Holly Park and Roxbury HOPE VI Redevelopments

Evaluation Report December 2003

Prepared by: Rachel Garshick Kleit Daniel Carlson Tam Kutzmark

Submitted to: Seattle Housing Authority



Executive Summary

This report summarizes an evaluation project that sought to understand the current well-being and community perceptions of four groups of residents directly affected by the HOPE VI redevelopment of Holly Park (starting in 1996) and Roxbury House and Village (starting in 1998). The groups include: (1) households currently living in the redeveloped Holly Park, now called NewHolly; (2) households which relocated from Holly Park and Roxbury Village during HOPE VI redevelopment and have not returned; (3) senior residents living in the remodeled Roxbury House now known as Westwood Heights, and (4) senior residents living in subsidized units in Esperanza Apartments at NewHolly. The report focuses on four questions:

- What is life like in the NewHolly community?
- How are former residents of Holly Park and Roxbury Village who relocated to other Seattle/King County neighborhoods doing?
- How do senior citizens view their redeveloped sites?
- How do the neighborhood experiences of residents of the neighborhoods compare with the experiences of residents who relocated to other neighborhoods?

The NewHolly Community Today

We used telephone interviews with English speaking homeowners, tax credit renters, and public housing residents in conjunction with focus groups in six different languages (5 non-English) to learn about life in the NewHolly community today:

- Overall, residents are quite satisfied with the NewHolly neighborhood. Residents, regardless of whether they receive housing subsidies or not, live in NewHolly because it is new and affordable. For many residents from all different backgrounds, NewHolly's ethnic diversity enhances their satisfaction with the neighborhood. At the same time, the different ethnic groups on-site live very separate lives.
- Homeowners and public housing residents are most frequently involved in community activities. Popular events include community potlucks and neighborhood night (a meeting for residents to talk about shaping their neighborhood). Some non-English speakers participate less because they are busy, as well as embarrassed to attend events where they may be unable to communicate.
- Homeowners' relationships with neighbors focus on those who live immediately adjacent to them. In contrast, renters' relations with

neighbors are more geographically dispersed within NewHolly. It is unknown whether this pattern is similar to other HOPE VI sites because other national studies examined only subsidized housing residents, not homeowners in redeveloped HOPE VI sites.

- Residents are very satisfied with the services available at the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus. There are no real differences in the use of services among residents of the different housing tenures. Use of services at the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus likely differs among the different ethnic groups on-site.
- **Residents feel that NewHolly is a safe place to live.** For those who lived at Holly Park, the neighborhood seems much safer. Public housing residents consistently thought there were more problems in the neighborhood than did either tax credit renters or homeowners.
- **Subsidized residents find utilities expensive.** Former residents of Holly Park feel they pay more now for utilities than they did prior to redevelopment. Subsidized residents across ethnic groups are very unhappy that the bills are separate from their rental payments. Across the nation, low-income families are having trouble paying utilities, and those who relocated from HOPE VI sites are experiencing similar problems adjusting to these bills.

Relocated Residents from Holly Park and Roxbury Village

610 households relocated from Holly Park and Roxbury combined. We conducted a half-hour in-person interview with a random sample of 85 of relocated English-speaking, King County residents to ask them what their lives have been like since their relocation.

- **Relocated residents found the relocation process an overall positive but rushed experience.** While relocated residents said the overall relocation process was a positive experience for them, they also felt the process was rushed. Most frequently, relocated residents used services required to plan and execute the move and not services relating to life skills. A minority of relocated residents used social services prior to the move, and even fewer access services now. Most did not indicate a desire for access to additional services.
- **Relocated residents are satisfied with their new homes and neighborhoods.** Relocated residents reported a high level of satisfaction with both their new neighborhood and their new housing unit. Relocated residents also feel their neighbors shared their values about neighborhood well being and would take action to protect the neighborhood. Relocatees, for the most part, interact pleasantly with

their neighbors but do not depend upon them for essential support or social interaction.

Senior Citizens and HOPE VI Redevelopment

Using senior citizen focus groups, we spoke with subsidized residents of Esperanza Apartments, located in NewHolly, and with both former Roxbury House residents and new residents of Westwood Heights about their experiences in the new buildings in which they live. As housing voucher recipients, Esperanza Apartments residents reported choosing where they lived and being happy with that choice, while some returning Westwood Heights residents, although satisfied, reported that they were "assigned" to Westwood Heights.

- Seniors were very satisfied with their homes and developments. Westwood Heights residents, like Esperanza Apartments residents, were very satisfied with the aesthetics of the new building and the amenities in-house—such as meals, exercise room, coffee room, and computer resources.
- Seniors would like to make sure that rules and regulations are enforced in their developments. Residents of both senior communities had similar concerns about violations of visitation policies and unsupervised children within the building.
- Both sites have good access to local stores and facilities, but Esperanza Apartments' residents would like on-site activities. In terms of services, both buildings have good access to local stores and facilities, but residents of Esperanza Apartments would like more activities on-site. Residents of Esperanza Apartments greatly benefit from the close proximity of the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus and the library, as well as local grocery and ethnic stores. For activities and services, however, they tend to depend on the neighboring senior building, Park Place.
- For all seniors, these redeveloped sites were vast improvements. Comparing the sites pre- and post- redevelopment, returning residents to both sites thought that the redevelopments brought increased safety. Additionally, Westwood Heights' residents emphasized the aesthetic improvements of the new building over Roxbury House—the new building is a cleaner and quieter place.
- **Management staffing cutbacks are a problem.** Both groups identified cutbacks in management services as problems—Esperanza Apartments in terms of on-site activities, and Westwood Heights in terms of security.

Comparisons of NewHolly Public Housing Residents and Relocated Residents

We used information from telephone surveys with English-speaking public housing residents and in-person surveys with relocated Holly Park residents to compare their experiences. In addition, we used administrative records to compare their economic well-being.

- Both NewHolly public housing residents and relocated residents are satisfied with their housing and their neighborhoods. NewHolly residents have slightly more friendships with their neighbors than do relocated residents and were almost twice as likely to know someone in the neighborhood prior to moving there. Additionally, NewHolly public housing residents are more likely to engage in mutual support with neighbors than are relocated residents.
- NewHolly residents are better connected to services than relocated residents. This may be due to the proximity of the NewHolly neighborhood campus and attendant services on-site. Alternatively, this difference may result because the residents who moved away are, as a group, less inclined to use services.
- Those who stayed at NewHolly are also better off financially than those who relocated. Although few differences marked these two groups prior to redevelopment, those who stayed at NewHolly have increased their incomes more than those who relocated. This difference may be due to the work requirements of the new development.

Acknowledgements

In the short year that we have been engaged in this research, many people have contributed their time, hard work, and expertise. The research team of students from the Evans School of Public Affairs and the Department of Urban Design and Planning at UW worked long and hard on developing survey instruments, making maps, organizing focus groups, locating and interviewing relocated residents, and writing this report. Without the work of Allegra Abramo, Catherine Claiborne, Melissa Frysztacki, Linda Lyshall, Carol Orr, Jolena Krazka Presti, and Melina Raffin this project would not have happened. Thanks to you, we managed to overcome obstacles and time delays and still reach the people we wanted to reach.

The staffs of SHA, Quantum Management, and Peter Claver House have been unfailingly helpful in meeting our many requests for time, data, and other assistance. Thank you to Willard Brown, Sister Chauncey, Wendy Galliart, Patricia Fredrickson, Terry Hirata, Sharon Jewell, Andria Lazaga, Harry Matsumoto, Joy Moro, Kehau Picford, Marc Rosson, and many others who are too numerous to name.

At the Social and Economic Sciences Research Center (SESRC) at Washington State University, we would like to thank Bruce Austin and Dretha Phillips for their professionalism and ease of working relations.

Thank you to George Galster and Martina Morris their advice in the design of the telephone survey of NewHolly residents.

We would also especially like to thank all those who took time to come to focus groups and to be interviewed. Without you, we would not have this opportunity to learn about the impacts of HOPE VI.

This research was funded by an United States Housing and Urban Development Urban Scholars Post-Doctoral Fellowship and a contract between the Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs at the University of Washington and the Seattle Housing Authority.

Contents

Executive Summary	
The NewHolly Community Today	
Relocated Residents from Holly Park and Roxbury Village	
Senior Citizens and HOPE VI Redevelopment	
Comparisons of NewHolly Public Housing Residents and Relocated Resid	
Acknowledgements	
Contents	
List of Charts	
List of Maps and Figures	
List of Tables	
List of Abbreviations	
I. Introduction and Purpose	
The Federal HOPE VI Program	
HOPE VI and the Seattle Housing Authority	
Holly Park and the NewHolly Redevelopment	
Roxbury House and Village HOPE VI Redevelopment	
Report Outline	
II. Methodology	
What is Life Like in NewHolly Phase I?	
How Are Relocated Residents Doing?	
How Do Senior Residents View Their Redeveloped Sites?	
III. Findings and Analysis: The NewHolly Community Today	
Telephone Survey Participants	
Neighborhood Perceptions and Relations	
Services at the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus Safety in and around NewHolly	
IV. Findings and Analysis: Relocated Residents from Holly Park a	
Roxbury Village	
Destinations of Relocated Households	
Demographics of Survey Participants	
The Relocation Experience	
Perceptions of Neighborhood and Housing	
Relations with Neighbors	
Economic Well-being	
Conclusion	
V. Findings and Analysis: Senior Citizens and HOPE VI Redevelop	
······································	
Reasons for Moving to Westwood Heights and Esperanza Apartments	
Satisfaction with Redeveloped Sites	
Concerns with Senior Housing	
Valued and Used Services	
Some Services Still Desired	
Residents' Comparisons of Pre- and Post-developed Sites	153

VI. Findings and Analysis: Comparisons of NewHolly Public Housing	
Residents and Relocated Residents	
Neighborhood and Housing	155
Social Relationships	
Use of Services	158
Economic Well-being	
VII. Summary and Recommendations	. 163
The NewHolly Community Today	
Relocated Residents from Holly Park and Roxbury Village	165
Senior Citizens and HOPE VI Redevelopment	
Appendix A: Materials for Telephone Survey of NewHolly Residents	s 169
Recruitment Letter to Homeowners	170
Recruitment Letter to Renters	171
Telephone Survey Script	172
Telephone Survey Response Rate Calculations	188
Appendix B: Materials for Focus Groups with NewHolly Residents .	. 189
Focus Group Recruitment Letter	190
Focus Group Script	191
Appendix C: Materials for Focus Groups with Senior Citizens	. 195
Recruitment Letter to Esperanza House Residents	196
Recruitment Letter to Westwood Heights Residents	197
Script for Focus Groups with Returning Residents	198
Script for Focus Groups with New Residents	201
Appendix D: Materials for In-person Survey of Relocated Residents	s 205
Recruitment Letter to Relocated Residents	206
In Person Survey Instrument	207
Works Cited	. 221

List of Charts

Chart 1:	Race and Ethnicity of NewHolly Sample	39
Chart 2:	Native Language of NewHolly Sample	40
Chart 3:	Highest Level of Education	41
Chart 4:	Married or Living with Partner and Children in Household	42
	Area Considered to be Neighborhood	
	Did You Know Anyone Before Moving Here?	
Chart 7:	How Many Friends Live in the Same Neighborhood?	54
Chart 8:	How Many Family Members Live in the Same Neighborhood?	54
	Proximity of Neighborhood Social Ties	
	Age of Neighborhood Social Ties	
	Education Levels of Neighborhood Social Ties	
Chart 12	Engaged in Specific Neighboring Activities Once a Month or More	60
	Opinions of Neighborhood Efficacy	
	Do Your Children Play with Other Children Who Live in NewHolly?	
Chart 15	Involvement in Community Events and Activities at NewHolly	71
	Service and Facility Use at NewHolly	
	Respondents Whose Children Use NewHolly Youth Services	
Chart 18	Use of Parks at NewHolly among Households with Children	79
	Part I Index Crime in NewHolly, Adjacent Neighborhood, and City	
	Part II Index Crime in NewHolly, Adjacent Neighborhood, and City	
	Perception of Safety in NewHolly Phase I	
	Do Police Come When Called?	
	Drug Abuse Violations in NewHolly	
	Is Drug Use a Problem?	
	Is People Selling Drugs a Problem?1	
	Auto Theft in NewHolly and Adjacent Neighborhood1	
	Is Cars Being Broken Into a Problem?1	
	Murder and Negligent Homicide in NewHolly and Adjacent Neighborhood1	
	Weapons Possession Crimes in NewHolly and Adjacent Neighborhood1	
	Are Shootings and Violence a Problem?1	
	Is Being Attacked or Robbed a Problem?1	
Chart 32	Aggravated Assault in NewHolly and Adjacent Neighborhood1	
Chart 33	1 5 5	
	Are Gangs a Problem?1	10
Chart 35		
Chart 36		
Chart 37	j j j	
Chart 38		
Chart 39		
Chart 40	J. J. J.	
	Is Graffiti on Walls of Buildings a Problem?1	
Chart 42	Is Violence in the Home a Problem?1	17

Crime against Families and Children in NewHolly, Adjacent Neighborh	ood118
Highest Grade or Year of School Completed by Sample	122
Race or Ethnicity of Sample	123
Number of Places Lived Since Relocation?	124
Relocation Services Received	126
Neighborhood and Housing Satisfaction	129
What Services Did You Use Before or After Relocation?	130
How Do You Get from Place to Place?	132
How Many Friends and Family Live in the Same Neighborhood?	133
Opinions of Neighbors' Efficacy	134
Opinions of Neighbors' Likeliness To Act	135
Frequent Engagement in Neighboring Activities	136
When Did You Last Work?	137
Total Monthly Household Income	139
Sources of Income for Survey Sample	142
Comparing Opinions of Neighbors' Efficacy	157
Comparing Frequent Engagement in Neighboring Activities	158
	Highest Grade or Year of School Completed by Sample

List of Maps and Figures

Figure 1:	Residential Street in Holly Park	6
Figure 2:	Residential Street in NewHolly	8
Figure 3:	The Neighborhood Campus at NewHolly	9
Figure 4:	Peter Claver House in NewHolly's Elder Village	10
Figure 5:	Master Plan for NewHolly	12
Figure 6:	Site Plan for NewHolly Phase I	13
Figure 7:	For Sale Homes in NewHolly Phase II	14
Figure 8:	Independent Living at Westwood Heights	19
Figure 9:	Mutual Housing at Westwood Court and Longfellow Court	20
Map 1: N	NewHolly Neighborhood and Adjacent Neighborhood	27
Map 2: L	ocation of Sample of Relocated Residents and Census Tract Poverty.	30
Map 3: L	ocation of Sample of Relocated Residents and Census Tract Race	31

List of Tables

Table 1: English and Non-English Speaker Focus Group Participation	. 25
Table 2: Housing and English-speaking Status of Relocated Residents	. 29
Table 3: In-Person Survey Participation and Response	. 32
Table 4: Summary of Income Data Availability	. 35
Table 5: Senior Citizen Focus Group Participation	. 37
Table 6: Years Lived in Neighborhood	. 41
Table 7: Demographics of Neighborhood Social Ties	. 56
Table 8: Economic Status and Housing Tenure of Neighborhood Social Ties	. 59
Table 9: Socializing among Neighborhood Social Ties	. 61
Table 10: Support within Neighborhood Social Ties	. 61
Table 11: Children in Families of Neighborhood Social Ties	. 68
Table 12: Original Site and Last Known Housing	120
Table 13: Relocated Households with Unknown Locations	121
Table 14: Expected vs. Actual Household Records in Administrative Data	121
Table 15: Relocatees' Income Sources Pre- and Post-Redevelopment	140
Table 16: Relocatees' Income Source Amounts Pre- and Post-Redevelopment	140
Table 17: Comparing Sources of and Total Household Income Pre-Redevelopment f	or
Holly Park Stayers and Relocatees	160
Table 18: Comparing Total Annual Income Pre- and Post-Redevelopment for	
Holly Park Stayers and Relocatees	160

List of Abbreviations

Area Median Income
Chicago Housing Authority
Computer-Aided Telephone Interviewing
Housing Choice Voucher
Housing Choice Voucher Program, formerly Section 8
Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere
United States Department of Housing and Urban Development
Lutheran Alliance to Create Housing
Low-Income Housing Tax Credit
Metropolitan Statistical Area
Notice of Funding Availability
Public Housing Agency
Quality Housing Work and Responsibility Act
Retirement Housing Foundation
Social and Economic Sciences Research Center
Seattle Housing Authority
Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program
University of Washington

I. Introduction and Purpose

This evaluation project sought to understand the current well-being and community perceptions of four groups of residents directly affected by the HOPE VI redevelopments of Holly Park and Roxbury House and Village, begun in 1995 and 1998 respectively.¹ The groups include: (1) households currently living in the redeveloped Holly Park, now called NewHolly; (2) households which relocated from Holly Park and Roxbury Village during HOPE VI redevelopment and have not returned; (3) senior residents living in the remodeled Roxbury House now known as Westwood Heights, and (4) senior residents living in subsidized units in Esperanza Apartments at NewHolly. This report summarizes the background, findings, conclusions, and recommendations of this research, asking and offering answers to the following questions:

- What is life like in the NewHolly community?
- How are former residents of Holly Park and Roxbury Village who relocated to other Seattle/King County neighborhoods doing?
- How do senior citizens view their redeveloped sites?
- How do the neighborhood experiences of residents of NewHolly compare with the experiences of residents who relocated to other neighborhoods?

This report is part of on-going research at the Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs regarding the HOPE VI program and residents whose lives are affected by redevelopment. Some of the broader themes explored in this research include current and former residents' neighborhood satisfaction, access to social and commercial services, perceptions of safety, and community relationships. The findings are of use to a wide range of stakeholders including SHA, neighborhood residents, community activists and public officials in planning, implementing and managing existing and future HOPE VI housing developments.

¹ In the fall of 2002, the Seattle Housing Authority contracted with Rachel Garshick Kleit at the University of Washington's Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs to study the impacts of the HOPE VI program at its Roxbury and Holly Park sites. This contract leveraged a U.S. Housing and Urban Development Urban Scholars Post-Doctoral Fellowship that Dr. Kleit won to conduct research at the NewHolly community. A team consisting of Daniel Carlson and a number of graduate students contributed to this report.

The Federal HOPE VI Program

Legislation

HOPE VI is a federal program to redevelop troubled public housing some of which had concentrated and isolated very low-income households into mixed-income communities integrated into the fabric of the surrounding community (Kleit and Allison 2002). It represents a significant change in the sixty-year history of federal public housing policy.

The United States Housing Act of 1937 authorized "the first major federal program aimed at providing low-rent housing to low-income households" (National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials 2003). Half a century later, in 1989, Congress formed the Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing to develop a national action plan to confirm estimates of severely distressed public housing and create a national action plan to eradicate the problem by the year 2000 (Abt Associates 1996, United States Department of Housing and Urban Development 2003). The Commission estimated that 86,000 public housing units were severely distressed, which they defined as "as any housing unit that is uninhabitable due to poor siting or design, concentrated poverty, high rates of vandalism or criminal activity, or that contributes significantly to disinvestment in the surrounding community" (section 535 *Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act*, section 24 of the Housing Act of 1937).

In its 1992 report, the Commission recommended a threefold approach that combined physical revitalization, management improvements, and supportive services for public housing residents (Housing Research Foundation 2003, National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, 1992). The Commissions recommendations essentially became the 1992 Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program. Congress initially created the Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE) VI program through the Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1993 (Public Law 102-389) (Housing Research Foundation, 2003).²

Originally considered an "urban revitalization demonstration program," HOPE VI earmarked "\$300,000,000 for grants...to be administered by local public housing agencies" (PHAs) (Public Law 102-389).

² From 1993 until 1999, the program operated under annual appropriations acts. In 1999, the program was authorized under Section 24 of the Housing Act of 1937, to sunset in FY 2002. For FY 2004, HUD did not request any additional funds for the program, claiming that adequate funds were available to meet their 1992 demolition goals (NLIHC, 2003). Several pieces of legislation were introduced in Spring 2003 to reauthorize the program through FY2005 (NLIHC, 2003).

Under the HOPE VI program, PHAs with severely distressed housing are eligible to apply for annual, competitive grants to revitalize their communities and benefit public housing residents.

The program required housing authorities to focus on the economic and social needs of residents as well as the physical condition of housing (Abt Associates1996). Federal Notices of Funding Availability (NOFA's) have interpreted these broad goals over time, as Salama (1999) notes in his review of the history of HOPE VI. They require (1) reducing the concentration of poor residents and creating mixed-income communities, (2) creating partnerships to leverage additional resources, (3) implementing cost-effective plans, (4) providing opportunities for family economic selfsufficiency, (5) building sustainable communities, and (6) ensuring that residents have involvement in the planning and implementation of the revitalization (Salama 1999).

Buron et al. (2000) note that as "the program has evolved, it has increased its emphasis on providing mixed-income housing, leveraging HOPE VI money to raise other funding, and broadening the focus of revitalization beyond the original public housing site to incorporate neighborhood revitalization goals". Moreover, as Buron et al. observe, the program has come to showcase innovative mixed-income, mixed-finance housing developments, and public-private partnerships that locate developments in or near schools, churches, civic and community services, and places of employment.

What we know about HOPE VI impacts

Initially, the Commission estimated that demolition and replacement of 86,000 units of distressed public housing would cost \$7.5 billion in 1992 dollars, and it recommended that Congress fund a 10-year program at approximately \$750 million per year (United States Department of Housing and Urban Development 2003).

Between 1993 and 2001, 165 revitalization grants were awarded nationally, representing a total of \$4.5 billion in HOPE VI funds for redevelopment and supportive service activities (Buron et al. 2002). These dollars were awarded in 98 cities and 163 public housing communities, encompassing more than 115,000 public housing units (Housing Research Foundation 2001, United States Department of Housing and Urban Development 2002). By the completion of the 1999 grants alone, HUD expects to have demolished 82,000 public housing units and constructed 51,000 affordable units.

Through 218 HOPE VI demolition grants awarded between FY 1996 and FY 2002 at a total of \$335 million, HUD has funded the demolition of

49,828 distressed public housing units (United States Department of Housing and Urban Development 2003). In additional, as of 2003, some estimate that 51,338 units of severely distressed housing have been physically demolished (National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing 1992, National Low Income Housing Coalition 2003). PHAs will use HOPE VI funds to replace 34,000 of the total number of units planned for demolition, resulting in a net loss of 37,902 public housing units. HOPE VI program proponents counter that 21,485 of the planned demolitions are vacant and uninhabitable units with little hope for revitalization. PHAs also intend to create another 29,000 non-public, affordable housing units.

HOPE VI has affected residents of public housing in ways that extend beyond the provision of physical housing units. Residents have needed to move, either permanently or temporarily, during several years of major construction and cope with resulting changes in social networks and community. In order to better understand these impacts, HUD and a team of researchers at the Urban Institute and Abt Associates are undertaking two studies. First, the HOPE VI Panel Study tracks the living conditions and well being of residents from five developments who were surveyed as revitalization began in mid- to late 2001. Second, the HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study provides a snapshot of the living conditions and well being of former residents of eight properties in early 2001-between two and seven years after the housing authority received a HOPE VI grant. Studies of these impacts present mixed, though generally positive, outcomes.

Buron et al. (2002) examined the living conditions and well-being of former residents of eight properties in 2001, while redevelopment was still underway in many of these sites. The report found that 85 percent of respondents reported their current housing unit is in better or the same condition than their original public housing unit and 15 percent reported it is in worse condition. But while about "half the respondents reported having friends in their current neighborhood…relatively few respondents reported having more than limited interactions with their current neighbors" (Buron et al. 2002, 8).

A look at current living conditions suggests that while "many former residents now live in better housing in less poor neighborhoods," "a substantial proportion of families still [struggled] to find housing in the private market" and many faced "serious barriers to making the transition out of dilapidated public housing and to self-sufficiency" (Popkin 2002, 1). Residents at risk included families with physical and mental health problems, histories of domestic violence or substance abuse, criminal records, or poor credit histories. In addition, although "these new neighborhoods [were] safer too, about 40 percent still reported serious problems with gangs and drug trafficking" (Popkin 2002, 3).

HOPE VI and the Seattle Housing Authority

SHA owns and operates about 5,300 units of conventional, HUDsubsidized public housing; owns and operates an additional 1,000 units for seniors and people with disabilities as part of the Seattle Senior Housing Program; owns or operates another 800 units of affordable housing funded through a variety of means; and serves the needs of over 5,600 more households in Seattle through the federal Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) housing subsidy program (Seattle Housing Authority 2003).

Seattle's participation in HOPE VI began in 1996, when SHA was awarded a \$48 million HOPE VI Revitalization grant to revitalize the Holly Park public housing development (Seattle Housing Authority 2003). The Roxbury project soon followed, with a grant of \$17 million in 1998 (Seattle Housing Authority 2003).

SHA now manages four HOPE VI sites:

- NewHolly (formerly Holly Park)(grant date 1996),
- Westwood Heights (formerly Roxbury House)(grant date 1998),
- Rainier Vista (grant date 1999), and
- High Point (grant date 2000).

The Holly Park project is significant for two reasons. First, in 1995, Holly Park was considered by many to be SHA's "most severely distressed public housing community" (Seattle Housing Authority 1995, 1-1). Second, the scale of the redevelopment effort is "massive and truly community-wide" (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 1). By comparison, the Roxbury redevelopment is "inherently smaller"—one city block—but has equally ambitious goals and intends to achieve them with "a lot fewer funds…more partners, and create the promise of replication many times over" (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 1).

SHA's HOPE VI redevelopments were undertaken in the context of the State's Growth Management Act and the City's comprehensive planning process, which addressed the anticipated influx of 72,000 new residents to the city within 20 years. The City's plan promoted the creation of urban villages in targeted areas and outlined ways to plan and build these hubs through a tradition of participatory planning (Seattle Housing Authority 1995, 1-2, 1-3).

Holly Park and the NewHolly Redevelopment

Holly Park/NewHolly is located on Beacon Hill in southeast Seattle.

Holly Park before HOPE VI

Holly Park was built in 1941 under the Lanham Act as part of a Department of Defense effort to house workers in Seattle's defense industry (Seattle Housing Authority 1995, 2-1). It became a public housing community in 1955, although SHA operated it throughout its history. Its massive 102-acre site contained 893 units in one- and two-story wood frame townhouses, including 22 units dedicated to service providers (Figure 1).



Figure 1: Residential Street in Holly Park

SHA's HOPE VI application and plan emphasized the evidence of social, economic, and physical distress exhibited at Holly Park (Seattle Housing Authority 1995). For example, the median family income of \$7,012 was much lower than Seattle's overall median family income of \$43,900 (Seattle Housing Authority 1995, 1-1). Almost 85 percent of the community's residents were non-white; moreover, many were recent immigrants who had difficulty speaking and understanding English. The child poverty rate had sky-rocketed: "63 percent of the children under 18 years of age at Holly Park [lived] in poverty compared to 16.2 percent citywide" (Seattle Housing Authority 1995, 1-1).

City zoning regulations had permitted a density of nine units per acre in Holly Park, compared to six units per acre in surrounding neighborhoods (Seattle Housing Authority 1995, 2-2). As a result, the community had become a concentrated "island" of low-income families amid a sea of surrounding, lower density, higher income neighborhoods.

Source: http://www.newhollycampus.org/HollyParkBefore.htm. Accessed September 16, 2003.

Holly Park's housing stock had declined and showed serious deficiencies, including "poor site drainage, loose and peeling lead-based paint, deteriorating site infrastructure and building conditions, and units without updated heating systems or insulation" (Seattle Housing Authority 1995, 1-1).

Aging infrastructure had created additional problems at Holly Park. Drainage problems persisted, as a result of the high water table, clayey soils, and inadequate stormwater infrastructure (Seattle Housing Authority 1995, 2-1). Sidewalks were also in poor condition.

According to the SHA application, the physical design of Holly Park had also become outdated. The community as a whole, and geographic subcommunities within it, were isolated from each other and from surrounding neighborhoods by a street pattern of winding, often discontinuous roads and cul-de-sacs, swaths of undefined open space, a 200-foot right-of-way for the massive overhead transmission lines, and a steep wooded slope that backed up to units in upper Holly Park (Seattle Housing Authority 1995, 2-1, 2-4). In addition, service providers were located on only one side of the site and difficult for residents to access (Seattle Housing Authority 1995, 1-2).

These problems combined with a high resident turnover rate, which, according to the SHA application, compounded the difficulty of building a sense of community among Holly Park residents.

NewHolly after HOPE VI

NewHolly is one of the first projects of its kind in the United States. The primary goals of SHA's Holly Park redevelopment are to:

- Provide options for families seeking affordable housing and increase the overall affordable housing stock to meet increasing need,
- Create a stable and thriving mixed-income neighborhood in southeast Seattle to stimulate economic opportunities and enhance services supportive of daily family needs, and
- Reinforce the City's long-range goal of growth management through the creation of a series of Urban Villages.

In addition, NewHolly housing is designed to blend into the surrounding neighborhood, minimizing the stigma and challenges often associated with high concentrations of public housing (Figure 2) (Seattle Housing Authority 2003). To fund the Holly Park redevelopment effort, SHA received a HOPE VI planning grant, an implementation grant, and an award for additional assistance—a total of \$48 million from HUD. Another \$225 million was also raised from public and private sources, including the State of Washington, the City of Seattle, Fannie Mae, and local banks.



Figure 2: Residential Street in NewHolly

Source: http://www.sea-pha.org/development/newholly/newholly.html. Accessed September 13, 2003.

The HOPE VI redevelopment strategy for NewHolly outlines a threetiered housing structure (Seattle Housing Authority 2003):

- 42 percent, or 580 units, will be available for people with very low incomes,
- 21 percent, or 288 units, will be available for people whose incomes are moderate but still below Seattle's median, and
- 38 percent, or 582 units, to combine for-sale and market-rate rental homes. In addition, about 100 of the for-sale homes will be available to first-time and other low-income buyers.

An important feature of NewHolly is the Neighborhood Campus, funded in part through a grant from the HUD Campus of Learners program, and designed to complement housing by providing essential community services (Figure 3).



Figure 3: The Neighborhood Campus at NewHolly

Source: http://www.sea-pha.org/development/newholly/nhcampus.html. Accessed September 13, 2003.

Services include:

- A learning center,
- A branch of the Seattle Public Library,
- Classrooms for South Seattle Community College,
- Head Start and child care, and
- Youth tutoring.

Another important feature is the Elder Village, a mix of independent and assisted living environments for seniors with a range of incomes (Figure 4). The Elder Village consists of three facilities:

- Peter Claver House, an 80-unit complex for very-low-income, independent seniors, owned and managed by Providence Health Systems.
- Esperanza Apartments, an 84-unit independent living environment, built by the Retirement Housing Foundation (RHF) for seniors 62 years and older who earn up to 60 percent of the area median income, and "near seniors" 55 and older who have a verifiable disability.
- Park Place, a state-licensed 154-unit assisted living facility owned and managed by RHF.

Figure 4: Peter Claver House in NewHolly's Elder Village



Source: http://www.sea-pha.org/development/newholly/eldervil.html. Accessed September 13, 2003.

By 2003, SHA had removed 871 units of distressed housing and was replacing it with a mix of low-income, moderate-income and market-rate housing (Seattle Housing Authority 2003). Five hundred thirty low-income units will be replaced onsite. Another 341 will be located off-site throughout the city.³

The Master Plan for NewHolly outlines three phases, which, when completed, will include approximately 1,390 housing units (Seattle Housing Authority 2003) (Figure 5). This report focuses on the relocated residents and on-site residents of Phase I.

Construction began with Phase I in 1996 (Figure 6). Phase I redevelopment replaced 392 garden community public housing units with 453 new units including:

- 305 units of rental housing were completed in 1999 and fully occupied by 2000.
- 148 homes—mostly two, three, and four bedroom houses or townhouses—were sold at an average price of \$230,600 in 2002.⁴ Twelve of these homes were constructed for and sold to low-income homebuyers by Habitat for Humanity, using their sweat equity model.

³ As of September 30, 2003, 557, or 64%, of Holly Park's original low-income housing units have been replaced and are currently occupied by low-income tenants (Seattle Housing Authority 2003). Another 278 units are either under construction or are in the planning process with an identified funding source. The balance of 36 units will be planned and constructed by 2004.

⁴ In NewHolly Phase I, the units are laid out in a systematic manner, with most homeownership units along the outside of the development, either facing out or facing other homeownership units, with the rental units fairly mixed on the interior of the development.

• Three parks—Triangle Park, Schafer Park and 29th Street Park (now called Garden Park)—were designed and built.



Figure 5: Master Plan for NewHolly

Source: Weinstein Copeland Architects, Seattle Housing Authority, and Popkin



Figure 6: Site Plan for NewHolly Phase I

Source: Weinstein Copeland Architects, Seattle Housing Authority, and Popkin Development.

Phase II demolished 176 public housing units and replaced them with a combination of senior citizen and regular rental housing including (Figure 7):

The 318-unit Elder Village was completed in 2001. This part of the NewHolly neighborhood consists of:

- The 80-unit Peter Claver House for very-low-income senior citizens, owned and managed by Providence Health Systems.
- The Retirement Housing Foundation completed the 84-unit Esperanza Apartments for senior citizens with a mix of incomes.
- Retirement Housing Foundation also completed the 154-unit Park Place Assisted Living. SHA provides 100 Housing Choice Vouchers to make this facility affordable for extremely-low-income senior citizens.

Another ninety-six units of rental housing in NewHolly were completed and occupied by 2001, including.

• Construction on the first 51 of the for-sale homes began in 2001. SHA started selling the first of these units in 2002.

An additional eight homes were constructed for low-income buyers by Habitat for Humanity.



Figure 7: For Sale Homes in NewHolly Phase II

Source: http://www.sea-pha.org/development/newholly/newholly.html. Accessed September 13, 2003.

In Phase III, the remaining 303 public housing units have been demolished and construction of new rental housing has begun.

NewHolly Management, Community Building, and Services

The NewHolly community contains four elements for management and service delivery at NewHolly:

- NewHolly Neighborhood Campus Partners: The Campus Partners is a group of independent, community-based service providers with offices on-site in the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus. The partners collaborate on the delivery of a wide variety of human services available to NewHolly residents – from childcare and education to employment and social activities.
- Property Management Office: An on-site staff, headed by a Senior Property Manager, manages NewHolly rental properties. This Office oversees various tasks, including space management, repairs, Campus operations, and resident rule enforcement. It also ensures that public housing residents meet the self-sufficiency requirement, which calls for participation in a self-sufficiency plan, enrollment in Campus courses, job search and training activities, and skill development. All management positions require residency at NewHolly.

- Homeowners Association: The Homeowners Association oversees maintenance and upkeep of all individually owned NewHolly properties. A Board of Directors heads this group, which, as the current president describes, works to protect homeowners' investment by enforcing "curb appeal" standards and other conventions.
- Community Builder: The Community Builder is an SHA employee who works directly with NewHolly residents to bring renters and homeowners together in activities that appeal to various interests. With the Community Builder's assistance, residents can form block groups based on these interests, such as gardening, quilting, or other social activities. The Community Builder is also a member of the NewHolly Campus Partners to facilitate service provision that can meet the needs of residents.

SHA has employed this four-part model as a way to create a neighborhood that is managed and maintained via a representative and participatory group of residents.⁵

Roxbury House and Village HOPE VI Redevelopment

The Roxbury HOPE VI site (now Westwood Heights, Longfellow Court, and Westwood Court) is located in the southwest area of Seattle and bordered by the Delridge, White Center, and Westwood neighborhoods.

Roxbury House and Roxbury Village before HOPE VI

The Roxbury community was built in 1971. Its small 4.2-acre site included two components. The first component was Roxbury Village, a community of 60 three-to-five bedroom townhouses designed to serve large families. The second component was Roxbury House, a seven-story apartment building located within the Village, which contained 150 studio- and one-bedroom units for seniors and persons with disabilities.

Roxbury Street is the primary east-west thoroughfare in the West Seattle/Delridge District and the city of Seattle's southern boundary. This arterial bordered Roxbury Village and served the community well with access to public transportation. Prior to redevelopment, the neighborhood contained apartment buildings—some maintained well, some poorly—another senior complex, and single-family homes (Seattle

⁵ Based on conversations with SHA staff and participant observation.

Housing Authority 1999, 6). The neighborhood also offered a mix of shops and service, including a supermarket, gas stations, and a shopping center. Roxhill Elementary School had sufficient capacity for the resident population (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 8). Roxhill Park, a former wetland and headwaters for Longfellow Creek, had an open field and tot lot and was the site of many volunteer work parties organized by Westwood Council to make park improvements (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 6).

SHA chose the Roxbury community as a HOPE VI redevelopment project because "it embodied many of the problems typical of distressed public housing communities" (Seattle Housing Authority 2003). These problems included declining housing and building stock, site deficiencies, and issues within the surrounding neighborhood. SHA's HOPE VI application describes these problems in greater detail.

Problems in housing units included inadequate drainage and ventilation, lack of closet space, and security issues (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 2). Problems with buildings included aging electrical, plumbing, water, and heating systems; deteriorated trash chutes and elevators; environmental hazards such as dry rot, asbestos, and earth/wood separation (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 2-3). Social spaces such as lobbies were undersized for the resident population (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 3-4). Narrow courtyards between buildings led to a deficiency of privacy for tenants. Buildings lacked the necessary accommodations to support disabled residents in elevators, public areas, and individual units (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 2).

Throughout the Roxbury site, additional problems had surfaced over the years. Utility infrastructure was out-of-date (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 2-3). The grounds were often saturated due to a naturally high water table and inadequate drainage of rooftops and paved areas (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 4). The site also lacked children's play areas (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 3).

SHA's HOPE VI application noted that gang activity "was particularly prominent in the summer of 1995" (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 7). Gang activity often "spilled over" from the nearby Roxhill Park into Roxbury. Steps taken in 1996 led to evictions of problematic residents and a stabilization of many gang-related problems; however, the Roxbury site design led to persistent problems with monitoring and policing parking lots and other areas.

One of the more unusual problems addressed in the HOPE VI application was the incompatible tenant mix. The resident mix in Roxbury House—75 percent young disabled and 25 percent seniors—was not conducive to residential stability for either population. The illconceived site design created additional social problems. Large families with teenagers surrounded the senior and disabled residents, and unsafe, hidden pockets in the circulation patterns gave rise to gang activity (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 3).

According to SHA, Roxbury was a highly visible, high-crime area within a stable Seattle neighborhood. SHA's HOPE VI application called the surrounding West Seattle/Delridge District a "modest working class neighborhood" (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 6). Of the single-family homes, the HOPE VI application notes that the housing market exhibited "low single family home prices and poor housing conditions scores on the 1989 Housing Conditions Survey" (Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 6).

The average household in Roxbury Village had an income of \$12,317 (22.3 percent of the area median), while the average household in Roxbury House had an income of \$7,230 (18.7 percent of the area median)(Seattle Housing Authority 1999, 7). Prior to redevelopment, 43 percent of the family households received some form of public assistance.

