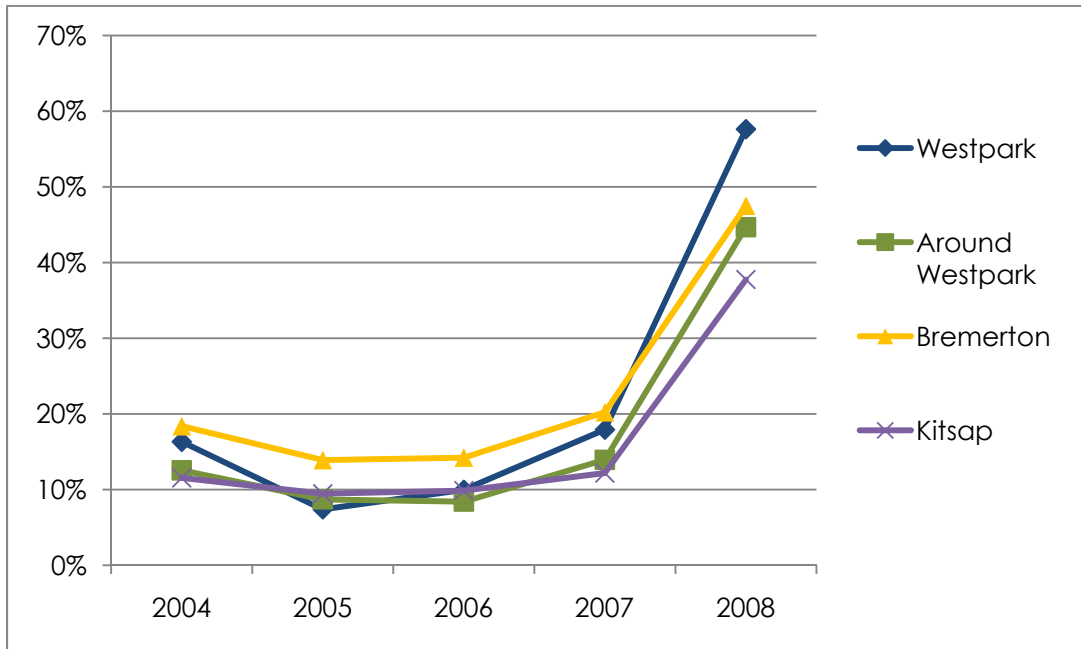
Figure 26. Percentage of Denied Mortgage Loan Applications



Source: Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council. Government and conventional loans included for owner-occupied 1-4-unit dwellings. Note: Westpark refers to the census tract containing the development (see Map 2 for area definitions).

Before 2007, the percent of loan originations from government loans was lower in Westpark and the area surrounding Westpark when compared to the rest of Bremerton (Figure 27). Since 2007, the percent of government loans rose sharply in all areas, but particularly in Westpark and the areas surrounding Westpark. In 2008, the percent of loans provided by the government was higher in Westpark relative to the areas around Westpark, Bremerton, and Kitsap County.