Westwood Heights and Mutual Housing after HOPE VI

SHA received HOPE VI funding to demolish Roxbury Village and relocate some residents of Roxbury House. SHA's HOPE VI redevelopment of Roxbury had three primary redevelopment goals:

- Replace the 60 Roxbury Village townhouses with 45 units of mixed income mutual housing for families (of which 15 are replacement public housing units), called Westwood Court and Longfellow Court and owned by the Lutheran Alliance to Create Housing (LATCH),
- Upgrade and rehabilitate Roxbury House to better serve lowincome senior and disabled residents, in part by combining some studio units to create more one-bedroom units and reducing the total unit count to 130, as well as to make the entire site more accommodating to these residents, and
- Develop 65 units of offsite housing for both large and small households to ensure one-for-one replacement of low-income housing. According to SHA, all of the low-income housing units have been replaced (Seattle Housing Authority 2003).

The redevelopment also incorporated traditional neighborhood development features such as pedestrian-orientation, tree-lined streets, and open space (Seattle Housing Authority 2003).

Westwood Heights (formerly Roxbury House)

Formerly Roxbury House, Westwood Heights has recently been remodeled with a \$17 million grant from HUD (Seattle Housing Authority 2003). Westwood Heights is a "senior preference" building, giving rental priority first to low- and moderate-income residents aged 62 year old or above, and second to those aged 50–61 offering a safe, secure community for mature adults (Figure 8).

Nearby amenities include bus lines, a library, medical facilities, and shopping, all of which support independent living (Seattle Housing Authority 2003). A special partnership with Providence ElderPlace provides additional services to frail elderly residents so that they can remain independent and healthy for as long as possible.

According SHA, building features of Westwood Heights include:

- Renovated mechanical, heating/air conditioning and electrical systems and structural upgrades),
- Seven one-bedroom units compliant with the Americans with Disabilities Act located throughout the building,
- 130 living units (the reconfiguration of 58 studio units into 38 one-bedroom units resulted in the net decrease of 20 units, which have been replaced off-site with low-income housing),
- Upgraded existing common areas within the building that facilitate community and supportive service programs,
- Enhanced general pedestrian traffic flow to and through interior and exterior common areas, and
- Two new community spaces, including a solarium-type room on the first floor and an extension to one of the community areas in the basement.



Figure 8: Independent Living at Westwood Heights

Source: http://www.westwoodheights.org. Accessed September 13, 2003.

On-site services at Westwood Heights include:

- Remodeled dining room/solarium, adjacent to the patio, available to all seniors age 60 and over who are residents of the building or the surrounding community,
- Eight computer stations at the Westwood Heights Technology Lab,
- Exercise room and "Lifetime Fitness Program" classes,
- Community garden,
- Daily nutritious lunch program,
- Community-based activities including intergenerational activities, Bingo, dances, coffee hours, crafts, movie nights and resident council activities, and
- Case-management services.

Westwood Court and Longfellow Court (formerly Roxbury Village)

The northern half of the redeveloped site now features 45 rental units in one-to-five-bedroom townhouses that were developed in partnership with the Lutheran Alliance to Create Housing (LATCH) (Seattle Housing Authority 2003) (Figure 9). These buildings function as rental cooperatives. Fifteen of the 45 units are public housing units created with HOPE VI funding and interspersed within the communities that LATCH owns.

Figure 9: Mutual Housing at Westwood Court and Longfellow Court



Source: http://www.sea-pha.org/development/rox/roxbury.html#ElderPlace. Accessed September 13, 2003.

Off-site housing

Redevelopment plans for both sites also include plans for additional housing off-site (Seattle Housing Authority 2003). As of September 2003, all of the 65 units to be replaced off-site for the Roxbury HOPE VI redevelopment have been replaced.

Report Outline

This report uses the following structure. Methodology outlines the methods we used to collect information to answer the research questions. Findings and Analysis follows in four sections, each focusing on a specific research question: (1) The NewHolly Community Today, (2) Relocated Residents from Holly Park and Roxbury Village, (3) Senior Citizens and HOPE VI Redevelopment, and (4) Comparisons of NewHolly Public Housing Residents and Relocated Residents. The report concludes with Summary and Recommendations, which highlights areas of success and those that call for attention as the projects go into the future. The Appendix contains materials from the telephone survey of NewHolly residents, focus groups with NewHolly residents, focus groups with senior citizens at Westwood Heights and Esperanza Apartments, and in-person survey with relocated residents.
II. Methodology

This study is designed to answer several primary research questions:

- What is life like in the NewHolly community?
- How are former residents of Holly Park and Roxbury Village who relocated to other Seattle or King County neighborhoods doing?
- How do senior citizens view their redeveloped sites?
- How do the neighborhood experiences of residents of the neighborhoods compare with the experiences of residents who relocated to other neighborhoods?

In order to answer these questions, the research team used a variety of methods, including a telephone survey, focus groups, an in-person survey, a review of police crime data, and a review of SHA administrative records.⁶

What is Life Like in NewHolly Phase I?

We wanted to know what life was like at NewHolly Phase I from a variety of perspectives:

- Interactions and relationships among residents, including specific information on social ties with neighbors,
- Use of facilities and involvement in activities, and
- Objective and subjective views of safety in the neighborhood.

To answer the question of what life is like for residents of NewHolly, we undertook three different data collection methods:

- Telephone survey with NewHolly residents,
- Focus groups with NewHolly residents, and

⁶ Research involving human subjects, including public housing residents, requires approval from the University of Washington Human Subjects Review Division in order to protect individuals' privacy and rights. Therefore, prior to initiating any inquiries with public housing or NewHolly residents, the team prepared and submitted rigorous documentation to show compliance with the Division's requirements that people involved in the study do so volitionally with informed consent about their rights. The UW Human Subjects Review Division approved all aspects of the research design and methodology.

• Review of police data on criminal activity in the NewHolly neighborhood

Telephone survey of NewHolly residents

Our objective was to complete interviews with 60 residents from each of three housing types in NewHolly—i.e., market-rate homeowners, tax-credit renters, and public housing residents—for a total of 180 completed interviews. The telephone survey asked questions about social relations, neighbors, perceptions of safety in the neighborhood, residential satisfaction, the use of facilities at the NewHolly neighborhood campus, and specific information about the neighbors that respondents knew in NewHolly.

We used telephone interviews to contact NewHolly residents because of the diversity of the population who live there, the short time frame for the research, and the limited funding available. While in-person interview techniques often yield higher response rates, they are often not successful with more affluent people. Many people do not like to have the intrusion of an interviewer in their home; they feel it is an invasion of privacy. Therefore, we decided that the best way to insure quality data and a high response rate is to respect the privacy of residents and approach them for a brief telephone interview. Furthermore, Computer-Aided Telephone Interviewing (CATI) allows for the production of machine-readable data fairly quickly. Given the relatively short timeframe for the study (from September 2002 until September 2003) the quick turnaround was imperative to insure that we could analyze the data in time for this report. Telephone interviewing is also less expensive than inperson interviewing. Given that the majority of funds for the telephone survey came from dedicated HUD Urban Scholar Post-Doctoral Fellowship funds, a telephone survey made the most economic sense as well.

Implementation

The Social and Economic Sciences Research Center (SESRC) at the Washington State University, the northwest's largest university-based research center, conducted the telephone interviews during March and April 2003.

The population for the telephone survey consisted of all English-speaking adults residing within the geographic boundaries of NewHolly Phase I—a total of 453 households. NewHolly Phase I contains four different types of housing tenures: 148 for sale market-rate homes, 177 public housing rentals (available to people with incomes at or below 30 percent of the area median), 112 Tax Credit Rentals (available to people with incomes at or below 60 percent of the area median), and 16 Market Rate Rentals. We excluded the Market Rate Renters from this analysis because of the relatively small number of units.

We defined "homeowners" as anyone on-site who purchased the place in which they live. The great majority are market-rate homeowners, although 8 homeowners purchased their homes through Habitat for Humanity's sweat equity program. The average price of a market-rate home in NewHolly Phase I was \$230,600.⁷ Most homes are two, three and four bedroom single-family houses or townhomes.

Tax credit renters live in units made affordable to people at or below 60 percent of the area median income (AMI) through the requirements of the federal Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program.⁸ In addition, in 2002, 66 of 112 tax credit units had their affordability enhanced with the use of an HCV. In these tax-credit-with-HCV units, rents are affordable to families at 50 percent of the area median and below. As a whole in 2002, tax credit renters had incomes at about 34 percent of the area median income (about \$24,446 for a family of four), with HCV holders having incomes at 25 percent of the area median and the rest at about 46 percent of the area median. For tax credit units, rents are calculated at no more than 30 percent of the income for a family at 60 percent of median. For the HCVP units, the resident pays 30 percent of the family's income.

The public housing program at NewHolly serves families who qualify as very low income, technically defined as a family whose income does not exceed 50 percent of the AMI. Public housing renters pay no more than 30 percent of their incomes for rent. At NewHolly, the average public housing resident's income is about 24 percent of the AMI. For a family of four, that would be \$17,256 in 2003.

To let households know that they were going to be contacted for a telephone interview, the NewHolly management office and Quantum Management (the managers of the rental housing and the homeowners association respectively) mailed each household a notification letter and information sheet, which provided a toll-free number to call if the resident did not want to be contacted for an interview. Those who called to decline participation were removed from the sample list, as were households where no English-speaking adult between the ages of 19 and 64 lived in the household. SESRC made up to ten attempts to contact each of the remaining households, i.e., those who had given implied consent to be called. At the start of the call, the interviewer selected a random English-speaking adult in the household to complete the interview.

⁷ For comparison, the median home value in Seattle in 2000 was \$251,158 (State of the Cities Data Systems, 2002).

⁸ Part of the development funds for the unit come from private investors who receive a tax credit; in exchange NewHolly must maintain the affordability of these units for 15 years. The HUD-determined area median income for the Seattle-Bellevue-Everett MSA for family of four is \$71,900 in 2003. For a family of four, the qualifying income for a tax credit unit is \$46,470.

SESRC pre-tested the survey in February 2003. Calling for the actual survey commenced in March 2003 and concluded in April 2003. The survey contained approximately 100 questions and lasted an average of twenty-seven minutes. Each resident who completed a survey received compensation in the form of a \$20 gift card. Eligible residents could select the gift card of their choice from a list of local merchants.

Of the 426 households in Phase I who received letters inviting them to participate in the telephone interview, 137 were ineligible because there was no English speaker in the household between the ages of 19 and 64. Completed interviews were obtained from 105 (and partial interviews from three) of those remaining in the sample. Only 50 people refused, yielding a cooperation rate of 68.4 percent and a completion rate of 43.7 percent. In the end, 35 among each of public housing residents, tax credit renters, and homeowners completed the survey.

Focus groups with NewHolly residents

The team conducted six focus groups in the native languages of NewHolly residents to gain a deep and rich understanding of how all residents perceive the NewHolly community, their relationships with neighbors, their satisfaction with the neighborhood and the services at the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus. Because NewHolly has a large population of non-English speaking residents, we designed these focus groups to supplement and enhance the information about the community garnered through the telephone survey. The focus was on ensuring that the research incorporated their perspectives.

Focus groups are a form of group interviews exploring five to 12 participants' attitudes towards specific topics about which a facilitator guides discussion. We chose to do focus groups because we wanted the opportunity, unavailable in a closed-ended interview, for unscripted discussion amongst participants about our topics of interest. The discussion is carefully recorded and the transcription analyzed to learn what the group thought about particular topics. The research team also felt that by reaching out to people in an informal and less structured setting, we could explore issues with them in greater detail and gain a more nuanced understanding of their experience of living at NewHolly.

Implementation

The objective was to meet with up to 50 residents in six focus groups. The population for these focus groups consisted of residents who spoke one of the most frequently spoken native languages on site: Vietnamese, Cambodian, Tigrinya, Somali, Chinese and English (Table 1).

Focus Group Participation						
Date	Date Language Spoken Number of Participar					
May 10	Cambodian	10				
May 10	Vietnamese	9				
May 10	English	8				
May 10	Tigrinya	5				
May 10	Chinese	1				
May 17	Somali	11				
Total 44						

Table 1: English and Non-English Speaker
Focus Group Participation

Initially, the team used a *snowball* sample method to recruit participants. People who are very familiar with the NewHolly community were asked first for the names of people who speak each of the six languages and second for the names of others who might want to participate. The objective was to invite 20 people and receive responses from at least eight. A native speaker (usually the focus group facilitator) contacted potential respondents.⁹

The team held all focus groups at the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus, and served light refreshments. Each participant received compensation in the form of \$20 in cash, and each focus group lasted about 90 minutes.

In the English language focus group, a principle investigator facilitated and a graduate research assistant took notes. The eight participants in this group were native speakers of English. Six participants were homeowners (white), and two were renters (one African American and one white). An audiotape recorded each focus group in its entirety, and an outside firm later transcribed this tape. The team took steps to protect each participant's confidentiality: asking participants not to discuss the content of the discussion outside of the focus group, deleting participants' names from the transcription, and destroying the audiotapes following transcription.

⁹ The team required alternate sampling methods when challenges surfaced while using the snowball method to recruit Chinese and Somali participants. First, within the Chinese community, it was difficult to identify any residents who 1) were well connected to the community, and 2) could act as go-between potential participants and the research team. Second, within the Somali community, it was difficult for the on-site resident contacts to identify anyone who could or would attend a focus group. In the end, Somali residents were recruited using a list of people thought likely to be in that ethnic group with the help of a staff member from a local service agency. In these cases, the research team opted to take a random sample of residents from resident lists of Somali- and Chinese-speakers. This method also proved challenging. In the case of Chinese-speakers who had no listed telephone number, the team faced difficulty in recruiting participants. In the end, one Chinese-speaking resident was interviewed, using the focus group questions as an interview guide. In the case of Somali-speakers, a concerned resident and a paid interpreter assisted the team's efforts and, in the end, enough participants were recruited to hold a focus group.

The non-English language focus groups followed a similar format, with a few exceptions. Language appropriate facilitators led four of the five of the focus groups in the participant's native language. Facilitators also transcribed the proceedings from the audiotapes of these focus groups. In the fifth focus group, it was culturally more appropriate for the principle investigator to facilitate the focus group with the help of two translators (one to translate the facilitator's questions and the other to translate the participant's answers).

Native language focus groups were held in May 2003.

Police crime data review for the NewHolly neighborhood

In order to make a comparison of subjective opinions about safety from the telephone survey and focus group responses, we reviewed police data on criminal activity in the NewHolly neighborhood. The team reviewed these records because it had the potential to provide accurate and objective information about safety and criminal activity in NewHolly.

Implementation

We collected publicly available data from 1996 until 2002 and charted it over time. The results of this summary we then compare with respondents perceptions of the neighborhood. Throughout the analysis we compare rates of criminal activity per 1000 people in the NewHolly neighborhood, defined as 2000 United States Census Tract 110 (Map 1) with crime rates in the adjacent neighborhood, consisting of 2000 United States Census tracts 104, 109, 111, 117.¹⁰ To understand whether changes in the NewHolly neighborhood and the adjacent neighborhood were reflective of overall trends within the city, we also compare both rates to the rest of the City of Seattle overall.

¹⁰ NewHolly encompasses about three quarters of Census Tract 110.



Map 1: NewHolly Neighborhood and Adjacent Neighborhood

Map 2 shows the NewHolly neighborhood (United States Census Tract 110) and adjacent neighborhood (United States Census Tracts 104, 109, 111, and 117). Source: American FactFinder (http://factfinder.census.gov). Accessed July 30, 2003.

Limitations and generalizations

While telephone survey results allow us to generalize to the Englishspeaking population of NewHolly Phase I, the inclusion of focus groups allows us to be more certain if our findings apply to all Phase I residents, regardless of English-language ability. Furthermore, the focus groups allow us to comment on the perceptions of the different ethnic groups that comprise the community. The combination of telephone survey data, focus group results, and police crime records make it possible for us not only to generalize about how people at NewHolly Phase I feel about safety issues, it allows us to see where people's perceptions may be the same or differ from actual crime levels.

How Are Relocated Residents Doing?

The team used two primary research tools to better understand what life was like for residents of Holly Park and Roxbury Village who relocated to other neighborhoods following HOPE VI redevelopment:

- In-person survey, and
- SHA records review.

In-person survey of relocated residents

The team conducted an in-person survey with a sample of former Holly Park and Roxbury Village residents who relocated to other Seattle and King County neighborhoods. We wanted to understand interactions and relationships among neighbors, their use of services, and their perceptions of their quality of life.

In-person, one-on-one interviews were likely to obtain the highest quality information on relocated residents. In-person surveys enable the fullest range of communication between interviewer and respondent. They also insure that contact is made with specific individuals needed to complete a sample that provides confidence and reliability that the population as a whole shares similar characteristics. In-person interviews are particularly useful when dealing with individuals who move with frequency, may not have a telephone, and may not want to participate in studies more generally. In person interviews are also time consuming to arrange and conduct and therefore more expensive. The additional effort and expense was offset by the possibility of reaching a large enough sample of relocated residents to learn how they are doing and how they perceive community and services—information that had not yet been collected.

Implementation

We surveyed a random sample of English-speaking relocated residents. SHA mailed each relocated individual whom we selected a notification letter, which provided a toll-free number to call if the person wanted to set a specific time for an interview or did not want to be contacted for an interview. If a working telephone number was available, interviewers attempted to contact each person in the sample and schedule an interview. If a working telephone number was unavailable, the survey team attempted to visit the person to either conduct the interview at that time or schedule one for a later time.

The research team pre-tested the survey in May 2003 with a sample of relocated High Point residents. For the NewHolly/Roxbury sample of relocates, the survey interviews took place in June and July of 2003. The survey contained 50 questions, lasted about 20 minutes, and was conducted either in the person's home or a mutually agreed public location. Each interview participant was given \$15 in cash as compensation for his or her participation.

The population for the in-person survey consisted of all English-speaking heads of household who had relocated from Holly Park or Roxbury Village, who lived in King County, and who lived in either SHA housing, received an HCVP subsidy, owned homes, or lived in other private market housing (Table 2). Of the 610 relocated residents, 577 had moved from Holly Park and another 33 from Roxbury Village. Omitted from sampling were those "others" who had

been evicted or abandoned their dwellings, were deceased, were currently living at NewHolly, or had participated in the pre-test. In combination with the requirement that participants speak English, 234 households remained in the population, 220 of them former Holly Park residents and 14 of them former Roxbury Village residents.

Table 2:	Housing and English-speaking Status of Relocated Residents					
		Population of	Population of English-	Sample	Respondents	
		Relocated	speaking Relocated	(n=193)	(n=85)	
		Residents	Residents in King			
		(n=610)	County (n=234)			
Last Known	SHA	22%	22%	25%	32%	
Housing After	housing					
Relocation	HCVP	43%	59%	56%	54%	
(percent)	Private	20%	19%	19%	14%	
	market ¹¹					
	Other ¹²	15%				
English-speaking		46%	100%	100%	100%	
Households (percent)						
Holly Park (cou	nt)	577	220	181	78	
Roxbury Village	(count)	33	14	12	7	

The goal was to interview 100 relocated heads of household, so the team selected a random sample of 200 households from this list and obtained the most recently available address and telephone information for this sample from the SHA. When the team verified each individual's contact information, we discovered duplicate information in the list, leaving us with an initial sample of 193. Relocated residents live primarily in the City of Seattle, although some did live in south King County (Map 2). The areas they moved to were near or surrounded areas with moderate poverty. Most relocatees moved to less expensive areas such as Rainier Valley, South Seattle, and South King County. The areas to which they moved also were the places in the county that were home to higher proportions of non-white residents (Map 3).

¹¹ Private market includes residents whose last known housing status was homeownership or private rental housing.

¹² Other includes residents whose last known housing status was supportive living, out-ofstate, deceased, abandonment of or eviction from their dwellings, or unknown.



Map 2: Location of Sample of Relocated Residents and Census Tract Poverty

Source: United States Census Bureau 2000 and SHA Administrative records. From the sample of 193 households 190 are displayed. Three households had addresses that could not be geo-coded. All 85 households where interviews were completed are displayed. Points do overlap.



Map 3: Location of Sample of Relocated Residents and Census Tract Race

Source: United States Census Bureau 2000 and SHA Administrative records. From the sample of 193 households 190 are displayed. Three households had addresses that could not be geo-coded. All 85 households where interviews were completed are displayed. Points do overlap.

As we began to contact members of the sample, we learned that 42 people had become ineligible to be interviewed either because they had died, returned to NewHolly, did not speak English, said they had never lived in Holly Park or Roxbury, relocated outside of King County or Washington, or participated in the pre-test (Table 3).¹³ This left 151 people who we were available to survey. Of those, we were unable to find 50 at any listed address, despite attempts to reach them using alternate addresses. In the end, we interviewed 85 relocated heads of household, comprised of 78 relocated Holly Park residents and 7 former Roxbury Village residents.¹⁴ Thirteen people refused to participate, and 3 people could not be interviewed despite multiple attempts to call or visit them, yielding a participation rate of 84 percent and a response rate of 56 percent (Table 3).

In person interviews took place between May and July 2003.

	Number	Percent
Original sample	193	
People ineligible to survey ¹⁵	42	
People not found at any listed address	50	
Total people eligible to survey	101	
People who refused to be surveyed	13	13%
People not able to be surveyed	3	3%
People surveyed	85	84%
Participation rate		84%
Response rate		56%

Table 3:	In-Person	Survey	Particip	oation	and Res	ponse
----------	-----------	--------	----------	--------	---------	-------

¹³ One complication in conducting this research was that residents who relocated from Holly Park sometimes went to other SHA public housing sites that later won HOPE VI grants. In the case of one former Holly Park resident, she moved from Holly Park to High Point, only to move due to relocation once again. Thus, she was in the pretest sample of High Point residents.

 $^{^{14}}$ A sample of 100 would have allowed us to come within +/-0.10 of a 50-50 proportion with 95% confidence. A sample of 85 allows us to come within +/-0.11 of a 50-50 proportion.

¹⁵ The team discovered some discrepancies between the listed status of residents in the administrative records used to select the sample and the actual status of residents for whom we searched in the field. Ineligible includes residents who we discovered during fieldwork were deceased, live in NewHolly, do not speak English, never lived in Holly Park or Roxbury, had relocated outside of King County or Washington, or had participated in the pre-test.

Administrative records review

The team reviewed SHA administrative records in order to develop baseline information on all Holly Park and Roxbury Village residents prior to redevelopment, obtain post-redevelopment information on residents who remained with SHA or used HCVs, and identify a population from which to draw a sample for the in-person surveys.

The team employed this method because it had the potential to provide accurate and objective and inexpensive data about important pre- and post-development measures of well-being.

Implementation

We used several different administrative sources from which to compile administrative data.

Pre-redevelopment and relocation outcome information

For all 577 former Holly Park residents, we were able to obtain needs assessment data from prior to redevelopment. In the summer of 1996, SHA conducted a needs assessment survey of Holly Park heads of households. The survey asked questions about relocation preferences, primary language spoken in the home, employment, programs and social services accessed or needed, and welfare receipt. We specifically drew from the needs assessment the following pre-relocation information: household composition, income amount and source, social service and program use, and work history. Appended to these records is tracking information concerning their last known relocation outcomes, including the date of relocation, last known housing tenure, head of household language preference, income amount and source at time of relocation.

Similar information was available for the 33 Roxbury Village residents from SHA paper files.

Post-redevelopment data

The study team used administrative records containing the annual contents of HUD's 50058 Family Report Form to provide recent information on relocated Holly Park and Roxbury Village residents.¹⁶ These administrative records provided current household data including household composition, housing tenure, income amount, and income

¹⁶ Housing authorities use Form 50058 to annually recertify resident income for the purpose of rent calculation.

source.¹⁷ Public housing authorities use the 50058 data to re-certify incomes annually for all residents and to report to HUD their tenants' incomes. However, because SHA is a HUD Moving to Work Block Grant Site, this form provides income and demographic data only for households receiving HCVP subsidies.¹⁸ Therefore, the team worked with SHA staff to find pre- and post-redevelopment data on other former Holly Park and Roxbury residents using site-based data.

Although we found pre- and post-redevelopment income data for 399 of the 610 relocated households, the administrative records for 178 of these residents were incomplete (Table 4).¹⁹ As a result, the team was able to calculate changes in income over time for only 221 of these residents. Records for another 211 residents were missing predevelopment data, post-development data, or both. We documented which data was available and unavailable and cross-tabulated it with relevant variables to help us to understand better what happened to relocated households pre- and post-redevelopment.²⁰ The following table explains income data availability, and the Findings and Analysis section examines the details and implications of this data for relocation outcomes.

¹⁷ Within the 50058 database, the "modified date" was used as a proxy to measure whether or not the household is currently housed through SHA programs. This date is the most recent date that a household's income records have been recertified post-HOPE VI redevelopment, and since recertification is required in order to continue receiving services, it is a practical and appropriate indication of whether the household is still within the SHA system.

¹⁸ Moving to Work Block Grant sites are not required to track public housing administrative data centrally or report this information to HUD on standard forms. Rather, SHA maintains site-specific data on residents.

¹⁹ Incomplete data was missing the date of the observation. Deflating the postredevelopment income amounts to 1996 dollars, which allows an unbiased comparison of income change, requires the date of the observation. Without this information, the team could not calculate the comparison for residents who had incomplete data. ²⁰ These variables included last known housing and language preference.

*			Number of
Data Availability	Holly Park	Roxbury	Relocated
			Households
Complete pre- and post-redevelopment	197	24	221
Incomplete pre- or post-	178		178
redevelopment ²¹			
Subtotal	375	24	399
Pre-redevelopment only	190	9	199
Post-redevelopment only	5		5
Neither pre- nor post-redevelopment	7		7
Total	577	33	610

Table 4: Summary of Income Data Availability

Records review commenced in February and continued through July 2003.

Limitations and generalizations

The in-person surveys allow us to make generalizations about the population of English-speakers who relocated from Holly Park and Roxbury Village to neighborhoods in Seattle and King County. Combined with administrative records, we can paint a rich picture of relocation outcomes for the entire population of movers from the two sites.

How Do Senior Residents View Their Redeveloped Sites?

In addition to the NewHolly Phase I focus groups, the team also conducted focus groups targeted toward senior citizens living at Westwood Heights and Esperanza Apartments, located in redeveloped HOPE VI sites. Creating elderly-only sites was an integral piece of both Holly Park and Roxbury HOPE VI redevelopments. Furthermore, because the elderly are potentially particularly sensitive to the impact of relocation and vulnerable to crime, it was important to target these residents and ensure that the research incorporated their perspectives. The goals of the groups were to understand residents' satisfaction with their housing, their neighborhood, and available services, and their perceptions of safety. In addition, we wanted to know if there were additional services they needed or other ways to improve their current living conditions.

The objective was to meet with up to 30 senior citizens in three focus groups. The population for these focus groups consisted of two types of senior citizens:

²¹ Missing the date of the observation.

- Senior citizens who lived in the neighborhood before redevelopment and returned after redevelopment, and
- Senior citizens who were first-time residents to the neighborhood.

The team achieved this mix of residents in the Westwood Heights focus groups but not in the Esperanza Apartments focus group, because complete information about the Esperanza Apartments residents was unavailable. SHA generated a list of senior citizen residents, from which potential participants could be randomly selected to receive a focus group invitation. The Westwood Heights resident list specified which residents were former Roxbury House residents who had remained onsite during construction or had returned to live in Westwood Heights and which residents were new, so that we could recruit senior citizens from among each type of resident. At Esperanza Apartments, we were only able to obtain a list of residents who were receiving an HCVP subsidy to live in the mixed income building.

SHA contacts known to the residents at both locations mailed each individual an informational letter inviting his or her participation in the focus group and requesting an RSVP. UW graduate research assistants followed up with a telephone call or on-site visit to any who did not RSVP. Principle investigators facilitated each focus group and graduate research assistants took notes. Each focus group was audio taped in its entirety, and an outside firm later transcribed this tape. The team took steps to protect each participant's confidentiality: asking participants not to discuss the content of the discussion outside of the focus group, deleting participants' names from the transcription, and destroying the audiotapes following transcription.

The team held two focus groups at Westwood Heights and one at Providence House for Esperanza Apartments residents, speaking with a total of 19 seniors in July and August 2003 (Table 5). The team served light refreshments. Each person who participated received compensation in the form of \$15 in cash. Each focus group lasted between 60 and 90 minutes.

		-	
Date of	Type of		Number of
Focus Group	Focus Group		Participants
July 14, 2003	Westwood Heights new residents		6
July 14, 2003	Westwood Heights former Roxbury House residents		8
August 11, 2003	Esperanza House subsidized residents		5
		Total	19

Table 5: Senior Citizen Focus Group Participation

Limitations and generalizations

These focus groups allow some insight into how senior residents of two redeveloped sites perceive their new housing. The results are likely not applicable to the more general population of senior citizens in HOPE VI redevelopments.

In the next section, we synthesize the results from these multiple data sources.

III. Findings and Analysis: The NewHolly Community Today

The section begins with a discussion of residents' connections with each other, continues with their assessment of the services on-site, and ends with a discussion of perceptions of safety in the neighborhood. It combines four different types of information to depict a picture of the NewHolly community. The telephone survey provides (1) general information on residents' opinions about the neighborhood and (2) specific information on residents' social ties in the neighborhood. The focus groups provide (3) nuanced perspectives on the neighborhood and add the points of view of the diverse ethnic groups on-site. Police data provides (4) an official record of types of criminal activity in the neighborhood over time for comparison to resident perceptions.

Telephone Survey Participants

Participants consisted of 105 NewHolly residents, 35 each of homeowners, tax credit renters, and public housing residents.



Chart 1: Race and Ethnicity of NewHolly Sample

This chart shows the proportion of White, African American, East African, Asian, American Indian/Native Hawaiian, Hispanic, or other Ethnicity or Race among telephone survey respondents by housing type.

The sample's demographics reflect the diverse composition of NewHolly residents (Chart 1). Public housing are the most diverse in terms of race and ethnicity. About 6 percent of public housing respondents are white, a third are African American, a third are Asian (Vietnamese and Cambodian the largest of these groups), and a fifth are East African. English-speaking tax credit renters and homeowners are less ethnically and racially diverse than public housing residents. The majority of tax credit renters are African American, while the majority of homeowners are white.



Chart 2: Native Language of NewHolly Sample

The assortment of native language even among English speakers reflects the great diversity of residents (Chart 2). While the great majority of tax credit renters and homeowners said English was their native language (79 percent and 85 percent of respondents respectively), only 29 percent of public housing residents said so. Native speakers of the East African languages Tigrinya, Amharic, and Somali are represented here (29 percent), as are speakers of Vietnamese (24 percent), Cambodian (9 percent) and a variety of other languages (9 percent). The diversity of the public housing population reflects the role of Seattle-area public housing as a home for new immigrants to this country, in contrast with the tax credit and homeowner housing on site.

This chart shows the proportion of residents by housing type who speaks English, an East African Language (Tigrinya, Amharic, or Somali), Vietnamese, Cambodian, or some other native language among English-speaking telephone survey participants.

	Public	Tax-	Home-			
	Housing	Credit	owners			
	(n=35)	(n=35)	(n=35)			
Average years in neighborhood	4.0	3.2	2.9			
Maximum years in neighborhood	11.0	7.17	30.83			
Minimum years in neighborhood	0.67	0.25	0.58			
Percent in neighborhood more than 3 years	66%	71%	17%	***		

Table 6: Years Lived in Neighborhood

This table shows the mean, maximum, and minimum years living in the neighborhood and the percentage living in the neighborhood more than 3 years by housing type among telephone survey respondents. ***p<0.01. Significant differences indicating that at least two groups are different from each other are based on the non-parametric Kruskal Wallace χ^2 test.

On average, public housing residents have lived in the neighborhood the longest, with an average of 4 years (Table 6). The average tax credit respondent lived on-site 3 and a quarter years, and homeowners, on average, just about 3 years. Some of each group also lived at Holly Park, but this proportion was larger for public housing residents and tax credit renters. The great majority of public housing residents and tax credit renters (66 percent and 71 percent respectively) have lived in the neighborhood three years or more, indicating that they were likely residents of Holly Park, unlike the majority of homeowners. A number of Holly Park residents received HCVs and, with SHA help, used those vouchers in tax credit units. Thus, although some tax credit renters pay rent without the use of HCVs, many of the tax credit renters are similar in economic status to the public housing residents.



The chart shows the proportion by housing type of the highest level of education completed by telephone survey respondents.

Education likewise illustrates this difference between homeowners compared to public housing residents and tax credit renters (Chart 3).

Not surprisingly, homeowners tend to be better educated, with 68 percent having a four-year degree or a graduate degree. A minority of three groups are not high school graduates, the largest proportion being among public housing residents (18 percent). The great majority of public housing respondents have completed their high school degree (82 percent), very similar in proportion to the 88 percent of tax credit respondents who have completed their high school degree. Yet, it is more frequent among public housing respondents to have stopped at high school as of the interview (52 percent) while tax credit respondents are more diverse in their educational outcomes.

Higher proportions of homeowners are either married or live with a partner (Chart 4). Nearly three-quarters of responding homeowners lived with a partner compared to only about a quarter of public housing residents and tax credit renters. At the same time, public housing residents and tax credit renters have children in their households at higher rates than do homeowners. Over half of the public housing respondents and 80 percent of tax credit responders had children in their household compared to 40 percent of homeowners. The higher rates of single-parent households among both public housing residents and tax credit renters reflects the rental housing market more generally. In addition, rules of eligibility and occupancy in the rental housing favor families with children.



Chart 4: Married or Living with Partner and Children in Household

This chart compares by housing type the proportion of telephone survey respondents who are married or living with a partner with the proportion of respondents who have children in the household.

To get a more specific idea about whether people of different housing tenures were engaged in social relationships with each other, the team asked telephone survey respondents a series of questions about the people they know in the neighborhood. First, the interviewer asked people to say how many of their neighbors they knew well enough to say hello. Second, the interviewer asked them to list five of their neighbors whom they know well enough to say hello. Third, respondents answered a series of questions about interactions, demographics, and the context for knowing those 5 people.

Homeowners and public housing residents, on average, said they knew the most people—about 21 people, while the average tax credit renters said they knew about 17 people. This is not a significant difference, however. When asked to nominate neighbors, homeowners listed a significantly higher number of people—an average 4.3 people, compared to 3.2 for tax credit renters and 3 for public housing residents. In sum, respondents mentioned 349 neighbors.

Neighborhood Perceptions and Relations

The creation of mixed-income housing brings with it many questions about the nature of community in the new development. Are there differences in community involvement by income? Are some groups more connected to the community than others? Are there differences in how residents view the community and involve themselves with their neighbors? Do these views vary by economic or ethnic group? This section starts to address some of those basic questions about mixed-income housing.

Most respondents considered NewHolly or some subset such as their block or the blocks just surrounding their home to be their neighborhood (Chart 5). About a third of each group considered some area other than NewHolly—such as Beacon Hill or Southeast Seattle—to be their neighborhood.



Chart 5: Area Considered to be Neighborhood

This chart shows by housing type the percentage of telephone survey respondents who say they consider a particular area to be their neighborhood. Most respondents consider either all of NewHolly or some sub-area to their neighborhood, rather than some larger area such as Beacon Hill, SE Seattle, or some other area.

Satisfaction with the NewHolly neighborhood

Overall, residents are quite satisfied with the NewHolly neighborhood. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being worst and 10 being best, telephone respondents' rating was 7.7, on the more satisfied end of the scale. Among focus group participants who had lived in Holly Park and had returned, NewHolly represents a vast improvement: "All I can say about comparing NewHolly with Holly Park is one is heaven and the other is the hell. Sorry, but it is my definition." "NewHolly is much better than Holly Park in every thing."

Residents especially liked the combination of peacefulness, newness, and cleanliness of the neighborhood, as commented in the focus groups: "More quiet and peaceful area. Every afternoon, I take a walk around for about one to two hours." "What this company needs to know as a whole, we feel this community is serene, peaceful, clean, nice housing." "NewHolly, to me, it is like Heaven. It is beautiful, new, bright, quiet, delightful..."

Other residents also appreciate the vitality that comes from people going out and enjoying their neighborhood:

It is very quiet in the surroundings. Only during holidays or weekends would I hear some noises, but it's OK since people are out for fun when the weather is fine which is so natural. Often times the noises come from those children...having fun around, riding bicycles or playing games, but I think I like it anyway since it's full of vitality, and sometimes it reminds of my days back in China.

While the new neighborhood is a vast improvement, some miss Holly Park: "Before NewHolly I loved Old Holly; it was like a little neighborhood." Others lament the loss of specific physical aspects of the old development, such as the trees:

When we first moved here what will be Phase III was still intact and I loved walking through there with my dog; there were a lot more trees; there was much more restful feeling that they can't duplicate here because of the density... [I] would have loved to see a little bit of a combination of what Holly Park had and the density and the better living conditions; there's something that's actually been lost I think.

Residents' overall opinion of NewHolly is colored by their evaluation of their individual housing units. Telephone survey respondents rated their units very highly. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being worst and 10 being best, the average rating was about 8—on the very satisfied end of the scale. Focus group comments detail some of the reasons residents are so happy with their housing units. For those who lived at Holly Park, the difference is immense:

It [NewHolly]'s better—first of all security; secondly, they don't have as many problems as they had in the old Holly; living conditions are better because some of those apartments were really terrible—water leaking through the ceiling, mold and all that kind of stuff; it's better much better here.

Not only are the living units much improved, they are brand new, with new appliances that work and make life easier for everyone:

These are good houses...new house, and they have washing machine and all new appliances for use. These houses are like zero-mile cars...

NewHolly attracted me because of its spacious and new houses...I like new house, I have never lived in a new house before.

I was really impressed when they moved me up to NewHolly because my health is so bad; there are a lot of things like doing the dishes everyday is hard for me they've got dishwashers; the ovens are self-cleaning.

For former Holly Park residents, the combination of the new units with local amenities has made a huge difference:

In Holly Park, houses were old; but in NewHolly, everything is new and there are more things added...we have washing machines, dishwashers...kids' playground, park for adults, library...they added more good things to it.

Newer residents also appreciate the amenities, in combination with the physical layout of the development at large:

...there is something very welcoming about the way this place is laid out; there is something very welcoming about just the way the houses are structured...

I like the way it's laid out physically; I love that there are a number of parks; it's really easy to walk around; there are front porches that encourage people to hang out and talk to each other; you have to go a little ways to get your mail and occasionally you run into people; one of my favorite things is that there is a bench in one of the parks that has one of the most beautiful views of Rainier; I just adore it...

At the same time, focus group respondents stressed, without a well-considered layout to each home's interior, they would not be as pleased to live in NewHolly. Some just liked that the homes were large: "Spacious houses." "NewHolly attracted me because it is pleasurable, luminous area, has light and spacious houses." "[I live here because]...I get five bedrooms; disabled access; easy to get around." Homeowners stressed how important the physical layout was in their decision to buy at NewHolly: "For the record, if the market value units had not been aesthetically pleasing and nicely laid out...that would have been a deal breaker..." Another commented to general agreement, "It's all about the kitchen."

Others found great pleasure in the architecture of their homes in combination with the overall design of the development:

I think they did a really good job with not all that much space because I live in a small house but I really enjoy it; I think the interiors were well thought out; I think smart architecture and smart planning is really the thing that makes it work here. There's no chance I would of have bought a house here if was a cul-de-sac; there's no chance I would have bought a house here if it didn't feel like a part of the city...

The quality of the homes, regardless of whether they are public housing, tax credit, or market-rate homes, in combination with the amenities and physical layout of the site contribute to the overall feeling of satisfaction with NewHolly and increases commitment of some to the neighborhood:

I would not feel as invested and proud to be here if my house wasn't as well made as it is and my neighbors home weren't as well made as they were...I'm willing to put in a lot more energy to make it last.

I feel really proud to be part of this community; I'm thrilled to tell people about it; I'm thrilled that my family really loves it here; It's in a physically lovely place—we get to look down at Lake Washington and we see Rainier; I'm so glad that this part of Seattle did not get taken over by wealthy people; I get to be here.

Thus, the combination of a peaceful neighborhood in what many consider the heart of the city is very pleasing to most of the respondents.

Convenience of the location and local amenities

Focus group participants commented over and over again how much they liked the location of NewHolly, both because it was convenient for getting from place to place and because of the local services available in the neighborhood.

For example, respondents liked the easy access in the immediate neighborhood to local services, such as parks, schools, shopping, and restaurants:

[NewHolly] attracted me because it is delightful and convenient communications. Down the street, there are restaurants, supermarkets, laundry, video stores, clinics, and library...that is exactly like my hometown in Vietnam.

...the businesses [are] close so we can go shopping.

It has playground, parks, schools near here, and store near here. We don't need to go anywhere.

There is a very big Chinese supermarket "Mei Xa" near my house and also there is a nearby Chinese restaurant called "Dun Xang".

I shoot hoops two blocks away; we can walk down to get Pho; in the mornings can walk down to Second Dynasty to get dim sum; it's awesome; you can't do that in Magnolia [another Seattle neighborhood].

For ease of getting from place to place, residents thought NewHolly was wonderful: "I was drawn to NewHolly by...it's convenience for my children taking buses to college," "...good location for traveling back and forth to other various parts of the city." "Convenient to get around although hard to convince other people." "The facilities; not too far to go to hospital; access to bus."

...transportation is very convenient—there is bus line straight to Chinatown, walk 2 blocks and you will find the bus stop. There is also a bus line near the place I live. You know Chinese would all like to have bus lines—they are used to buses. The bus stop near my house I just talked about is over there...

Among homeowners, though, as much as they liked the services available locally, there was a sense that residents needed to depend on a car more than they had to in other parts of the city:

One thing that took a while to get used to pretty much right away was carrying a car seat everywhere I went and every time I walked out the front door I was carrying that car seat and putting it in a car to drive somewhere...I can't walk to a bookstore; I can't walk to a clothing store; the only major grocery store that I can walk to is the Safeway on the corner which is a terrible supermarket; I'd like to be able to walk to a bookstore and a coffee shop...I definitely still miss that about being in the U[niversity] District.

Affordability important for all

Residents, regardless of whether they receive housing subsidies or not, live in NewHolly because it is new and affordable. For subsidized residents, the pleasure of living in NewHolly is derived in part by amazement at the cost and quality:

We decided to live in NewHolly because the state helps us...if we stay outside this area the cost of the houses [is] really expensive. We're the poor people...

It is so attractive because of the lower priced compare to what I have to pay for renting an apartment.

I learned from Vietnam that America is a very big country and everything is expensive, cost of living is very high...I feel that I am very lucky that I can live in NewHolly housing where I can afford to pay rent and have a very fancy lifestyle.

The houses in this area was cheaper and I had a lot of kids at the time and area a good place and income was very small; everything was a match.

For homeowners, this was the best deal they saw in terms of quality and price when they were looking for a home to purchase:

They recommended me this place and told me that a lot of new houses were vacant and ready to be sold, and it's a nice place to live and the price is good.

...a lot of the homes that were available were really lovely and less expensive than the other place I was looking at...

We were looking to buy a house and there were a lot of dives right and left; we sort of just dropped by here and there was the huge kitchen, and big front porch; they did a pretty good job in terms of quality of house relative to what the market was for homes of similar prices.

It was a good chance for us to buy a home at a decent price.

Residents appreciate NewHolly's diversity

For many residents from all different backgrounds, NewHolly's ethnic diversity enhances their satisfaction with the neighborhood: "I like place that have many people like this. My race or others' races are the same." Ethnic richness and socio-economic diversity was what one homeowner commented he liked, "...it really nourishes me to be around people from lots of different backgrounds; it's challenging and it's fascinating; it makes me feel a lot more life..." A renter commented,

...two things that sold me were the diversity of the community in all its guises...and also a lot of the homes that were available were really lovely and less expensive than the other place I was looking at. My children didn't mind moving into the old Holly Park because of the diversity and the diversity has been carried over into the NewHolly and they come up here and they like.

Not everyone, however, would have chosen to live among others who are not like themselves, as this resident explains:

The idea of the cultural diversity was a good idea to me, but I don't know if I would have just gone and done it; now we love it; it was an adjustment because I'm used to living in a place where I looked like everybody else.

Management and maintenance

Residents from across the spectrum thought very highly of the way the development is managed and maintained: "It's a very clean place..." "The yard is always well taken care of, grasses mowed often been kept clean." "Community management as a whole is good. And the facilities is still being developed and perfected." "Talking about the \$23/month management fee, it's used for cleaning the roads and weeding, in order to make the surroundings neat and tidy, which is very good."

Residents think the staff are good people and are responsive to their needs: "Manager and workers at this housing are also good people." "The staff here are very nice! They are always friendly and helpful to the residents."

I'm happy to live in this NewHolly because the workers are good. Especially when there is [something] broken in the house, they'll come and help repair for us...Even at night if there is any emergency case happens they come and help us.

Sometimes the management goes beyond its managerial role to facilitate dispute resolution in the neighborhood:

This is the only place I have been that you can go to the management if you have a problem and they will sit both of you down face to face without having to call the police.

Some of the extreme praise of the management may reflect the perspectives of immigrants who could not expect a high level of maintenance or response in their countries of origin, especially for those from Vietnam:

The maintenance system is very fast. I had to fix the stuff in my house myself when I was in Vietnam. The one who fixed my door is nice and friendly. In NewHolly, customer service is very good in all the services they have.

The maintenance system is the best I've ever seen. In my house, the faucet was dripping and when we called, they came to fix it right away. This would never happen in Vietnam.

Everything in, appliances and the house, was fixed right away with the call. We never had this kind of service in Vietnam. It is wonderful!

Very good maintenance system. We are come from Vietnam...As you knew, we never have this kind of housing or maintenance system like this. When I first came to NewHolly, I couldn't believe that everything can be fix quickly with very very little charge and sometimes free.

Conclusion

In sum, residents are very satisfied with NewHolly as a place to live. Most consider the entire development or a subset to be their neighborhood. For those who used to live in Holly Park, the development is a vast improvement. Residents love its quiet, its cleanliness, and the physical layout of both the grounds and each individual unit. Most residents praise its convenient location and easy access to local amenities, although some would like more amenities in the area. Whether subsidized or not, all residents are pleased that NewHolly is quality housing that is affordable.

Social relations among neighbors

One question about mixed-income housing is the extent to which people of different housing tenures are connected to and experience the local community. Are certain groups more tied to the local area? Do other groups use the services on site? How do different income groups get along in the neighborhood? This section attempts to shed light on some of these questions using general information about connections to the neighborhood from the telephone survey, specific information on the neighbors each telephone survey respondent knew, and focus group responses to lend depth to the analysis.

In general, public housing residents, not surprisingly given that many were relocated from Holly Park, were more likely to have known people in the neighborhood prior to moving in. At the same time, homeowners are more likely to engage in neighboring activities with neighbors. However, homeowners' ties to the neighborhood are very focused on the immediate area around their homes. As a result, they are more likely to know people like themselves, while renters have a wider circle of neighborhood ties extending beyond the area immediately surrounding their homes and less focused on activities in the immediate neighborhood

Connections to the neighborhood

Public housing residents (60 percent) were more likely to have known someone in the neighborhood before living there, compared to tax credit renters (40 percent) and homeowners (40 percent) (Chart 6). Given that 84 percent of public housing residents at NewHolly are relocated Holly Park residents, this is not surprising.



Chart 6: Did You Know Anyone Before Moving Here?

This chart shows the percentage of telephone respondents by housing type who knew someone in the neighborhood before moving to NewHolly. Among telephone survey respondents, public housing residents are more likely to have known someone in the neighborhood prior to moving here, although this is not a statistically significant difference.

Homeowners, tax credit renters, and public housing residents, do not differ significantly in the proportions of family and friends they have in the neighborhood. Homeowners (60 percent) most frequently said they had a few friends in the area, while about half of public housing residents (51 percent) and tax credit renters (49 percent) said they did (Chart 7). Tax credit renters (43 percent) most frequently said they had no friends in the neighborhood.

Likewise, most respondents had no family living in the neighborhood (Chart 8). Homeowners (86 percent) most frequently said they had no family in the neighborhood, and about three quarters of public housing residents (77 percent) and tax credit renters (74 percent) also had no relatives in the neighborhood.



Chart 7: How Many Friends Live in the Same Neighborhood?

This chart shows the percentage of telephone survey respondents by housing type who had friends in the NewHolly neighborhood. Most telephone survey respondents had at least a few friends in the neighborhood, with no significant differences among the different housing tenures.



Chart 8: How Many Family Members Live in the Same Neighborhood?

This chart shows the percentage of telephone survey respondents who had family in the NewHolly neighborhood. Most telephone survey respondents did not have family living in the neighborhood, with no significant differences among the various housing tenures.

If public housing residents knew more people before moving in, and about half of respondents report having friends in the neighborhood, what do the neighborhood ties of NewHolly residents look like? Homeowners tend to know others who live near them, while the neighborhood ties of renters are more far-flung (Chart 9).²² Homeowners are more likely to know people very close—half the people they mentioned live next door or behind them. Forty two percent of the people public housing residents mentioned lived that close, and only 28 percent of tax credit renters. Tax credit renters had the most far-flung neighborhood networks, with 37 percent living elsewhere on the same street and 35 percent of the people they mentioned living further away.

On the one hand, this pattern is expected given the more general information about social relations in the neighborhood. On the other hand, the perhaps unintended consequence is that homeowners in this mixed-income neighborhood also tend to interact with neighbors who are more like themselves than not.



Chart 9: Proximity of Neighborhood Social Ties

Chart presents the percent of neighborhood social ties identified by telephone survey respondents that live at different distances from themselves. There is a dependent relationship between housing tenure and the location of the neighbors mentioned. Homeowners' ties tend to be closer in proximity than those of other housing tenures.

For example, homeowners are less likely to have neighborhood networks with women in them, perhaps because homeowners as a group contain fewer women (Table 7).²³

More than half of the social ties among neighbors at NewHolly are among people of the same ethnicity. Fewer public housing residents have ties with neighbors who speak their native languages, perhaps

²² χ²=23.73, df=6, p=.00

²³ Kruskal Wallace test χ^2 =4.831, df=2, p=.089.

reflecting the relatively larger number of English-speakers among taxcredit renters and homeowners.²⁴

Table 7. Demographics of Neighborhood Social fies						
	Public	Тах	Home-			
	Housing	Credit	owners			
Women	65%	67%	50%	*		
Married	43%	41%	52%			
Children in household	73%	69%	41%	* * *		
Same ethnic group	57%	5 9 %	49%			
Same native language	60%	80%	75%	*		

Table 7: Demographics of Neighborhood Social Ties

This table shows the average percent of neighborhood social ties of telephone survey respondents with demographic characteristic.. Homeowners are less likely to have neighborhood networks including women and people with children in their household. *p<0.10 **p<0.05 ***p<0.01. Significant differences indicating that at least two groups are different from each other are based on the non-parametric Kruskal Wallace χ^2 test.

In terms of the age of the people they know in the neighborhood, homeowners were most likely to mention people in their thirties (55 percent of people homeowners mentioned were age 30-39) (Chart 10). Tax credit renters were fairly evenly distributed among people who were 18-49 years old. Public housing residents were more likely to mention both older and younger people in their social networks.

 $^{^{24}}$ Kruskal Wallace test χ^2 =5.124, df=2, p=.077.


Chart 10: Age of Neighborhood Social Ties

This chart shows the age of people who telephone survey respondents identified as being a part of their social network. Homeowners tend to know people who are older, while public housing residents were more evenly distributed along age lines. Percentages are of neighbors mentioned by tenure: 86 neighbor ties among public housing respondents, 97 among tax credit renters, and 149 among home owners.

Regarding education level of their neighbors, homeowners were more likely to have ties within the neighborhood with better-educated residents like themselves (Chart 11). Half the ties homeowners mentioned had a bachelor's degree, while another 19 percent had a graduate degree of some kind. This is in contrast to tax credit renters who knew more people with some college or an associates degree (37 percent of ties) or a high school diploma (44 percent). Public housing residents tended to know people within the neighborhood with lower levels of education. Forty percent of the people they mentioned did not have a high school degree and 32 percent had a high school diploma. Thus, even though the neighborhood is mixed-income and diverse, residents know others in the neighborhood who share their educational attainment level.



Chart 11: Education Levels of Neighborhood Social Ties

Homeowners knew neighbors who have a BA or graduate education, tax credit renters are more likely to know neighbors who have some college or a high school degree, and public housing residents are more likely to know people with lower levels of education. Percentages are of neighbors mentioned by tenure: 53 neighbor ties among public housing respondents, 57 among tax credit renters, and 124 among home owners.

This dynamic is also evident when looking at whether homeowners and those who receive assistance know each other as neighbors. People tend to know others with similar housing tenures, perhaps because of the layout of Phase I (Table 8). Homeowners are much more likely to report knowing homeowners than are either public housing residents or tax credit renters²⁵. All residents said that a minority of the people they listed received housing assistance. Public housing residents knew higher proportions of people on welfare and fewer people who were working.^{26,27}

 $^{^{25}}$ Kruskal Wallace test χ^2 =46.59, df=2, p=0.00.

²⁶ Kruskal Wallace test χ^2 =5.42, df=2, p=0.07.

²⁷ Kruskal Wallace test χ^2 =22.68, df=2, p=0.00.

Neighborhood Social Ties					
	Public	Тах	Home-		
	Housing	Credit	owners		
Homeowners	15%	13%	83%	* * *	
Housing assistance	22%	18%	9%		
Welfare	14%	9%	2%	*	
Working	48%	65%	86%	* * *	

Table 8: Economic Status and Housing Tenure of Neighborhood Social Ties

Table indicates average percent of neighborhood social ties that the respondent reported having these attributes. Significant differences indicating that at least two groups are different from each other are based on the non-parametric Kruskal Wallace χ^2 test. *p<0.10 **p<0.05 ***p<0.01.

How neighborly are NewHolly residents?

NewHolly residents are very neighborly. Homeowners engaged in neighboring activities more frequently than either tax credit renters or public housing residents. Respondents were asked about the frequency of their engaging in 10 different activities with neighbors (Chart 12). Homeowners were significantly more likely to greet a neighbor in the street,²⁸ spend more than 10 minutes talking with a neighbor,²⁹ and loan to or borrow from a neighbor.³⁰ When considered in total, they also tended to engage more frequently in neighboring activities than did residents of the other housing types.³¹

²⁸ Kruskal Wallace test x^2 =13.5893, df=2, p=.0011.

²⁹ Kruskal Wallace test x²=18.2578, df=2, p=.0001

 $^{^{30}}$ Kruskal Wallace test x²=14.8047, df=2, p=.0006

³¹ An additive index was created to represent overall neighboring. The index ranged from 10, indicating a low level of neighboring behavior, and 46, indicating a relatively high level of neighboring behavior (Crohnbach's alpha=.80). The average neighboring score for both public housing residents and tax credit renters was 23, and for homeowners it was 28. At least two groups were different from each other. Kruskal Wallace test χ^2 =11.57, df=2, p=0.00.



Chart 12: Engaged in Specific Neighboring Activities Once a Month or More

Telephone survey respondents said whether they engaged in these activities never, once, a few times, once a month, once a week, or almost everyday. Chart reports frequency of engaging in activities once a month or more. Homeowners are significantly more likely to greet a neighbor, spend more than 10 minutes talking with a neighbor, or loan or borrow something from a neighbor. ***p<0.01 indicates that at least two groups are different from each other, a significant result from nonparametric Kruskal Wallace test.

Similarly, NewHolly residents report being friendly with specific neighbors they mentioned—they stop and talk to most of the people they mentioned whenever they see them (Table 9). However, people in the different housing tenures interact differently with their neighbors otherwise. Homeowners are more likely to have invited their neighbors to their homes—they had invited 81 percent of the people they named to their homes, compared to 67 percent of the people named for public housing residents, and 52 percent for tax credit residents. In contrast, public housing residents are more likely to see their neighbors not only at NewHolly but also elsewhere: they said they would socialize with 59 percent of the people they mentioned, compared to 40 percent of people mentioned for tax credit renters and about a guarter (24 percent) of neighbors mentioned for homeowners. Public housing residents also have a little less formal behavior with their neighbors than either tax credit renters or homeowners, as 61 percent of the people public housing residents mentioned would simply drop by for a visit, while only 40

percent and 44 percent of tax credit renters and homeowners respectively would do so.

J	3 3			
	Public	Тах	Home-	
	Housing	Credit	owners	
Invited to home	67%	52%	81%	* * *
Simply drops by to visit	61%	40%	44%	*
Socialize with away from NH	59%	40%	24%	* * *
Stop and talk with whenever see	91%	90%	84%	

Table 9:	Socializing a	among Neig	hborhood	Social Ties
----------	---------------	------------	----------	-------------

Table indicates the average percent of neighborhood social ties with whom the respondent reported engaging in the specific activity. Significant differences indicating that at least two groups are different from each other are based on the non-parametric Kruskal Wallace χ^2 test. *p<0.10 **p<0.05 ***p<0.01. Based on information about 249 of the 349 neighbors whom telephone respondents mentioned as neighborhood social ties.

Echoing their proximity-focused relationship with their neighbors, homeowners depend more on their neighbors for support than do renters on site (Table 10). Homeowners said, on average, that they would ask 92 percent of the neighbors they named for a favor, 92 percent for help in an emergency, and 29 percent of them to take care of their homes while away. These proportions are higher than for those living in the other tenures, although renters said on average they would ask the great majority of the people they named for a favor or for help in an emergency.

	Public	Тах	Home-		
	Housing	Credit	owners		
Ask for a favor	70%	65%	92%	***	
Emergency	80%	79%	92%	*	
Take care of home while away	15%	9%	29%	***	

Table 10: Support within Neighborhood Social Ties

Table indicates the average percent of neighborhood social ties offering listed support to the telephone survey respondent. Significant differences indicating that at least two groups are different from each other are based on the non-parametric Kruskal Wallace χ^2 test. *p<0.10 **p<0.05 ***p<0.01.

In sum, homeowners appear to behave differently with their neighbors—they are more focused on the neighborhood for specific types of aid and relationships with neighbors tend to stay in the neighborhood. Renters, on the other hand, tend to have more far flung relationships with neighbors that can extend into relationships beyond the neighborhood.

We also asked telephone survey respondents more general questions that addressed different aspects of neighborhood efficacy.³²

³² These questions are a variation on the HOPE VI resident tracking study (Popkin et al. 2002; Buron et al. 2002). Where residents report high levels on these measures,

Each was asked whether they strongly agreed, somewhat agreed, somewhat disagreed, or strongly disagreed with a series of statements about others in the neighborhood. Respondents thought people in NewHolly generally got along well with each other (Chart 13), although higher proportions of homeowners thought people in the neighborhood could be trusted and that people were willing to help each other. Tax credit renters were least likely to say that people in the neighborhood shared the same values. When taken as composite indicator, homeowners are more likely than either tax credit renters or public housing residents to say they agree with these statements.³³ Homeowners scored the highest, with 12.71 out of a possible 16 points, while tax credit renters and public housing residents were nearly the same at 10.23 and 10.63 of 16 respectively. Generally, homeowners were more likely to say people in the neighborhood invested positively in the neighborhood.³⁴



Chart 13: Opinions of Neighborhood Efficacy

This chart shows the percent of respondents who agree that the statement is true. Homeowners were more likely to agree with the above statements concerning positive attributes of their neighbors.

Although homeowners more frequently engage in neighboring activities and were more likely to think people in the neighborhood invested positively in the neighborhood, focus group participants of all tenures and ethnicities spoke a lot about how people in the neighborhood

neighborhoods tend to be able to organize themselves to mitigate crime, while where residents report low levels the neighborhoods tend to be high in crime. ³³ We created an additive index (Cronbach's alpha=.77) that ranged from 4 to 16. Higher values indicate a greater level of agreement with the statements. ³⁴ Kruskal Wallace χ^2 =18.227, df=2, p=.000. watch out for each other and depend on each other. Specifically, the English, Vietnamese, Chinese, Cambodian focus group participants spoke very positively about the relationships among people of different ethnicities and races at NewHolly. They felt that residents could depend on each other and watch out for each other:

Before there was some drug selling in here, but now we live next together and can be of help to each other. Even though we live over here with different ethnic or race but we help one another like neighborhood watch. We help take care of one another.

...even though there are all races that we help one another...we support each other...meaning we're friends...we know each other and contact each other...talk to one another...

Some are sometime surprised at how supportive and friendly their neighbors can be:

I have friendly and helpful neighbors. But me tell you about my story. I am alone so I have to grocery and cook myself...One day, I cook and then recognized that I don't have enough ingredients. I was lazy to go back to the supermarket so I knocked on my next-door neighbor and borrowed from him. After that... he usually share some food with us. In our country that is normal and we usually do that but I couldn't imagine that I could have such a nice neighbor like this in here.

The surprise comes from finding out that people of different ethnic backgrounds do have things in common:

When I lived at the old Holly, the Vietnamese and Cambodians came and they lived next to me and at first it was hard, but we found things that we had in common; I like to work in the yard; they would be working in the yard; I like tea; they like tea. It's like that—just little things; you can always find some things in common...

Things in common have made it easier to reach across ethnic lines to be neighborly in some cases:

the good thing is that through gardening we've gotten to know our neighbors on either side better from working out in the yards; it's bad because it is so close but it's good 'cause it is so close at the same time.

Nationally, recent HOPE VI studies suggest that relations for all types of HOPE VI movers (including those who returned to their redeveloped neighborhoods) were friendly-between 43 percent and 55 percent of all movers stopped and chatted with neighbors—but less than a quarter of all types of movers "reported even regular casual interactions." (Buron, Popkin, Levy, Harris, and Khadduri 2002: 91). However, different mixes of income may be more conducive to resident interactions than others. For example, Rosenbaum et al. (1998) suggest that at Chicago Housing Authority's Lake Parc Place (a mixed-income, though not a HOPE VI redevelopment), many moderate income tenants who had families and lived in public housing in the past were more similar to public housing residents living on site, and these similarities may have helped to fuel positive and supportive interactions. They further suggest that low levels of neighboring found in other studies may be the result of a lack of similar interests among residents. Indeed, Buron et al. conclude that HOPE VI movers who either returned to their redeveloped sites or moved to other public housing had higher rates of neighboring than those who moved using a housing voucher or were unsubsidized.

Diverse neighborhood, separate lives

At the same time, the different ethnic groups on-site live very separate lives, as one respondent mentioned, "The Vietnamese or the Chinese they live separately; they never come to bother us. They understand one another feeling; we can live together...when we need each other, we say hi or hello."

Thus, the ethnic and racial diversity at NewHolly does not necessarily result in either overlapping social relationships or the various ethnic groups experiencing each other's culture, although residents do come together for American events:

The Khmers celebrates ours, the Cham celebrates theirs and Vietnamese celebrates theirs and other race that wear scarf on head, celebrate theirs. But for the American New Year, we join all together.

Even within ethnic groups, people may not socialize, as one respondent described:

We would have a light chat whenever we meet each other, but that's all. I get along quite well with my neighbors. Just like my neighbor living opposite my house, sometimes when she cooks good food, she would bring me some. And we see each other quite often during summertime since [ethnic group] residents like to take their children out for fun, and to promenade and breathe the cool fresh air outside after dinner so that we can see each other. While in winter much fewer chances of meeting.

One English-speaker worried about the separateness of the East Africans at NewHolly:

I really like [the diversity] although there are some things that I don't understand about the Muslim community primarily; they don't seem to associate with African Americans—they usually stay away from us; I don't know why but seem like they want to be more to themselves and I'm trying to overcome that.

The separateness of some groups from one another at times seems a natural result of having no common language.

I'm about the only white or white family [on my block]; I feel kind of isolated because of that; I don't speak Muslim and I can't talk to my neighbors because of language barriers; I think they are mostly Somalians and Ethiopians.

At the same time, connections are obviously easier among those who share a common language: "As long as they can speak some Chinese, we can communicate really well."

Some experience frustration with the inability to communicate: "I called security in the middle of the night he did not understand me—we had language issues."

Race, class and space

All the residents at NewHolly are very aware of its ethnic and racial diversity, but only the English-speaking focus group spoke explicitly about class issues that may be present on-site. While other focus groups framed their comments with regard to their experience of diversity, the English focus group—made up of a majority of homeowners—spoke about the problems of developing relationships across class as well as across race and ethnic divisions:

...couple of things that are still challenges—for me class issues are the big thing; there are major class differences in this community and its how do you develop and nourish friendships across class lines and then there is the racial issues; but I think the big thing is a class...

At the same time, many did not comment on class issues on site. The lack of comment in the Vietnamese, Cambodian, Somali, and Tigrinya focus groups may indicate how the more germane differences are those of ethnicity or that they conflate race and class issues. As one resident in the English group commented: "There are a lot of visible lines that put you in a certain class and there are some that people don't even think about that..."

Those who notice these differences, though, seem to be the homeowners, not the renters on site. While homeowners notice the lack of physical integration among homeownership and rental units, they also appreciate the aspects of the physical layout that have helped them get to know people:

...the layout and the way that facilitates getting to know folks...I wish that the market value and rental units were more integrated; but nevertheless I still feel like I've had opportunities to be in a relation with the whole breadth of the community albeit not quite in a robust way that I'd like it; I'm convinced in large measure relationships primary relationships have been because of proximity.

Absolutely, the people we know best are the people who live right near us; but the other issue I think with having discreet blocks of market rate versus rental is I don't like when I can walk down the street and I can tell that this entire block is rental; there are certain blocks at Holly that because of agreements they have made with Quantum management for example, they don't have to put their trash cans and recycling cans in the back in the alleyways where they were originally designed to go.

Participants had different views as to whether realtors selling NewHolly's new units think diversity is a selling point or a potential sales problem:

I have a story; the sales office moved to the row houses across from the park; the first summer I was here everyday there were 15 to 20 kids with me my dogs running and playing in the park; the realtors did not like the fact that I had all these kids of color running around being their rather rambunctious selves because they were afraid they were not going to sell homes."

"We had a very different experience when we looked here; the realtor we were working with made a point of telling us that the rental units and market rate homes are all mixed up and you shouldn't be able to tell the difference; to him that was point of pride and a selling point..."

Nonetheless, for these residents, mixing incomes, mixing races, and mixing housing types was a positive feature, and they would like to have seen more:

I think they did a really good job in Phase I, in that, there are some blocks where there's market rate and rentals right across from each other and in general things appear to be mixed up; I live on the other side of the block of Phase I housing, but go over to Phase II and it's like two different universes; part of me wonders about Phase II—it's so separate; at what point does it become less about turning a low-income housing project into a mixed income housing project and start being about SHA selling off part of its land so that they can redevelop their old units and I think Phase II is getting closer to that.

The concern is that Phase II and Phase III will not continue the level of income mixing that occurred in Phase I, and that a return to income segregation would be detrimental to the community as a whole.

Connections among families with children

For the most part, those respondents who have kids say that their kids play with other kids at NewHolly (Chart 14). Of respondents with children, 87 percent of public housing respondents said their children played with other children who live in NewHolly. Three-quarters of tax credit renters said their children did so, and homeowners were the least likely to say their kids played with other kids in NewHolly (62 percent).



Chart 14: Do Your Children Play with Other Children Who Live in NewHolly?

Among telephone survey respondents who have children living in their household, their children most frequently play with other children who live in NewHolly. The highest proportion is among public housing residents (87 percent), then tax credit renters (75 percent), and lastly homeowners (62 percent).

Homeowners, when asked about 5 neighbors, named a lower proportion of households with children.³⁵ This may be the result of a combination of two factors: fewer homeowners than renters at NewHolly have children and homeowners tend to know the people who live near to them. As families with children tend to know each other, it follows that homeowners tend to know fewer families with children (Table 11).

Table 11: Children in Families					
of Neighborhood Social Ties					
	Public	Тах	Home-		
	Housing	Credit	owners		
Children in household	73%	69%	41%	* * *	

Table shows the average proportion of each telephone survey respondent's neighborhood social ties that have children living in their homes. Public housing and tax credit residents report that more of their neighbors have children in their homes. *p<0.10 **p<0.05 ***p<0.01. Significant differences indicating that at least two groups are different from each other are based on the non-parametric Kruskal Wallace χ^2 test.

Community building and governance

In Holly Park, as in the majority of other public housing developments, the residents had a resident council to represent their perspectives to the housing authority. At one point, Holly Park had a series of sub-councils representing each ethnic group on-site. With the creation of NewHolly, this council structure is gone. Instead, the

 $^{^{35}}$ Kruskal Wallace χ^2 =16.673, df=2, p=.001.

homeowners association represents the homeowners, and the renters deal primarily with the management office. As part of the HOPE VI grant, SHA employed a full-time community builder who began initially to organize block groups and then issue-based committees and clubs throughout NewHolly. The clubs allow people of common concern to come together to work on a particular issue or problem. For example, a traffic club has formed to address the problem of people speeding through the development. A kids club addresses concerns of families with children. At periodic open meetings of the community as a whole, those present raise issues that need to be addressed, and volunteers become the committee to work on that issue. This is a very loose committee structure requiring an SHA staff person to act as an organizer to maintain it. It also does not place responsibility for achieving the ends of the committees with the residents. Rather, concerned residents who are members of these committees work with management staff and the community builder to bring their problem to a solution. Community building has been the focus of community activities, with loose tie-ins of the community-building activities to the management office and the homeowners association as entities that govern the community.

For some, though, the transition from the Holly Park community to the NewHolly community has been uncomfortable, as these changes in governance have occurred, leaving them feeling uninvolved and without a voice in what happens at NewHolly:

[At Holly Park] Each group had same opportunity; each group was equally treated and every ethnic group had their own representative in that place.

Some thought that there had been more community people working in Holly Park than were currently working in NewHolly, and this has left them more cut-off from the community.

[At Holly Park] We knew a lot of things because we had people working with the communities, and working in the offices; we were aware of things going on; now don't have anything like that.

At the same time, focus group participants comment that community-building efforts have been very important in creating relationships among homeowners and renters. Residents as a whole are very positive about the role of the community builder. As one resident commented:

...I like the idea that it's somebody here whose fulltime job is to think about building relations between homeowners and

renters; I like the fact that agencies are here to think about young people and families; the possibilities here are remarkable in terms of overcoming what society says you can't have...

As a new development the community building efforts are also important, as everyone is new and looking to try to build community, as one resident observed:

...because this a completely newly built place, there are people like you that are coming back but there are also many folks who are coming for the first time and I think that there's many more people who are motivated to actually build a community who care about being around other people who they know they can talk to, socialize with and exchange support...

Homeowners and public housing residents most frequently are involved in community activities (Chart 15). According to the telephone survey, the most frequently attended events are the community meetings, and then community potlucks. Nearly a third of both homeowners (35 percent) and public housing residents (32 percent) have attended a neighborhood night—the community meetings where residents meet to talk about how they would like to mold their community—compared to only about a quarter of tax credit renters (23 percent). It is unclear, however, whether these clubs and community work to do more than build community. Whether these groups have a formal advisory role is unclear as is whether they have the ability to implement any changes.



Chart 15: Involvement in Community Events and Activities at NewHolly

Among telephone survey respondents by housing type, residents of different housing tenures participate at different rates in the various activities on-site. Homeowners and public housing residents report more frequent involvement than tax credit renters. Taken as a whole, these are not significant differences.

While the English-speaking public housing residents surveyed are very involved in the activities at NewHolly, others do not want to participate in wider community events not only because they are busy, but also because they find it embarrassing to go somewhere where they may be unable to communicate:

Oh yes I know [about community potlucks]. But I've never participated in one. In addition, I don't have time for these events. Let me tell you this, since you are Chinese, you know what Chinese are like, whenever we come home from work and we have time, we would rather go shopping. And if no acquaintance is going as well, we would rather stay at home. Otherwise I would feel lonely and embarrassed among a crowd of people speaking different languages, and would thus get bored. But if you can get some Chinese people started to join in these parties, more and more Chinese would join in.

The problem is that most of the groups only speak English not Somali; we need someone to explain; some of us do not read or write. For others, they feel that to begin to speak a language other than their own is shameful:

For us to leave our language and start speaking another one. We think it's an embarrassment; but it's not true.

Sometimes religious or cultural observances get in the way of crossing ethnic lines: "We are able to go to other people's fests [Cham, Muslim], but when we invite them to join us, they don't come since we eat pork [and they don't]."

The role of culture and the immigrant experience

In some ways, feeling shy about attending an event because of a language barrier is just that—a barrier to getting to know people on-site. Sometimes, though, the combination of the language barrier and culture means that residents experience the development through the filter of their life experience in another country. For example, among the Cambodian and Vietnamese groups their opinion of NewHolly is often framed as a comparison to their home country. They wish they could have done things the way they are done in their home countries. Furthermore, their experiences of their home countries shape their positive perspectives on NewHolly. NewHolly and the United States (which are one to many of them) are vast improvements over where they have been.

Their opinion of their neighbors is one instance where the comparison is clear:

It's different from people in Cambodia. In Cambodia, if there are many people like this [of many different races living together], there must be a lot of arguments and sites. Over here, we stay in our own house...coming from the stores winter own house. We never hate anyone.

I come from a city in China and you know city people are more open. Some of the Chinese residents here come from remote places and they are quite isolated. I think they are not used to parties. In fact, not only these people, but most Chinese are like this. But if more efforts are made to get them excited about those parties, they'll get used to these kind of events and will be willing to join in.

Their experiences as immigrants from developing countries also color their view of housing quality at NewHolly:

In Vietnam, we had a house but it was very old and small; then the whole family was living in the two together without personal bedrooms like this. It is wonderful living here!

I have never dream that I can live in the new and comfortable house like this. I think if I don't come to America, all of my life I couldn't be able to afford to buy the house like this.

In comparison to their home country, NewHolly is quite safe:

It is safe, the police cars driving around often day and night. In Vietnam, it wasn't like this, the policeman just appeared when ever we called and very lazy to do their job. They just want to make money on us by giving tickets or so when something went wrong.

It is already very good compare to Vietnam. I remembered when I was there; one car hit my bicycle when I rode on the street. I fell down and that car kept running without stop. The patrol, police and all the people they saw it but no one doing anything. The policeman, who I complained with, said that I was ok and don't bother to tracking that car. They don't have time for these little things. I was so upset but couldn't do anything because that is the way Vietnam society is. Here, I can have the protection from the law from the society. I am glad living here.

In contrast, sometimes, residents like NewHolly because it reminds them of their home country:

Down the street, there are restaurants, supermarkets, laundry, video stores, clinics, and library...that is exactly like my hometown in Vietnam.

[Compared to Holly Park, NewHolly is a] more quiet and peaceful area. Every afternoon, I take a walk around for about one to two hours. I was a soldier serving in the army during the Vietnam War. After the communist took over the country, I was in the prison for 9 years. I never think of the day that I can walk peacefully in the United States. In dealing with problems among neighbors, sometimes residents' cultural perspective during an exchange leaves them feeling like the other party is disrespectful:

The water company ...the last time he came and checked the neighborhood...As you know since my brother passed away, they [the ethnic community] had come to visit me [which is what is culturally expected at times like that]. He said it's because you have so many guests that your bill is this expensive. Just because people come over does that mean that water is being spilt? This is a bad insult...We were sitting on the sofa; he said the reason your water bill is so high is because people came over to your house...This is extremely bad manners.

While sometimes I heard people in their car on the street turn on music so loudly as to affect the neighborhood. Most people here are colored races such as those from Middle East, Asia, among whom the black people are impolite relatively. They always play music on the street very loudly.

While not all residents view their neighbors in these specific ways, the cultural perspective that calls these exchanges bad manners or impolite are present in many exchanges on site. Communicating with ones neighbors is not as simple as being able to speak the same language.

Services at the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus

The Seattle Housing Authority wanted to know whether people living in NewHolly were satisfied with the services in the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus, to what extent people of different housing tenures used the services, and whether there were services people wanted to see in addition.

Service use and satisfaction

The library is the center of the community at NewHolly (Chart 16). Over 80 percent of telephone survey respondents used it at least occasionally, and it was the only facility on-site that all groups used fairly equally. Still, public housing residents more frequently use the services on site than do occupants of other types of housing. Public housing residents were more likely to use the community computer lab (57 percent) and the continuing education center (43 percent). Both public housing residents (38 percent) and tax credit renters (32 percent) used the career development center more than homeowners (6 percent). While public housing residents made the most used of the South Seattle Community College branch in the Neighborhood Campus, overall few respondents said they ever attended a class or event there (17 percent of public housing residents, 11 percent of tax credit renters, and 9 percent of homeowners).



Chart 16: Service and Facility Use at NewHolly

Nearly everyone who responded used the library at least occasionally. Public housing residents were more likely to use the community computer lab and the continuing education center. Both public housing residents and tax credit renters used the career development center more frequently than homeowners.

The popularity of the library was evident in comments from focus group participants:

Especially the library is the most important. Because kids come to do their homework. Also they have computers for them to use they have books, and stuff like that my children who are studying at college, and they also check out books from here. Also they have some help for those who do not know how to do some homework. For those who are behind the class at school, they also help them out at the library like helping them with homework...they have a lot of volunteers to help out.

The kids use the library and do their homework here.

Two things about the library; I agree its phenomenal; you put things on hold on-line you can have anything in the

Seattle Public Library system; things show up in a day or two; so for me it doesn't really matter what's on the shelf because it shows up in a day or two; the other thing is that the computer center whose funding is about to be cut; if think the computer center is cool tell the city.

I come to the library sometimes. You know there is a library?

...my favorite piece of the many things that are available here is the library; it's not like a really super high quality library I'm not thrilled with what's on the shelves, but it's just a buzz with activity; all the librarians know every kids name and they're on them about their homework; it really is a hub for tons of children and adults...it feels more vital than any library I've ever been in before; they're so helpful and responsive to me; when I was really sick one of the librarians spent an hour on the phone with me brainstorming about books that I might want to put in an order for; they helped me with tax forms.

I come to the library to read some Chinese novels...

While the library is clearly the single most popular service in the neighborhood, focus group participants mentioned a number of other services that were important to them. Aside from the library, focus group participants most frequently mentioned English as a second language classes, the computer lab, the community garden and garden club, the career development center, playgrounds, and the rental hall.

While it is apparent from the telephone survey results that public housing residents most frequently use the services on-site, differences in use also exist among the different language and ethnic groups on-site.