Figure 27. Percent of Loan Originations from Government Loans

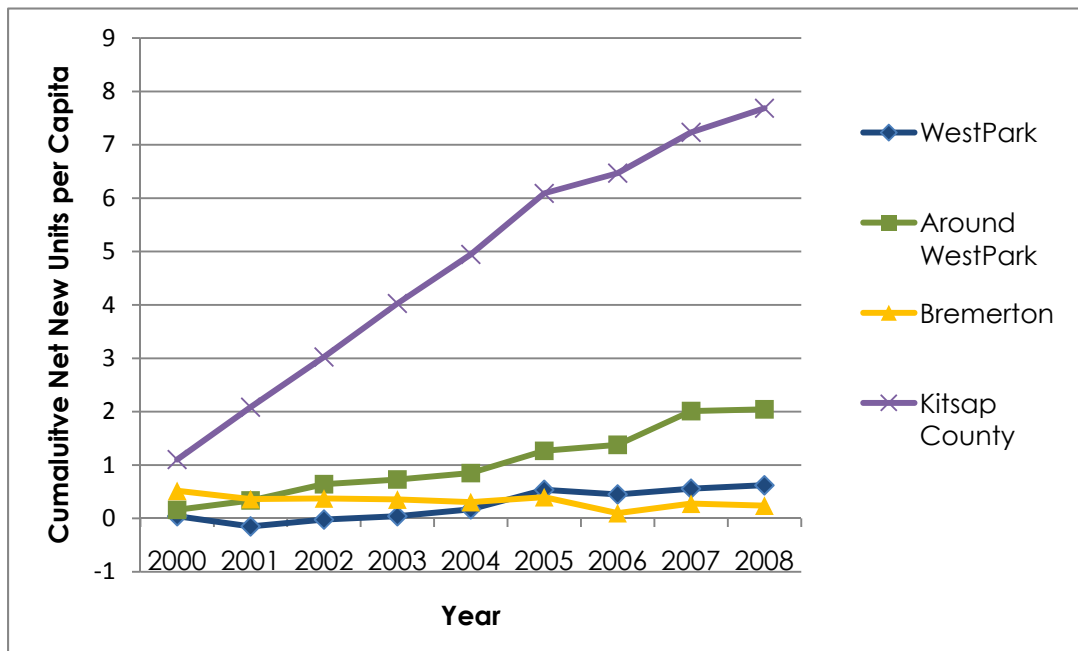


Source: Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council. Government and conventional loans included for owner-occupied 1-4-unit dwellings. Note: Westpark refers to the census tract containing the development (see Map 2 for area definitions).

UNITS LOST AND BUILT

From 2000-2004, the census tract containing Westpark lagged behind the census tracts surrounding Westpark, Bremerton CCD, and Kitsap county in cumulative new units per capita. In 2005, Westpark's cumulative net new units per capita surpassed Bremerton and has remained relatively constant since then. The areas around Westpark have seen a growth in cumulative net new units per capita above that of Westpark and Bremerton, but still lag far behind the rest of Kitsap County.

Figure 28. Cumulative Net New Units Per Capita



Source: Puget Sound Regional Council Residential Building Permit Data. Note: Westpark refers to the census tract containing the development (see Map 2 for area definitions).

SUMMARY

Prior to redevelopment, Westpark was located in one of the two poorest block groups in all of Kitsap County—the other being in downtown Bremerton. It is surrounded by areas of moderate poverty—with rates ranging from 20 to 40 percent. Westpark was also among the more racially diverse neighborhoods in Kitsap County, with more than 30 percent of the block group composed of minorities. Like the neighborhoods that surround it, children lived in only 39 percent of the households in the Westpark neighborhood, and many of those families were headed by single mothers.

Most of Kitsap County has a fairly high rate of owner-occupied housing at about 68 percent, meaning, in turn, that there are limited rental opportunities throughout the county. To the extent

that rental housing is concentrated in particular neighborhoods, and in light of the limited supply, we may see some clustering of relocated residents in those few neighborhoods with relatively more rental housing.

Housing density at Westpark prior to redevelopment was 45 units per 100 persons, slightly more than the surrounding block groups, but not as high as downtown Bremerton. It is likely that Westpark's housing density may increase with redevelopment.

Crime in the Westpark neighborhood has declined substantially since 2004. Nonetheless, Part I crimes (more violent) still occurred at higher rates than in the surrounding neighborhood or in the rest of Bremerton. The most common Part I crimes in Westpark were assault and theft (including car theft). Theft occurred at a markedly higher rate than in the rest of the city, as did burglary. Part II crimes (non-violent) also occurred at higher rates than in neighboring areas or the rest of Bremerton, although they have declined since 2005. Most notably, drug offenses have decreased, as has fraud, child physical and sexual abuse, and stalking. Rates of malicious mischief remain high, however, in comparison to the adjacent neighborhood and the rest of Bremerton.