Convenience of services important

For many focus groups participants, they were happy not only with the specific services at the Neighborhood Campus, but also that the services were so conveniently located in their neighborhood:

Best of all, every service is here, right at the corner. I just walk down the street, come to the library and all my questions can be answered, my needs can be filled. They have everything and help us a lot that's why I like to live here.

It is very convenient for learning ESL because it is right here, and the library.

One homeowner commented that the services on site have been a way for his family to link to the broader community:

...being able to bring my child to daycare here has been a way for us to link to the greater community and I hope as she gets older...

Focus group respondents were quite complimentary of the people who work in the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus:

The people who work for the organizations here are not just doing a job; they are deeply committed to the community and they go way beyond the call of duty to make things right here and it's just a pleasure to work with them.

They seem to care about every family every problem; they don't consider anything too hard to solve; they just delve in a do it.

Services for children and youth

Many of the services at the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus focus on children and youth. The library is especially a focal point for them (Chart 17). Over 90 percent of respondents said their children used the library, regardless of housing tenure. Public housing residents are more likely to use the computer lab (83 percent) than are homeowners (46 percent) or tax credit renters (50 percent). Public housing residents (30 percent) are also more likely to use the Catholic Community Services Youth Tutoring compared to those living in other housing tenures. Over half of tax credit renters (57 percent) and public housing residents (52 percent) say their children use the NewHolly teen center compared to only 15 percent of homeowners. Homeowners and public housing residents are the more frequent users of the Children Museum's program on-site and the child day care, although only a minority of residents uses these programs at all.



Chart 17: Respondents Whose Children Use NewHolly Youth Services

This chart shows the percentage of respondents saying their children use youth services at NewHolly. The chart shows respondents by housing type. There are few consistent differences among the groups.

Kids, though, are also involved in many less formal types of activities at NewHolly. Kids are involved in ball clubs and team sports. For example, some focus groups participants explained about the ball teams: "I think kids play ball in park...they have also like team alike for teenagers, it has girls and boys. Girls good girl separately and boys play in their teams."

While parents liked the organized teams at NewHolly, some were concerned, though, about the cost of involvement, although some were less informed, as this exchange demonstrates:

"They have a coach who takes them different places. They play against different teams in the south and in the north. They have a team." "I didn't know that." "You pay \$35 for them to enter." "...maybe it's too expensive for some parents to pay...For someone who's working it's easy, but there are those who are not working."

Focus group participants were also appreciative of the convenience of the parks and playgrounds at NewHolly. The Vietnamese participants, though, were especially pleased given the situation they had when they lived in Vietnam: As all of us know, our kids in Vietnam don't have playground like here. It has some but it is far away and we have to pay. It is not convenience like in NewHolly, just behind our house and every kid can enjoy it after school hour. It is great!



Chart 18: Use of Parks at NewHolly among Households with Children

Most telephone survey respondents reported using the Shafer or Central Park most frequently. Van Asselt Playground, the Triangle Tot Lot, Othello Park, and the Phase II Park followed in frequency. Homeowners most frequently reported their children's using the parks.

People of different housing tenures report using the different parks at different rates (Chart 18). Telephone survey respondents with children most frequently reported using the Shafer or Central Park (Figure 5). Homeowners most frequently said they used parks in the area, compared to public housing residents and tax credit renters with children.

Variations in service use by ethnicity

The focus group discussions suggest that some ethnic groups are very tied into the vital life of the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus. It became clear that for the most part, Vietnamese, English, and Cambodian speakers know what is going on at the Neighborhood Campus. Participants in these groups spoke about all the services they used there. In comparison Tigrinya and Chinese speakers often said they did not use the services. As one Tigrinya speaker observed: There are many people who don't know what activities are available to them in the community. Myself for example, there are many things I don't know, I've lived here for many years...What I want to tell you is that we don't know what kind of services there are here. Our kids go to head start, and I know of the library...

From the perspective of East African focus group participants, Cambodian and Vietnamese are tied in, and they are not:

...the people who get the most use (out of this community center) are the Asians. They are the ones who use it the most, because they have an idea of what programs are available. They know what's going on in the office, most of them know. The kids from Asia use it. The kids from East Africa come here and play basketball. Go and do their homework at the homework center and do their work, play and go home.

"[Asians] They help one another. They call each other to different events. Sometimes you can see many Asians cars parked out here and they have a meeting. All of these computers that are just sitting here can be used, but our children don't use it. Some of them play basketball. Some do other things. The Asians' kids though, they use it. They get good advice, for example, they hear where the good jobs are at.

Another exchange illustrates the dilemma for the Tigrinya-speakers:

"So the programs are there. The question is whether people use it or not." "There is no one who uses it." "I don't know if the older people like myself use it. Maybe, the younger ones maybe they're aware of it." "Habishas³⁶ just come to complain (laughter all around). No one knows anything about the services."

Some members of particular ethnic groups are reluctant to attend events, if others of their ethnic group are not certain to attend. For example, one parent commented about a class on-site:

³⁶ Habisha is the word Tigrinya speakers use to refer to themselves.

I wanted my kids to get into Karate class. They have the class two times a week, now I wanted to sign up my two kids, but they left it. They said there are no other Habisha children there. There are no blacks in that class so they didn't feel comfortable going to that class...Now you see they are getting the benefits because they get together. But because we don't get together there are many things that pass us by.

The recognition that there are activities on-site but that they do not take advantage of them is reflected in comments like this:

[Facilitator asks: Did you attend the community potluck?] "I heard about it, but didn't go." "From Habishas who went? I never knew about it." "There are a lot of blacks here, they don't take advantage."

Many of these respondents said that they had heard of available services and activities but that they perceived a barrier to their participation in services. These perceived barriers have to do with language and culture:

By the way, I heard there are night classes for English learning. I don't know where it is...However, no Chinese translation accompanied in this class since it's taught by Americans, so it's hard for me.

The ESL takes two hours and I don't understand; I need someone who knows English and Somali.

The community tells us what services and facilities are available. Yes they do. It's a pity that I don't have chance to use most of them because of language barrier. I don't even ask about the facilities for the same reason...

Of the ethnic groups who are self-admittedly less involved in the Campus of Learners, some of them are simply too busy. As one Somali participant observed:

Not enough time to learn because now I have to work and take care of kids; we can't take advantage of all the things here.

A Chinese participant commented about her neighbors:

The community provides us with all kinds of information, such as coming New Year or Christmas parties, and they deliver the notices door to door. But Chinese seldom participate in these events. Not even parties, they seldom use the facilities here. They just want to stay at home, watching TV and doing some housework. Like I told you just now, I come to the library to read some Chinese novels, which are available, but I haven't seen any other Chinese with the same habit. When they (she means those Chinese neighbors) get to know my habit, they would be surprised and would say: 'You have so much free time!'

Similarly, a Tigrinya speaker commented that not only was she working too much to take part in much of the campus, that because she had no children, she was out of the loop for community information:

The big thing is work; we don't come to play. The library, I've never seen it, I've heard it's very nice. I have no child that goes to school.

Services for immigrants: Vietnamese speakers

The Vietnamese focus group was especially appreciative of the many services for immigrants at the Neighborhood Campus. They expressed gratitude at the opportunity for them to learn English and take citizenship classes.

We have a chance to learn; here we have ESL class, computer class, and citizenship class...

Some of the Vietnamese speakers spoke positively of the services available to both adults and young people at the Career Development Center.

Job search center is the one I like most. I came there and got help. They help me to do my resume and give me job lead and it is free. Not like in Viet Nam, we had to pay for all the services and they didn't treat me as nice as here.

Career Development Center is where my kid usually goes. They can have all the information about the career they choose, where does it have, how long does it take and which one should they choose. Participants in the Vietnamese group frequently evaluated the quality of the services on-site with respect to those in Vietnam. For example, one respondent talked about the dream of her children going to college and how both the convenience and affordability of NewHolly was helping that to happen:

I have four children who can go to college...and we're saving a lot of living in NewHolly housing. That is our dream but it was impossible to happen in our own country.

Others talked about the educational opportunities on-site and how these would not have happened in their own country:

In my country, I was very poor and couldn't ever think that I can have a chance to have higher education, but here I can go to the ESL class and I can go to college after my English skills get better.

I like to live in NewHolly. I have a chance to go to school; I got an AA degree and all of my kids have chance to pursue their dreams. In Vietnam, we didn't afford for the kids go to school. My kids were drop out of high school and some have to stop at middle school. Now looking at them doing homework for college, I am so grateful for the help that I got from the US government!

Computer is free for us. The staff helps me to learn from the basic thing like how to use the mouse, how to use the typing program, how be in the internet...In Vietnam, we have to pay for each hour we use computer and pay for all of the instruction they provided. It was so expensive for us.

For these participants, their appreciation of services on-site at NewHolly is conflated with their appreciation for living in a free country:

I like the computer class and now can know all the information in the world by reading from the Internet. In Vietnam, we couldn't know what news is true and what is not because the government did have the international channel and on the news, they said the things that they like us to hear. A place to meet: Somali and Tigrinya speakers

For Tigrinya and Somali speakers, they wanted a place where they could meet amongst their ethnic group on-site.

For times of celebration or mourning, Tigrinya speakers wanted a large gathering space. For some, that meant wanting to use the community hall at the Neighborhood Campus, but using it at a discount or for free. Some in the group, in fact, had used the hall, but others were concerned about the expense of renting it and felt unable to ask for a discount, as this exchange illustrates: "It's expensive." "\$800 for one day." "\$70-\$80 an hour." "Me, I talked to them and got a deal...They gave me a discount." "This is due...the people deserve it. It's made for the people. Our people aren't bold enough."

One Tigrinya speaking respondent made the request clearly:

Another thing I'd like is if they would give those of us who live here this community building to rent for a decent, low price or maybe even free. Even though Habisha children cause trouble, they may mess up their building. \$300-\$400 for rent is ok but \$1,000-\$800; people don't have the ability to pay that much. What can they do?

The Somali group had similar concerns over the cost of the space:

We would like to have a discount to have a party or wedding; we should not have to pay the same as an outside resident; we are entitled to have a discount.

Tigrinya speakers felt they use the space differently than others do—they would use it for celebrations and funerals, not meetings—and that might make it harder to clean:

You know what most people use it for meetings and other things. Us, though when we rent it we use it for—you know how Habisha people do it. Come with sewa (traditional drink). You know sewa can spill everywhere.

What do you think? Here we can even throw a wedding. Just like he said we need to clean up afterwards but you don't forget your culture. In the times of joy or mourning we use it. I mean we all drink it. People use other drinks also but whatever you use, you should clean up afterwards.... Me, myself, when I rented this place we made sewa, and everything.

Somali focus group participants wanted a slightly different sort of space. They wanted a space dedicated to their ethnic group where they could gather, where Somali children could get help with homework: "We don't have a place to have a meeting if we need it; we don't have a specific area." This type of space may be what they had at Holly Park. At NewHolly, all spaces are communal and no ethnic group has their own space. This is a change with which the Somali participants were uncomfortable.

Services wanted

When asked about additional services they would like to see at the NewHolly Neighborhood campus, respondents were hard-pressed to name things. There was no consensus across groups in terms of what residents might like to see. Some simply said, "They have everything."

Since there was no consensus across groups, the following is simply a list of ideas that respondents mentioned. Some wanted specific services:

Most of us who don't know how to drive are low income. We cannot afford to take driving class out there because it costs about \$300. Any way that we can have low-fee driving class here, in NewHolly.

We think every thing is good but it is better if we can have a gymnasium here for the elderly to exercise.

Swimming is very good for our health and I swam for about 25 years...I think it is good if we also have a swimming pool here in NewHolly.

I'd like to see a clothing closet for some of the families especially women with children because some of the families are quite large.

We [Somalis] don't have a tutor; for example I go to school I'm a single mom; I have five kids I need a tutor; I don't have help for my home; my children the same thing; we need more tutors. We [Somalis] don't have an interpreter in the management office; a lot of the people do not speak English; when they bring problems to management office they don't have interpreter...We need someone to mediate the cultural clash, police, problems; communication in general in our own language; all the other ethnic groups have someone.

Others wanted help building community within their ethnic group:

I hope you guys, or the community, will make us Chinese people closer to each other. We are kind of isolated from each other now. More efforts in this regard would be good.

Among the Somali participants, residents wanted all the agencies on-site to hire NewHolly residents as the SHA and Quantum Management do. One participant explains:

The point with employment is that there are a lot of services providers here and most of them have Somali people working for them, but they do not live in NewHolly; the people who are coming far away from this neighborhood cannot address our concerns; for example, if one of the ladies get the job, they know what is going on in the neighborhood so they can share the information through the network, but when somebody coming outside of the neighborhood and trying to deal with our problem it's very hard; it's even hard to know each other if live here.

Holly Park vs. NewHolly Services

Focus group respondents were, for the most part, satisfied with services at the Neighborhood Campus compared to the services available at Holly Park. As one focus group participant commented, there are, "More services than [when] it was Holly Park." This was the predominant sentiment among the Asian focus groups.

The East African groups, however, felt that they had lost some things with changes to the new development. For example, some wished they still were able to use the facilities on-site for free, as they had when they lived in Holly Park:

From the people who live around this area they need a hall to rent. Like for a wedding, this is a big hall. The people who lived here used to get it for free. You would just maintain it and clean it. But it's not done anymore. Others felt they had help finding jobs in the old development: "They don't take you to job sites. They used to do that." "They used to help people find jobs at the airport. There were some Africans who found jobs there."

Utilities are expensive, the process to pay them often confusing

In only one area are the residents very unhappy with NewHolly they felt their utility bills are too high and that the process by which they pay the utility bills is confusing. Former residents of Holly Park feel they pay more now for utilities than they did prior to redevelopment. Holly Park residents never received or paid itemized utilities bills as the costs of utilities were incorporated in the monthly rent payment. Subsidized residents across ethnic groups are very unhappy that the bills are separate:

When I lived in the old house, they didn't charge the water cost, we paid only the rent and electricity bills. As they know at that time, I paid electricity bills twice a year.... [the manager] told me that 'you know everything new' and I stop asking them.

We didn't have to pay for garbage and water or sewer before at Holly Park. Now we have to pay for those. It is more expensive when living in NewHolly.

Subsidized residents as a whole also experience a lot of confusion about the amounts they are charged, especially in comparison to others in the neighborhood:

...we never used to pay the water bill separate from the rent. The light bill we pay separately. The bill doesn't come to us according to how much we use it. In our house we only have two people living here. On one side of the street we have about five or six houses that all have the same amount on each bill.

When it changed to NewHolly the burden is so heavy that even the rich can't afford the bills they are sending for water and the rest. Now, in a month if it comes up to \$500 or \$600, where are we supposed to get that from?

Although management staff and have reportedly communicated with residents about the differences between traditional public housing and NewHolly's public housing—in particular, that utilities are separate expenses at NewHolly—some residents are still mystified by having "free" water in one place but not in another:

So, when we say low-income housing even if rent is high...Water was free when we used to live here. Water was free.

Another resident expressed the belief that one is not supposed to pay one's own utilities in government-owned housing:

What does it mean to be low income? Me, if I buy my own house it is reasonable for me to pay my water and garbage. These houses are considered government housing still we pay for gas. We pay water. If this is the case the house is practically ours.

Confusion also stems from former Holly Park residents' understanding of the HOPE VI regulations concerning relocation benefits:

Before [they] destroyed old Holly, [we] were promised the same management and bills except moving in new house; so broke the promise everything now they say according to income; we were not suppose to pay water but pay now; we were not suppose to pay for gas but we pay now; we pay sewer which we didn't pay for before; they don't mention, for example, if something broken in the house the Seattle housing use to fix it with no charge, now they charge for every single thing—high charge; they charge for parts and time; I wash clothes at 1 and 2 in the morning to not use a lot of electricity; I don't take a shower every day because too much bills but still the bill so high; I complain to management and they say you have 5 bedrooms you only pay \$200 something why you complain.³⁷

Her comments reflect the understanding of many of the focus group participants. Others concurred, saying that they were not informed of this change:

When moved into the place according to the contractual form nobody told me that I would have to pay the utilities; now

³⁷ At Holly Park, those who relocated temporarily were supposed to have comparable rents to those they had prior to moving out. Those who relocated were supposed to receive comparable units, not rents. This is likely where this resident got the idea that her costs would not increase after redevelopment.

even though I don't work, I still have to pay the water and the sewer.

They did not say in the contract that you have to pay the water, the sewer and everything and after I cancelled my housing and moved then found out.

The confusion created by a separate utility bill is compounded by the unanticipated, high amount of the bill. In the focus groups, the cost of utilities was the only negative point many residents could think of: "The water cost a little bit expensive..." "...the cost of water and electricity cost...water is expensive." "The main issue is the electricity...it's giving us stress." "I'm pretty new here. I've been here about two to three years. When they moved me here the bills doubled."

Residents realize it is up to them to conserve to try to reduce the costs of their bills. Many find it difficult to control other people in their lives, however:

One thing needs to change and improve as the cost of water and gas...please reduce the cost of using, particularly the cost of water...please stop charging the cost of water to alleviate the cost we pay them. We all use water. We use little water for our garden. We sometimes wash our cars. One day ago my son-in-law washed his car and I try to convince him to stop washing it since water is expensive.

In addition to the higher rate, the variation in the rates also creates confusion. Some residents are confused about the way utility bills vary from month to month and why households with different numbers of people in them pay comparable bills:

Yes, water and lights are my main issues of concern.... They need to send a bill that states clearly how they got to the figure that they sent us. They can't just send a bill with any amount they want on it.

It [Electric Bill] just came again for \$67, last month it was \$249. Now it's \$67, what is this? I showed it to them and got no response...we go to the light company they don't listen. Nothing. So we just stay quiet. What else is there?

Water for me, I don't know water is o.k. It comes out pretty balanced. One month I pay \$50 something another month I pay \$60 something, it's always like that. \$50-\$60 it's OK.

The heat and electric sometimes it's sky high. Sometimes it's real low.

The problem that we have is ...the water bill is separate, gas is separate, electricity is separate and it's not even measured correctly. Is it really the family living in the house that is incurring these expenses? These are the problems we have at Holly Park.

If there is only one person in the house and they pay as much as two or three what does that mean to you? That is the one problem that we have. Our homes are happy; they're good. Our bills give us no peace of mind.

Some residents feel a great deal of despair about the high cost of utilities:

Iwayi [an expression of disbelief] now talking is making me tired. The last time I paid \$200, now water came up to \$180. I will pay it. For water \$237, someone who owns a restaurant doesn't even pay that much...We are only two people are we always supposed to pay this much or what are we supposed to do?

Finally, in some cases, respondents simply lack a basic understanding of how their homes work, which affects their grasp of utility issues:

...just for electric I paid \$249....The month before that I had already paid. So, what's this? They told me to come to an understanding with them. So, I called them. They said to check the meter upstairs and downstairs [laughter]. I told them I don't know where to find it.

Respondents differ in what they think they should do about the cost of utilities. Some residents believe they should talk to the manager, whom they believe will be able to reduce the bill. Others do not believe it is effective to address management about this. Some have figured out that while it is nice to have new appliances, actually using them is costly. As one resident said, "if we use them a lot, [we] will pay big water bills."

Furthermore, some have been told that they are using their appliances excessively: "I have to pay the bill around \$300...they said we don't spend it economically...We have to pay the rent, electricity, water and gas...and I got only \$522. How can I afford those bills?"

Some think that speaking with the electric company will solve their problem, while others think it will not, as this exchange demonstrates:

Respondent 1: "Yes, well this one lady she said call them and ask about it. I already paid it what good does it do me to call and ask about it?"

Facilitator: "Well, they can give you a refund if it's their mistake."

Respondent 2: "Americans give money back, hmm?"

The combination of being immigrants (who, in many cases, do not speak English), living in a new country with a semi-private system of utility provision, and paying directly for utilities is confusing and troubling to many subsidized residents. Furthermore, many are truly distressed at having a limited income but still needing to pay what they consider to be exorbitant utility bills. Some have stopped paying bills, either because they view the bills to be too high or because they simply do not have enough money to pay them.

What happens when residents stop paying their utility bills? Most often, the resident is dealing directly with the utility. Non-payment of electricity and gas result in those utilities being shut off. Non-payment of water, however, is a lease violation. The NewHolly Limited Partnership pays the water bills, a third-party billing agent bills the residents, and these payments then reimburse the Limited Partnership.³⁸ When residents fail to pay their water/sewer bill, the management office issues three 10-day notices, followed by one 30-day notice to vacate. This arrangement for water/sewer insures that the water is not turned off, but also means that the limited partnership is short the funds, and the partnership has a fiscal responsibility to its investors. According to management staff, they will usually work out an extended payment plan with residents who have fallen behind in utility payments. However in some cases payments are not made repeatedly or the total owed is so large that residents fail to continue payment. The result is that these residents lose their housing, perhaps an unintended impact of living in brand-new beautiful housing.

Some questions need to be answered about this problem:

³⁸ The NewHolly Limited Partnership is the entity comprised of investors and the Seattle Housing Authority that owns NewHolly's rental housing.

- What is the expectation for housing costs after 18 months for relocated residents and what is the obligation of the SHA?
- Are all subsidized residents taking full advantage of utility allowances? Are utility allowances adequate in size? As one respondent commented about having some utilities covered but not others:

They help us with electricity. We need help to costs...the cost of water and gas. Especially the cost of water. We have headache with water and gas bills...I spend around \$170 every month.

- How can the management office more effectively communicate with residents about utilities? The management office feels it is making many efforts to deal with residents fairly and proactively about the utility bills by helping residents learn to conserve, going through homes to look for leaks or other problems they may increase costs, meeting with residents to set payment plans. Yet, clearly, a problem still exists. Educating new residents prior to their move in about this dynamic is very important. Communicating effectively and proactively—going out and speaking to each resident with high bills—may be the only way to curtail this problem.
- Are there structural problems with energy efficiency that should be addressed?
- Are there other ways to subsidize utility costs other than those currently under use by the SHA?

In short, the expense, confusion, and desperation around utility bills was the most consistent problem across focus groups—regardless of ethnicity. This dynamic of shock and confusion is occurring at other HOPE VI sites and among relocated residents across the nation. This is an era of high utility costs. For example, relocated residents from other HOPE VI sites saw their Section 8 utility allowances as too small to cover their increased costs (Smith et al. 2002 11). Locally, relocated High Point residents are experiencing the same high cost of utilities (Kleit, Reder, and Abramo, 2003). Nonetheless, this is likely a problem that SHA as an organization must address, given its mission to provide affordable housing.
Safety in and around NewHolly

One goal of HOPE VI nationally is to transform neighborhoods, and one measure of this transformation is the relative safety of the neighborhood before and after redevelopment. In this section, we examine actual crime levels in NewHolly from 1996 before redevelopment until 2002 after Phase I redevelopment and compare those levels to the surrounding neighborhood and the rest of the City of Seattle. We also explore the perceptions current NewHolly residents have about safety in the context of these data.

Crime reports

Crime in the NewHolly neighborhood was more frequent before redevelopment than after redevelopment. Part I index crimes—which include more serious crimes such as murder, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, theft, and arson-occurred at a rate of 112 crimes per 1,000 people in 1996, fell during construction to below 76 crimes per 1,000 people, and stayed nearly flat in the years following rent up (Chart 19).³⁹ Part II index crimes are those that are not violent, including counterfeiting and forgery, fraud, embezzlement, stolen property, vandalism, weapons possession, commercial vice and prostitution, sex offenses, drug abuse, gambling, offenses against families and children, driving under the influence, liquor law violations, and other offenses. These crimes also fell in frequency during construction from a high of 103 crimes per 1,000 people in 1996 to 36 crimes per 1,000 people and under (Chart 20). After construction, the rate of Part II crimes spiked in 2000 to nearly at 84 crimes per 1,000 people but fell in frequency in the years following.

NewHolly's crime rate prior to redevelopment was higher than the surrounding neighborhood's (Chart 19 and 20).⁴⁰ Crime rates during construction were lower in the NewHolly neighborhood, and have remained at or below the rate of crime in the surrounding neighborhood during the first few years of sale and rent-up.

This reduction in the rate of crime is also true relative to the rest of the city. At the same time, the general trend in Seattle from 1996 to 2002 has been a reduction in the crime rate. Prior to redevelopment, NewHolly's crime rate was on par with the rest of the city. Following

³⁹ Census tract 110 is where NewHolly Phase I is located. Thus, all crime data reported for the NewHolly neighborhood are for census tract 110.

⁴⁰ The adjacent or surrounding neighborhood is comprised of census tracts 104, 109, 111, 117.

redevelopment, NewHolly's Part I crime rate—the violent crime rate—is lower than the rest of the city. The neighborhood's Part II crime rate, however, equaled the rest of the city after redevelopment.



This chart shows data from 1996-2002 for Part I index crimes per 1,000 people in the NewHolly neighborhood (census tract 110), the adjacent neighborhood (census tracts 104, 109, 111, 117), and in the remainder of the City of Seattle. Source: Seattle Police Department, 2000 United States Census of Population and Housing, Puget Sound Regional Council.



Chart 20: Part II Index Crime in NewHolly, Adjacent Neighborhood, and City

This chart shows data from 1996-2002 for Part II index crimes per 1,000 people in the NewHolly neighborhood (census tract 110), the adjacent neighborhood (census tracts 104, 109, 111, 117), and in the remainder of the City of Seattle. Source: Seattle Police Department, 2000 United States Census of Population and Housing, Puget Sound Regional Council.

Perceptions of safety and crime in NewHolly Phase I

Almost all respondents thought NewHolly was a somewhat safe or very safe place to live (Chart 21). Over half of public housing residents and homeowners thought it was a very safe place to live while over half the tax credit renters thought it was a somewhat safe place to live. A very small minority of public housing and tax credit residents thought NewHolly was not very safe while homeowners did not feel that way at all.



Chart 21: Perception of Safety in NewHolly Phase I

Proportion viewing NewHolly as very safe, somewhat safe, and not very safe by housing among telephone survey respondents. Respondents tend to agree that NewHolly is at least a somewhat safe place to live.

Among focus group participants, people also felt that generally the neighborhood was safe, as some commented: "...this place is good. There is no theft or robbery or murdering," "It is safe, the police cars driving around often day and night," "Regarding safety...we have no concerns."

For those who were able to make the comparison to Holly Park, NewHolly is vastly safer:

NewHolly is safer than Holly Park.

It is totally different. NewHolly is fixing all the problems that had been in Holly Park for long period of time such as drug dealer, car stolen, theft... Security, the police, and perceptions of safety

The new development has security on-site, which some residents believe contributes to improved safety:

Kids and neighborhood have full security. They patrol around the campus.

Now they have security. These new law, new land and everything is new. They have prepared everything. We never had before, they added more...they have security, guards over here.

In our neighborhood there is no problem. There is no broken glass of car windshield. Before, my cars the windshield glass was broken in both cars. Yes, before there were that kind of problems...but now that okay. It happened sometimes when we just came into live here...but now there is more security.

Others, however, have not seen much of security on-site:

It was said that there are patrolmen but I haven't seen any since I moved here. I hope we do have them around. Actually I am not sure. The community told us they were there.

Another resident hoped a recent change of security companies would improve things:

I'd actually like to see more efficient security; they just recently changed security companies—the last one in my opinion was a disaster because we had a car stolen...

To deal with security issues, some depend on others in the neighborhood block watch, or simply depend on neighbors. If those fail, residents feel comfortable calling the police:

We help each other to watch over our neighbor. If there is something strange, we'll call the police.

One resident said she felt comfortable calling the police, but the police had trouble finding her house.

With being a brand new neighborhood with new streets and new addresses that did not exist before for a long time there were infrastructure problems; our addresses did not come up so if you called 911 they'd ask are you in King County because your address is not showing up.



Chart 22: Do Police Come When Called?

Proportion saying that police not coming when called is no problem at all, some problem, or a big problem in NewHolly by housing among telephone survey respondents. Public housing residents are significantly more likely to say this is a problem than the other groups (χ^2 =18.498, 2 df, p<.01 for problem vs. not a problem at all).

Most residents feel that if they call the police, they will respond (Chart 22). A large majority of homeowners and tax credit renters respond that way, but less than half (42 percent) of public housing residents experience the police as being responsive. A majority of public housing renters (58 percent) saying that police not responding is either a big problem or some problem.

Specific safety issues

While generally feeling that NewHolly is a safe place to live, residents have concerns in specific areas. This is especially true for public housing residents.

Drugs

Residents recall Holly Park's reputation because of drugs, and most feel that the issue has been resolved, as this focus group participant commented:

Holly Park had a very bad reputation because of crime and drug issues in this area, especially during the 96-98 periods.

NewHolly attracted me because it is nice, safe and peaceful area.

Interestingly, the rate of drug abuse violations actually fell during the period the respondent mentioned and rose again during the period NewHolly began to rent up (Chart 23). By 2002, the rate had again fallen. The rate of drug abuse violations over the same period in the adjacent neighborhood was consistently higher as was the rate in the rest of the city.





This chart shows data from 1996-2002 for drug abuse violations per 1,000 people in census tract 110, adjacent neighborhood, tracts 104, 109, 111, 117, and the remainder of the city. Graph shows consistently lower rate of drug abuse violations over time in NewHolly. Source: Seattle Police Department, 2000 United States Census of Population and Housing, Puget Sound Regional Council.



Proportion saying that people using drugs is no problem at all, some problem, or a big problem in NewHolly by housing among telephone survey respondents. There is a dependent relationship between housing type and perception of a problem.

Large majorities of tax credit (84 percent) and homeowner (78 percent) respondents believed that drug use was not a problem (Chart 24). In contrast, over half of the public housing residents felt that drug use was a big problem and only a quarter felt it was not a problem at all.⁴¹

Similarly, the majority of tax credit renters (74 percent) and homeowners (70 percent) responding did not think selling drugs on-site was a problem (Chart 25). In comparison, 57 percent of public housing residents responding thought it was.⁴²

 $^{^{41}}$ χ^2 = 6.904, df = 2, p<.05 for problem vs. not a problem at all.

 $^{^{42}}$ χ^2 =22.908, df=2, p<.01 for problem vs. not a problem at all.



Chart 25: Is People Selling Drugs a Problem?

Proportion saying that people selling drugs is no problem at all, some problem, or a big problem in NewHolly by housing among telephone survey respondents. There is a dependent relationship between housing type and perception of a problem.

Car theft and vandalism

Among focus group participants, car theft in the neighborhood is a problem, as these participants' comments suggest:

Safety is good but need to be improving because one time, I was lost my cars twice in a week. I think the police should pay more attention and have the way to keep this area being safer.

My neighbor...told my son that there is stealing of cars in this community.

...there have been a lot of vehicles that have been vandalized.

...my neighbor had 4 brand new tires taken off of a car and in the middle of the night; there are those apartments that have a garage underneath them behind my house and there are young people walking up and down there at night, peeking in cars...

According to police crime reports, auto theft has been increasing in the neighborhood since the time the development began to rent up (Chart 26). From 1997 until 2001, auto theft rates in the NewHolly neighborhood were lower than in the adjacent neighborhood and the rest of the city. In 2002, the rate of auto thefts in NewHolly surpassed that of the adjacent neighborhood and was on par with the remainder of the city.



Chart 26: Auto Theft in NewHolly and Adjacent Neighborhood

This chart shows data from 1996-2002 for auto theft crimes per 1,000 people in the census tract 110, adjacent neighborhood (tracts 104, 109, 111, 117), and the remainder of the city. Chart shows lower rates in NewHolly from 1997 until 2001, when rates rise above those of the adjacent neighborhood and the remainder of the city. Source: Seattle Police Department, 2000 United States Census of Population and Housing, Puget Sound Regional Council.

Additionally, residents report some problems with cars being broken into (Chart 27). Tax credit renters were the least likely to report problems with cars being broken into. In contrast, almost two-thirds of public housing residents (65 percent) and homeowners (68 percent) thought it was at least some problem. Nearly half (47 percent) of public housing residents said it was a big problem.



Chart 27: Is Cars Being Broken Into a Problem?

Chart shows the proportion of telephone survey respondents by housing type who say that cars being broken into is no problem at all, some problem, or a big problem in NewHolly. A dependent relationship exists between problem assessment and housing type ($\chi^{2=15.763}$, df=4, p<.01).

Shootings and violence

Since 1996, the rate of violent crime in the neighborhood adjacent to NewHolly has fallen (Chart 28). In the NewHolly neighborhood itself no incidents of murder or negligent homicide have occurred since 2000.



Chart 28: Murder and Negligent Homicide in NewHolly and Adjacent Neighborhood

Chart shows data from 1996-2002 for murder and negligent homicide crimes per 1,000 people in NewHolly (census tract 110), adjacent neighborhood (tracts 104, 109, 111, 117), and the remainder of the city. Murder/homicide rates have been low in NewHolly over time except for some discrete incidents. Source: Seattle Police Department, 2000 United States Census of Population and Housing, Puget Sound Regional Council.



Chart 29: Weapons Possession Crimes in NewHolly and Adjacent Neighborhood

This chart shows data from 1996-2002 for weapons possession crimes per 1,000 people in the NewHolly neighborhood (census tract 110), adjacent neighborhood (tracts 104, 109, 111, 117), and the remainder of the city. The rate of weapons possession crimes has been lower in NewHolly than the adjacent neighborhood, and the rate had fallen since 2000. Source: Seattle Police Department, 2000 United States Census of Population and Housing, Puget Sound Regional Council.

Likewise, weapons charges, while increasing during construction, have fallen since 2000, and have been consistently lower than the adjacent neighborhood (Chart 29).

Furthermore, most people share the perception that violence and shootings are not a problem in NewHolly (Chart 30). Of homeowners, 94 percent thought shootings and violence were not a problem, as did 82 percent of tax credit renters. A smaller majority of public housing respondents (58 percent) thought shootings and violence were not a problem, while over a third (36 percent) thought that shootings and violence were a big problem.



Chart 30: Are Shootings and Violence a Problem?

This chart shows the proportion saying that shootings and violence are no problem at all, some problem, or a big problem in NewHolly by housing among telephone survey respondents. There is a dependent relationship between housing type and perception of a problem (χ^2 =13.283, df=2, p<.01 for problem vs. not a problem at all).

This difference may be due to differences in location in the development, or it could be that remembered crime is coloring the public housing residents' perspectives. However, this is an urban neighborhood, and shootings do happen nearby, as one homeowner observed:

One thing that really bothers me is that last week for the first time in my life I heard gunshots right outside my house...I was about to call the police but somebody had already called and they came and looked around didn't find anything...but it pisses me off; I am very aware that guns are everywhere it isn't necessarily about money, but I think that there is more frequently violence right outside in poorer neighborhoods and I just don't want that in my community; it frightens me and really angers me hugely; I don't want to feel like I'm going to have to leave my neighborhood and I don't want other people to experience that either.

While the rate of murders and negligent homicide is low within the NewHolly neighborhood, it may be that those violent crimes occurring in the adjacent neighborhood color the perceptions of some residents, as one resident commented:

If you read the police reports, there is no question that there is violent crime occurring not necessarily at NewHolly but very nearby just outside of Holly frequently; murders are happening; in Othello park stuff happens down there all the time...

Attacks and robbery

A similar pattern of perception occurs with regard to attacks or robbery in the neighborhood (Chart 31). About two-thirds of both tax credit renters (65 percent) and homeowners (67 percent) thought that people being attacked or robbed was not a problem in the neighborhood. In contrast, over two-thirds of public housing residents (69 percent) thought that it was at least some problem, and 41 percent thought it was a big problem in the neighborhood.



Chart 31: Is Being Attacked or Robbed a Problem?

Proportion saying that people being attacked or robbed is no problem at all, some problem, or a big problem in NewHolly by housing among telephone survey respondents. The relationship between perception of problem and housing type is dependent ($\chi^{2=14.85}$, df=4, p<.01).

Police crime reports indicate that the rate of aggravated assault in the NewHolly Neighborhood has fallen since redevelopment and as of 2002 was below the rate in the adjacent neighborhood and the rest of the city (Chart 32).



Chart 32: Aggravated Assault in NewHolly and Adjacent Neighborhood

This chart shows data from 1996-2002 for aggravated assault crimes per 1,000 people in the NewHolly neighborhood (census tract 110), adjacent neighborhood (tracts 104, 109, 111, 117), and the remainder of the city. Rates of aggravated assault in NewHolly are on par with the surrounding neighborhood and higher than the rest of the city until 2001, when they fall below the rate in the surrounding neighborhood and the rest of the city. Source: Seattle Police Department, 2000 United States Census of Population and Housing, Puget Sound Regional Council.

For many people, it is the safety of the neighborhood surrounding NewHolly that most concerns them, as these stories demonstrate:

My nephew came he's little, a boy of six or seven years. He was out playing by the supermarket. There was a fight with knives and the two stabbed one another during a game of football (soccer)...Somal, [Somalians] As they played football, he came home whining and crying, saying that they stabbed each other with knives.

Up here its fine no one comes up here. (Meaning the NewHolly Community Center) It's down there where they play basketball.

Perceptions of youth and gangs

The concern about crime from just outside the neighborhood extends to perceptions of youth in the neighborhood. As some focus group participants commented,

You know when there are problems it's very rarely kids who live at Holly; invariably when they are able to track down who did it or who they think did it invariably that its kids come in from outside.

...this Caucasian man was out walking his dog all he said was hello and these African American boys who do not live in NewHolly decided that they would harass him, and that wasn't right, and they should not be in here; they're staying up here in someone's home; they are causing trouble; they don't belong here; they've had other agitators who come in from other areas some of them Asians, Samoans, African Americans, Caucasians come into the community and cause trouble with the kids, teenagers, and the adults; they come and cause trouble with adults...

At the same time, others in the focus groups feared a repeat this summer of problems they had the previous summer.

There was a group of youth that would come around and play craps [and smoke weed] around our place. Since they have no school, they play craps all day...beside the basketball courts...Now, you can't say nothing to them...The security watches them but says nothing to them.

Wherever they went, they would break their cars, put holes in their tires...No, I won't say anything to them (emphatically). We just see them and don't say anything. Security doesn't even talk to them, how can I talk to them?

The perception for some was that youth hanging out was a problem and that security did not address this in the past.



Chart 33: Is People Hanging Out a Problem?

Chart depicts the proportion of responding public housing residents, tax credit rents, and homeowners saying that being people hanging out in NewHolly is not a problem at all, some problem, or a big problem. There is no significant difference between group perceptions of the problem.

These differences in perception again occur when talking specifically about gangs and people hanging out as problems. Over half of public housing residents (56 percent) and homeowners (60 percent) thought that people hanging out was at least some problem while the majority of tax credit renters thought it was not a problem (Chart 33).

Again perceptions vary by resident group when looking at whether gangs are a problem (Chart 34). The majority of homeowners (67 percent) and tax credit renters (79 percent) did not think gang activity was a problem. The majority of public housing residents (58 percent), however, did.



Chart 34: Are Gangs a Problem?

Chart depicts the proportion of responding public housing residents, tax credit rents, and homeowners saying that gangs in NewHolly is not a problem at all, some problem, or a big problem. There is a dependent relationship between housing type and perception of a problem (χ^2 =9.273, 2 df, p<.01 for problem vs. not a problem at all).

These differences in perceptions are reflected in focus group participants' comments about what to do about kids hanging out. Some feel perfectly comfortable talking to the kids or going to their parents:

If it's too crowded or noisy we can tell kids to be quiet and they listen to us. Yes, they're more civilized and have good conduct.

Another commented that although, "We have to tell their parents...or managers...If we're afraid to tell them...just tell their parents," the respondent went on to comment that they never had done that because, "...over here there is no any bad kid who ever destroyed things like that."

Some residents, however, are very concerned about dealing with youth hanging out, and yet know that people often congregate just to socialize:

I know the little circle at the end of our block that's a place where people like to congregate at night sometimes; people will come in they'll drive in from somewhere else and park outside our house at 9, 10, 11 o'clock at night sometimes even later like 3 o'clock in the morning and sit in circle and chat and smoke cigarettes or whatever; it annoys me 'cause our bedroom's right there so it wakes me up; my husband is much more tolerant saying they're just kids looking for a place to sit down and socialize; and of course we were those kids when we were 17, too, hanging out on someone's stoop.

Thus, the perception of the problem of gangs or youth hanging out varies by housing tenure, with public housing residents being more likely to say that it is more of a problem than either tax credit renters or homeowners say.

Rape crimes

The perception at NewHolly is that rape is not a problem, but the perception of rape as a problem increases as the income level of the respondents decrease. Nearly all homeowner respondents (97 percent) thought rape and sexual attacks were not a problem, as did 86 percent of tax credit renters and 68 percent of public housing residents (Chart 35). Among public housing residents, those who thought rape and sexual attacks were a problem thought they were a big problem (32 percent).



Chart 35: Are Rape and Sexual Attacks a Problem?

Chart depicts the proportion of responding public housing residents, tax credit rents, and homeowners saying that rape and sexual attacks are is not a problem at all, some problem, or a big problem in NewHolly. There is a dependent relationship between housing type and perception of a problem (χ^2 =9.767, 2 df, p<.01 for problem vs. not a problem at all).

Seattle crime data shows a decline in the rate of rape in NewHolly over time, and levels on par with the surrounding neighborhood and the rest of the city (Chart 36).



Chart 36: Rape Crimes in NewHolly and Adjacent Neighborhood

This chart shows data from 1996-2002 for rape crimes per 1,000 people in the NewHolly neighborhood (census tract 110), adjacent neighborhood (tracts 104, 109, 111, 117), and the remainder of the city. The rate of rape crimes in NewHolly is on par with the surrounding neighborhood and the rest of the city. Source: Seattle Police Department, 2000 United States Census of Population and Housing, Puget Sound Regional Council.

Theft and residential burglary

Only among homeowners was there discussion of thefts in the neighborhood as these focus group participants describe:

We've had stuff stolen off our front porch.

Because I've been aware of thefts from other people, I don't leave stuff out on my porch...

The reality is that you do live in an urban area; I don't think [stuff stolen off the porch is] a function of NewHolly exactly.

While telephone survey respondents did not comment on theft and burglary as problems, Seattle crime statistics indicate that reported levels of theft and residential burglary have declined in the NewHolly neighborhood since 1996 (Charts 37 and 38), and that the surrounding neighborhood and the rest of the city have frequently experienced higher rates of both theft and residential burglary over that time.



This chart shows data from 1996-2002 for theft crimes per 1,000 people in the NewHolly neighborhood (census tract 110), adjacent neighborhood, (tracts 104, 109, 111, 117), and the remainder of the city. The theft rate is consistently lower in NewHolly than the surrounding neighborhood or the rest of the city. Source: Seattle Police Department, 2000 United States Census of Population and Housing, Puget Sound Regional Council.



Chart 38: Residential Burglary in NewHolly and Adjacent Neighborhood

This chart shows data from 1996-2002 for residential burglary crimes per 1,000 people in the NewHolly neighborhood (census tract 110), adjacent neighborhood (tracts 104, 109, 111, 117), and the remainder of the city. The rate of residential burglary has been below or on par with the surrounding neighborhood and has been lower than the rest of the city since construction began. Source: Seattle Police Department, 2000 United States Census of Population and Housing, Puget Sound Regional Council.

Speeding

The English-language focus group was the only one where speeding through the development was identified as a safety problem:

One of the things I'd like to see us do something about is there are kids who don't live here and drive like maniacs down the streets; I'd like too see us figure out a way to either raise a fund or something to put speed bumps.

However, when telephone survey respondents were asked specifically about whether cars driving too fast through the neighborhood was a problem, 85 percent of public housing residents, 74 percent of tax credit renters, and 89 percent of homeowners thought it was at least some problem (Chart 39). This is one of the few safety issues in the development where there was great agreement among people from different housing types.



Chart 39: Is Speeding on Neighborhood Streets a Problem?

Chart depicts the proportion of responding public housing residents, tax credit rents, and homeowners saying that cars driving too fast in the neighborhood are not a problem at all, some problem, or a big problem in NewHolly. All agree the cars driving too fast in the neighborhood are at least some problem.

Vandalism

Since 1996, the rate of vandalism has fallen in NewHolly. Since 1998, the rate has remained consistently below the rate for the neighborhood immediately surrounding NewHolly and for the rest of the city (Chart 40).



Chart 40: Vandalism in NewHolly, Adjacent Neighborhood

This chart shows data from 1996-2002 for vandalism crimes per 1,000 people in the NewHolly neighborhood (census tract 110), adjacent neighborhood (tracts 104, 109, 111, 117), and the remainder of the city. The rate of vandalism has been lower in NewHolly than the surrounding neighborhood and the remainder of the city since construction began. Source: Seattle Police Department, 2000 United States Census of Population and Housing, Puget Sound Regional Council.

Graffiti as a form of vandalism does not appear to be a problem in NewHolly. Among telephone survey respondents, the great majority thought that graffiti was not a problem at all (94 percent of homeowners, 88 percent of tax credit renters, and 68 percent of public housing residents) (Chart 41). Public housing residents saw this as more of a problem than those living in other housing types, with nearly a third (32 percent) saying graffiti was at least some problem at NewHolly.⁴³

 $^{^{43}}$ $\chi^2\text{=}9.708,$ df=2, p<.01 for problem vs. not a problem at all.



Chart 41: Is Graffiti on Walls of Buildings a Problem?

Chart depicts the proportion of responding public housing residents, tax credit rents, and homeowners saying that graffiti on walls is not a problem at all, some problem, or a big problem in NewHolly. There is a dependent relationship between housing type and perception of a problem.

Domestic violence

The majority of respondents did not see violence in the home as a problem in the NewHolly neighborhood, although public housing residents' perspectives differ from the tax credit renters and homeowners (Chart 42).⁴⁴ Nearly all tax credit renters (90 percent) and homeowners (89 percent) thought that violence in the home was not a problem at all in NewHolly. However, only 52 percent of public housing residents said it was not a problem, and nearly a third (32 percent) thought violence in the home was a big problem in the neighborhood.

 $^{^{44}}$ $\chi^2 {=} 14.363,$ df=2, p<.01 for problem vs. not a problem at all.



Chart 42: Is Violence in the Home a Problem?

Chart depicts the proportion of responding public housing residents, tax credit rents, and homeowners saying that violence in the home is no a problem at all, some problem, or a big problem in NewHolly. There is a dependent relationship between housing type and perception of a problem.

In terms of reported crimes, the NewHolly neighborhood has, post redevelopment, higher rates of offenses against families and children than the surrounding neighborhood and the rest of the city (Chart 43). Furthermore, while the rate of such crimes fell during construction, it rose again after rent-up, lending credence to public housing residents' views.



Chart 43: Crime against Families and Children in NewHolly, Adjacent Neighborhood

This chart shows data from 1996-2002 for crimes against families and children per 1,000 people in the NewHolly neighborhood (census tract 110), adjacent neighborhood (census tracts 104, 109, 111, 117), and the remainder of the city. Since 2000, the rate of offenses against families has exceeded that in the surrounding neighborhood and the rest of the city. Source: Seattle Police Department, 2000 United States Census of Population and Housing, Puget Sound Regional Council.

Conclusion

Overall, residents feel that NewHolly is a safe place to live. For those who lived at Holly Park, the neighborhood seems much safer. Certain problems are not issues at all for residents. Residents are unconcerned about graffiti, and most think that domestic violence and rape are not problems in the neighborhood.

Public housing residents consistently thought there were more problems in the neighborhood than either tax credit renters or homeowners. Public housing residents said drug use and sales, shootings and violence, people being attacked or robbed, gangs, rape, and violence in the home were more of a problem than did either tax credit renters and homeowners.

All responding groups perceived car theft, car vandalism, and cars speeding to be problems in the community.

IV. Findings and Analysis: Relocated Residents from Holly Park and Roxbury Village

When the HOPE VI redevelopment process began, most residents of Holly Park and Roxbury House and Village had to relocate. As we have chronicled, some returned to what is now NewHolly, Esperanza Apartments, and Westwood Heights, but 610 households elected to relocate permanently from the two HOPE VI sites in favor of housing in Seattle, King County or elsewhere. We refer to these 610 households in this report as "relocatees" and do not include households that returned to what is now NewHolly. In an effort to find out about these relocated residents and how they are doing, the research team conducted inperson interviews with 85 English-speaking former residents in their homes, apartments or mutually agreed upon third party locations. Topics discussed in the interviews included: attributes of the current neighborhood, services currently and previously used at Holly Park and Roxbury Village; satisfaction with present housing situation and the neighborhood, relations with neighbors, and work and income status.

Destinations of Relocated Households

Of the original 610 relocated households, 577 (95 percent)relocated from Holly Park and 33 (5 percent) from Roxbury Village. Of those, 234 spoke English and lived in King County and therefore were eligible for the in-person survey. The research team selected a sample of 193 and interviewed 85 (78 former Holly Park residents and 7 former Roxbury Village residents).

Administrative records documented the last known housing of relocated residents after HOPE VI redevelopment of their neighborhoods (Table 12). When SHA documented their last known housing, 20 percent of these households had moved into the private market—8 percent into homeownership and 12 percent into the private rental market (including 11 percent into non-SHA housing and 1 percent into other low-income and non-federal housing). Twenty two percent lived in SHA housing and 43 percent in HCVP housing.⁴⁵ Of the remaining 15 percent, 5 percent

⁴⁵ Relocatees from Holly Park and Roxbury Village have moved at a similar rate into HCVP housing as many of their counterparts in other parts of the country, but more than HOPE VI relocatees overall. In 13 sites studied throughout the US, HCVP renters comprise 41 percent of the relocatee population, while other public housing renters are about 36 percent, and private market owners about 23 percent (Buron et al. 2002). Yet, both NewHolly relocatees and those at the sites Buron et al. (2000) studied utilized vouchers at lower rates than relocatees more generally. Among HOPE VI sites that

were in supportive living environments, 4 percent had an unknown status, 3 percent had passed away, 2 percent had moved out of state, and 1 percent had abandoned or were evicted from their dwellings. In other words, the last known housing of 65 percent, or 396, of the 610 relocated households was SHA related—either directly or through the HCVP.

Given the housing outcomes of the Roxbury Village and Holly Park households, our expectation was to find information about 396 of them in the SHA records.

Of those 396, 387 were former Holly Park residents and 12 were former Roxbury residents. That is, we expected to find post relocation information for about two-thirds of relocated Holly Park residents and only about a third of relocated Roxbury Village residents, given their last known housing.

	Holly Park		Roxbury Village		Total	
Ν	577		33		610	
SHA Housing	23%		6%		22%	
HCVP Housing	44%	67%	30%	36%	43%	65%
Private Market	19%		33%		20%	
Other	14%	33%	30%	63%	15%	35%

Table shows the percent of relocated residents from Holly Park and Roxbury Village with a particular last known housing. For those with SHA Housing or HCVs, the expectation was that post-redevelopment, the administrative records for these residents would be available from SHA.

However, upon examining administrative records, we found information for only half, or 198, of them (Table 13, Table 14).⁴⁶ In other words, a total of 198 households whom we expected to find in the SHA system were, in fact, not there. The majority of these households (149, or 75 percent) are listed as having received HCVs while a minority (49, or 25 percent) are listed as moving into other SHA housing. These households comprise about a third of all relocated households. It is possible some of these households moved out of SHA's jurisdiction and so are not in their administrative system.

received awards prior to 1998, only 31% moved using a HCV, while 49% had moved to other public housing (Kingsley et al. 2003).

⁴⁶ The research team used the modified date, or the last date that the household's income records were recertified, as a proxy to measure whether these households were receiving housing services through the SHA system.

	Holly Park	Roxbury	Total
HCVP	146	3	149
SHA	48	1	49
Total	194	4	198
1 / 11 1	11 1 1	. 1 1	• • • • •

Table 13: Relocated Households with Unknown Locations

Table shows the count of relocated households whose last known housing was either SHA housing or an HCV and whose current location in unknown. This comprises roughly a third of relocated households.

Over half (51 percent, or 100) of the missing households are English-speaking households. These households represent 16 percent of the total population of relocated households from Holly Park and Roxbury. One quarter (or 50) of the missing households are Vietnamese, which represents 8 percent of all relocated households.

Moreover, we found information for an additional 27 households that we did not expect to find. Seventeen of these households are classified as private market housing, and 10 are classified as other (outof-state, living in supportive environments, or unknown). These households have likely moved out of the SHA system, into those housing classifications, and then back into the SHA system.

in Administrative Data							
		Household Record in Administrative Data					
Expectations of Finding Household Record in	Last Known						
Administrative Data	Housing	No	Yes	Total			
No	Other ⁴⁷	82	10	92			
	Private housing	105	17	122			
Yes	HCVP housing	149	114	263			
	SHA housing	49	84	133			
Total		385	225	610			

Table 14: Expected vs. Actual Household Records in Administrative Data

Table shows household records in current administrative data.

Demographics of Survey Participants

Our survey of relocated residents focused on English speakers living in King County. When SHA last heard from them, 54 percent had moved into Housing Choice Voucher Program housing, 32 percent into SHA housing, and 14 percent into the private market (including homeownership and private rentals).

⁴⁷ Other includes evictions and abandoned dwellings, those living in supportive living arrangements, those who moved out of state, those who were deceased, and those whose housing status was unknown after redevelopment.

Most of the household heads we spoke with are women (73 percent), and most (86 percent) are not currently married. Over half (52 percent) define themselves as single, while a third (34 percent) are widowed, divorced, or separated; 13 percent are married.

On average, respondents are 55 years old; the youngest person we spoke with is 29 and the oldest is 89.⁴⁸ Six of the respondents are age 65 or older.

Respondents most frequently have a high school education (40 percent), while 26 percent have less than a high school degree and 35 percent have pursued or completed some sort of higher education (Chart 44).



Chart 44: Highest Grade or Year of School Completed by Sample

Chart shows the percentage of the sample with varying levels of education (n=85). Respondents most frequently have a high school education, while 26 percent have less than a high school degree and 35 percent have pursued or completed some sort of higher education.

The majority of the people we spoke with are African American (51 percent). About 1 in 5 (21 percent) are White, and 14 percent are American Indian or Pacific Islander (Chart 45). A minority of people with whom we spoke are Hispanic (7 percent), Cambodian (2 percent), Somali (1 percent), Vietnamese (1 percent), or from another Asian background (1 percent).

⁴⁸ Age information was available for 55 of the 85 people who participated in the survey.



Chart 45: Race or Ethnicity of Sample

Chart shows the racial and ethnic composition of the sample, according to self-identified categories (n=84).

The Relocation Experience

Relocation—that is, a forced move to another place—is disruptive. In the short-term, relocation requires time and energy to choose new housing, to pack, move, and unpack possessions, and to settle into a new neighborhood. In the long-term, those who relocate must reestablish social relationships with friends and family, create new relationships in their neighborhoods, access sometimes new supportive and commercial services, and recreate patterns of travel to work and recreation. Therefore, we examined the short- and long-term impacts of relocation on the residents from Holly Park and Roxbury Village.

Moving and length of stay

Changing an address is a relatively common experience for many of those who relocated. Among the people we spoke to, 48 percent moved directly to their current neighborhood when relocation began in 1996. Another 52 percent moved multiple times before arriving in their current neighborhood. Specifically, 32 percent lived in two places before arriving at their current addresses and 20 percent in three or more places (Chart 46). Multiple moves appear to be the norm, as these findings for the NewHolly and Roxbury Village relocatees mirror those nationally (Buron et al. 2002), where 49 percent had moved once, 42 percent two-three times, 8 percent four or more.



Chart 46: Number of Places Lived Since Relocation?

Chart shows the percentage of the sample of relocated residents who moved 1 or more times since leaving their original site (n=85). Just under half have moved once (48 percent), while the majority moved more than once.

Frequent moves suggest relatively short residencies. Relocatees have lived in their neighborhoods only slightly longer than at their current addresses. The average length of stay in the neighborhood is about 4.7 years, compared to about 3.3 years at the current address.

Nearly half of relocatees live in apartments, homeownership is increasing

Most frequently, relocated households moved into an apartment directly after relocation (46 percent). A quarter (26 percent), first moved into a one-family house while 28 percent of the sample made their first move into housing that they described as "something else" besides a onefamily house or apartment building; these units included a cottage, condominium, and housing "like a hotel room."

By 2003, the largest portion of these households (41 percent) still lives in apartments, but a third (34 percent) now live in a one-family house. Another 25 percent describe their current housing as "something else," including a two-family home and a townhouse. Thus, relocatees increasingly live in single-family houses.

Residents used relocation services for the actual move but little else

HOPE VI legislation requires the provision of certain services to support residents who relocate to other neighborhoods. The services

relocatees most frequently received were those required to plan and execute the actual move from Holly Park and Roxbury Village (Chart 47) including:

- Calculating how much one could afford for rent (71 percent),
- Paying moving costs (67 percent),
- Obtaining HCVs (58 percent),
- Finding neighborhoods and available apartments (49 percent),
- Paying the security deposit (41 percent), and
- Paying for utility hook-ups (36 percent).

The services they received least frequently were those relating to work, life and financial management skills for everyday success after the move itself including:

- Counseling from a social worker (13 percent),
- Finding a job (10 percent), and
- Budget management and credit counseling (6 percent).

Additional services received included: meeting with landlords (28 percent), transportation to possible rental units (25 percent), filling out rental applications and references (24 percent), and paying apartment application fees (22 percent).



Chart 47: Relocation Services Received

Chart shows the percentage of the sample using relocation services (n varies between 78 and 85). Most frequently used were help calculating how much rent they could pay and moving cost. Least frequently, relocatees used help finding a job or budget management.

Residents' impressions

We asked residents an open-ended question about what the relocation experience was like for them. Respondents shared a variety of impressions about the relocation experience. Many said the overall relocation process was a positive experience:

I was stunned when the counselor said we had a choice; although the high-rise options were too small. Very satisfied with relocation. The relocation counselor was helpful with the move.

It was a positive experience. They took care of some of the expenses associated with moving.

Thank you for giving me a new home site and a new beginning.

Yet, finding a new home was challenging to many. Holly Park and Roxbury relocatees experienced the same dynamic as did relocatees in other cities: the "availability of housing and time constraints are the main influences on housing choice, not neighborhood location or characteristics" (Smith et al. 2002: 5). At other HOPE VI sites, residents faced tight local markets, and "the idea of finding a unit (even within 3-4 months) was disconcerting. The longer a person searched without satisfactory results the more nervous they became and the more willing they were to settle for any available unit" (Smith et al. 2002 23). The comments of some Holly Park and Roxbury relocatees reflect their experience of the time crunch in a tight market, saying that they needed more time to prepare to move and that the lack of time influenced their ability to find suitable housing:

People need more time to get used to the idea they would need to move.

Just an experience—had to rush to move. Wanted to find a house but had to move into an apartment first.

Additionally, some felt that they needed more assistance in finding suitable housing:

They should have helped me find a new place. I was told at orientation that we were supposed to find our own places.

I think they could have helped us better find places before they decided to relocate us...we were homeless for a while.

Others felt that the process was difficult for HCV recipients, in particular:

[Regarding neighbors] Some people—especially those on Section 8—had difficulty with credit and were put on waiting lists for housing and ended up homeless.

[Regarding neighbors] People that are taking the Section 8 voucher should get help finding places and meeting with landlords.

It's really hard to find a house on Section 8.

A few residents had complaints about how moving day was managed or handled:

They were very careless when moving my belongings and broke my washing machine.

I was sick and they were supposed to help me move but they forgot and came at the wrong time.

Perceptions of Neighborhood and Housing

How do relocated residents define their neighborhood? Forty-four percent consider it to be the block they live on and several blocks in each direction. Thirty five percent consider it to be "something else." For some, neighborhood was an entire community, such as the "White Center community," "High Point area," "Rainier Valley and Mount Baker district," and "Central District." For others, neighborhood is defined by access to shops, such as this person, whose neighborhood is "the surrounding area...the stores," and another, whose neighborhood extends to the "Safeway [which is] 3 blocks away." Still others consider their neighborhood to be wherever their friends and family are located.

Most relocatees are satisfied with new neighborhood and housing

Relocated households reported a high level of satisfaction with both their neighborhood and their housing.

A large majority of them (83 percent) are satisfied or very satisfied with their neighborhood (Chart 48). One respondent explained how "new people came to neighborhood—now the neighborhood is better." Another noted that neighbors "work together to solve neighborhood problems." Another described having "the most wonderful view of Seattle." Others mentioned the quiet and convenient buses. One person mentioned that the neighborhood would be "way better if there was no drug dealing and better police patrol."

A large majority, or 83 percent, is also satisfied or very satisfied with their housing (Chart 48). Moreover, 61 percent describe the condition of their housing as good or excellent, while only 39 percent describe it as poor or fair. Almost all relocatees (88 percent) consider the place they live in now to be in the same or better condition than their housing at Holly Park or Roxbury.

These findings mirror national findings, where "most...respondents were more satisfied with their current living situations than they had been in public housing" (Smith et al. 2002: 50). In other HOPE VI sites, residents cited improved job opportunities, better schools, and the lack of an "address stigma" as reasons for their satisfaction (Smith et al. 2002: 50), factors common to Holly Park and Roxbury relocatees as well.


Chart 48: Neighborhood and Housing Satisfaction

Chart shows the percent of respondents who are satisfied or very satisfied with their neighborhood or housing (n=84).

Fewer than half of relocatees use available services

When residents relocate, their need for social and commercial services also moves with them. Therefore, the team asked a number of questions to better understand whether residents can access the social and commercial services they want in their new neighborhoods.

We spoke with relocated residents about their use of community services, both before and after relocation—and most have not accessed them at either point in time. More than half of the relocatees did not use services such as after school activities for youth, educational training, job training, computer training, or eviction services at Holly Park and Roxbury. In each category of services (except computer training) they use the services less now than before relocation (Chart 49). Still, about a quarter of them use social services.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ SHA reports that staff contacts each Roxbury household for which they have contact information (and have not been discouraged from doing so) on a quarterly basis. At that time, SHA checks service needs and interests and make referrals to service providers. As another example, SHA offered residents a variety of relocation services, such as rent calculation, and assistance with finding available units and setting up landlord appointments.



Chart 49: What Services Did You Use Before or After Relocation?

Chart compares the percent of relocated residents who used various services onsite at Holly Park or Roxbury before HOPE VI redevelopment to the percent of residents who use the same services now (n varies). It shows that current use of services is lower than pre-redevelopment use of services.

We also asked relocated residents if there are any services to which they currently lack access. A minority (29 percent) wants access to additional services, such as:

- Cleaning services,
- Shopping assistance,
- On-site nursing and medical support for the elderly,
- Parenting classes,
- Counseling services,
- Utility bill paying assistance,
- Transportation (to doctors office, stores, etc.),
- Meal delivery,
- Food bank and food stamps, and
- Fax and copy machine.

Interestingly, at other HOPE VI sites "proximity of social services does not appear to be an important determinant" of where relocatees choose to live. When people relocated, they emphasized safety and amenities such as schools, shopping, and transportation (Smith et al. 2002: 5). Holly Park and Roxbury Village relocatees found themselves in neighborhoods with a grocery story (74 percent) but fewer (31 percent) reported that their doctor, clinic, or hospital was located in their neighborhood.

More than half of relocatees depend on others to get around

Getting from place to place is an important aspect of life in any neighborhood. When residents relocate, they need to re-establish travel patterns to work, healthcare, services, and friends, and their ease of access to these places can make a tremendous difference in how well they transition to their new neighborhoods. This transition can be especially challenging to low-income residents, who depend on public transportation more than other income groups (Murakami 1997). Just over half the relocated residents (54 percent) have access to a car that runs. Moreover, the primary means of travel for 53 percent for these residents is the automobile—either one of their own (39 percent) or someone else's (14 percent), and 39 percent use public transit (Chart 50). Relocatees use public transit at a higher rate than the general population of King County, where only 10 percent use public transit, and over twothirds (69 percent) of the population drives in their own car (United States Census Bureau 2002).



Chart 50: How Do You Get from Place to Place?

Chart shows the percentages using different forms of transportation to get from place to place (n=83). Equal proportions (39 percent) use their own car or take public transit.

Relations with Neighbors

The nature of relationships among neighbors is an important aspect of life for residents in any community. We do not know the kind of relationships that relocated residents would desire with their neighbors. But we can identify certain characteristics of these relationships. For example, relocatees feel that their neighbors get along and are willing to help each other. Moreover, they perceive a willingness among their neighbors to take steps to protect the neighborhood. At the same time, they are less likely to feel that their neighbors are close to each other or even to be trusted, and they do not depend on them for essential kinds of support, such as babysitting or repairs.

Relocatees live near to some friends, few family

Most relocated residents (68 percent) did not know anyone in the neighborhood—friends or family—when they first moved into it. After living in their current neighborhood for a while, half the relocatees have some or many of their friends in the neighborhood while half have no friends in the neighborhood (Chart 51).



Chart 51: How Many Friends and Family Live in the Same Neighborhood?

Chart shows percentage of the sample that knows family and friends in their new neighborhoods (n=85). The majority (51 percent) know a few or many friends, while a minority (29 percent) have few or many family members in the neighborhood.

Many relocatees agree that neighbors are efficacious

More than two thirds of relocated residents (69 percent) agree that people in their neighborhood generally get along with each other (Chart 52) and a similar majority (66 percent) feels that people in their neighborhood are willing to help one another.⁵⁰ Nonetheless getting along and being helpful do not translate into a feeling of closeness or even of trust of neighbors for most of the relocatees (53 percent say people are not close, 54 percent say people do not trust their neighbors). These findings are similar to the findings of the national HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study and suggest that Holly Park and Roxbury Village relocatees reside in neighborhoods whose efficacy rates are similar to those of their national counterparts (Buron et al. 2002).

⁵⁰ These questions concerning neighborhood efficacy are a variation on those used in national HOPE VI research (Popkin et al. 2002; Buron et al. 2002). Where residents report high levels on these measures, neighborhoods tend to be able to organize themselves to mitigate crime, while where residents report low levels the neighborhoods tend to be high in crime.



Chart 52: Opinions of Neighbors' Efficacy

Chart shows the percent of respondents who agree that the statement about their neighbors is true (n=85). The majority of respondents say people get along and will help people out, and a minority of respondents agrees with the statements that people are close or can be trusted.

Many relocatees agree that neighbors will take steps to protect the neighborhood

Relocated residents feel that their neighbors share their values about neighborhood well-being, and that they would take action to protect the neighborhood. For example, 74 percent feel it is likely their neighbors would do something if they saw children spray-painting graffiti on a local building (Chart 53). Sixty seven percent feel it is likely their neighbors would take action if they saw people fighting in front of their home. Fifty five percent feel their neighbors would even react to children showing disrespect to an adult. However, in the case of children skipping school and hanging out—a somewhat more ambiguous situation—only 39 percent feel their neighbors would do something.



Chart 53: Opinions of Neighbors' Likeliness To Act

Chart shows the percent of respondents who agree that their neighbors would take action if they encountered the stated situation (n varies between 84 and 85).

Relocatees interact with but do not depend on neighbors

For the most part, relocated residents interact pleasantly with their neighbors but do not depend on them for essential support. Results from the survey suggest that neighbors engage more in conversation than in activities together. Forty-seven percent reported frequent (more then one time a month) conversations with their neighbors (Chart 54). And 60 percent greet a neighbor in the street or hallway frequently. But only ten percent or less of the sample reported engaging in any of the following activities with any frequency: babysitting a neighbor's children, helping a neighbor in an emergency, letting a neighbor use their phone, assisting a neighbor with chores or repairs, or having coffee or a meal with a neighbor.



Chart 54: Frequent Engagement in Neighboring Activities

Chart shows the percentage engaging in each activity with neighbors frequently (more than once a month) (n=85). Most frequently respondents greet neighbors or speak with them for more than 10 minutes. Infrequently they babysat or helped in an emergency.

Economic Well-being

A key question about HOPE VI relocation is whether it is beneficial or detrimental to the economic well-being of residents. To address this question, we examined changes in employment and sources of household income to assess whether relocated residents are better off now versus prior to redevelopment. To do this, we use information both from the sample and from those relocated residents for whom we have administrative data.

The majority of relocatees do not work

Most of those who relocated are not working now and have not earned income through employment during the past year. In fact, longterm or permanent unemployment characterizes nearly half of those who relocated. At least 66 percent of survey respondents reported neither wage income nor hours worked per week. Moreover, 75 percent of survey respondents who reported being unemployed have not worked in more than one year, and 46 percent have not worked in six or more years (Chart 55).

Employment rates for Holly Park and Roxbury Village relocatees are about half the rate found among relocatees nationally. The HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study, which evaluated the current living conditions of the original residents of eight HOPE VI sites nationwide, found that 58 percent of public housing residents, including HOPE VI relocatees, lived in households in which one or more people worked (Buron et al. 2002).

However about a third of survey respondents do hold jobs—in healthcare, maintenance, accounting/bookkeeping, pet care, clerk cashier, freight, landscaping, and community aid. Employers include government, area colleges and universities, and local healthcare providers. The most common work locations are Downtown, West Seattle, and South Seattle.

On average, employed respondents work one full time job for 36 hours a week, and the majority (62 percent) of employed respondents work between 21 and 40 hours.



Chart 55: When Did You Last Work?

Chart shows the length of unemployment for respondents who are not working (n=52). Most have not worked for 6 or more years. This data is based on information collected through a survey of 85 relocated residents.

The unemployed survey respondents most frequently said that they did not work because they were unable to work (47 percent). A minority reported that they were looking for work (12 percent), were attending school (4 percent), volunteered (10 percent), cared for house and children (14 percent), or were engaged in other activities (16 percent). Household income sources have changed since HOPE VI redevelopment

In order to examine changes in household income after HOPE VI redevelopment, the research team examined and compared three data sources:

- Survey data on the 85 respondents, which offered a current "snapshot" sample of relocatees after relocation,
- Administrative records of 399 relocatees (375 former Holly Park residents and 24 former Roxbury Village residents), which allowed for analysis of the *changes in receipt* of a particular income source from before relocation with after relocation (Table 15), and
- Administrative records of 221—more detailed than for the 399—which allows for comparison of changes in the *amount* of a particular income source before relocation with the amount after relocation (Table 16). This allows analysis for 197 former Holly Park residents and 24 former Roxbury Village residents.

We looked at these three sources to create the most accurate picture of the condition of relocated residents.

Relocatees' household income has increased

The average income of survey respondents is \$11,035 per year. Half of these respondents have incomes under \$9,251 per year, with the lowest income being \$1,028, and the highest being \$40,089 per year. After HOPE VI redevelopment, the majority (60 percent) of survey respondents have monthly incomes from all sources of \$1,200 per month or less (Chart 56).



Chart 56: Total Monthly Household Income

Chart shows that the majority of respondents had incomes of \$1,200 per month or less. This data is based on information collected through a survey of 85 relocated residents.

In order to understand whether this increase in income over time for the sample was consistent for the entire population of relocated residents, we also examined changes in household income for 221 relocated residents for whom we had current administrative data on the amount of income.⁵¹ For former Holly Park residents, the average annual household income before HOPE VI redevelopment was \$6,108 (Table 16), while after development it had increased to \$11,765, a significant increase.⁵² Roxbury residents, however, began with higher incomes about \$12,005—and stayed about the same. However, about two-thirds of Roxbury Village and Holly Park relocatees have currently that are incomes below the poverty level. This number may be inflated, as those who no longer were in the SHA system after redevelopment are not included.

⁵¹ All comparisons of pre- and post-redevelopment income amounts are in 1996, or pre-HOPE VI redevelopment dollars, to facilitate comparisons between pre- and postredevelopment income levels.

⁵² Paired sample t-test, t=8.15, df=196, p=0.00.

	Pre-HOPE VI	Post-HOPE VI	Mean	
Holly Park (n=375)	Redevelopment	Redevelopment	Difference	<u>e</u>
Employment	14%	31%	17%	* * *
Welfare	44%	19%	-25%	* * *
Supplemental Security Income	25%	22%	-3%	
Social Security	10%	23%	14%	* * *
Roxbury Village (n=24)				
Employment	38%	54%	17%	*
Welfare	46%	13%	-33%	* * *
Supplemental Security Income	25%	50%	25%	* *
Social Security	21%	4%	-17%	* *

Table 15: Relocatees' Income SourcesPre- and Post-Redevelopment

Table shows, by original development, the percent of relocated residents who received income from the following sources prior to redevelopment, after redevelopment, and the change in receipt: of employment, welfare, supplemental security income, and social security, among households whose complete information was found in SHA administrative records. Table indicates significant differences for paired difference of means test *p<0.10 ***p<0.10 ***p<0.01. This data is based on administrative records for 399 relocatees (375 former Holly Park residents and 24 former Roxbury Village residents).

Pre- and Post-Redevelopment				
Holly Park (n=197)	Pre-Redevelopment	Post-Redevelopment		
Employment	\$1,162	\$5,762	* * *	
Welfare	\$2,780	\$1,037	* * *	
Supplemental security income	\$1,300	\$1,942	* *	
Social Security	\$496	\$1,126	* * *	
Average total income	\$6,108	\$11,765	* * *	
Roxbury Village (n=24)				
Employment	\$5,883	\$6,429		
Welfare	\$2,892	\$616	* * *	
Supplemental security income	\$1,569	\$2,601		
Social Security	\$1,422	\$208	*	
Average total income	\$12,005	\$12,313		

Table 16: Relocatees' Income Source Amounts Pre- and Post-Redevelopment

Table shows the average amount of income received by relocated residents from the following sources: employment, welfare, supplemental security income, and social security income, in 1996 dollars, received by households whose complete information was found in SHA administrative records. Data shows significant results for paired sample t-test ***p<0.01 **p<0.05 *p<0.10. This data is based on administrative records for 221 relocatees (197 former Holly Park residents and 24 former Roxbury Village residents).

More relocatees earn wage income

Of the 85 people that we surveyed, 33 percent receive wage income (Chart 57). Their average hourly wage is \$11.12, with half earning more than \$10 per hour. The lowest hourly income is \$7 while the highest is \$20. These wage figures compare favorably with the Washington state minimum wage of \$7.01/hour.

From a review of administrative records, it is clear that residents of both Holly Park and Roxbury Village increased their rates of employment (Table 15). Among relocated Holly Park residents, 14 percent had income from employment prior to redevelopment, and 31 percent had it after.⁵³ Likewise, Roxbury Village residents had income from employment at a rate of 38 percent prior to redevelopment, which increased to 54 percent after redevelopment.⁵⁴ For relocated Holly Park residents, the increase in employment has lead to an increase in income, from an average of \$1,162 in employment income prior to redevelopment to \$5,762 after (Table 16).⁵⁵ Although employment income has also increased as for relocated Roxbury Village residents, this increase was not significant. Furthermore, these increases may be overstated as they represent residents with complete information in their administrative records those with incomplete information or who are no longer in SHA housing are not included.

⁵³ Paired sample t-test, t=6.14, df=374, p=0.00

⁵⁴ Paired sample t-test, t=1.70, df=24, p=0.10

⁵⁵ Paired sample t-test, t=-7.37, df=196, p=0.00



Chart 57: Sources of Income for Survey Sample

Fewer relocatees receive welfare, the amount also decreased

About one quarter of those we interviewed (27 percent) were receiving welfare income at the time we spoke to them (Chart 57). This rate is a little higher than what we found looking at the administrative data, and generally there has been a decrease over time. An examination of administrative records indicated that among former Holly Park residents, the rate of welfare receipt fell from 44 percent to 19 percent,⁵⁶ while among former Roxbury Village residents it fell from 46 percent to 13 percent (Table 15).⁵⁷ Furthermore, the absolute amount of income also fell for both former Holly Park and former Roxbury residents (Table 16). Prior to redevelopment, the average relocated Holly Park residents received \$2,780 from welfare, compared to \$1,037 after redevelopment.⁵⁸ Similarly, the average relocated Roxbury Village resident's welfare income fell from \$2,892 to \$616.⁵⁹ This change may be attributable to the

Chart shows the percent of in-person survey respondents who receive income from these sources (n=85). Unemployment compensation is money received due to lay-off from a job. Other disability pay includes SSDI (Social Security Disability Income), a veteran's disability or workers compensation for work related injury. This data is based on information collected through a survey of 85 relocated residents.

⁵⁶ Paired sample t-test, t=-8.85, df=374, p=0.00.

⁵⁷ Paired sample t-test, t=-3.39, df=23, p=0.00.

⁵⁸ Paired sample t-test, t=6.77, df=196, p=0.00.

⁵⁹ Paired sample t-test, t=3.71, df=23, p=0.00.

confluence in time of national Welfare Reform and HOPE VI redevelopment.

Social security receipt up for former Holly Park residents, down for former Roxbury Village residents

Among former Holly Park residents, dependence on social security has increased, while among Roxbury Village residents it has decreased (Table 15, Table 16). While the increase can be attributed to the aging of the population, it is difficult to find a reason for the decrease among former Roxbury Village residents. About a quarter of former Holly Park residents now receive social security, compared to only 4 percent of former Roxbury Village residents.

SSI receipt rate unchanged, amount has increased

Just over a third (39 percent) of the people we spoke to received SSI (Chart 57). About a quarter of former Holly Park residents receive SSI, and that rate is essentially unchanged after redevelopment (Table 15). Reviewing administrative records, we found that while as many receive SSI as prior to redevelopment, the average former Holly Park resident has had an increase in the amount, from \$1,300 to \$1,942 (Table 16).⁶⁰ Former Roxbury Village residents, however, have become more dependent on SSI, increasing from 25 percent to 50 percent receiving SSI, while the actual amount of SSI for the average relocated Roxbury Village resident has not significantly changed.⁶¹

Conclusion

Through the in-person survey and SHA record review, certain aspects of relocatees' lives and relocation experience become clear.

Although about half the relocatees have moved more than once since HOPE VI redevelopment, a large majority is satisfied with where they are now—both in terms of neighborhood and housing. Moreover, almost half are *very* satisfied with their current setting. This appears to be true nationally as well.

More than half the relocatees do not use community services such as youth activities, educational training, or job search services either before or after HOPE VI redevelopment. Still, about one quarter do use these services, and 29 percent of relocatees identified additional

⁶⁰ Paired sample t-test, t=-2.29, df=196, p=0.02.