The census tract that includes Westpark had comparatively high loan originations from in 2005 and 2006. After that, the rate falls in line with the rest of the city. The Westpark neighborhood saw an increase in loan denials beginning in 2006.

Over time, we see little growth in the net new units per capita in Bremerton, the Westpark neighborhood, or the area around Westpark, although Kitsap County as a whole had a large increase.

V. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This report presents baseline information for the HOPE VI redevelopment of the Bremerton Housing Authority's Westpark public housing community. The report focuses on two questions:

- Who are the original Westpark residents?
- What was the Westpark neighborhood like before redevelopment?

These questions are meant to create a baseline for judging the impacts of the redevelopment over time both on original residents and on the Westpark neighborhood, the neighborhoods immediately surrounding Westpark, Bremerton, and Kitsap County as a whole.

WHO WERE THE ORIGINAL WESTPARK RESIDENTS?

Prior to redevelopment, Westpark housed more households headed by people living with disabilities (51 percent) than households headed by able-bodied individuals (44 percent), and only a very small minority of household heads were seniors (5 percent). Nearly two-thirds of households were headed by single women. The average household had an income of less than \$1000 a month, including all transfer payments and other sources of income. For people with few resources, the disruption of relocation can be very difficult to overcome without services, especially for those living with disabilities and the elderly. Families with children also may have difficulties adjusting. In the context of what we know about HOPE VI nationally, access to health services and helping families that are hard to house to maintain stable housing have been the important missing pieces in terms of the well-being of original residents.

The CSS plans for housing stabilization, health services, elderly and disabled services will help households remain stable, as long as BHA staff and the staff of partner agencies are able to reach out to residents who may not stay in the subsidized housing system. Additionally, given that more than half of all original households have at least one member living with a disability, making sure that health and other appropriate services are provided, and that new housing options accommodate disabilities will be vital to long-term stability.

Expectations of HOPE VI CSS aiding original residents in becoming less dependent on public sources of aid must be tempered by an awareness that much of the population are unable to work to support themselves. HOPE VI and CSS have goals that focus on enhancing resident employment and self-sufficiency. What does self-sufficiency mean for people living with disabilities, who are limited in the amount they may work both by their own physical and mental challenges and by the requirements of government disability supports? Plans for employment readiness, job training, job search and placement may only be helpful for a fraction of adults who used to live at Westpark.

Expectations for increasing the employment of original residents must be tempered by an awareness of macroeconomic conditions. The redevelopment is occurring during the most profound recession since the 1930s, and recent employment numbers show that from December 2008 to December 2009, the unemployment rate in Washington State rose from 6.5 percent to 9.5 percent (Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 2010). While this is still on par with the national unemployment rate of 10 percent, it does indicate a worsening trend of job loss in the state. Furthermore, between 2000 and 2007, Kitsap County lost nearly 15,000 jobs (U.S. Census Bureau USA Counties). It is in this context that CSS and the redevelopment’s goals for increasing the job attachment of original Westpark residents occur. People can only work if there are jobs; to increase their incomes takes a combination of increasing skills (human capital) and a job market that contains good jobs. Furthermore, research at other HOPE VI sites has shown little effect on employment (Goetz 2003; Kleit and Brandt 2009). This constraint does not mean CSS should not still strive to improve the employment situation of original residents; rather, it means that if residents are stable in their employment they will have weathered the disruption of redevelopment well.

Many of the relocated households for whom we have information moved to the more dense and lower income parts of Bremerton and Port Orchard, where there is likely more affordable rental housing. Yet, for roughly one third of original households the BHA has no forwarding address. Future analysis will examine whether these households are in any way different from those who have known addresses. They could be worse off and unstable, or their lack of information may mean that they had relatively higher incomes and were able to use the redevelopment to leverage a move out of Westpark.

NEIGHBORHOOD SPILLOVER

Over the next few years, the neighborhood that contains Westpark will change due to redevelopment. While we might expect some economic spillover effects from the redevelopment, such effects are tempered by larger macroeconomic trends. Therefore, the analysis of spillover effects occurs in the context of trends in both Bremerton and Kitsap County.