⁶¹ Paired sample t-test, t=2.77, df=23, p=0.01.

services that they would like access to, such as counseling services, utility bill paying assistance, and access to basics like fax and copy machines. However, relocatees do look to their immediate neighborhood for commercial services. Three quarters of them use local grocery stores, although only about one third have found a primary medical provider within their neighborhood. Relocatees—as do all low-income households—have a higher than average rate of public transit ridership compared to the rest of King County (39 percent, compared to 10 percent).

The neighborhoods of relocated residents are not a primary source of social relationships. Sixty-eight percent of relocatees had neither friends nor family in their current neighborhood before moving there. Now, almost half have no friends and almost three quarters have no family in the neighborhood. While these residents do not look to neighbors for essential support, such as for babysitting or repairs, they do feel that neighbors do talk together, generally get along, and are willing to help if needed. Moreover, they perceive that their neighbors would even take action against certain threats to neighborhood quality of life, such as graffiti on local buildings or fighting in public.

More relocated residents earn employment income than they did prior to relocation and they fare well when compared to other workers in Washington. The average employed relocatees' earnings is \$11.12/hour, higher than the Washington state minimum wage of \$7.01/hour.

However this group of the employed constitutes only a third of all relocatees. Two-thirds of relocatees reported neither wage income nor hours worked per week. Moreover, 75 percent of unemployed relocatees with whom we spoke have not worked in more than one year, and 46 percent have not worked in six or more years. Almost half of unemployed relocatees reported being unemployed because they are unable to work. The proportion of employed relocatees is lower than at other HOPE VI sites studied nationally.

Average annual household income has increased following HOPE VI redevelopment. In addition, significant changes have occurred in wage, welfare, and SSI income. More relocatees earn wage income, and income earned from wage income has increased for former Holly Park residents. Welfare dependence has decreased, as has the amount of welfare income received for former residents of both sites. All of these numbers may be overstating effects, as those who are no longer in SHA housing or whose records are incomplete are omitted from these figures.

V. Findings and Analysis: Senior Citizens and HOPE VI Redevelopment

Both HOPE VI redevelopments contain substantial amounts of housing dedicated for residents over 55 years of age. Through focus groups, the research team wanted to learn how the reconfigured and refurbished Westwood Heights facility and how the new Esperanza Apartments in NewHolly were working for new and remaining/returned residents. Two focus groups were held in Westwood Heights, one with residents new to the building and one with residents who had lived in Roxbury House. One focus group was conducted with residents of Esperanza Apartments receiving housing subsidies.

Reasons for Moving to Westwood Heights and Esperanza Apartments

Residents cite the convenience of services, the newness and quality of the buildings as reasons they had in common for moving to or remaining in Esperanza Apartments or Westwood Heights.

For Esperanza Apartments subsidized senior citizens, Esperanza Apartments is new—a new building in a redeveloped site—and it promises a host of activities and amenities for residents. Individual units are roomy, and the site is close to stores and public transportation. By contrast, other senior housing communities seem far away or very small. Said one former Holly Park resident, "I had been living in Holly Park so long and I loved it...They were gonna fix the place. So they gave me a place in there in Esperanza and...it's pretty good." Another resident, new to the neighborhood said, "When they told me that this place was opening up and I came over here for the open house and I said this is it. I'm not going any farther. I mean I liked how it looked."

Some former Roxbury House senior citizens reported returning by choice to the new Westwood Heights and others did not. Some residents said that they felt they were not given a choice but rather "assigned" to Westwood Heights. Of those who chose, some had been offered HCVs but declined and chose Westwood Heights. One woman reported that she was given a choice and "picked Roxbury House at the time because I had relatives that were close by." Another resident cited the proximity to shops, remarking "I said, 'Oh, this is perfect. To have a store right across the street.' That was one of the main reasons I moved here."

New seniors to Westwood Heights list numerous qualities that attract them to the neighborhood and building, including:

- A well-designed and well-built building,
- A sense of security,

- Affordable rent,
- Easy access to transportation, including transit and an onsite van,
- On-site access to cooking and meal services,
- On-site access to personal care services (e.g. shower, laundry, cleaning, shopping),
- Close proximity to medical services (e.g. Providence and ElderPlace),
- A group living setting that would offer numerous friendships and offset loneliness, and
- Many interesting amenities and activities

New residents found out about Westwood Heights in different ways. One resident knew of the place through a friend who lived in the building. Another resident received a brochure from Porchlight, SHA's Housing Choice Voucher Program and affordable housing clearinghouse. She explained, "I didn't want to come out here but I had to make a choice. And I wanted senior housing but it wasn't available in my community...[When I heard of Westwood Heights, I said] it's somewhere out in the end of the world isn't it...Now how do I like living here? I do like it."

Satisfaction with Redeveloped Sites

Esperanza Apartments seniors like the social life, respect for rules, and sense of safety

Senior citizens at Esperanza Apartments reported satisfaction with many aspects of life at Esperanza Apartments and with the larger NewHolly neighborhood.

The quality of social life at Esperanza Apartments is extremely important to senior citizens, in terms of both people and opportunities to interact with them. Said one, "I have good neighbors and we're all friendly...everybody gets along here." Moreover, some residents fondly recall organized activities—such as birthday parties—that took place following the grand opening and note with regret that these activities have petered out after the first few months.

Moreover, they regard rules and regulations favorably, as important components of the overall feeling of safety and security in Esperanza Apartments. For example, visitation rules permit only 30minute visits; longer, overnight, or weekend stays require special permission from the office. In addition, video cameras help to maintain security.

As a result, they see few strangers with unauthorized access.

"I don't have the problem [at Esperanza Apartments] like I had [at my previous home]. People hanging all around your place you don't even know. And at night you have to hurry up and get in your house and there's a whole bunch of strangers out there and you don't know what they is about."

Overall, the NewHolly community feels safe. One resident pointed out that at his other residence, he felt "scared to leave home...liable to walk out the door and get shot."

Other positive aspects of the community include easy access to transportation to nearby shops and services.

"You can catch about three different buses. And you got that express bus that even takes you to the airport. Everything is close, so you can walk."

"And it's almost like...being in the suburbs...it's Seattle, but it doesn't really feel like Seattle. It's far enough out that, you know, it's almost like being out of Seattle."

"I'm really in a good spot."

Westwood Heights seniors like the amenities, activities, and atmosphere

Seniors at Westwood Heights who had lived in Roxbury House hold a special perspective on the positive qualities of the redeveloped building and neighborhood. Overall, they perceive the old building as ugly and sterile and the new one as more aesthetically pleasing. They are also pleased that the surrounding buildings—which they had perceived as "slums"—were also redeveloped into Westwood Court and Longfellow Court. In particular, these residents cited age restrictions in Westwood Heights as reducing many problems that had existed in Roxbury House when the generations were mixed, including gang activity, noise, and boisterous activity. One woman summed it up by saying, "Well, it's a lot better now that they're taking just older people. It's much better."

All residents who participated in the focus groups agree that Westwood Heights has many outstanding qualities. They like the building's amenities such as the garden, exercise room, coffee room, and computer resources, as well as on-site services such as meals. They also appreciate the varied events and activity program—including bingo, movies, and field trips—and the fact that residents participated in these activities.

"They have a lot of activities. They have arts and crafts and then they have field trips where you can go...They've got all kinds of activities that you can join."

Residents described the atmosphere as quiet and pleasant. Said one resident, "I live in the Penthouse. I'm up on top of the 7^{th} floor. I have a beautiful view of this whole area out there."

They reported satisfaction with the surroundings too, citing easy access to the nearby park, transportation, services, and shops, including Safeway, Target, and QFC. Said one woman about living in Westwood Heights:

"I think it's marvelous. We just have a few cracks to fill."

Concerns with Senior Housing

Esperanza Apartments seniors are concerned about the lack of promised amenities

Seniors who are new to Esperanza Apartments have concerns with the lack or incompleteness of features that had initially attracted them, such as the garden, certain stores, and an activity program. Said one resident, "It's a nice place to live...but...I've been there two years and...I'm still waiting on them." Another common concern among old and new residents is resident violations of visitation rules and the presence of children who are visiting or being baby-sat by residents.

"It's supposed to be a senior housing..." but "...these kids would be really running all around the hall...they even pulled the fire alarm, had us all outside."

Westwood Heights seniors are concerned about safety and rule-breaking

Some new residents expressed their dislike of the behavior of cliques within Westwood Heights. They feel that cliques have a tendency to "take over" certain areas within the building and engage in hurtful gossip about other residents. Violations of visitation policies are high on the list of concerns for old and new seniors. This concern is in stark contrast to satisfaction at Esperanza Apartments with the enforcement of rules and regulation. They are concerned by the presence of unsupervised children, neighbor's family members, and strangers in general. They are troubled to see people in the halls that "don't live here," but have keys to enter the building. They complained that some residents violated the two-week limit and permitted visitors to remain for months. Another reported that one resident allowed homeless people to stay with him.

"I don't think this is fair to other people. You have to pay rent and they just bring in who they want to bring in."

"Anyway, there are a lot of people in this building on a dayto-day basis that do not live here...that's in and of itself not a problem, except it's the same people, seemingly all the time..."

Safety and security was discussed in depth at Westwood Heights. These issues are quite present in the minds of the seniors, perhaps because three break-ins had occurred there in late June, just prior to the date of the focus groups. New seniors are comfortable with the security cameras, whose channels the residents could watch in their own apartments. Seniors who returned to or remained on site at Westwood Heights remember that violence, drugs, and prostitution was fairly common in Roxbury House and agree that Westwood Heights is safer. All Westwood Heights focus group participants believe that it is a generally safe neighborhood during the day, but are somewhat divided on other safety issues. Following the break-ins, some residents feel their own apartments are pretty secure, while others feel uncomfortable in the building and neighborhood after-hours. Most attribute the break-ins to the recent loss of an on-site resident manager (a position that has been vacant since late June 2003). They perceive most problems occur at night when no staff is resident (i.e. on-site).⁶² One resident commented about the assistant manager who cleans up the building, "What she can do, you know, from 8 to 5, is not where the problems are...the problems are at night."

Some residents have concerns about how security was planned and implemented for the building itself. For example, they said that alarms and window bars had not been included in the original plan. Also, the design concept of keeping Westwood Heights open to the public

⁶² However, SHA reports that a back-up resident manager is always on call.

has made no provisions for keeping people out of non-public areas. Without key cards on entry doors, residents are at risk of lock-outs.

"If you go out into that million-dollar backyard that we have, and the door shuts behind you, you're locked out of the building."

One person made a point that, although Westwood Heights was safer than Roxbury House, safety problems still lingered.

"[My apartment] looks this way. So I know who's out on that street at night. And I see the little gangsters and the hoodlums and drunks and you know, ne'er do wells that are hanging around in front of the building and the bus stop...Now that's my perception is that it isn't safe at night to go across the street."

A source of additional concern is that security cameras are sometimes covered and therefore unable to record questionable activities on tape. New residents observed that people have missed personal items from their apartment, and that supplies have been taken from communal areas, (e.g. candy bars, toilet paper, paper towels, DVDs, petty cash, and a camera).

One resident felt that redevelopment should have focused on "necessities" (e.g. security) before aesthetics (e.g. landscaping), but others feel that aesthetic improvements added to their quality of life.

Residents also expressed their dissatisfaction with what they considered to be inappropriate steps taken by management to solve problems. For example, when a break-in occurred, management responded by reducing facility availability to everyone. Said one resident:

"I feel that every time something goes wrong in this building, the administration becomes, how shall we say, more restrictive. And unfortunately that punishes most of the residents who are providing absolutely no problem whatsoever."

Valued and Used Services

On-site services listed by Esperanza Apartments residents include the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus and the library. In the neighborhood, they used shops and services—including the Safeway, Dollar Store, and Asian grocery store, and in the nearby Martin Luther King Way business district, they accessed doctors' offices, clinics, and other health services.

"I like being close to Safeway. I can zip over there in a minute. Put my chair on high and I'm gone."

Interestingly Esperanza Apartments residents reported frequent use of Park Place facilities and services (next door), perhaps because some of the amenities that had been marketed to new residents were not yet available to them.⁶³ These amenities include the library, computers, physical therapy, and holiday parties.

The seniors at Westwood Heights use a multitude of services, including:

- Facilities (computer lab and computer instruction, exercise room, coffee room),
- Two libraries (on-site book mobile, and local public library),
- Medical services on-site at ElderPlace (including visiting nurses and physical exams), as well as off-site at Providence,
- Cooking/meal services (meals on-site, brown bag, food bank, meals-on-wheels), as well as use of the kitchen and dining room,
- Personal care services (shower, laundry, grocery shopping),
- Activities (bingo, field trips, movies), and
- Transportation (including bus and van).

In addition, the surrounding neighborhoods of White Center and Westwood Village offer shops and services, including a farmers' market, three drug stores, dry cleaners, restaurants, and additional healthcare facilities.

"Everything you need is in White Center; there are plenty of buses that go wherever you need."

⁶³ SHA staff comment that the original intent of the Elder Village concept was to design buildings with amenities and activities that could be shared among residents of the Village, rather than to replicate expensive amenities in each building that could only be used by residents of that building.

Some Services Still Desired

Senior citizens are clear about the need for additional services in their buildings, with Esperanza Apartments residents wanting more social activities and events, and residents of Westwood Heights stressing the need for 24-hour security, as well as mentioning ways to encourage community among residents.

Esperanza Apartments seniors are unanimous about a desire for more social activities and events, citing nearby Park Place as a very good model.

"Park Place had entertainment with little rides and Bingo and ...games...picnics and stuff," as well as "field trips." "They took us to Mount Rainier and everything."

Esperanza Apartments seniors also said they wanted additional, more convenient transportation alternatives.

"I've been using Access for three years but I'm surprised that they come up with all this paperwork you have to do...before I can use Access again I've got to fill out these papers, put a picture of myself and send it back to Metro..."

Westwood Heights' senior citizens, on the other hand, are most concerned about additional security measures. Residents want measures taken that would make them feel safe, especially at night. The number one priority is a security guard or on-site resident manager on duty 24 hours a day. Seniors also recommended installing more lights in the park and providing more effective personal emergency alert devices to individual residents.

"If we have an emergency and we turn our alert on, you know, it could ring all night before anybody's going to come and see us and do anything about it."

Some residents had lived in places that required annual housing inspections by SHA and recommend the establishment of a similar process at Westwood Heights.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ SHA does have an annual inspection protocol for all public housing in which every unit receives either a limited (life-safety systems) or comprehensive inspection. SHA staff report that Westwood Heights' status as a rehabilitated building ensures that its units will undergo at least a limited inspection annually and a comprehensive inspection every two-three years. Additionally, where residents may have difficulty with

In addition to increased security measures, residents of Westwood Heights also suggested some changes to social programming. One suggestion is to add a once-a-month program of live music to which seniors could listen or dance. To facilitate field trips, residents suggested acquiring a bus with a lift for field trips (perhaps through the Partners in Caring program). Residents also recommended adding a personal touch to the daily operations of Westwood Heights, including:

- Organizing a recognition program to acknowledge contributions of residents, perhaps in the form of a gift certificate to local business,
- Coordinating sunshine calls which would institute a voluntary resident "buddy system" to help residents keep in touch with each other, and
- Providing more opportunities for residents to meet and get to know staff.

Finally, some additional amenities that residents would like to see at Westwood Heights include a swimming pool, sauna, and roof garden.

Residents' Comparisons of Pre- and Post-developed Sites

Returning residents to both sites think that the redevelopment brought increased safety, although experiences at the individual sites differ in other ways in terms of primary differences between their neighborhoods before and after redevelopment.

Esperanza Apartments residents remarked on the reduction in security problems. One resident reported that in Holly Park, "I got broken into a couple of times."

They are pleased with the new building, but they also acknowledge a sense of nostalgia for Holly Park. One woman recalled, "I'm just saying that I just kind of fell in love with Holly Park. It was close to the little store...Arco gas...Peter's Market...I was right in front of the bus." Holly Park also had yards, observes one resident, continuing, "I used to have a yard and back door...the place in Holly Park was much larger...In NewHolly, only some units have front porches..."

Another resident remembered that Holly Park, unlike Esperanza Apartments, offered certain accommodations to the disabled, explaining,

housekeeping, SHA staff reports they can make referrals to support services or can conduct more frequent and thorough inspections in conjunction with lease enforcement.

"If you were disabled they would give you a two-bedroom automatically [in case] you needed somebody to be with you at night."

Westwood Heights' senior citizens listed a catalog of comparisons, many of them about the physical building itself. The new building is:

- Aesthetically more pleasing, while "before it looked like a concrete block penitentiary."
- Cleaner, while Roxbury House had a problem with "roaches... [and] when the dining room was over there, I would see them crawling around the floor."
- Quieter, due to carpeting in units and hallways, compared to Roxbury House, which was "tile floors and concrete block walls and noisy, and anytime anybody dropped anything in the building, everybody heard it."
- Safer on the whole, compared to Roxbury, where many residents "didn't feel safe to do that, you know, walk through that village..."

In summary Westwood Heights and Esperanza Apartments residents are well pleased with their housing situation, their increased feelings of safety, and their neighborhood location with access to and utilization of a wide range of services and facilities. Both groups identified cutbacks in management services as problems—Esperanza Apartments in terms of on-site activities and Westwood Heights around security.

VI. Findings and Analysis: Comparisons of NewHolly Public Housing Residents and Relocated Residents

One question about HOPE VI is whether households who live in the redeveloped sites are better off than those who moved away. Within the NewHolly community, public housing residents are most likely to have lived at Holly Park prior to HOPE VI redevelopment.⁶⁵ Therefore, in this section we compare the experiences of NewHolly public housing residents with those of relocated households. How do these two groups compare in their level of residential satisfaction, perceptions of and interaction with neighbors, social networks, use of services, and economic well-being?

Neighborhood and Housing

NewHolly and relocated residents are satisfied with neighborhood and housing

Housing and neighborhood satisfaction is the norm for both NewHolly public housing residents and relocated residents. Moreover, both groups consider their current neighborhoods and housing units to be improvements over their previous situation.

Overall, public housing residents are satisfied with the NewHolly neighborhood. They are highly satisfied with their individual housing unit. For former Holly Park residents, NewHolly is a vast improvement over Holly Park. The quality and newness of the units, the provision of local amenities, and the physical layout of the site not only increase their satisfaction with but also their commitment to the neighborhood.

Relocated residents are also satisfied with the neighborhood and the housing to which they relocated. Eighty three percent reported satisfaction with both their new neighborhood and new housing. Relocatees nearly unanimously believe the place they live in now to be in better or the same condition than their situation in Holly Park or Roxbury Village.

Social Relationships

NewHolly residents are more likely to have friendships with neighbors

NewHolly public housing residents have slightly more friendships with their neighbors than do relocated residents, and are almost twice as likely to know someone in the neighborhood prior to moving there.

 $^{^{65}}$ We are unable to reliably determine from telephone surveys which of the former Holly Park residents returned to NewHolly.

Sixty percent of NewHolly public housing residents knew someone in the neighborhood before living there. This percent is almost double that of relocated residents (32 percent) who knew someone in the neighborhood before moving in, but given that 84 percent of public housing residents at NewHolly are relocated Holly Park residents, this difference is not surprising.

NewHolly residents are slightly more likely than their relocated counterparts to enjoy friendships with neighbors. Slightly over half of NewHolly residents (51 percent) say they have a few friends in the area, while slightly under half of relocated residents (46 percent) do.

Both NewHolly and relocated residents live remote from family members, with approximately three quarters of both groups reporting that no family members lived in the neighborhood (77 percent for NewHolly residents, 71 percent for relocated residents).

NewHolly residents see neighbors as more efficacious

Perceptions of neighborhood efficacy differ between NewHolly public housing residents and relocated residents. Over half of both NewHolly public housing and relocated residents finds their neighbors to be generally cohesive. However, NewHolly residents rate their neighborhoods as more efficacious than relocated residents, based on certain characteristics (Chart 58). First, over three quarters (80 percent) of NewHolly public housing residents perceive their neighbors as generally getting along well with each other, compared to 69 percent of relocated residents.⁶⁶ Second, almost all (94 percent) of NewHolly public housing residents perceive their neighbors as willing to help each other, compared to 66 percent of relocated residents.⁶⁷ Third, almost three quarters (70 percent) of NewHolly residents think people in the neighborhood can be trusted, while less than half (46 percent) of relocated residents feel the same way about their neighbors⁶⁸.

⁶⁶ Independent sample t-test t=2.661, df=118, p=0.01.

⁶⁷ Independent sample t-test, t=4.150, df=115, p=0.00.

⁶⁸ Independent sample t-test, t=2.409, df=113, p=0.02.



Chart 58: Comparing Opinions of Neighbors' Efficacy

Chart compares NewHolly public housing residents' (telephone survey) and relocated residents' (in-person survey) opinions of their neighbors' efficacy. NewHolly public housing residents are more likely to view their neighbors as efficacious. The parenthetical note lists the sample size for NewHolly public housing residents first and the sample size for relocatees second. ***p<0.01.

NewHolly public housing residents and relocatees are similar in their neighboring behavior

Both NewHolly and relocated public housing residents are friendly, and both groups have frequent conversations with their neighbors, and neither frequently relies on neighbors for mutually supportive activities (Chart 59).

Over 60 percent of both public housing residents at NewHolly and relocatees reported greeting a neighbor in the street. About 40 percent frequently spend more than 10 minutes talking with a neighbor. Otherwise, neither is very engaged with neighbors.



Chart 59: Comparing Frequent Engagement in Neighboring Activities

This chart compares NewHolly public housing residents' and relocated residents' frequency of engagement in neighboring activities. The chart shows the percentage of residents that engage in these activities with neighbors frequently (once a month or more). NewHolly public housing residents and relocated residents are very similar, except that relocatees are more likely to spend more than 10 minutes talking with a neighbor and to help a neighbor in an emergency.⁶⁹

Use of Services

NewHolly residents use services more frequently

These two groups of residents differ dramatically in how they use community services. For NewHolly public housing residents, the services are on-site and used often.

For NewHolly public housing residents, the library is the heart of the community, and over 80 percent report using this facility frequently. Fifty seven percent use the community computer lab, 43 percent use the continuing education center, 38 percent use the career development center, and 17 percent use the South Seattle Community College branch in the Neighborhood Campus.

Less than one quarter of relocated residents report using any of the community services available to them. Out-of-school activities for youth are used by 21 percent, computer training by 15 percent, job training and search services by 13 percent, and educational training by 10 percent. Fewer than half of these residents reported using these services before relocation at Holly

⁶⁹ Independent sample t-test, t=2.53, df=118, p=0.01.

Park or Roxbury, so the patterns of access and usage appear to have followed these residents throughout their public housing tenure.

NewHolly residents have few suggestions for additional services that they needed in the neighborhood. Their primary concern is in reducing utility bills that are much higher than what they paid at Holly Park and that are included as a separate bill. They feel that including the cost of utilities in the rent is more desirable.

Unlike NewHolly residents, most relocated residents do not use community services. More than half of the relocatees did not use services such as after school activities for youth, educational training, job training, computer training, or eviction services at Holly Park and Roxbury. Although about a quarter still do use social services, in each category of services except computer training even fewer relocatees use the services now than before relocation.

Like their NewHolly counterparts, most relocated residents (71 percent) do not express a need for additional services. Still, just over one quarter (29 percent) of relocatees say that they would like to see additional services, and they list cleaning and shopping services, on-site nursing, parenting classes, and counseling among their choices. These residents also express a desire for greater access to transportation, access to fax and copy machines, and more food stamps.

We can ascribe the difference between NewHolly public housing residents and relocated residents' neighborhood relations and service use to both positive and negative causes. It could be that relocated residents are lost from the system and practicing protective behaviors in their neighborhood. It is also possible that those who relocated are fundamentally different from those who live at NewHolly. Perhaps NewHolly residents are more inclined to seek neighborly interaction and social services. It may be that those who were more independent of their neighbors could have been the ones who relocated. Those who relocated could have been always less desirous of both dependence on neighbors and social services. Both positive and negative interpretations are speculations.

Economic Well-being

The research team examined economic well-being in two ways. First, we compared pre-development income for Holly Park residents who relocated and Holly Park residents who moved to NewHolly to identify differences. Second, we examined changes in total income from before redevelopment until after redevelopment for relocated residents and for the NewHolly residents.⁷⁰ With this information, we are able to make comparisons between residents of Holly Park who remained at or returned to NewHolly (stayers) and those who relocated to other parts of King County (relocatees) (Tables 17 and 18).

Pre-Redevelopment for Holly Park Stayers and Relocatees				
Time	Income Source		Stayers	Relocatees
Pre-HOPE VI	Wage Income	Average	\$1,872	\$2,184
	-	Percent having	17%	19%
	ADC	Average	\$3,490	\$2,716 ***
		Percent having	53%	43% **
	SSI	Average	\$1,382	\$1,338
		Percent having	25%	24%
	Social Security	Average	\$314	\$554 *
	-	Percent having	5%	10% **
	Total Income	Average	\$7,377	\$7,127
		Percent having	83%	81%
Post HOPE VI	Total Income ^a	Average	\$17,227 ^b	\$8,272 ^c ***
		Percent having	98% ^b	76% ^d ***
m1 1 1 1	61 1 1	1 ILODE III I	1 11	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

Table 17: Comparing Sources of and Total Household Income Pre-Redevelopment for Holly Park Stayers and Relocatees

This table compares sources of household income pre-HOPE VI redevelopment, total household income, and total household income post-HOPE VI redevelopment. For stayers n=178, and for relocatees n=565, unless otherwise noted. Variations in sample size are due to data availability (see Methodology). All dollar amounts are shown in constant 1996 dollars. NewHolly residents include those living in either public housing or tax credit rental units. *p<0.10 **p<0.05 ***p<0.01. aIncludes income from all sources used to calculate income for rent calculation purposes. May include transfer payments. bn=175, cn=287, dn=380.

Table 18: Comparing Total Annual Income Pre- and Post-Redevelopment for Holly Park Stayers and Relocatees

	Pre-	Post-		
	Redevelopment Redevelopment			
Stayers (n=172)	\$7,479	\$17,340	* * *	
Relocatees (n=197)	\$6,108	\$11,765	* * *	

This table shows the results of a paired t-test of mean total household income pre- and post-redevelopment for stayers and relocatees. Pre- and post-redevelopment income levels are significantly different. Variations in sample size between tables 17 and 18 are due to missing data either pre- or post- redevelopment. ***p<0.01.

Those who stayed and those who left are economically similar

Prior to HOPE VI redevelopment, stayers and relocatees had similar wage income (Table17). Seventeen percent of stayers received had income from employment, as did 19 percent of relocatees. The average stayer household

⁷⁰ Data for those who stayed comes from current NewHolly certification records and includes former Holly Park residents who are public housing residents or tax credit renters. Unfortunately, data detailing income sources are unavailable for current NewHolly renters and so we use total income, which may include income from wages, transfer payments, or other sources.

earned about \$1,900 annually, compared to about \$2,200 for the average household who relocated.

Supplemental security income (SSI) was also comparable, with 25 percent of stayers receiving SSI and 24 percent of relocatees receiving it. The average household had a little over \$1,300 in SSI income prior to redevelopment (Table 17).

The average stayer and relocatee household had the similar total household incomes, at \$7,376 for stayers and \$7,127 for relocatees annually (not a significant difference) (Table 17).

Stayers and relocatees differed in receipt of social security and welfare

Relocatees more frequently received social security: Ten percent of relocatees had social security income, compared to five percent of stayers⁷¹ (Table 17).

Those who relocated were less likely to receive welfare than those who returned to NewHolly (43 percent of relocatees received welfare, compared to 53 percent of those who returned) (Table 17).⁷² Similarly, the amount of welfare income received by relocatees was less than for NewHolly stayers—\$2,708 compared to \$3,490.⁷³

NewHolly stayers have higher incomes after redevelopment

Although both stayers and leavers have significantly higher incomes after redevelopment than before (Table 18),⁷⁴ stayers' incomes post redevelopment surpass that of relocatees. Among stayers, 98 percent have some source of income, compared to 75 percent of relocatees.⁷⁵ The average stayer household has an income of about \$17,000 per year, compared to relocatees \$8,000 per year (Table 17), a significant difference.⁷⁶

One possible explanation for the difference between stayers and relocatees post-redevelopment income is the establishment of new selfsufficiency guidelines at NewHolly, created with resident input during redevelopment, which call for public housing residents to be involved in workrelated activities as a condition of their lease. These guidelines may result in a

⁷¹ Independent sample t-test with unequal variances, t=2.34, df=401, p=0.02

⁷² Independent sample t-test with equal variances, t=2.46, df=741, p=0.01.

⁷³ Independent sample t-test with equal variances, t=2.66, df=741, p=0.01.

 $^{^{74}}$ Paired sample t-test. For stayers, t=10.32, df=171, and p=0.00. For relocatees, t=8.15, df=196, p=0.00.

 $^{^{75}}$ Independent sample t-test with unequal variances, t=8.94, df=525, p=0.00.

⁷⁶ Independent sample t-test with unequal variances, t=8.71, df=300, p=0.00.

greater number of NewHolly residents receiving employment income, which, in turn, would raise their total household income. However, since we don't know the components of total household income for those who stayed at NewHolly, we cannot explain the difference with any certainty.

VII. Summary and Recommendations

The HOPE VI redevelopment of the Roxbury and Holly Park sites have been quite successful in many respects. At the same time, most projects with such complexity have areas that call for attention as the projects go into the future.

The NewHolly Community Today

What's Going Well

Residents are neighborly. Residents of NewHolly are very neighborly, especially in comparison to residents of other mixed-income sites. Homeowners at NewHolly engage in neighboring more frequently that renters do, and more often attend community events and activities.

Residents are very satisfied with site and unit design. Residents from all walks of life, across all tenures are extremely satisfied with NewHolly. They appreciate the new, quality housing, as well as the design of the site and the units.

Residents are satisfied with services and amenities. The residents with whom we spoke are very happy with the array of services on-site. The library is the center of the community—everyone uses it, all the children use it. It is the one on-site facility that everyone on-site uses equally.

In most categories, crime rates have fallen to or below the average in the city. Crime rates fell in the period after redevelopment. For those who lived at Holly Park, the neighborhood seems much safer.

Issues for Attention

Community building and governance. As SHA works to enhance relationships among residents of the NewHolly community, SHA should consider the degree to which some residents feel left out of community life because of changes in governance. The transition from Holly Park to NewHolly is not just physical—it is also social and political. Although the demographics of the residents have changed, former Holly Park residents remain. Former Holly Park residents recall a time when HUD required SHA to have a resident council and foster resident governance, and they fondly remember ethnic subcouncils. Moreover, some perceive that since these councils have been disbanded they no longer have a voice in the governance of the community.

While a change for former Holly Park residents, the NewHolly management model use community building methods to provide ways for residents to participate in site operations and community affairs. A voluntary committee structure in combination with the skills of a community builder is meant to fulfill that role. Informal, issue-based neighborhood committees are intended to use common interests to bridge differences among residents.

At the same time, the path to resident involvement is not as clear as it was in Holly Park. For homeowners, the path to self-governance is the homeowners association. But for renters, the path is less comfortable and less direct—they have no such clear organization. While the committees and management work together some residents view the management office as landlord and is not always as their advocate, despite facilitating dispute resolution between neighbors.

Mindful of this perspective, SHA staff and residents have begun to explore the formation of a formal renters' association. SHA and the community should continue to clarify this and other ways in which residents can shape and support the day-to-day operations as well as the future growth of the NewHolly community.

Utilities are costly and burdensome. The single most difficult problem subsidized residents at NewHolly face is the expense of utilities. The confusion that residents experience about utility expenses and payments suggests that an on-going, proactive strategy is needed to help people maintain both their utility payments and their housing. Problems with the expense of utilities is a problem nationally for low-income families, and so it is not surprising to see these problems at NewHolly as well.

It is important to clarify the expectations of relocated residents at future HOPE VI sites about their housing costs beyond the required time outlined in the Uniform Relocation Act or HOPE VI NOFA as well as the obligation of the SHA in maintaining those costs. Furthermore, as an organization dedicated to providing affordable housing, the SHA must investigate whether all subsidized residents taking full advantage of utility allowances. As new residents move into subsidized units, the transition from traditional public housing rent rules to those at NewHolly is not always easy, and SHA must communicate effectively and proactively before residents get in arrears. Furthermore, SHA should address any structural issues and explore other methods of utility subsidy. In short, the expense, confusion, and desperation around utility bills was the most consistent problem across focus groups—regardless of ethnicity. This is likely a problem the SHA as an organization should address, given its mission to provide affordable housing.

A greater unit mix might create more interactions among residents of different tenures. NewHolly is one the first HOPE VI sites in the country to have portions that are complete. As such, it is a rare opportunity to inform other HOPE VI sites that may be under construction. The development is award-winning for architecture, community building, and construction and
noted for its creative mixed financing. Siting decisions made early in the development process have long-term implications for the community that develops there. The level to which neighbors of different tenures and, by proxy, of different income classes, know each other is likely in part a result of how the development is laid out. Given that homeowners at NewHolly tend to know the neighbors who immediately next to or behind them while those of other tenures know neighbors who are not necessarily directly adjacent to them, the level of mixing among the different tenures has real implications for the social relations formed in the development and for the types of community building activities that may be necessary post redevelopment.

Relocated Residents from Holly Park and Roxbury Village

What's Going Well

Residents who relocated were satisfied overall with the relocation experience. Relocated residents said the overall relocation process was a positive experience for them, although they also felt the process was rushed. Most frequently relocated residents used services required to plan and execute the move and not those relating to life skills. A minority of relocated residents used services prior to the move, and even fewer access services now. Most relocated residents do not want access to additional services.

Residents who relocated are satisfied with their new neighborhoods and housing. The random sample of 85 Roxbury Village and Holly Park relocates were at least somewhat satisfied with their new homes and neighborhoods. Almost half are *very* satisfied with their current setting. Similar to other HOPE VI sites nationally, more than half of relocated residents have moved more than once since leaving the site. Although we do not know their opinions of Holly Park, we do know that many of them have moved to neighborhoods where they deem their neighbors efficacious and agree that their neighbors would take steps to protect their neighborhood.

The total household income of relocatees in assisted housing has increased, and more are working now. Although only one third of relocated residents in assisted housing are working, this is an increase from before relocation.

Issues for Attention

Relocatees are not service users. Most relocated residents said they did not use services available in Holly Park or Roxbury prior to relocation. Furthermore, most use fewer services now that they live elsewhere, and most do not want other services. Relocatees also do not depend on their neighbors for help with everyday life. It may be that if offered some services or ways to connect, these relocated residents might accept help. On the other hand, they

may have moved precisely because they were less connected to service on site originally, because they preferred to live separately from their Holly Park neighbors. Therefore, while it is tempting to say these residents are more cutoff from help, they also may not want it.

Half of relocates who moved using a Housing Choice Voucher or to public housing are no longer there. Of the 399 people who had moved to HCVP or SHA housing, half were no longer living in either of those housing types. Of those, 149 used HCVs to move. It is possible that those with HCVs moved out of the SHA's jurisdiction. Without more tracking research, we have no way of knowing what happened to them.

The type of analysis we did in trying to ascertain which relocated residents are currently these residents is something SHA could do. Furthermore, SHA can access national records to ascertain the whereabouts of those who are not in the assisted housing under their management. At the same time, our records differ from SHA's reported numbers. When we received the list of relocated residents, we found numerous duplications, to which we attribute our variations from their reported numbers. The data exist; SHA should devote some time to developing better internal tracking systems for those who relocate.

Senior Citizens and HOPE VI Redevelopment

What's Going Well

Most seniors are very satisfied with their new homes in redeveloped sites. Most residents are very satisfied with the physical environments and amenities of Westwood Heights and Esperanza Apartments. Residents of both sites are happy with the rules and regulations that govern the buildings and would like to see consistent implementation. Westwood Heights' residents in particular are very happy with the combination of physical quality, amenity, and services on-site.

Issues for Attention

Esperanza Apartments' resident want more amenities and activities on-site. Esperanza Apartments residents enjoyed the social activities that they had when they first came to live there, and would like to see more of them once again. They go to Park Place for activities and would like to see more of those types of social activities at Esperanza Apartments.

Westwood Heights residents have security concerns. Westwood Heights residents are quite concerned about safety, especially in the wake of the layoff of the resident manager. Given that the building's facilities are open to the public, some serious consideration must be given to ensuring the safety of residents while maintaining public access to areas like the computer lab. Currently, doors at the rear of the building allow no one to re-enter the building once they leave—perhaps rear card entries may be appropriate⁷⁷. Otherwise, those rear doors just get propped open, inviting problems. Residents feel that 24-hour security is important to the community's continued success.

Seniors would like to make sure that rules and regulations are enforced in their developments. Residents of both places had similar concerns about violations of visitation policies and unsupervised children within the building. They requested that the rules be enforced.

⁷⁷ SHA is currently renovating the rear entrance with the addition of a card reader and installation of additional doors with card readers. These improvements, which are scheduled for completion in November 2003, are designed to better protect the living environment from the basement, which is currently open to the public.

Appendix A: Materials for Telephone Survey of NewHolly Residents

- Recruitment Letter to Homeowners
- Recruitment Letter to Renters
- Telephone Survey Script
- Response Rate Calculations

Recruitment Letter to Homeowners

February 25, 2003

NewHolly Resident Name Address Seattle, WA 98XXX

Dear Name:

I'm writing to ask your help with a research study that will help us understand how NewHolly functions as a community. The Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs at the University of Washington and the Social and Economic Sciences Research Center (SESRC) at Washington State University will be conducting telephone interviews with NewHolly residents this winter to try to understand what facilities you use on-site and how people in the community interact with each other.

An interviewer from SESRC would like to call you to take part in this study. We would like to make sure, however, that you are willing for your name to be given out for research purposes. The study involves speaking to at least one English speaker, age 18-64, in each household at NewHolly. Having as many people participate as possible is important for the quality of the results.

The telephone interview will take less than 20 minutes, and you will receive a \$20 gift card to Safeway, Home Depot, or J.C. Penney for completing the interview. Your participation in the survey is voluntary. All responses will be confidential, and you can end the interview at any time. Please share this letter with other members of your household age 18 to 64, any of whom is eligible to complete the survey.

If you would prefer that your contact information are not given to researchers at the University of Washington and Washington State University, please call SESRC at this toll-free number: 1-800-833-0867. If you would like to give your current telephone number, please call as well. When you call, please ask for the NewHolly Project. If we don't hear from you by March 3, we'll assume that you will be willing for us to give information to the researchers. After the study, this information will be deleted. If you have questions about the research, please feel free to contact the principal investigator, Rachel Garshick Kleit, at (206) 221-3063.

Sincerely,

Harry Matsumoto President Quantum Management

Recruitment Letter to Renters

February 25, 2003

NewHolly Resident Name Address Seattle, WA 98XXX

Dear Name:

I'm writing to ask your help with a research study that will help us understand how NewHolly functions as a community. The Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs at the University of Washington and the Social and Economic Sciences Research Center (SESRC) at Washington State University will be conducting telephone interviews with NewHolly residents this winter to try to understand what facilities you use on-site and how people in the community interact with each other.

An interviewer from SESRC would like to call you to take part in this study. We would like to make sure, however, that you are willing for your name to be given out for research purposes. The study involves speaking to at least one English speaker, age 18-64, in each household at NewHolly. Having as many people participate as possible is important for the quality of the results.

The telephone interview will take less than 20 minutes, and you will receive a \$20 gift card to Safeway, Home Depot, or J.C. Penney for completing the interview. Your participation in the survey is voluntary. All responses will be confidential, and you can end the interview at any time. Please share this letter with other members of your household age 18 to 64, any of whom is eligible to complete the survey.

If you would prefer that your contact information are not given to researchers at the University of Washington and Washington State University, please call SESRC at this toll-free number: 1-800-833-0867. If you would like to give your current telephone number, please call as well. When you call, please ask for the NewHolly Project. If we don't here from you by March 3, we'll assume that you will be willing for us to give information to the researchers. After the study, this information will be deleted. If you have questions about the research, please feel free to contact the principal investigator, Rachel Garshick Kleit, at (206) 221-3063.

Sincerely,

Kehau Pickford Site Manager

Telephone Survey Script

Hello this is..... (BLOCK SCREEN)

Yes, Continue Interview.....1

No......2

Refusals by R4

Doesn't Live in NewHolly.....7

Other Terminates 10

[35-63: Call Back Logistics Items Deleted for Ease of Reading]

[1-33: Telephone Calling Logistics Deleted for Ease of Reading]	64: CONFD This interview is voluntary and has been approved by the Washington State University. This interview may be monitored
Hello, my name is (your name) and I am calling from Washington State University. We're calling people who live in NewHolly to talk about different aspects of living in the community. A letter and an information sheet describing the study were mailed to your household recently. Do you remember receiving it? {IWR PROMPT: "It was a brief letter to let people know that we would be calling."}	by my supervisor to check my work. However, all of the information you provide will be kept confidential. No names will be associated with any of the answers. If I come to any question you prefer not to answer, just let me know and I'll skip over it. (1/255) Press ENTER to Continue
<pre>Éffffffffffffffffffffffffffffffffffff</pre>	[Items 65-71: respondent selection deleted for ease of reading.] This interview will take about 20 minutes to complete, and your participation is completely voluntary. I'll be asking for your opinion about your neighborhood, about how you interact with neighbors, about which neighborhood facilities you use, and about the people you know at NewHolly. At the end of the interview we will arrange to send you your choice of a \$20 gift card to Safeway, Home Depot, or J.C. Penney for your participation.
 6 = Disconnect/Business or Government (DS, BG) ASSISTANCE 7 = Doesn't Live in NewHolly (I2) 	@CONF2 1=Press ENTER to Continue
 o 8 = Non Contact (AM, LM, NA, BZ, ED, CC, BC) 9 = Communication Barrier (DF, LG, HC) o 10= Other Terminates (DD, RN, OT) 	72: CONF2 This interview will take about 20 minutes to (BLOCK SCREEN) (1/265) Press ENTER to Continue
34: BE Dialing \$N Hallo this is (PLOCK SCREEN)	GIN

(1/177)

=>/CONFD

=>/CONFD

=>/CB_1 => /F10 => /DEAD

=>/DEAD =>/INT07

=>/INT01

=>/INT04=>/INT05

«BEGIN »

While portions of this interview may be monitored by my supervisor, the information you provide is confidential. Your interview will be assigned a code number, and all of your answers will be kept with this code number and not with any personally identifying information. Your responses will be combined with those of everyone else who is interviewed, so that only summary results will be reported. If I ask any question that you would prefer not to answer, just let me know and I will skip over it. OK? @CONF3 {Codes are: 1=Yes, 2=Schedule Call Back, 3=Refusal Prevention Screen}			77: What area do you consider to be your neighborhood? Would you say (1/272) THE BLOCK YOU LIVE ON ONLY 1 THE BLOCK YOU LIVE ON AND SEVERAL BLOCKS IN EACH DIRECTION 2 ALL OF NEWHOLLY 3 BEACON HILL 4 SE SEATTLE. 5 OR SOME OTHER AREA. 6 O Don't know. D Refused. R «Q3 » «O_Q3 »	Q3
=> Q1Y if (S9==1) OR (S6==1) While portions of this interview (BLOCK SCREEN) (1/266)	=>/(<pre>I'm going to read a list of some activities you might do with neighbors. Thinking back over the past year, that is, since February 2002, please tell me whether you engaged in these activities with neighbors NEVER, ONCE, A FEW TIMES, ONCE A MONTH, ONCE A WEEK, or ALMOST EVERY DAY.</pre> Q4. @Q4 The first activity is: In the past year, how often have you watched a neighbor's children or has a neighbor watched your children? Would you say NEVER, ONCE, A FEW TIMES, ONCE A MONTH,ONCE A WEEK, or ALMOST EVERY DAY.	
<pre>@QlY Years @QlM Months D = Don't know R = Refused 74: How long have you lived in this neighborhood? YEARS (1/267) \$E 00 99 Don't know</pre>	Q1Y	r	<pre>Q5. @Q5 In the past year, how often have you spent more than 10 minutes talking with a neighbor? 1. NEVER 6. ALMOST EVERY DAY 2. ONCE 0. Not Applicable 3. A FEW TIMES 0. Don't Know 4. ONCE A MONTH R. Refused 5. ONCE A WEEK 78: I'm going to read a list of some activities you might do with neighbors(BLOCK SCREEN)</pre>	Q4
«Q1Y »		C	(1/273) Never 1 Once 2 A few times 3 Once a month 4 Once a week 5 Almost every day 6 Not Applicable N Don't know D Refused R «Q4 »	
76: Before you moved to your current home, did you know anyone in this neighborhood? (1/271) Yes1 No2 Don't knowD RefusedR «Q2 »	Q2			

Q5

79:

In the past year, how often have you spent more than 10 minutes talking with a neighbor? (BLOCK SCREEN)

(1/274)

(In the past year, how often have you...)

- Q6. @Q6 Loaned or borrowed something from a neighbor?
- Q7. @Q7 Carpooled with a neighbor?
- Q8. @Q8 Let a neighbor use your phone?
- Q9. @Q9 Greeted a neighbor in the street?
- Q10. @Q10 Helped a neighbor with a chore or repairs?

{IWR: READ RESPONSES IF NECESSARY}

- 1. NEVER 6. ALMOST EVERY DAY 2. ONCE N. Not Applicable
- 2. ONCEN. NOU Applicabl3. A FEW TIMESD. Don't Know

R. Refused

- 4. ONCE A MONTH
- 5. ONCE A WEEK
- 80:

In the past year, how often have you loaned or borrowed something from a neighbor? (BLOCK SCREEN)

(1/275)

Q6

Q7

Never	1
Once	2
A few times	
Once a month	4
Once a week	5
Almost every day	6
Not Applicable	N
Don't know	D
Refused	R
«Q6 »	
-	

81:

(BLOCK SCREEN)

In the past year, how often have you carpooled with a neighbor?

	(1/276)
Never	1
Once	2
A few times	3
Once a month	1
Once a week	5
Almost every day	5
Not Applicable	1
Don't know I)
Refused H	2
«Q7 »	

82:

In the past year, how often have you let a neighbor use your phone? (BLOCK SCREEN)

	(1/ 277)
Never	
Once	2
A few times	
Once a month	4
Once a week	5
Almost every day	6
Not Applicable	N
Don't know	D
Refused	R
«O8 »	

83:

In the past year, how often have you greeted a neighbor in the street? (BLOCK SCREEN)

	(1/ 278)
Never	1
Once	2
A few times	3
Once a month	4
Once a week	5
Almost every day	6
Not Applicable	N
Don't know	D
Refused	R
«Q9 »	

84:

In the past year, how often have you helped a neighbor with a chore or repairs? (BLOCK SCREEN)

· · · · ·	(1/ 279)
Never	
Once	2
A few times	
Once a month	4
Once a week	
Almost every day	6
Not Applicable	N
Don't know	D
Refused	R
«Q10 »	

Q8

Q9

Q10

(In the past year, how often have	you)
Q11. @Q11 Had coffee or a meal w neighbor?	ith a
Q12. @Q12 Helped a neighbor in a emergency?	n
Q13. @Q13 Dropped in on a neighb a neighbor drop in on you f casual visit?	
{IWR: READ RESPONSES IF NECESSAR	Υ}
1. NEVER6. ALMOST2. ONCEN. Not App3. A FEW TIMESD. Don't K4. ONCE A MONTHR. Refused5. ONCE A WEEK	licable now
85:	Q11

In the past year, how often have you had coffee or a meal with a neighbor? (BLOCK SCREEN)

(1/280)

	(1/200
Never	1
Once	2
A few times	3
Once a month	4
Once a week	5
Almost every day	6
Not Applicable	
Don't know	
Refused	R
«O11 »	
······································	

86:

In the past year, how often have you helped a neighbor in an emergency? (BLOCK SCREEN)

emergency? (BLOCK SCREEN)	
	(1/ 281)
Never	1
Once	2
A few times	3
Once a month	4
Once a week	5
Almost every day	6
Not Applicable	N
Don't know	D
Refused	R
«Q12 »	

87:

In the past year, how often have you dropped in on a neighbor or had a neighbor drop in on you for a casual visit? (BLOCK SCREEN)

(1/ 282)

Q13

Never	1
Once	2
A few times	3
Once a month	4
Once a week	5
Almost every day	6
Not Applicable	N
Don't know	D
Refused	R
«Q13 »	

88:

Q13A

Q13B

How many of your friends live in the same neighborhood as you? Would you say NONE, A FEW, OR MANY?

	(1/ 283)
NONE	
A FEW	2
MANY	
Don't know	D
Refused	R
«Q13A »	

89:

How many of your family members live in the same neighborhood as you? Would you say NONE, A FEW, OR MANY?

NONE	(1/ 284)
NONE	1
A FEW	2
MANY	3
Don't know	D
Refused	R
«Q13B »	

90:

On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being worst and 10 being best, how would you rate your overall satisfaction with your neighborhood? {IWR PROMPT FOR NEIGHBORHOOD: "Whatever you consider your neighborhood to be."}

	(1/ 285)
\$E 1 10	
Don't know	D
Refused	R
«Q14 »	

91:

Q12

Q15

Q14

On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being worst and 10 being best, how would you rate your overall satisfaction with your living unit? {IWR PROMPT FOR LIVING UNIT: "Whatever you consider your living unit to be."}

(1/287)

\$E 1 10	
Don't know	D
Refused	R
«Q15 »	

I'm going to read some statements about		95:	Q19
your neighborhood. Please tell me how much		People in this neighborhood generally get along with each other.	
you agree or disagree with them. Tell me if		(BLOCK SCREEN)	
you STRONGLY AGREE, SOMEWHAT AGREE, SOMEWHAT DISAGREE, OR STRONGLY DISAGREE with each		(1/ 292)	
one.		Strongly Agree 1	
011C.		Somewhat Agree	
Q16. @Q16 The first one is People around		Somewhat Disagree	
here are willing to help their		Strongly Disagree	
neighbors. Do you STRONGLY AGREE,		Don't know D	
SOMEWHAT AGREE, SOMEWHAT DISAGREE,		RefusedR	
OR STRONGLY DISAGREE?		«Q19 »	
Q17. @Q17 People in this neighborhood			
share the same values.		96:	Q20
Q18. @Q18 People in this neighborhood can			Q20
be trusted.		Generally speaking, do you think of this neighborhood as (1/ 293)	
		A VERY SAFE PLACE TO LIVE	
Q19. @Q19 People in this neighborhood		A VERT SAFE PLACE TO LIVE	
generally get along with each other.		OR NOT A VERY SAFE PLACE TO LIVE	
()		Don't know	
{IWR: READ RESPONSES IF NECESSARY}		RefusedR	
1. STRONGLY AGREE D. Don't Know		«Q20 »	
2. SOMEWHAT AGREE R.		· · · ·	
2. SOMEWHAI AGREE R. Refused			
3. SOMEWHAT DISAGREE		Now, I am going to read a list of things	
4. SRONGLY DISAGREE		that can be a problem in neighborhoods.	
	016	Please tell me whether you view each one as	
92:	Q16	NO PROBLEM AT ALL, SOME PROBLEM, OR A BIG	
People around here are willing to help their neighbors. (BLOCK		PROBLEM in this neighborhood.	
SCREEN)		021 @021 The first are is Incompletement	
(1/ 289)		Q21. @Q21 The first one is Unemployment. Please tell me whether you view this	
Strongly Agree		as NO PROBLEM AT ALL, SOME PROBLEM,	
Somewhat Agree		OR A BIG PROBLEM in this	
Somewhat Disagree		neighborhood.	
Strongly Disagree			
RefusedR		Q22. @Q22 The next one is Groups of	
«Q16»		people just hanging out.	
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~			
	=	Q23. @Q23 The number of single mothers.	
93:	Q17		
People in this neighborhood share the same values (BLOCK		Q26. @Q26 People SELLING drugs.	
SCREEN)		{IWR: READ RESPONSES IF NECESSARY}	
( 1/ 290)		1. NO PROBLEM AT ALL 2. SOME PROBLEM	
Strongly Agree		3. A BIG PROBLEM	
Somewhat Agree		D. Don't Know	
Somewhat Disagree		R. Refused	
Strongly Disagree4			0.01
Don't knowD		97:	Q21
RefusedR		Unemployment (BLOCK SCREEN)	
«Q17 »		(1/294)	
	_	Not a problem at all	
	010	Some problem	
94:	Q18	Big Problem	
People in this neighborhood can be trusted. (BLOCK SCREEN)		Don't know D	
( 1/ 291)		RefusedR	
Strongly Agree		«Q21 »	
Somewhat Agree			
Somewhat Disagree		98:	Q22
Strongly Disagree			Q22
Don't know D		Groups of people just hanging out (BLOCK SCREEN)	
RefusedR		(1/295)	
«Q18 »		Not a problem at all	
	-	Some problem	
		Big Problem	
		Don't knowD RefusedR	
		«Q22 »	
		<u>~~~~</u>	

99:	Q23	103:	
The number of single mothers (BLOCK SCREEN)		Gangs (BLOCK SCREEN)	(
(1/296	)	N ( 11 ( 11	( 1/ 300
Not a problem at all		Not a problem at all	
Some problem		Some problem	
Big Problem		Big Problem	
Don't know D		Don't know	
Refused R		Refused	K
«Q23 »		«Q30 »	
100:	= Q26	104:	
People selling drugs (BLOCK SCREEN)	_	Police not coming when called (BLOCK SCREEN)	
( 1/ 297	)	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	( 1/ 301
Not a problem at all	<i>,</i>	Not a problem at all	<b>(</b> · · · · ·
Some problem		Some problem	
Big Problem		Big Problem	
Don't know D		Don't know	
		Refused	
Refused R			K
«Q26 »		«Q31 »	
Q27. @Q27 People USING drugs.	-	105:	
		Graffiti, that is, writing or painting on the walls of	f buildings
Q28. @Q28 People being attacked or		(BLOCK SCREEN)	oundings
robbed.		(BLOCK SCREEN)	( 1/ 302
		Net a much lange at all	<b>(</b> · · · · ·
Q30. @Q30 Gangs.		Not a problem at all	
		Some problem	
Q31. @Q31 Police not coming when called.		Big Problem	
		Don't know	D
Q32. @Q32 Graffiti, that is, writing or		Refused	R
painting on the walls of buildings.		«Q32 »	
Q33. @Q33 Shootings and violence.			
		106:	
<pre>{IWR READ IF NECESSARY: Please tell me whether you view each one as}</pre>		Shootings and violence (BLOCK SCREEN)	( 1/ 303
- ,		Not a problem at all	1
1. NO PROBLEM AT ALL		Some problem	
2. SOME PROBLEM		Big Problem	
3. A BIG PROBLEM		Don't know	
D. Don't Know		Refused	
R. Refused			
		«Q33 »	
101:	Q27		
People USING drugs (BLOCK SCREEN) (1/298	)		
Not a problem at all	·		
Some problem			
Big Problem			
6			
Don't know D			
Refused R			
«Q27 »			
102.	=		
	Q28		
People being attacked or robbed (BLOCK SCREEN)	、		
(1/299	)		
Not a problem at all1			
Some problem2			
Big Problem			
Don't knowD			
RefusedR			
«Q28 »			
~~ <u>~</u> ~ "			
	-		

Q30

Q31

Q32

Q33

(1/300)

(1/301)

(1/302)

( 1/ 303)

		111:		Q39
Q34. @Q34 Rape or other sexual attacks.		Violence in the home (BLOCK SCREEN)	1 4 1 6 5 5 1	
Q35. @Q35 Trash and junk in parking lots, streets, lawns, or sidewalks.		Not a problem at all	( 1/ 308)	
Q36. @Q36 Cars driving too fast through the neighborhood.		Big Problem		
Q37. @Q37 Cars being broken into.		RefusedR «Q39 »		
039. @039 Violence in the home.		Now I would like to ask about your		•
<pre>{IWR READ IF NECESSARY: Please tell me whether you view each one as}</pre>		involvement in the different community events at NewHolly. At NewHolly, there several activities that residents can participate in.	are	
1. NO PROBLEM AT ALL 2. SOME PROBLEM 3. A BIG PROBLEM D. Don't Know		Q40A. @Q40A In the past year, since February 2002, have you been involved in your block club?		
R. Refused 107:	034	Q40B. @Q40B In the past year, since		
Rape or other sexual attacks (BLOCK SCREEN) ( 1/ 304)		February 2002, have you been involved in the Garden Club?		
Not a problem at all		Q40C. @Q40C The traffic club?		
Big Problem		Q40D. @Q40D The kids club?		
RefusedR «Q34 »		1. Yes		
×23+ //		2. No 3. Didn't know about it		
108:	Q35	D. Don't Know		
Trash and junk in parking lots, streets, lawns, or sidewalks	Q33	R. Refused	(	2407
(BLOCK SCREEN) (1/305)		112: Your block club (BLOCK SCREEN)	(	<b>Q40</b> A
Not a problem at all1		Yes	( 1/ 309)	
Some problem		No		
Big Problem		Didn't know about it		
Refused		Don't know D		
«Q35 »		RefusedR		
×255 //	_	«Q40A »		
109:	Q36	112		: - 401
Cars driving too fast through the neighborhood (BLOCK		113: The garden club (BLOCK SCREEN)	(	Q40I
SCREEN) ( 1/ 306)			( 1/ 310)	
Not a problem at all		Yes1		
Some problem		No		
Big Problem		Didn't know about it		
Don't know D		Don't know D		
RefusedR		RefusedR		
KeluseuK		«Q40B»		
		-		
«Q36 »	027	114:	(	)400
«Q36 » 110:	Q37		(	
«Q36 » 110: Cars being broken into (BLOCK SCREEN) ( 1/ 307)	-	The traffic club (BLOCK SCREEN)	( 1/ 311)	_ 2400
«Q36 » 110: Cars being broken into (BLOCK SCREEN) ( 1/ 307) Not a problem at all1	-	The traffic club (BLOCK SCREEN) Yes	( 1/ 311)	<u>-</u> 2400
«Q36 » 110: Cars being broken into (BLOCK SCREEN) ( 1/ 307) Not a problem at all1 Some problem2	-	The traffic club (BLOCK SCREEN) Yes1 No2	( 1/ 311)	 240(
«Q36 »  110: Cars being broken into (BLOCK SCREEN) ( 1/ 307) Not a problem at all1 Some problem2 Big Problem3	-	The traffic club (BLOCK SCREEN) Yes1 No2 Didn't know about it3	( 1/ 311)	<u>-</u> 2400
«Q36 »  110: Cars being broken into (BLOCK SCREEN) ( 1/ 307) Not a problem at all1 Some problem2 Big Problem3 Don't knowD	-	The traffic club (BLOCK SCREEN) Yes1 No2 Didn't know about it3 Don't knowD	( 1/ 311)	 Q40(
«Q36 »  110: Cars being broken into (BLOCK SCREEN) ( 1/ 307) Not a problem at all1 Some problem2 Big Problem3	-	The traffic club (BLOCK SCREEN) Yes1 No2 Didn't know about it3	( 1/ 311)	<u>-</u> 2400

115:	Q40D	119:	Q40
he kids club (BLOCK SCREEN)	•	The Fun Fest last August at NewHolly (BLOCK SCF	
	( 1/ 312)		(1/316)
es		Yes	1
)		No	
dn't know about it	-	Didn't know about it Don't know	
efused		Refused	
Q40D »		«Q40J »	
-			
		120:	Q401
Q40E. @Q40E The NewHolly P-Patch pr	ogram	Black History Month Celebrations at NewHolly	? (BLOCK
Q40H. @Q40H A community meeting		SCREEN)	
£			( 1/ 317)
Q40I. @Q40I A potluck.		Yes	
		No Didn't know about it	
Q40J. @Q40J The Fun Fest last Augus	i L	Don't know	
Q40K. @Q40K Black History Month		Refused	
Celebrations		«Q40K »	
	=		
1. Yes		Q40L. @Q40L A neighborhood night	
2. No		2101. Server A nergimornood ingit	
3. Didn't know about it D. Don't Know		Q40M. @Q40M A block party	
R. Refused		Q40N. @Q40N The most recent Multi	cultural
16:	Q40E	New Year Celebration	
he NewHolly P-Patch program (BLOCK SCREEN)			
	( 1/ 313)	1. Yes	
es		2. No 3. Didn't know about it	
		D. Don't Know	
Didn't know about it		R. Refused	
efusedF		121:	Q40
Q40E »		A neighborhood night at NewHolly? (BLOCK SCRE	•
		A heighborhood hight at New Hony? (DEOCK SERE	( 1/ 318)
		Yes	
17:	Q40H	No	2
community meeting at NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN)		Didn't know about it	
/es		Don't know	
Io	-	Refused	R
Didn't know about it	_	«Q40L»	
Don't know			
efused F		122:	Q40M
Q40H »		A block party at NewHolly? (BLOCK SCREEN)	
			(1/319)
		Yes	1
10	0.401		
	Q40I	No	
	Q40I	Didn't know about it	3
potluck at NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN)	Q40I ( 1/ 315)	Didn't know about it Don't know	3 D
potluck at NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN)	<b>Q40I</b> ( 1/ 315)	Didn't know about it Don't know Refused	3 D
potluck at NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN)	<b>Q40I</b> ( 1/ 315) 1 2	Didn't know about it Don't know	3 D
potluck at NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN)	<b>Q401</b> ( 1/ 315) 1 2 3	Didn't know about it Don't know Refused	3 D
potluck at NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN) es o idn't know about it	Q401 (1/315) 1 2 3 2	Didn't know about it Don't know Refused	3 D R
potluck at NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN) es o idn't know about it	Q401 (1/315) 1 2 3 0 8	Didn't know about it Don't know Refused «Q40M »	3 R
potluck at NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN)	Q401 (1/315) 1 2 3 0 R	Didn't know about it Don't know Refused «Q40M » 123:	3 R
potluck at NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN) es o idn't know about it	Q401 (1/315) 1 2 3 0 R	Didn't know about it Don't know Refused «Q40M » 123: The most recent Multicultural New Year Ce	3 R
potluck at NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN) es o idn't know about it efused	Q401 ( 1/ 315) 1 2 3 5 2 3 2 3 2 3	Didn't know about it Don't know Refused «Q40M » 123: The most recent Multicultural New Year Ce	3 R Q40 lebration at ( 1/ 320)
potluck at NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN) es o idn't know about it efused	Q401 ( 1/ 315) 1 2 3 5 2 2	Didn't know about it Don't know Refused «Q40M » 123: The most recent Multicultural New Year Ce NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN) Yes No	3 R Q40 lebration at (1/320) 1 2
potluck at NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN) eso idn't know about it	Q401 ( 1/ 315) 1 2 3 5 8	Didn't know about it Don't know Refused «Q40M » 123: The most recent Multicultural New Year Ce NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN) Yes No Didn't know about it	3 R Q40 lebration at (1/320) 1 2 3
18: A potluck at NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN) fes	Q401 ( 1/ 315) 1 2 3 5 R	Didn't know about it Don't know Refused «Q40M » 123: The most recent Multicultural New Year Ce NewHolly (BLOCK SCREEN) Yes No	3 R Q40 lebration at (1/320) 1 2 3 D

Now I am going ask about how often you	127:	
use the facilities at NewHolly.	have you used the	пe
	(BLOCK SCREE	
Q41. @Q41 In the past year, have you used		
the NewHolly branch of the Seattle	Frequently	
Public Library FREQUENTLY,	Occasionally	
OCCASIONALLY, OR NEVER.	Never	
	Didn't know about	it.
Q42. @Q42 In the past year, have you used	Don't know	
the community computer lab	Refused	
FREQUENTLY, OCCASIONALLY, OR NEVER.	«Q44 »	
043. @043 The Continuing Education Center		
Q43. @Q43 The Continuing Education Center	128:	
Q44. @Q44 The Career Development Center	In the past year,	h
1. FREQUENTLY	NewHolly branch	
2. OCCASIONALLY	2	
3. NEVER	Yes	
4. Didn't know about it	No	
D. Don't know	Don't know	
R. Refused	Refused	
124:	Q41 «Q45 »	
	Q41	
Have you used the NewHolly branch of the Seattle Public Library (BLOCK SCREEN)		
	129:	
( 1/ 321) Frequently1	Do you have child	rer
Occasionally		
Never	Yes	
Didn't know about it	No	
Don't knowD	Don't know	
RefusedR	Refused	
«Q41 »	«Q48 »	
	130:	
125:	Q42 Do the children in	ιv
have you used the community computer lab at NewHolly	live in NewHolly?	
(BLOCK SCREEN)		
( 1/ 322)	Yes	
Frequently1	No	
Occasionally	Don't know	
Never	Refused	
Didn't know about it	«Q49 »	
Don't knowD		
RefusedR		-
«Q42 »		
	:	
126:	Q43	
have you used the Continuing Education Center at NewHolly		
(BLOCK SCREEN)		
(BLOCK SCREEN) (1/323)		
(BLOCK SCREEN) (1/323) Frequently		
(BLOCK SCREEN) (1/323) Frequently1 Occasionally2		
(BLOCK SCREEN) (1/ 323) Frequently		
(BLOCK SCREEN) (1/ 323) Frequently		
(BLOCK SCREEN)       (1/ 323)         Frequently		
(BLOCK SCREEN) (1/ 323) Frequently		

Q44 have you used the Career Development Center at NewHolly BLOCK SCREEN)

(BLOCK SCREEN)	
	( 1/ 324)
Frequently	. 1
Occasionally	
Never	. 3
Didn't know about it	. 4
Don't know	D
Refused	.R
«Q44 »	

In the past year, have you attended a class or event at the NewHolly branch of South Seattle Community College? (1/325)

Q45

Q48

	(1/325)
Yes	
No	2
Don't know D	)
RefusedR	ł
«Q45 »	

have children in your household?

	( 1/ 326)	)
Yes		
No		=>Q52
Don't know	D	=> Q52
Refused	R	=> Q52
«Q48 »		

**Q49** the children in your household play with other children who

2	( 1/ 327)
Yes	
No	
Don't know	D
Refused	R
«Q49 »	

Which playgrounds at NewHolly do the children in your household use? 133: {IWR: Code all that apply.} SCREEN) @050 1. The Shafer or Central Park (S. Holly Place & 30th Ave South) 2. The Triangle Tot Lot (S. Holly Street and 30th Ave) «051B » 3. The Van Asselt Playground 4. The Phase II Park 5. The Othello Park 134: 6. Don't use playgrounds at NewHolly D. Don't Know R. Refused 131: **O50** What Parks do the Children in your Household use? (BLOCK SCREEN) (1/328 - 329 - 330 - 331 - 332) The Shafer or Central Park (S. Holly Place & 30th Ave South) 1 The Triangle Tot Lot (S. Holly Street and 30th Ave).....2 «Q51C» The Van Asselt Playground ......3 The Phase II Park ......4 135: Not Applicable ......N Don't know ..... D Refused ..... R «Q50_01 » «O50 02» «Q50_03 » «Q50_04 » «Q51D » «Q50_05 » 136: Now I'd like to hear about the children's use of services and facilities at NewHolly. Q51A. @Q51A In the past year, have the children Used the teen center? Q51B. @Q51B In the past year, have the children attended the Catholic «O51E» Community Services Youth Tutoring Program? 137: Q51C. @Q51C Attended the Children's Museum, Inside-Out Arts Program? Q51D. @Q51D Used the computer lab? Q51E. @Q51E Attended child day care? Q51F. @Q51F Used the library? «O51F » 1=Yes, 2=No, N=Not Applicable, D=Don't Know, R=Refused 138: 132: Q51A Used the teen center (BLOCK SCREEN) (1/333) Yes.....1 \$E 0 50 Not Applicable N Don't know ..... D Refused.....R «Q51A » «O52 »

**O51B** Attended the Catholic Community Services Youth (BLOCK (1/334) Not Applicable ......N Don't know ..... D Refused.....R Q51C Attended the Children's Museum, Inside-Out Arts Program? (BLOCK SCREEN) (1/335) Not Applicable ...... N Don't know ...... D Refused.....R **O51D** Used the computer lab at NewHolly? (BLOCK SCREEN) (1/336) Yes.....1 Not Applicable N Don't know ...... D Refused.....R Q51E Attended child day care at NewHolly? (BLOCK SCREEN) (1/337) No......2 Not Applicable ...... N Don't know ...... D Refused.....R Q51F Used the library at NewHolly? (BLOCK SCREEN) (1/338) Yes...... 1 Not Applicable ......N Don't know ..... D Refused.....R 052 About how many people in NewHolly do you know well enough to say hello? {IWR PROMPT: "We don't need an exact number, just your best estimate."} (1/339)MORE Than 50 People......M Don't know ..... D Refused.....R

		143:	Q53C
		=> Q80  if (Q52B=2 R)	
As I mentioned earlier, one of the things		Now I'd like to ask some questions about the neighbor(s) you just	
we are studying are relationships among		named for us. Let's begin with the first person you mentioned.	
neighbors at NewHolly. Please tell me the		( 1/ 448)	
first name or initials of up to five people		Press ENTER to Continue	
you know well enough to say hello to in		«Q53C »	
NewHolly. If you don't know a name, just tell me something about them to help you			_
identify them. For example, the lady that		144	DNUT
lives across the street. We'll use these			PNT
names only to keep them straight as you		=> * if	
answer some general questions about them.		RNB(\$R,Q52	
		B)	
@Q52A		Begin Neighbor Roster	
1=Press ENTER to Continue		Set pointer for Roster Q53	
		(1/449)	
-	52A	«PNT »	
As I mentioned earlier (BLOCK SCREEN)			-
(1/341) Press ENTER to Continue		145:	Q54
Press ENTER to Continue1 D «Q52A »			Q34
«QJZA »		$\Rightarrow$ Q80 if (Q52B=2 R)	
		Is $\langle Q53 \rangle$ male or female?	
		( 1/ 450)	
Please tell me the (first/next) name.		Male 1	
OF OF OF OF TWO Presendent has		Female	
Q52B. @Q52B {IWR: Respondent has a/another name}		Don't knowD	
a/another mane;		RefusedR	
1=Yes, 2=No, R=Refused		«Q54 »	
			-
Q53. @Q53 Name of		146:	Q55
Neighbor		On average, do you speak with $\langle Q53 \rangle$ in person or on the phone	•
		at least once a week?	
{IWR IF R GIVES AN INAPPROPRIATE		( 1/ 451)	
NAME, PLEASE PROBE FOR A MORE SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE ONE.}		Yes	
-	500	No2	
	52B	Don't know D	
Begin Name Roster		RefusedR	
Respondent has a name. (1/342)		«Q55 »	
Yes1			:
	=> 05	3A <b>147:</b>	Q57
RefusedR		F7 Does <q53> live NEXT TO YOU, BEHIND YOU,</q53>	<b>x</b>
«Q52B »		ELSEWHERE ON THE SAME STREET, OR FURTHER	
		AWAY?	
		( 1/ 452)	
	Q53	NEXT TO YOU 1	
End Name Roster		BEHIND YOU	
Please tell me the (first/next) name.		ELSEWHERE ON THE SAME STREET	
«Q53 »		FURTHER AWAY4 Don't knowD	
«Q55 »		RefusedR	
		«Q57 »	
142: Q	53A		
=> * if RNB(1,Q52B)			:
		148:	Q58
(1/447)		Is <q53> married?</q53>	
«Q53A »		( 1/ 453)	
		Yes	
		No2	
		Don't know D	
		RefusedR «Q58 »	
		« <b>У</b> 20 ″	
			_

149:	Q59	154:	Q6
Are there children under 18 years old in <q53>'s household?</q53>	<b>x</b>	Is <q53> CLOSE TO YOU, JUST A FRIEND, OR SOMEONE</q53>	~
(1/454)		YOU DON'T KNOW VERY WELL?	
Yes1		( 1/ 460	))
No2	=>0	061 CLOSE TO YOU	'
Don't knowD	=> 0	061 JUST A FRIEND	
Refused R	=> 0	261 SOMEONE YOU DON'T KNOW VERY WELL	
«Q59 »		Don't know D	
	_	RefusedR	
	-	«Q64 »	
150:	Q60		_
=> Q61 if (Q48=2 D R)			
Are the children in your household friends with <q53>'s</q53>		155:	Q6
children?		Would you ask <q53> if you needed a favor?</q53>	
( 1/ 455)		( 1/ 46'	1)
Yes1		Yes1	
No		No2 Don't knowD	
Don't knowD		RefusedR	
RefusedR		«Q65»	
«Q60 »		~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~	_
	-	156:	= Q6
151:	Q61	Is <q53> from the same ethnic group as you?</q53>	×0
Are you related to <q53>?</q53>		( 1/ 462	2)
( 1/ 456)		Yes	-)
Yes1		No	
No2		Don't know D	
Don't know D		RefusedR	
RefusedR		«Q66 »	
«Q61 »			_
152.		157:	Q6
152:	Q62	Does <q53> speak the same native language as you?</q53>	
How many years have you known <q53>?</q53>		( 1/ 463	3)
\$E 0 99 (1/457)		Yes1	
Less than a yearL		No	
Don't know		Don't know D	
RefusedR		RefusedR	
«Q62 »		«Q67 »	
	-	158:	= Q6
153:	Q63	As far as you know, what is $\langle Q53 \rangle$ 's highest level of education?	<b>V</b> 0
As far as you know, how old is <q53>? {IWR: ENTER</q53>		As far as you know, what is $\langle Q55 \rangle$ is highest level of education? ( $1/464$	1)
APPROPRIATE CATEGORY - READ CATEGORIES IF		Less than High school	•)
NECESSARY { {IWR PROMPT: 'What is your best guess?' }		High School Graduate or GED	
( 1/ 459)		Some College	
Younger than 181		Associate degree	
18 to 29 years2		Bachelor's degree (For Ex: BA, AB, BS)	
30 to 39 years		Master's degree (For Ex: MA, MS, MEng, MEd, MS) 6	
40 to 49 years		Doctorate degree (For Ex: PhD, EdD)7	
50 to 59 years		Don't knowD	
60 to 65 years		RefusedR	
Older than 65 years7		«Q68 »	
Don't knowD RefusedR			
«Q63 »		150	
~ coy		159:	Qe
	-	Could you turn to $\langle Q53 \rangle$ in an emergency?	5)
		( 1/ 465 Yes	7)
		Yes	
		Don't knowD	
		RefusedR	
		«Q69 »	

160:	Q70	166:	Q76
Have you asked $\langle Q53 \rangle$ to take care of your home for you?		As far as you know, does <q53> own (his/her) own home?</q53>	•
( 1/ 466)		(1/472)	
Yes1		Yes1	
No		No	
Don't know D		Don't knowD	
RefusedR		RefusedR	
«Q70 »		«Q76 »	
161:	Q71	167:	Q77
	Q/I		Q
Have you and $\langle Q53 \rangle$ been co-workers? (1/467)		As far as you know, does <q53> receive housing assistance? (1/473)</q53>	
Yes		Yes	
No		No	
Don't knowD		Don't know D	
RefusedR		RefusedR	
«Q71 »		«Q77 »	
1(2).	072	169.	079
162:	Q72		Q78
Have you invited $\langle Q53 \rangle$ to your home, or have you been invited?		As far as you know, does <q53> receive welfare or other public</q53>	
invited? (1/468)		assistance? (1/474)	
(1/400) Yes1		Yes	
No		No	
Don't know D		Don't know	
RefusedR		RefusedR	
«Q72 »		«Q78 »	
	-		
163:	Q73	169:	Q79
Does <q53> simply drop by to visit you or do you drop in to</q53>		End of Neighbor Roster	
visit (him/her)?		As far as you know, does $\langle Q53 \rangle$ have a job?	
( 1/ 469)		( 1/ 475) Yes	
Yes1 No		Yes	
Don't know D		Don't know	
Refused R		RefusedR	
«Q73 »		«Q79»	
	-		:
164:	Q74	170:	Q80
Do you socialize with <q53> away from New Holly?</q53>		We're almost done now, but first I'd like to ask just a few	
( 1/ 470)		questions about your family history. If I ask a question that you	
Yes1		would prefer not to answer, just let me know and I will skip over	
No		it. In what year were you born?	
Don't know D		(1/584)	
RefusedR		\$E 1936 1988	
«Q74 »		Don't know D Refused	
	-	«Q80 »	
165:	Q75	«Q80 »	
	Q/3		:
		171:	Q81
Do you stop and talk with $\langle Q53 \rangle$ whenever you see (him/her)?			×01
(1/471)		Where were you born? (IWP Enter City and State or Country)	
( 1/ 471) Yes1		Where were you born? {IWR Enter City and State, or Country}	
Yes1 No		( 1/ 588)	
Yes1 No2 Don't knowD		• • • •	
Yes1 No		( 1/ 588)	

Q82

Where did you grow up?	(1)6	10)
	(1/6	10)
Seattle	1	
King county	2	
Elsewhere in the Puget Sound Area	3	
Elsewhere in Washington State	4	
Elsewhere in the US	5	
Other - Specify	6	0
Don't know	. D	
Refused	. R	
	9	
«Q82 »		
«O_Q82 »		

1	72.	
I	13:	

173:	Q83
What race or ethnicity do you consider yourself?	
( 1/ 619 - 621 - 623 - 625 - 627)	
White	
Black or African American	
American Indian or Alaska Native	
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander4	
Vietnamese	
Cambodian6	
Chinese	
Somali	
Hispanic or Latino/a9	
Asian (NOT OTHERWISE SPECIFIED)10	
Other - Specify 11 O	
Don't know D	
RefusedR	
«Q83_01 »	
«Q83_02 »	
«Q83_03 »	
«Q83_04 »	
«Q83_05 »	
«O_Q83 »	

### 174:

What is your native language?	
	(1/629)
English1	
Vietnamese	
Tigrina	3
Oromo	ł
Amharic	;
Cambodian	5
Somali	/
Spanish	3
Arabic	)
Mandarin10	)
Cantonese	L .
Russian	2
Lao	3
Hmong14	ŧ
Other - Specify	<i>б</i> О
Don't know D	)
RefusedR	Ł
«Q84 »	
«O_Q84 »	

#### 175: Q85 What is the highest level of education you have? (1/631) => Q86 High School Graduate or GED ......2 => Q86=> Q86 Associate degree ...... 4 => Q86Bachelor's degree (For Ex: BA, AB, BS)......5 => Q86 Master's degree (For Ex: MA, MS, MEng, MEd, MS) ... 6 => Q86Doctorate degree (For Ex: PhD, EdD)......7 => Q86 Don't know ..... D Refused.....R

Q85B

Q86

### 176:

«Q85 »

What is the last grade or year that you completed in school? (1/632)

\$E 0 20	
Don't know	D
Refused	R
«Q85B »	

### 177:

Q84

177: What is your current legal marital status? Are you currently... (1/634)

	(
MARRIED	1
NOT MARRIED	2
WIDOWED	
DIVORCED	4
OR SEPARATED	5
Don't know	D
Refused	R
«Q86 »	

178:		Q864
=> Q86B if	(Q86=2 3 4 D R) OR (S6==1)	
	with your spouse?	( 1/ 635)
		2
		D R
179:		Q86
=> Q87 if	(Q86=1) OR (S6==1)	]
Are you living	with a partner?	_
		( 1/ 636)
Yes		, ,
No		2
Don't know		D

Refused.....R

«Q86B»

180:		Q87			
Do you have a valid driver's license?		Q07	I would like to get your name and con	firm	
bo you have a valid driver's license?	( 1/ 637)		your address so that we can mail you you		
Yes	```		gift card. This information will be del		
No	2		from our data as soon as the gift cards		
Don't know	D		mailed and will not be associated with y	our	
Refused	. R		answers.		
«Q87 »			May I have your name:		
		_	May I have your hame.		
181:		Q88	<pre>@Q92 {1=Yes, 2=No, 3=Refused}</pre>		
Do you own or have access to a car that runs?		200			
bo you own of have access to a car that runs:	( 1/ 638)		Name: @RNAM2		
Yes	```		185:	(	Q92
No	2		I would like to confirm your address so that we can (BI	LOCK	
Don't know	D		SCREEN)		
Refused	R			1/ 642)	
«Q88 »			Yes		
			No		=> N1/
100		0.00	Don't know D		=> N1/
182:		Q89	RefusedR		=> N1/
{IWR IF NECESSARY ASK: "For survey purposes,	, I have to		«Q92 »		
ask if you are male or female?"}					
26.1	( 1/ 639)		186:	RNA	M2
Male				MINA	
Female			Respondent Name to Send Gift Card.	1/ 643)	
Don't know Refused			«RNAM2 »	1/ 043)	
«Q89»	. К		«RIVAWIZ //		
«Q07 »					
		-	Ta your address.		
183:		Q90	Is your address:		
Is there anything else you'd like to say about New!	Holly as a		<addrs< td=""><td>&gt;</td><td></td></addrs<>	>	
community?					
	( 1/ 640)		Zip Code: <zip></zip>		
Yes - Enter Comments					
No			@Q92B $\{1=Yes, 2=No, D=Don't know,$		
Don't know			R=Refused}		
Refused	. К		187:	Q	92B
«Q90 » «O_Q90 »			Is your address		
«O_Q30 »				1/ 678)	
		-	Yes	,	=> N14
184:		091	No2		
As you know, you can receive a Safeway grocery car	d a Homa	2/1	Don't know D		=> N1
Depot gift card, or a J.C. Penney gift card wort			RefusedR		=> N1.
participating in this study. Which would you like?	n \$20 ioi		«Q92B »		
participating in and study. Which would you like.	(1/641)				
SAFEWAY GROCERY CARD	```				
HOME DEPOT GIFT CARD			Please give me your current address:		
J.C. PENNEY GIFT CARD			rease give me your current address.		
Refused	R		Address: @ADRS2		
«Q91 »					
		_	Zip Code: @ZIP2		
			188:	ADI	RS2
			( *	1/ 679)	
			«ADRS2 »	.,	
			189:	Z	ZIP2
				1/ 714)	
			«ZIP2 »		

190:	N1A	
Thank you. That completes our survey. We appreciate your time and cooperation. Thank you so much for helping us out. Do you		
have any additional comments or questions?		
( 1/ 719)		
Yes, additional comments 1 0		
No additional comments2	=>/O	
«N1A »		
«O_N1A »		

[Items 191-299: Interviewer Comments Deleted For Ease Of Reading]

Final dispositions of Telephone Survey Sample Cases	Frequency	Percent
Potential respondents	158	<b>37.1</b>
CM-completed interview	105	24.6
PC-partial interview	3	0.7
RF-refusal	50	11.7
Unknown eligibility	131	30.8
UI-unable to interview	3	0.7
DF-hearing difficulty (1)		
RN-respondent not available (2)		
UR-unable to reach	101	23.7
AM-answering machine (12)		
BC-blocked call (2)		
CB-callback (1)		
GB-general callback (3)		
LF-left message (8)		
MP-missing telephone number (72)		
NA-no answer (3)		
NN-nonworking number	25	5.9
BG-business or government (2)		
CC-cannot be completed as dialed (2)		
DS-discontinued service		
ED-electronic device	2	4.7
Ineligible sample members	137	32.2
IN-ineligible per survey definitions	137	32.2
I1-no one over 18 years in household (10)		
I2-not a NewHolly resident (15)		
LG-language spoken not English (112)		
Total sample size	426	100.1

## Telephone Survey Response Rate Calculations

# Appendix B: Materials for Focus Groups with NewHolly Residents

- Focus Group Recruitment Letter
- Focus Group Script

# Focus Group Recruitment Letter

(also translated into Cambodian, Cantonese, Somali, Tigrinya, Vietnamese)

April 15, 2003

I'm writing to ask you to participate in a discussion group about your experiences living in NewHolly. The Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs at the University of Washington with funding from both the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Seattle Housing Authority is trying to find out from residents what they think of NewHolly. I am contacting you as a member of that community.