Prior to redevelopment, Westpark was located in one of the two poorest block groups in all of Kitsap County—the other being in downtown Bremerton. It was surrounded by areas of moderate poverty—with rates ranging from 20 to 40 percent. Westpark was also among the more racially diverse neighborhoods in Kitsap County, with more than 30 percent of the block group composed of minorities. Like the neighborhoods that surround it, children lived in only 39 percent of the households in the Westpark neighborhood, and many of those families were headed by single mothers.

The redevelopment will alter the demographic profile of the neighborhood. It will also bring more density to the neighborhood.

Crime in the Westpark neighborhood has declined substantially since 2004 and will likely continue to become more similar to the rest of Bremerton with redevelopment. With relocation, the decline was even more substantial. Prior to redevelopment, Part I crimes (more violent) occurred at higher rates than in the surrounding neighborhood or in the rest of Bremerton. The most common Part I crimes in Westpark were assault and theft (including car theft). Theft occurred at a markedly higher rate than in the rest of the city, as did burglary. Part II crimes (non-violent) also occurred at higher rates than in neighboring areas or the rest of Bremerton, although they have declined since 2005. Most notably, drug offenses have decreased, as has fraud, child physical and sexual abuse, and stalking. Rates of malicious mischief remain high, however, in comparison to the adjacent neighborhood and the rest of Bremerton.

Mortgage loans in the census tract that includes Westpark had comparatively high loan originations from in 2005 and 2006. After that, the rate falls in line with the rest of the city. The patterns show the effects of the mortgage and financial crisis, with general trends of declining loan originations, increased loan denials, and an increasing percentage of government loans versus conventional loans.

Property values in the Westpark block group maintained their value between 2007 and 2008 despite the mortgage crisis, while in the neighborhood surrounding Westpark, in the rest of Bremerton, and in the rest of Kitsap County values fell quickly. In the five years prior to redevelopment, housing prices were highest and rose more quickly in Kitsap County outside of Bremerton, and were lowest in the block group that contains Westpark. The rise in median sale price in the Westpark block group between 2007 and 2008 may be due to anticipation of HOPE VI redevelopment or the construction of the new senior housing at Bay Vista. We may see further increases due to redevelopment so that Westpark is more similar to, or contains higher value homes (since they will be brand new) than, the surrounding neighborhood.

Concentrations of rental housing are in only a minority of neighborhoods in Kitsap County, suggesting that relocated residents may have limited relocation choices if they decide to stay on the Kitsap Peninsula. Kitsap County has a fairly high rate of owner-occupied housing (about 68 percent), meaning, in turn, that there are few rental opportunities throughout the county. This means that relocated residents cluster in those few areas with relatively more rental housing. If the goal is poverty dispersal, then this sort of clustering is problematic; however, living near former Westpark neighbors may allow original residents to maintain supportive social ties. Nonetheless, the transformation of Westpark into Bay Vista, with more than 60 percent of housing owner-occupied, will reduce the neighborhood's relatively high concentration of rental housing.

FUTURE REPORTS

This report creates a baseline for future research. The evaluation team is expected to produce annual reports to the BHA. The second annual report will include analyses of:

- the initial locations original residents, including two analyses: (1) concerning the quality of their new neighborhoods and how far away they moved and (2) comparing voucher users, homeowners, those who moved without leaving an address;
- CSS outcomes and goals based upon BHA’s CSS tracking information;
- the sample survey comparing relocated original Westpark residents to voucher holders, examining their experience with relocation, perceptions of neighborhood quality and attachment to their neighborhoods, social interactions with neighbors, access to health care, insurance, and adequate food, child well-being, and employment.

The third report will again report CSS outcomes and will focus on the findings from in-depth interviews with relocated residents. The final report will compare change over time for original residents and voucher holders, to see how original residents fare compared to those who never either lived at Westpark or experienced relocation. It will also complete the analysis of change overtime to assess neighborhood spillover effects.

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