The discussion will take place on May 17, 2003 in the NewHolly Neighborhood Campus. The discussion will take place and will last about an hour and a half. Comments will be taped so that a written English transcript can be created. The transcript, however, will not attribute your comments to you or mention you by name. Childcare and dinner will be provided, and you will receive \$20 cash for your participation. The information will be used to help the researcher and Seattle Housing Authority understand how residents are tied into the community and what residents think about the community's safety.

I hope you will take the time to come to talk about NewHolly. If you can come, please call (206) 221-2931 to let the facilitator know. If you have questions about the research, please feel free to contact the principal investigator, Rachel Garshick Kleit, at (206) 221-3063.

Sincerely,

Joy Bryngelson Moro Community Builder Seattle Housing Authority

# Focus Group Script

## Introduction and Informed Consent

FACILITATOR: Hello, my name is _____I am helping with a research study that the University of Washington's Evans School of Public Affairs is conducting to learn how New Holly residents feel about their community, services, and safety. To do this I will guide you in a conversation over the next hour to hour and a half in which you can express your opinion about your community, interaction with neighbors, and the kinds of services that are available or used by you. This research is funded by the US Dept of Housing and Urban Development and the Seattle Housing Authority.

We are holding several discussions like this one in a variety of languages. Each of the discussions is being recorded on tape so that the conversations can be accurately translated and transcribed. When I or the note taker (INTRODUCE) type up the tape I will not identify any person by name and when finished typing, we will destroy the tape. Your participation is completely voluntary; and you may stop participating at any time and refuse to answer specific questions.

Here is a form, which confirms that you are participating voluntarily. (Hand out forms) Please take a minute to read it. I can answer any questions you might have. After today's conversation, we may want to contact you again, if that is OK with you just check the 'yes' box on the form. If it is OK with you to participate in this discussion group, please sign 2 copies of the form, keeping one for your records.

(FILL OUT FORMAL CONSENT FORMS. MAKE SURE FACILITATOR SIGNS AND RESPONDENT CHECKS A BOX AND SIGNS. MAKE SURE TO RETURN 1 TO EACH PARTICIPANT AND KEEP ONE FOR YOURSELF.]

# Getting Started

Let's start by introducing ourselves. Please tell us your first name, how long you've lived in New Holly and whether you'd lived here when it was called Holly Park. As I said, my name is ______. (GO AROUND THE TABLE)

Assets

When you were deciding where to live, what attracted you to New Holly that made you want to live here? (REMEMBER: YOU CAN ASK THEM TAKE A MINUTE

TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTION THEN GO AROUND THE ROOM.)

What do you like about this community?

(Probes)
-Friendly, helpful neighbors
-Mix of ages and incomes
-New Houses
-Access to many services
-Good transportation
-It's a safe community:
-What would neighbors do if they saw children spray painting graffiti on a building, or fighting?
-It's quiet, well lit and maintained
-Close to good schools
-Library
-Childcare

# Problems

You've talked about things you like about living in New Holly, what do you not like about living here?

- (Probes) -Safety issues -Crime issues
- -Inadequate transportation
- -Isolated from shops and community
- -Difficult to get to services
- -Noisy
- -Too many people living close together

## Services

Here at New Holly, there are many services located in the Campus of Learners such as childcare, youth counseling, community college classes, and a library. What services do you use most often? (BUILD A LIST WITH THE GROUP.)

Which do you like to have at New Holly even if you don't use it now, because you may use it in the future or you know it is important to other community residents? What services would you like to have at New Holly?

(Prompts-List of NewHolly Services and Facilities)

-New Holly P-Patch program -The garden club -The traffic club -The kids club -The East African literacy group -The holiday cookie exchange -New Holly branch of the Seattle Public Library -Community computer lab at New Holly -Continuing Education Center at New Holly -Career Development Center at New Holly -New Holly branch of South Seattle Community College -A community meeting at New Holly -A social potluck at New Holly -Fun Fest last August at New Holly -Talent Show during Black History Month, last February, at New Holly -Neighborhood night at New Holly -A block party at New Holly -Multicultural New Year Celebration at New Holly -How about the most recent Cambodian New Year at New Holly -What about the recent Vietnamese New Year at New Holly -Tea and Tour at New Holly -Playgrounds at NewHolly

Comparisons

How does New Holly compare to Holly Park?

-What's better at New Holly?

-What was better about Holly Park?

Has New Holly fixed things you thought were problems at Holly Park?

## Closure

Is there anything else that you think it is important for me to know about life at NewHolly?

Thank you for taking the time to join our discussion. It's been most helpful and I hope enjoyable for you. I guess we are finished so I'd like to distribute

compensation. (HAND OUT \$, ASK RESPONDENTS TO SIGN RECEIPT.) Goodbye and thanks again.

# Appendix C: Materials for Focus Groups with Senior Citizens

- Recruitment Letter to Esperanza House Residents
- Recruitment Letter to Westwood Heights Residents
- Script for Focus Groups with Returning Residents
- Script for Focus Groups with New Residents

## Recruitment Letter to Esperanza House Residents

August 1st, 2003

«FIRST_NAME» «LAST_NAME» 6940 37th Avenue South «UNIT» Seattle, WA 98118

### Dear «FIRST_NAME»:

Would you participate in a discussion group? The Seattle Housing Authority has asked the University of Washington to conduct a research study to help us understand resident satisfaction and perception of safety in your neighborhood and building. This is part of our continuing effort to improve community safety and services.

The discussion will take place on August 11th, 2003 from 3 – 4:30 pm in the community room at Peter Claver House. Tea and a light meal will be provided and you will receive \$15 cash for your time. The discussion will be audio taped. Your participation is voluntary and confidential.

I hope you will take the time to come to talk about Esperanza House. Please call Melina Raffin at (206) 221-2931 to let the research team know whether you can come or if you don't want to participate. If you have questions about the research, please feel free to contact Rachel Garshick Kleit, the study leader, at (206) 221-3063.

Sincerely,

Sharon Jewell Housing Operations Seattle Housing Authority

# Recruitment Letter to Westwood Heights Residents

July 1st, 2003

«FIRST_NAME» «LAST_NAME» 9455 27th Ave SW, #«UNIT_ID» Seattle, WA 98126

Dear «FIRST_NAME»:

Would you participate in a discussion group? The Seattle Housing Authority has asked the University of Washington to conduct a research study to help us understand resident satisfaction and perception of safety in your neighborhood and building. This is part of our continuing effort to improve community safety and services. We would like you to participate if you are a resident who also lived in Roxbury or if you moved to Westwood Heights from another neighborhood.

The discussion will take place on July 14th, 2003 from 3 – 4:30 pm in the downstairs sitting room at Westwood Heights. Tea and a light meal will be provided and you will receive \$15 cash for your time. The discussion will be audio taped. Your participation is voluntary and confidential.

I hope you will take the time to come to talk about Westwood Heights. Please call Melissa Frysztacki at (206) 221-2931 to let the research team know whether you can come or if you don't want to participate. If you have questions about the research, please feel free to contact Rachel Garshick Kleit, the study leader, at (206) 221-3063.

Sincerely,

Wendy Galliart Community Builder Seattle Housing Authority

# Script for Focus Groups with Returning Residents

# **Introduction and Informed Consent**

FACILITATOR: Hello, my name is (FACILITATOR NAME). I am helping with a research study that Evans School at the University of Washington is conducting to learn about how satisfied people are with [SITE NAME] and what you think about safety. Here's a form that explains the study and your rights as a research subject.

Our conversation tonight should take about an hour and a half, and your participation is completely voluntary. You may stop participating at any time and refuse to answer specific questions. I'll be asking questions that I hope will lead to a broader discussion of your opinion about your neighborhood and how safe you feel.

The conversation will be audio-taped so that I can write up a transcript of our conversation. In the transcript, I will not identify anyone in the group by name, and after I have typed up the transcript, the tape will be destroyed. At the end of the discussion, I will give you \$15 for your time. The Seattle Housing Authority is funding this research.

Please take a minute to read this form. I can answer any questions you might have. After this conversation, we may want to contact you again. Just check the 'yes' box on the form if that is OK with you. If it is OK with you to participate in this conversation, please sign 2 copies of the consent form, keeping one for your records. [FILL OUT FORMAL CONSENT FORMS.]

# **Opening Question**

What is your name, how long have you lived at [SITE NAME], and why did you choose to move here? (Purpose to get people talking and feeling comfortable) [GO AROUND AND EACH FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT ANSWERS THE OPENING QUESTION.]

Did you live in [OLD SITE]?

How would you say that [SITE NAME] compares to [OLD SITE] as a place to live?

What do you like about living in [SITE NAME] compared to [OLD SITE]? Why?

What do you dislike about [SITE NAME] compared to [OLD SITE]? Why?

Has [SITE NAME] directly fixed anything you thought was a problem in [OLD SITE]? What sorts of things are you thinking of?

Overall, would you say that you are satisfied with living in [SITE NAME]? Why or why not?

Let's talk a bit about what you think about safety here at [SITE NAME]. If I ask a question you'd rather not respond to, just let me know, and we'll skip it.

Do you think that people in this neighborhood generally get along with each other?

What would neighbors do if they saw children skipping school and hanging out on a street corner?

What would your neighbors do if they saw children spray painting graffiti on a local building?

What would your neighbors do if they saw children showing disrespect to an adult?

What would your neighbors do if they saw people fighting in front of their home?

Generally speaking, do you think of [SITE NAME] as a very safe place to live? Why or why not?

Do you feel that [SITE NAME] is a safer place to live than [OLD SITE] was? Why or why not?

Do you think any of the following are problems here at [SITE NAME]? How is [issue] a problem?

-Lack of services for seniors	
-Lack of public transportation	
-Quality of Schools	
-People selling drugs	
-People being attacked or	
robbed	
-People using drugs	
-Outsiders causing trouble	
-Gangs	
-Police not coming when called	

-Graffiti, that is, writing or painting on the wall of	-Cars parked inappropriately
buildings	-Cars being broken into
-Shootings and Violence	-Drinking in public
-Rape or other sexual attacks	-Illegal dumpling or trash
-Trash and junk in parking lots, streets, lawns, or sidewalks	-Domestic Violence

Thanks for taking the time to talk with me today. Is there anything you'd like to tell me about life here at [SITE NAME] that you haven't already?

Again, thanks for taking the time to talk with me. [FACILITATOR GIVE COMPENSATION TO PARTICIPANTS]
# Script for Focus Groups with New Residents

# Introduction and Informed Consent

FACILITATOR: Hello, my name is (FACILITATOR NAME). I am helping with a research study that Evans School at the University of Washington is conducting to learn about how satisfied people are with [SITE NAME] and what you think about safety. Here's a form that explains the study and your rights as a research subject.

Our conversation tonight should take about an hour and a half, and your participation is completely voluntary. You may stop participating at any time and refuse to answer specific questions. I'll be asking questions that I hope will lead to a broader discussion of your opinion about your neighborhood and how safe you feel.

The conversation will be audio-taped so that I can write up a transcript of our conversation. In the transcript, I will not identify anyone in the group by name, and after I have typed up the transcript, the tape will be destroyed. At the end of the discussion, I will give you \$15 for your time. The Seattle Housing Authority is funding this research.

Please take a minute to read this form. I can answer any questions you might have. After this conversation, we may want to contact you again. Just check the 'yes' box on the form if that is OK with you. If it is OK with you to participate in this conversation, please sign 2 copies of the consent form, keeping one for your records. [FILL OUT FORMAL CONSENT FORMS.]

# **Opening Question**

What is your name, how long have you lived at [SITE NAME] and why did you choose to move here? (Purpose to get people talking and feeling comfortable.) [GO AROUND AND EACH FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT ANSWERS THE OPENING QUESTION.]

Where did you live before you moved to [SITE NAME]?

What do you like about living in [SITE NAME]? Why?

What do you dislike about [SITE NAME]? Why?

What do you think would improve [SITE NAME]? Why?

Overall, would you say that you are satisfied with living in [SITE NAME]? Why or why not?

Let's talk a bit about what you think about safety here at [SITE NAME]. If I ask a question you'd rather not respond to, just let me know, and we'll skip it.

Do you think that people in this neighborhood generally get along with each other?

What would neighbors do if they saw children skipping school and hanging out on a street corner?

What would your neighbors do if they saw children spray painting graffiti on a local building?

What would your neighbors do if they saw children showing disrespect to an adult?

What would your neighbors do if they saw people fighting in front of their home?

Generally speaking, do you think of [SITE NAME] as a very safe place to live? Why or why not?

Do you think any of the following are problems here at [SITE NAME]? How is [issue] a problem?

-Unemployment	-People selling drugs			
-Groups of people just hanging out	-People being attacked or robbed			
-The number of single mothers	-People using drugs			
-Child care	-Outsiders causing trouble			
-Lack of medical care such as health clinics, dental	-Gangs			
	-Police not coming when called			
-Lack of restaurants or grocery stores	-Graffiti, that is, writing or			
-Lack of programs for children	painting on the wall of buildings			
such as recreational or tutorial programs	-Shootings and Violence			
-Lack of services for seniors	-Rape or other sexual attacks			
-Lack of public transportation	-Trash and junk in parking			
-Quality of Schools	lots, streets, lawns, or sidewalks			

-Cars parked inappropriately

-Illegal dumpling or trash

-Cars being broken into

-Domestic Violence

-Drinking in public

Thanks for taking the time to talk with me today. Is there anything you'd like to tell me about life here at [SITE NAME] that you haven't already?

Again, thanks for taking the time to talk with me. [FACILITATOR GIVE COMPENSATION TO PARTICIPANTS]

# Appendix D: Materials for In-person Survey of Relocated Residents

- Recruitment Letter to Relocated Residents
- In-person Survey Instrument

# Recruitment Letter to Relocated Residents

June 1, 2003

### Dear [FIRST NAME],

Would you participate in a twenty minute survey? The Seattle Housing Authority has asked the University of Washington to help them understand the impact of relocation on individuals and families who moved away from Roxbury or Holly Park because of the HOPE VI redevelopment. This is part of their continuing effort to improve the relocation process. They would like to hear from you about what it is like in your old and new neighborhoods.

An interviewer from the University of Washington's Evans School of Public Affairs would like to call you to take part in this study. You were selected randomly (like the toss of a coin) along with 99 other Roxbury and Holly Park residents to be interviewed in the near future. I'm writing to you because many people prefer to be informed in advance that a request for an interview will be made. When the interviewer calls, she will request to speak to you, explain the study, and ask if you have questions, she will answer all of your questions. If you want to take part in the study, she will ask you for a convenient time to come to your home or a mutually convenient public location to ask you some questions. If after nine attempts and one message you are not reachable by telephone, the interviewer will stop by to schedule an appointment. If you would prefer that the interviewer does not contact you, please call the research team at this local number (206) 221-2931,or toll-free at (800) 506-1288.

The in-person interview will take about 20 minutes and you will receive \$15 for your time. All responses will be confidential and you can end the interview at any time. Your participation in the survey is voluntary.

This study will help us understand the impact of relocation on your family. If you have any questions about the survey, please contact the research team at (206) 221-2931 or toll free at (800) 506-1288.

Sincerely,

Willard Brown Redevelopment Property Manager Seattle Housing Authority

III F EI SUIT SU	
Interviewer:	Questionnaire ID:
Date:	Start Time:

### In Person Survey Instrument

### INTRODUCTION AND CONSENT

#### Introduction:

Hello. My name is [*YOUR NAME*]. I want to begin by thanking you for scheduling this interview. The information you provide will hopefully make the relocation process better for other relocated families like your own.

I work at the University of Washington for Rachel Kleit and Dan Carlson. I don't work for the Seattle Housing Authority or for the US Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The University of Washington is conducting an independent study to understand the impact of relocation on families and individuals who moved away from [*SITE NAME*] because of the HOPE VI redevelopment. The purpose of this interview is to understand what life is like for you and your family since you moved. For the first part of the interview, I'll ask you questions about your neighborhood, neighbors, housing, and relocation. Then, I'll ask you a few questions about your use of community services, your job, and some background information.

During the interview please remember that we are interested in your experiences and opinions; there are no right or wrong answers. If at any time I ask you a question you don't feel comfortable answering, let me know and I'll move on to the next question.

Your participation in this interview is voluntary and confidential. No one outside the research team will have access to this information. Your participation will in no way affect your current housing situation or benefits. The interview should last about twenty minutes, and I'll pay you \$15 for your time.

#### **Consent Form:**

Before we begin, I need to go over this consent form with you. It gives you more information about the study and a telephone number you can call if you have questions later. I will give you a copy to keep.

[INTERVIEWER HAVE PARTICIPANT READ AND SIGN CONSENT FORM]

Do you have any questions or comments before we continue?

I'd like to start by asking you some questions about your neighborhood, neighbors, and housing.

### <u>NEIGHBORHOOD</u>

1.	How long have you lived in this neighborhood?    NUMBER OF YEARS []
2.	How long have you lived at your current address?    NUMBER OF YEARS []
3.	When you first moved out of [SITE NAME], because redevelopment wasstarting, did you move to this neighborhood?YESNO0
4.	Before you moved here did you know anyone in this neighborhood? YES
5.	How many of your friends live in the same neighborhood as you? Would yousayNoneA Few2Or many.3REFUSED7
6.	How many of your family members live in the same neighborhood as you, but not in your home? Would you sayNone1A Few2Or many3REFUSED7
7.	When thinking about where you live, what area do you consider to be your neighborhood? Would you sayThe block you live on only

8. I'm going to read some statements about your neighborhood. Please look at the card and tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements. [SHOW CARD A] PROBE: Do you agree or disagree? Do you [agree/disagree] somewhat or strongly? PROBE: Remember, there is no right or wrong answer. We just want your opinion.

		Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK
A	People around here are willing to help their neighbors.	5	4	3	2	1	9
	People in this neighborhood are close to each other.	5	4	3	2	1	9
	People in this neighborhood can be trusted.	5	4	3	2	1	9
	People in this neighborhood generally get along with each other.	5	4	3	2	1	9
	Overall, how satis you Very satisfied Somewhat satisfied Neither satisfied r Somewhat dissati Very dissatisfied.	ed nor dissat	isfied			5 	5

9.

### <u>NEIGHBORS</u>

12. I'm going to read you a list of some activities you might do with neighbors. Thinking back over the past year, that is since [*MONTH*] 2002 [*OR IF RESPONDENT LIVED IN UNIT LESS THAN A YEAR SAY*] or since you have lived in this house or apartment], tell me how often have you engaged in these activities with neighbors. Look at this card [*SHOW CARD C*] and tell me if you did this activity never, once, a few times, once a month, once a week, or almost everyday...

	In the past year how	Never	<u>Once</u>	<u>A few</u>	Once a	<u>Once a</u>	<u>Almost</u>	<u>N/A</u>
	often			<u>times</u>	<u>month</u>	<u>week</u>	<u>everyday</u>	
_	have you	0	1	0	2	4	-	0
А	Babysat a neighbor's	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
	children							
В	Spent more than 10	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
	minutes talking with							
	a neighbor							
С	Loaned or borrowed	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
	things from a							
	neighbor							
D	Let a neighbor use	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
D	your phone	U	1	4	0	•	0	2
Е	Greeted a neighbor in	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
Ľ	6	0	1	4	5	4	5	9
	the street or hallway	0	-	0	2			
F	Helped a neighbor	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
	with a chore or							
	repairs							
	Had coffee or a meal	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
	with a neighbor							
Η	Helped a neighbor in	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
	an emergency							
	Attended a	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
	neighborhood							
	community meeting							
	community meeting							

13. Looking at this next card, tell me how likely is it that your neighbors would do something if they saw...[*SHOW CARD D*] Is it likely or unlikely? Is it [likely/unlikely] somewhat or very? *PROBE:* Again, remember there is no right or wrong answer.

	<u>Very</u> likely	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>likely</u>	<u>Neither</u> likely nor unlikely	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>unlikely</u>	<u>Very</u> <u>unlikely</u>	<u>DK</u>
Children skipping school and hanging out on a street corner.	5	4	3	2	1	9
Children spray- painting graffiti on a local building	5	4	3	2	1	9
Children showing disrespect to an adult	5	4	3	2	1	9
People fighting in front of their home	5	4	3	2	1	9

# <u>HOUSING</u>

14.	Which of the following best describes the place you live no	w? Is it:
	A one-family house	
	An apartment building	2
	Or something else [SPECIFY]:	3
15.	I'd like you to compare the place you live now to the place [ <i>SITE NAME</i> ]. Overall, do you think the place you live now	0
	Better	
	The same	2
	Or in worse condition	

16.	Overall, how satisfied are you with the place you live now?	[SHOW CARD B]
	Are you	
	Very satisfied	5
	Somewhat satisfied	4
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	
	Somewhat dissatisfied	2
	Very dissatisfied	1
17.	Overall, how would you describe the condition of the place y Would you say it is in Excellent Good Fair Or poor condition	
<u>REL</u>	<u>OCATION</u>	
The :	next few questions are about your relocation from [SITE NAM	<i>E</i> ].

Which of the following best describes the first place you moved to when you 18. moved away from [SITE NAME]? Was it ... A one-family house.....1 An apartment building ......2 19. How many places have you lived since you left [SITE NAME]? NUMBER [ ] 20. If you have children, did they change schools because you moved away from [SITE NAME]? YES......1 21. Compared to before relocation, is your child's school providing a better, the same, or worse education? 

22. Now, I would like to ask you about services you may have received from the housing authority or an agency working with the housing authority when you moved from [*SITE NAME*].

Did you receive help with	Yes	No	Refused	N/A/DK
Calculating how muc you could pay for ren		0	7	9
Finding neighborhood and available apartments?	ds 1	0	7	9
Transportation to possible rental units?	1	0	7	9
Filling out rental applications and references?	1	0	7	9
Meeting with landlords?	1	0	7	9
Finding a job?	1	0	7	9
Paying for utility hool ups?	k- 1	0	7	9
Paying the security deposit?	1	0	7	9
Paying moving costs?	9 1	0	7	9
Paying apartment application fees?	1	0	7	9
Did you receive	Yes	No	Refused	N/A/dk
A Section 8 voucher?	1	0	7	9
Budget management and credit counseling?	1	0	7	9
Counseling from a social worker?	1	0	7	9

Let me take a moment to remind you that participating in this interview is voluntary. You do not have to answer questions that you do not feel comfortable answering. Do you wish to go on?

### SERVICE USE

Now I'd like to ask about you or your family's use of community services while at [*SITE NAME*] and now. *ASK Q 23 THEN Q 24 FOR ALL ACTIVITIES A THRU E.* 

- 23. Did you or a family member use [ACTIVITY] when you lived at [SITE]?
- 24. Do you use it now?

	23. US	SED AT S	SITE	24. US	24. USE NOW	
How about	Yes	No	DK	Yes	No	DK
Out-of-school activities for youth	1	0	9	1	0	9
Educational training, including ESL and GED	1	0	9	1	0	9
Job training and search services	1	0	9	1	0	9
Computer Training	1	0	9	1	0	9
Eviction prevention services	1	0	9	1	0	9

- 25. Are there other community services that you have used in the last 12 months that I haven't mentioned? *PROBE*: Anything else?
- 26. Are there any community services you'd like to use, but do not have access to?

YES	1 [	GO TO Q 27]
<i>NO</i>	0 [	GO TO Q 28]

27. What are those services?

### EMPLOYMENT AND JOB TRAINING

The next questions are about your employment and training.

28. About how many hours did you work last week at some sort of paid job? NUMBER OF HOURS |__| *IF ZERO THEN SKIP TO Q34* 

- 29. Including part-time and full-time jobs, how many jobs do you have? NUMBER |__|
- 30. In what neighborhood or city would you say your job is located? *PROBE:* What neighborhood in [*CITY*]?
- 32. Thinking about the job you spend most of the time at, what kind of business or industry do you work for? *PROBE:* What do they do or make where you work?
- 33. What kind of work do you do? PROBE: What is your job title? SKIP TO Q39

IF R IS <u>NOT</u> WORKING CURRENTLY, CONTINUE HERE.

34.	What do you spend <u>most</u> of your time doingare you vol	lunteering, looking
	for work, going to school, unable to work, taking care of	children, or doing
	something else? CIRCLE ONE	
	LOOKING FOR WORK	
	VOLUNTEERING	
	GOING TO SCHOOL	
	TAKING CARE OF CHILDREN/ KEEPING HOUSE	
	UNABLE TO WORK	
	SOMETHING ELSE	

35.	When did you last work at all, even for a few days?	
	WITHIN PAST 4 WEEKS	
	1 TO 11 MONTHS AGO	
	1 TO 5 YEARS AGO	
	6 TO 10 YEARS AGO	
	MORE THAN 10 YEARS AGO	
	NEVER WORKED	6 [GO TO Q40]

- 36. What kind of business or industry did you work for? *PROBE:* What did they do or make at the place where you worked?
- 37. What kind of work did you do? *PROBE:* What was your job title?

38. How many hours did you usually work a week at this job? NUMBER OF HOURS |__|

### ALL CONTINUE HERE.

I have a few last questions about you and your household.

- 40. Including income from all the people who live with you, could you tell me how much was made last month by the people in your household? Just look at this card [*SHOW CARD E*] and tell me the letter in front of the amount that represents the total household income from <u>last</u> month?

А.	\$1 to \$200	I.	\$1,601 to \$1,800	Q.	\$3,201 to \$3,400
В.	\$201 to \$400	J.	\$1,801 to \$2,000	R.	\$3,401 to \$3,600
C.	\$401 to \$600	Κ.	\$2,001 to \$2,200	S.	\$3,601 to \$3,800
D.	\$601 to \$800	L.	\$2,201 to \$2,400	Τ.	\$3,801 to \$4,000
Ε.	\$801 to \$1,000	М.	\$2,401 to \$2,600	U.	\$4,001 to \$4,200
F.	\$1,001 to \$1,200	N.	\$2,601 to \$2,800	V.	\$4,201 to \$4,400
G.	\$1,201 to \$1,400	О.	\$2,801 to \$3,000	W.	\$4,401 to \$4,600
Н.	\$1,401 to \$1,600	Ρ.	\$3,001 to \$3,200	Х.	\$4,601 and above

		YES	NO	REFUSED	N/A
	Cash from public assistance or Welfare	1	0	7	9
	Food stamps	1	0	7	9
	SSI (Supplemental Security Income)	1	0	7	9
	Other disability pay such as SSDI (Social Security Disability Income) a veteran's disability or workers compensation for work related injury	1	0	7	9
	Unemployment compensation because you were laid off from a job	1	0	7	9
	Child support	1	0	7	9
	Employment income	1	0	7	9
2. ES 2	Do you have any other so	•••••	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	•••••	1 [GO TO Q 3
3.	What is the source? Sour	rce (			
4.	What is your current mar MARRIED SINGLE WIDOWED, DIVORCED, O			••••••	

41. In the past 12 months have you or anyone in your household received ...

45.	What is the highest grade or year of school that you have ever completed?0 - 8 GRADES9 - 11 GRADES12 GRADES (HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA OR GED)3
	SOME COLLEGE (NO DEGREE) 4
	AA/AS DEGREE
	BS/BA OR MORE6
46.	Would you say you are: [CHECK ALL THAT APPLY]
	White
	Black or African American
	Hispanic or Latino/a
	American Indian or Pacific Islander
	Vietnamese
	Cambodian
	Other Asian
	Somali
	<i>REFUSED</i>
	OTHER:
	0111ER00
47.	How do you usually get from place to place? PROBE: If you use more than one mode of transportation which do you use most frequently? CIRCLE ONE OWN CAR.   OWN CAR. 1   RIDE WITH SOMEONE ELSE. 2   BUS OR PUBLIC TRANSIT 3
	<i>WALK</i>
	<i>OTHER</i> [ <i>SPECIFY</i> ]:5
	······································
48.	Do you own or have access to a car that runs?
	YES 1
	<i>NO</i> 0
	<i>REFUSED</i>
49.	Is there anything else you would like to say about your experience with relocation? [WRITE VERBATIM RESPONSE] PROBE FOR SPECIFICS WHEN GENERAL COMMENTS MADE PROBE: What else?
50.	Thank you for participating in this interview. Would you like to receive a copy of the results of this survey? YES
	NO0

Again thanks for your participation. I have \$15 to give you. Please take a minute to sign this receipt.

А.	RECEIPT SIGNED AND RETAINED	
	YES	
	NO	0
В.	PAYMENT GIVEN	
	YES	
	NO	0
С.	OBSERVED GENDER OF SURVEY PARTICIPANT	
	FEMALE	
	MALE	0
D.	INTERVIEW END TIME:	

# Works Cited

- Abt Associates. 1996. *Evaluation of the HOPE 3 Program: Final Report.* Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates, Inc.
- Buron, Larry F., Susan J. Popkin, Diane K. Levy, Laura E. Harris, and Jill Khadurri. 2002. The HOPE VI Resident Tracking Study: A Snapshot of the Current Living Situation of Original Residents from Eight Sites. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- Housing Research Foundation. 2001. "Autumn Brings HOPE to Fifteen Cities." HOPE VI Developments Newsletters 49 (December 2001):1-2.
- Housing Research Foundation. 2003. "About HOPE VI." Internet website. Available from http://www.hud.gov/offices/pih/programs/ph/hope6. Accessed August 26 and September 13, 2003.
- Kleit, Rachel G. and Jennifer Allison. 2002. *HOPE VI for High Point, Baseline Report.* Seattle: Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs, University of Washington.
- Kleit, Rachel G., Sheri Reder, and Allegra Abramo. 2003. HOPE VI for High Point Interim Report: Panel Study Baseline and Initial Relocation Outcomes. Seattle: Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs, University of Washington.
- Kingsley, G. Thomas, Jennifer Johnson, and Kathryn L. S. Pettit. 2003. Patterns of Section 8 Relocation in the HOPE VI Program. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 25, 4: 427-448.
- Murakami, Elaine and Jennifer Young. 1997. Daily Travel by Persons with Low Income. Paper for Nationwide Personal Transportation Survey Symposium, October 1997, Bethesda, Maryland. Bethesda, MD: United States Department of Transportation Federal Highway Administration.
- National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials. "Public Housing." Internet website. Available from http://www.nahro.org. Accessed 26 August 2003.
- National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing. 1992. The Final Report of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing. Washington DC: US Government Printing Office.
- National Low Income Housing Coalition. 2003. *Out of Reach*. Washington, DC: National Low Income Housing Coalition.

- National Low Income Housing Coalition. 2003. 2003 Guide to Advocates Guide to Housing and Community Development Policy. Washington, DC: National Low Income Housing Coalition.
- National Low Income Housing Coalition. 2003. *Featured Publications*. Internet website. http://www.nlihc.org/index.htm. Accessed September 15, 2003.
- Popkin, Susan J. 2002. *The HOPE VI Program: What About the Residents?* Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute.
- Popkin, Susan J., Diane K. Levy, Laura E. Harris, Jennifer Comey, Mary K. Cunningham, and Larry F. Buron. 2002. *HOPE VI Panel Study: Baseline Report.* Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- Rosenbaum, James E., Linda K. Stroh, and Cathy Flynn. 1998. "Lake Park Place: a Study of Mixed-Income Housing." *Housing Policy Debate* 9(4):703-40.
- Salama, Jerry J. 1999. "The Redevelopment of Distressed Public Housing: Early Results From HOPE VI Projects, in Atlanta, Chicago, and San Antonio." *Housing Policy Debate* 10 (1):95-142.
- Seattle Housing Authority. 2003. "NewHolly." Internet website. Available from http://www.sea-pha.org/development. Accessed August 10 and 26, September 13-15, 2003.
- Seattle Housing Authority. 2003. "Replacement Housing." Internet website. Available from http://www.sea-pha.org/development/replacement. Accessed September 17, 2003.
- Seattle Housing Authority. 2003. "Westwood Heights." Internet website. Available from http://www.sea-pha.org/development. Accessed August 10 and 26, September 13-15, 2003.
- Seattle Housing Authority. 1995. Holly Park Redevelopment: Hope VI Urban Revitalization Demonstration, Volume 1, Hope VI Plan. Seattle, WA: Seattle Housing Authority.
- Seattle Housing Authority. 1999. HOPE VI Application: Roxbury Community and Supportive Services Workplan. Seattle, WA: Seattle Housing Authority.
- Smith, Robin E., Arthur Naparstek, Susan J. Popkin, Lesley Bartlett, Lisa Bates, Jessica Cigna, Russell Crane, and Elisa Vinson. 2002. *Housing Choice for HOPE VI Relocatees*. Washington DC: The Urban Institute.

- State of the Cities Data Systems. 2002. "Household Rent/Owner's Value." Internet website. Available from http://socds.huduser.org/. Accessed December 3, 2003.
- United States Census Bureau. 2003. "Census 2000 Summary File 3—King County, Washington." Internet website. Available from http://factfinder.census.gov/. Accessed September 14, 2003.
- United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1996. "Summary Historical Figures and *Federal Register* References for the HHS Poverty Guidelines." Internet website. Available from http://aspe.os.dhhs.gov/poverty/96poverty. Accessed September 19, 2003.
- United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. 2002. "About HOPE VI." Internet website. Available from http://www.hud.gov/offices/pih/programs/ph/hope6. Accessed May 5, 2002.
- United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. 2003. "Demolition." Internet website. Available from http://www.hud.gov/offices/pih/programs/ph/hope6/grants/demolitio n/. Accessed September 13, 2003.
- United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. 2003. "Funding History." Internet website. Available from http://www.hud.gov/offices/pih/programs/ph/hope6/about. Accessed September 13, 2003.
- United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. 2003. "Master Plan of 2002 Demolition Grants." Internet website. Available from http://www.hud.gov/offices/pih/programs/ph/hope6/grants/demolitio n/. Accessed September 13, 2003.